

# THE (R)EVOLUTION OF LUSOPHONE MUSICS IN THE CITY OF LISBON

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**Dissertação de Mestrado em Ciências Musicais.  
Variante de Etnomusicologia**

**SETEMBRO DE 2010**

**Bart Paul VANSPAUWEN, THE  
(R)EVOLUTION OF LUSOPHONE MUSICS  
IN THE CITY OF LISBON, 2010**



Dissertação apresentada para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à  
obtenção do grau de Mestre em Ciências Musicais. Variante de  
Etnomusicologia, realizada sob a orientação científica da  
Professora Doutora Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I wish to express my gratitude to all those who stimulated me to complete this work.

This includes Prof. Dr. Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco and the Instituto de Etnomusicologia at FCSH/UNL, all interviewees and the people that brought me into contact with them, my teachers, as well as my family and friends. I am also grateful to the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian for financial support received which allowed me to complete the preliminary stage of my research.

## ABSTRACT

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**KEYWORDS:** *lusofonia*, migration, cultural politics, urban ethnomusicology, identity formation, postcolonialism, cross-cultural processes, cosmopolitanism, globalization.

This dissertation explores the concept of *lusofonia*. Departing from a discursive analysis of the concept, I will address the ways through which it figures in the cultural policies of the Municipality of Lisbon and of governmental institutions, and how it informs their actions. I will also explore the role of voluntary associations such as Sons da Lusofonia that evoke *lusofonia* as part of their goals. I will then analyze how the concept of *lusofonia* and the action of governmental institutions and voluntary associations inform the creative work and identities of selected Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians from the PALOP (African Portuguese-speaking countries), Brazil and East Timor.

Esta dissertação aborda o conceito de *lusofonia*. Partindo de uma análise discursiva do conceito, abordarei os modos através dos quais este conceito figura nas políticas culturais da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa e das instituições governamentais, e como é que informa as suas acções. A dissertação explora igualmente o papel de associações voluntárias como Sons da Lusofonia ancorados no conceito de *lusofonia*. Este trabalho analisa os modos através dos quais o conceito de *lusofonia* e a acção das instituições governamentais e associações voluntárias enformam o trabalho criativo e as identidades de alguns músicos migrantes dos PALOP (Países Africanos de Língua Portuguesa), Brasil e Timor Leste.

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## PREFACE

This dissertation resulted from one year of field research among migrant musicians, cultural politicians and promoters in Lisbon. It is organized in seven chapters. In chapter 1, I will present my study object and goals as well as my theoretical framework. I will then delineate my methodological strategy, the ethnography of performance, positioning myself as a researcher vis-à-vis my research terrain. I will then proceed with a discursive analysis of the concept of *lusofonia* and explore issues of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. I will also point specifically to governmental and municipal initiatives in Lisbon in 2008-2010 (chapter 2). I will then offer a reading of the documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução*<sup>1</sup> (chapter 3), analyze the voluntary association Sons da Lusofonia (chapter 4) that evokes *lusofonia* as part of its goals, and explore the trajectory of seven migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon (chapter 5). Finally, applying my findings to the case studies, I will formulate tentative conclusions (chapter 6).

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<sup>1</sup> I have linked the idea of **revolution** for the concept of *lusofonia* in music to that of **evolution** of lusophone musics. This idea has constituted the title and theme of this thesis since its early inception in the Summer of 2008, when I first came across the documentary's website.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Study object and goals

This dissertation addresses the concept of *lusofonia* as it pertains to cultural policy and action as well as music making by migrant musicians from lusophone countries in Lisbon. Departing from a discursive analysis of the concept, I will address the ways through which it figures in the cultural policies of the Municipality of Lisbon and of governmental institutions, and how it informs their actions. I also will attempt to understand the role of voluntary associations that evoke *lusofonia* in their goals. Finally, I seek to comprehend how selected migrant musicians in Lisbon who originally came from Portuguese-speaking countries perceive the impact of the concept of *lusofonia* and of governmental institutions and voluntary associations on their creative work, and in the emergence of a collective identity, both on the local and transnational levels.

More specifically, I will address the meaning of the concept of *lusofonia* for the cultural players involved. Is it an ‘umbrella term’, a ‘passe partout’ with little importance, or -on the contrary- is there indeed a shared notion of ‘belonging’ that can generate positive societal effects if further stimulated? Does the concept of *lusofonia* invite opposition at the discursive level, or could it instead stimulate change? Does the performance practice of migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon point at the necessity of redefining the lusophone space, or does it contribute to constructing that space?

I hope that the results of my research can lead to a better understanding of how concepts and the expressive culture they label can contribute to the integration of migrants in a multicultural setting.<sup>2</sup> I propose that the conciliatory role that music

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<sup>2</sup> A growing number of organizations aim at building bridges between local and diasporic communities and diasporas through the arts (examples include UNESCO’s Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity and its World Report on Cultural Diversity; World Culture Open; Womex and Womad).

More information can be found online at the following addresses:

<http://www.unesco.org/new/index.php?id=18671&L=0> and [http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=35396&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=35396&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html) ;

<http://www.worldcultureopen.org/organization/missiongoals.php> ;

<http://www.womex.com> ;

<http://womad.org>



could play in postcolonial settings provides an example that can counter the pessimistic postcolonial debate that has affected both the media and academics (Mbembe 2001, Jules-Rosette 2002, Stroeken 2005, Nyamnjoh 2005, O’Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010).

## 1.2. Theoretical framework

My theoretical framework draws on the findings of ethnomusicologists and other social scientists that in a global context of diaspora and transnationalism, groups can be associated in terms of cultural systems that are interrelated linguistically rather than geographically (Slobin 1993, Appadurai 1997, Stokes 1997, Erlman 1999). It articulates the ways through which power relations inform cultural production (Garafolo 1993, Averill 1997, Hall 1997a/b, Anthias 2001). It also takes into account how concepts inform social practices, cultural performance and identities and how the discursive construction of musical and cultural domains is used to exercise power (Guilbault 1997a/b, Gelbart 2007, Sparling 2008, Guest-Scott 2008).

The understanding of the process of cultural and musical **categorization** is essential to the interpretation of the concept of *lusofonia* and its uses. Categorization, as a social process, informs musical experience. Social categories are “labels applied to expressive culture that are socially constructed through discourse” (Sparling 2008: 409). As such, they are never static; “rather, they move around as people constantly define, redefine, and manipulate them in particular contexts for specific ends” (Guest-Scott 2008: 454). As Guilbault (1997a: sp) puts it, we thus “must look at music labels not only in relation to the musical practices they attempt to describe and prescribe, but also in relation to the other statements that are made through them.” Labels are used “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” (Ibid.). It is through discourse that particular features emerge as significant.

Categories (concepts, labels, genres) are constructed *relationally*, in relation to other categories (concepts, labels, genres), primarily through invocations of *difference* (Sparling 2008: 412-3). Gelbart (2007: 13) in this respect mentions the dialectic *dependence* of categories: “the ‘art music’ concept depends on ‘the folk’ concept even as it pushed that foundation down to a lower level discursively” [my italics]. This dynamic interdependency implies a theoretical reorientation to a *processual view* of categories: an analysis in terms of their intertextuality, of the communicative processes used to create them and negotiate between them, of the people involved in these processes, and of the general contexts of all this interaction (Guest-Scott 2008: 427). Together with this, the *study of performance and context* have become essential to the understanding of categorization. Given that codes, rules and patterns are socially constructed and recognized, they can change as a result of any ideological shift. “*The text may remain the same but its classification may change*” (Sparling 2008: 407). Or, as Guilbault (1997b: 32) puts it, “from the moment phenomena or people are categorized, the very categories that are used to refer to them become the signal of a new presence.”

Categories can control or conciliate: they do not only describe but also prescribe practices. The stakes are highest with the terms that are often hardest to define, because [...] “categories are inherently socio-political instruments” (Gelbart 2007: 4-5). As such, they can claim “certain rights, respect, and recognition in regard to such sensitive and crucial issues as identity, autonomy, and power” (Guilbault 1997a: sp). Categories are ultimately sanctioned and conventionalized socially: “[if they] are socially constructed, it is for a reason: [they] survive because they work for someone[,] or for some groups. [If they] *reflect* social status, they may also be used to *claim* social status” (Sparling 2008: 417-8). However, categories are also highly contingent, fluid, and manipulable; they are open to contestation and realignment because they carry significant social meaning for the people who define and use them (Guest-Scott 2008: 429). As Guilbault (1997a: sp) argues, the controversies over categories articulate representational issues, not only in relation to questions of identity, but also of *monopoly*. Given that categories tend to favor certain features “while masking other similarities and differences that might be more apparent had another means of classification been chosen instead”, the use of certain categories and

not of others in official discourse makes it questionable who and what gets to be represented (Sparling 2008: 405).

Taking into account the arguments delineated above, I will analyze how the political concept of *lusofonia* influences the action of institutions, associations and individuals working with music in Lisbon. Guilbault's example of the use of the term calypso as a 'passe partout' term is particularly telling if applied to the various musical styles and genres that can possibly be subsumed under the term "lusophone musics". She relates how, from a political point of view, to continue to use [new] music labels interchangeably with calypso has been seen in terms of control and power struggles, "as a means to undermine the significance -and by extension, the legitimacy- of the practices referred to by these labels" (1997a: sp). In much the same way, I will question the powerful effect of the term *lusofonia* on cultural expressions (such as fado, morna, semba, samba, marrabenta, a.o.).

### 1.3. Research methodology and techniques

In my research, I combine three methodological strategies: discourse analysis, the construction of life histories and the ethnography of performance. On a general level, I use **analysis of discourse** by institutions, politicians, associations, journalists, cultural entrepreneurs and musicians in order to gain an understanding of how the concept of *lusofonia* is used and how it is articulated with other concepts such as multiculturalism.

I attempt to understand social dynamics and cultural transformations, using **the ethnography of music performance as a methodological tool** (Conquergood 1991, Titon 1996, Whitten 1998, Guss 2000, Vanspauwen 2005a). Music can provide a means by which the prestructured social space can be transformed (Stokes 1997: 4). Cultural performance is a profoundly discursive form of behavior, used by actors to understand, criticize and even change the worlds in which they live (Guss 2000: 7-12).

In analyzing performance, I follow the semiotic approach of Grossberg (1992), that distinguishes 3 levels. *Cultural practices* represent a group of meanings that are functionally used by a group within a certain context. They show how this group challenges its identity against the conceptual canvas imposed upon it by others, creating signifying relations that were not necessarily linked up before (*articulation*). *Affect* implies aspects of ‘belonging’: people tend to give priority to the practices they have most invested in. Cultural entrepreneurs and idea-makers have an important guiding role in this ‘affective empowerment’. I will apply the concept of ‘affective empowerment’ on various levels in my discursive analysis of *lusofonia*.

I will use the perspectives of ‘situated difference’ and ‘translocational positionality’ as navigating tools in my analysis. Regarding ‘situated difference’, Appadurai (1997: 12) points out that stressing the dimensionality of culture rather than its substantiality permits our thinking of culture less as a property of individuals and groups and more as a heuristic device that we can use to talk about difference. ‘Translocational positionality’ (Anthias 2001: 619-22) refers to locality within a transnational context. The term is useful in investigating processes and outcomes of collective identification and belonging, as well as an understanding of the broader social relations that constitute and are constituted in this process (Anthias 2002).

‘Translocational positionality’ is best visible in cities, linking the term inextricably to cosmopolitanism: “it seems impossible to study the cosmopolitan cultural forms fruitfully without analyzing the transnational cultural flows within which they thrive, compete, and feed off one another” (Appadurai 1997: 49). National boundaries are becoming increasingly irrelevant and the city becomes the “primary vessel of cultural identity” (Galinsky 2002: xv). Performances are being produced and consumed in multiple international contexts rather than one culturally-specific location (Pacini-Hernandez 1993: 48).

Because the terms of the negotiation between imagined lives and deterritorialized worlds are complex, localizing strategies of traditional ethnography alone are not sufficient (Appadurai 1997: 52). Chambers (1994: 23) therefore attributes postcolonial agency to metropolitan migrants. The biographies of these ordinary people are important tools in constructing an urban ethnography. Through anti-

essentialist personal interviewing, larger socio-cultural vectors and discourses can be mapped out. These **life stories** can help to conceptualize cultural politics through music (Born 2000: 3).

In determining which Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians to interview, Cidra's (2010: 773-4, 783) discussion of migration fluxes towards Portugal since the end of the 1960s (and respective national independencies) from PALOP, Brazil and East Timor has constituted an initial point of departure.<sup>3</sup> These different fluxes included professional musicians or migrants with informal connections to music. It was with this perspective in mind that I started looking for interviewees. The actual contact with lusophone migrant musicians in Lisbon came about naturally, starting from the expertise of my fellow researchers at INET-md<sup>4</sup>, and from recommendations of the interviewees themselves<sup>5</sup>. I also became aware of several individuals who are responsible for voluntary associations working with lusophone migrants musicians, through my participation in an editorial team at INET-md<sup>6</sup> working on a special issue on 'Music and Migration' in ACIDI<sup>7</sup>'s journal *Migrações*<sup>8</sup> (July 2009-February 2010, under the supervision of prof. dr. Maria São José de Côrte-Real).

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<sup>3</sup> Additionally, in early October 2009, just before my field research in Lisbon, I also carried out 2 weeks of related research in Maputo (Mozambique), in order to get a broader view for the current project.

<sup>4</sup> I have interviewed the following musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries [see AP1]: Zézé Barbosa, Celina Pereira, Tito Paris (Cape Verde); Guto Pires, Kimi Djabaté (Guinea-Bissau); Luanda Cozetti, Jefferson Negreiros, Mucio Sá (Brazil); Tonecas, Sergio Fonseca (São Tomé and Príncipe); Aldo Milá, Ricardo Gouveia, Chalo (Angola); Júlio Silva, António da Costa Neto (Mozambique); José do Amaral (East Timor); Arvi Barbosa, Marua de Lourdes Elvino de Sousa, Virgínia Brás Gomes (Goa).

<sup>5</sup> Initial contacts were Aldo Milá; Jefferson Negreiros; António de Costa Neto and Carlos Martins; Tito Paris and Celina Pereira; Luanda Cozetti and Chalo, Arvi Barbosa, Marina de Lourdes Elvino de Sousa, and Virgínia Brás Gomes. Personal contacts brought me into contact with other musicians: Tonecas and Sergio Fonseca, Ricardo Gouveia, Zézé Barbosa, Múcio Sá. I encountered Julio Silva during my research in Maputo and António Pires through Associação SOLIM. I would further get to know Kimi Djabaté and Paula Nascimento, José do Amaral and Guto Pires.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.fcs.unl.pt/inet>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.acidi.gov.pt>

<sup>8</sup> ACIDI (in press), *Música e Migração*. Special issue of journal *Migrações*. Scientific coordination by Maria de São José Côrte-Real and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (INET-MD, FCSH/UNL).

I have used the **research techniques of ethnographic interviews and participant-observation**, designing an guide for the construction of the biographies of the interviewed musicians (see AP2). My interview guide included questions about the context of (lusophone) musics in Lisbon as well as *lusofonia*, language and music.<sup>9</sup>

A specific focus for the final selection of interviews arose during the ethnographic interviews. First, considering the contrast between the transnational dimension of the concept of *lusofonia* as signaled above, on the one hand, and the strong identification with the former home country by migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon, on the other, I felt that nationality constituted a legitimate selection criterion. Second, given the remarkable similarity of discourse of some musicians -all singer-songwriters that have largely performed outside of the commercial circuit- I ended up grouping these together. Third, much in contrast with the interviewees of the documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução*, all interviewees are first generation musicians, allowing for an applied transnational perspective. Finally, due to the limited dimension of this thesis, I interviewed the following seven musicians, each originating from a different Portuguese-speaking country and reflecting diverse trajectories: Aldo Milá (Angola), Guto Pires (Guinea-Bissau), Jefferson Negreiros (Brazil), Tonecas (São Tomé and Príncipe), José Amaral (East Timor), Zézé Barbosa (Cape Verde) and Costa Neto (Mozambique). What these Lisbon-based migrant singer-songwriters from Portuguese-speaking countries have in common is that they call their music ‘traditional’ in opposition to ‘commercial’. They also formulate explicit critique and suggestions regarding municipal or (trans-) national cultural politics, based on their migratory experience.

I have also observed performances by migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon, both during and after the period of ethnographic interviewing. Three types (and levels) can be distinguished:

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<sup>9</sup> Music analysis does not currently feature as part of my study object. I will limit myself to discourse analysis.

- collective performances announced through the media (such as festivals or paid performances): Lisboa Mistura<sup>10</sup> 2008 and 2009 (28-29/11/2008 in Cinema São Jorge, and 28-29/11/2009 in Teatro São Luiz, respectively), Celina Pereira's project 'Entre Mornas e Fados' (15/6/2010 in Teatro São Luiz), Dona Canô (29/5/2010 in Teatro Malaposta, Odivelas) and festival Delta Tejo 2010 (2-3-4/7/2010 in Alto da Ajuda).
- individual performances in restaurants and bars<sup>11</sup>: Aldo Milá in Irish Pub O'Gilins, Jefferson Negreiros with Dona Canô in Onda Jazz and with Banda Toque de Classe in Cuba Libre, José Amaral in Associação Solidariedade Imigrante (SOLIM), Tonecas in restaurant Sabor ao Brasil, Zézé Barbosa in Associação Caboverdiana Casa Mãe, Costa Neto at FNAC Colombo café, Roberta Mossi in Chapatô, Ricardo Gouveia in Orizon, Calú Moreira in Enclave and Instituto Franco-Português..
- performances resulting from the initiative of voluntary associations or official institutions, mostly in public spaces: SOLIM's festival ImigrArte<sup>12</sup> (1-2-3/5/2009 at praça Martim Moniz); Museus para a Harmonia Social: um contributo para a multiculturalidade<sup>13</sup> (19/5/2010, Largo Trindade Coelho).

Attending the performances listed above has shaped my thinking on the application of the concept *lusofonia* for migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries on different levels within the space of Lisbon.

#### 1.4. The ethnographer in the field

The idea for this project came to mind while attending Associação Sons da Lusofonia's festival Lisboa Mistura 2008<sup>14</sup> in Lisbon's Cinema São Jorge. Next to

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<sup>10</sup> Please see chapter 4.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Please see chapter 3.

<sup>14</sup> Please see chapter 4.

bringing together both musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries and others on stage under the header ‘intercultural festival’, Sons da Lusofonia also presented a series of 13 video-documentaries<sup>15</sup> and a book<sup>16</sup>, both under the title *Lisboa Mistura*. I questioned the conceptual ambiguity between *lusofonia* and multi- or interculturality. The idea of investigating the possibilities for migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in the city of Lisbon arose rather naturally.

I was also inspired to work on this theme by other initiatives in Lisbon such as Festival ImigrArte of the association Solidariedade Imigrante (SOLIM)<sup>17</sup> (1-2-3/5/2010, since 2007); Semana Cultural da CPLP<sup>18</sup> (30/4-9/5/2010, since 2008) and the 14<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of CPLP<sup>19</sup> (25/7/2010); EGEAC’s África Festival<sup>20</sup> (2005-7); RBMA’s website for the documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução*<sup>21</sup> (2006); and by my participation in a special issue on ‘Music and Migration’ in ACIDI’s journal *Migrações*.

My personal background, my experience as a musician and my academic training also stimulated my interest in issues of music, migration and multiculturalism. I grew up in a small charcoal mining city in the east of Belgium, 80 kilometers from Brussels, a region know for a high rate of immigration from the 1950s onwards; first Italian, Spanish and Polish, then Turkish and Moroccan. The neighborhood where I grew up was multicultural only through conviviality. Official promotion of socio-cultural diversity and musical performance was little, which led to integrational conflicts in other areas of my town and region. Politically, Belgium and its capital Brussels were also increasingly divided between French and Dutch speakers, the latter being my

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.subfilmes.pt> (separate link to Lisboa Mistura TV, excerpt available online)

<sup>16</sup> Associação Sons da Lusofonia (ed.) (2008)

<sup>17</sup> Please see chapter 4.

<sup>18</sup> Please see paragraph 2.3.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.egeac.pt/DesktopDefault.aspx>

<sup>21</sup> Please see chapter 3.



mother tongue<sup>22</sup>, turning language into a political issue. Influenced by my godfather Paul, founder of a youth orchestra that I would later join, I learned to play saxophone at the age of 9, followed by bass and rhythm guitar at the age of 16, and alfaia and berimbau at the age of 25 (in Brazil).

At school, I developed an early interest in languages, performance and history in high school, and literary and cultural systems at university, writing a thesis about ‘discourse and norm in functionalist theories’ and a final paper on ‘identity and the new media’. A complementary, post-graduate academic training in cultural studies and postcolonial anthropology led me to explore the issue of music as a tool of expression in Recife and Belo Horizonte (Brazil). Through 3 educational exchanges between 2002 and 2005, I lived one year in Brazil and half a year in the States, meanwhile exploring multicultural city festivals in Brussels. Afterwards, I was invited as guest editor for an online journal issue on the topic of musical negotiation (Vanspauwen 2005a). In 2006, I took extra Master classes on Conflict and Sustainable Peace, writing on the role of culture in conciliation, and in 2008, I partook in the general information cycle of the Belgian Technical Cooperation<sup>23</sup> in Brussels; a government training course for ‘empowering development’.

In Lisbon, field research was carried out between October 2009 and February 2010. Once I started interviewing, it regularly happened that one musician cross-referenced me to another, introducing me to them as a friend, from Belgium, researcher in Lisbon, musician, and journalist. Speaking with a foreign accent somewhere between Brazilian and Portuguese; already having been in contact with ‘urban music scenes’ both in Lisbon, Brussels, Recife and Maputo; being a musician myself, taking into account my interview skills as a former journalist - all this created reciprocity and friendship with the musicians that were interviewed. I did not feel that I was an outsider but became befriended by many of my interviewees. I was sung to during interviews, invited to various shows, picked up by car or met at a train station where we immediately started talking, subsequently got offered a drink in the living room,

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<sup>22</sup> More specifically, my mother tongue is Flemish, which has a distinct accent from standard Dutch, and contains various dialects. The culture of Flanders is also markedly different of that of the Netherlands. This background has influenced my thinking on *lusofonia*.

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.btctb.org>

was introduced to family members. Interviews rarely lasted for less than an hour, and before and after the interview, I was given information that was only meant for insiders. I also got invited to perform with the musicians, got offered and/or bought CDs, and was asked to keep in touch and inform about the progress of my work. Above all, these migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries confided in me.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> I link this positioning to the ‘ethnomusicologists as advocates’-idea (O’Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010: 243) as well as to the idea of ‘intercultural dynamics of multicultural working’ (Guilherme , Glaser and Méndez-García 2010).

## 2. The concept of *lusofonia*

O Mar foi ontem o que a idioma pode ser hoje, basta vencer alguns adamastores (Mia Couto)

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The aim of this chapter is to define the concept of *lusofonia*, trace its origins and pinpoint some of its applications. I will also explore how the term might have informed contemporary expressive culture.

### 2.1. Definitions

*Lusofonia* can be defined as a linguistic, political, economic, and cultural space. In this dissertation, I use the concept of *lusofonia* as proposed by Arenas (2005: np), 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”. In the research I have conducted, the concept of *lusofonia* was used by journalists, cultural politicians, and musicians to refer to what they perceive as cultural identities associated with Portuguese-speaking countries, or regions, (Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Galicia, Goa, Guinea-Bissau, Macau, Mozambique, Portugal, São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor) as well as in various Portuguese-speaking diasporas across the world. I have also observed the use of the term as a political concept by governmental and municipal institutions, scholars, voluntary associations, cultural entrepreneurs, musicians and journalists in the postcolonial Portuguese-speaking world (Santos 2002, Arenas 2005, Cristóvão 2005, Cidra 2010).

The concept of *lusofonia* combines two linguistic elements that form the word: luso/fonia/. ‘Luso’ derives from ‘Lusitano’, the inhabitant of ‘Lusitânia’, the designation of the Western part of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages; ‘fonia’ denotes a population that speaks a specific language. The use of the concept of

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<sup>25</sup> <http://opatifundio.com/site>

*lusofonia* however implies a broader, more diversified meaning than the corresponding linguistic concept (Dicionário Temático da Lusofonia 2006: 652; Ciancio 2009: 3).<sup>26</sup> The Portuguese language is thus the foundational element on which the concept of *lusofonia* rests. In this sense, *lusofonia* can be compared with *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 French speakers.<sup>27</sup>

Recent figures indicate the growing importance of Portuguese as a world language. According to these estimates, 335 million people will speak Portuguese in 2050.<sup>28</sup> Spoken on 5 continents, it is the official language of 8 countries: Angola (12.7 million), Brazil (198.7 million), Cape Verde (429,000), Guinea-Bissau (1.5 million), Mozambique (21.2 million), Portugal (10.7 million), São Tomé and Príncipe (212,000) and East Timor (1.1 million). There also is a migrant population of over 5 million people that speak Portuguese elsewhere in the world. This diaspora is mainly located in France, Luxembourg, Switzerland, England, the United States, Canada and Venezuela, the Brazilian diaspora<sup>29</sup> accounting for 3 million.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, small historically Portuguese-speaking communities can be found in Macau, Goa (India) and Malacca (Malaysia). As a mother tongue, Portuguese takes the 7<sup>th</sup> place in the world; as a second language it stands 5<sup>th</sup> (Ibid.).

Next to a linguistic delimitation, *lusofonia* is also a political, economic and cultural space, formed by the nation states that use Portuguese as an official language,

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<sup>26</sup> Whereas colonial discourse was based on polarity, postcolonialism underscores the ambivalence and hybridity between the former colonizer and former colonized, as they are dependent on each other. As Sanches (2004: 135-6) argues, “‘gente da minha terra’ could lead us to think that the people being sung about should not be understood as ‘ethnic’, ‘white’, Portuguese but as broader, more multilingual, diasporic communities and their histories.” It is here that *lusofonia*’s symbolic meaning, more than its linguistic parts, originates.

<sup>27</sup> IOF has also established permanent dialogue between the major international linguistic zones (the English, Portuguese, Spanish, and Arab-speaking zones). See <http://www.francophonie.org>

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.africa21digital.com/noticia.kmf?cod=9701058&canal=403>

<sup>29</sup> Interesting in this respect is Tv Brasil Internacional, in the air since May 2010. <http://tvbrasil.ebc.com.br/internacional/content/quem-somos>

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.africa21digital.com/noticia.kmf?cod=9701058&canal=403>

institutionalized through their cultural politics in the 1990s, and consolidated with the formalization of the Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP)<sup>31</sup> [Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, also see 2.2.] in 1996 (Cidra 2010: 179, 789). CPLP is the intergovernmental organization for friendship among nations where Portuguese is an official language. It originally united 7 countries: Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor joining the community only in 2002 after gaining independence. CPLP today unites the more than 250 million Portuguese speakers from 8 countries over a combined area of about 10,772,000 km<sup>2</sup>. The organization evokes language and culture as factors of unity: “uma das características únicas da CPLP é que os países membros estão ligados por uma língua comum e partilham factores culturais, o que cria pontes entre estes países separados por grandes distâncias geográficas” (introductory note of *Migração e Políticas de Desenvolvimento no Quadro da CPLP*).<sup>32</sup>

From the same transnational perspective, however, one could also ask how important a common language is, “in what contexts, and with what consequences? What determines other connections, affiliations, and associations?” (Sanches 2004: 126-7). *Lusofonia* is a concrete, but differently experienced, reality in the countries that share Portuguese as an official language.<sup>33</sup> In Angola, Portuguese coexists with other national languages; in countries like Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique other languages dominate - Creole or other local languages; and in East Timor only a minority speaks Portuguese. The linguistic designator ‘lusophone’ must thus be relativized in view of the fact that Portuguese, even though it is the ‘official’ language, exists in national spaces that are either bilingual or multilingual<sup>34</sup> (Arenas

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<sup>31</sup> <http://www.cplp.org>

<sup>32</sup> [http://www.gulbenkian.pt/media/files/FTP\\_files/pdfs/OIM2.pdf](http://www.gulbenkian.pt/media/files/FTP_files/pdfs/OIM2.pdf)

<sup>33</sup> Critical voices point to the continued importance of indigenous languages (in Brazil or lusophone Africa), regional languages (in Galicia), language variants within Portugal as well as the decline of Portuguese in oriental regions such as Goa, Daman, Diu and Malacca. Please see *O Patifundio*'s special issue on regional languages (5 articles on 25/6/2010), available online at <http://opatifundio.com/site/?cat=879>

Exemplary is the phrase “Vamos ir além da lingual portuguesa. Trazemos à tona a riqueza linguística da cada país lusófono.”

<sup>34</sup> Sanches (2004: 126-7) points out that it “is worth considering common traits between diasporic literatures written in different colonial languages, or between Guinea-Bissau and Guinea-Conakry, or

2005: np). At the same time, the use of Portuguese is expanding in African CPLP-countries through national and international radio and television via satellite, through the printed media, the school system, “as a vehicle for social mobility” (Ibid.).

## 2.2. Origins

While its historical origins may be found in Portuguese colonialism<sup>35</sup>, contemporary notions of the concept of *lusofonia* originated in the Acordo Ortográfico and in the increased migration to Lisbon from its former colonies since the 1960s, bringing musicians from PALOP, Portugal and Brazil to perform together. The term has been growing in importance in the 1990s, which seems to be the decade in which several music projects were carried out bringing musicians from PALOP, Portugal and Brazil together under the banner of *lusofonia*. The creation of CPLP as well as international events such as Expo ‘98 have contributed to the term’s visibility. Finally, the Internet has much facilitated, intensified and accelerated contacts within the Portuguese-speaking world. I will deal with each aspect separately below.

### 2.2.1. Acordo Ortográfico

The *Acordo Ortográfico* [Orthographic Agreement] - the agreement that sets the official rules governing the orthography of the Portuguese language - goes back over

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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. The mutual influences between Brazil and Lusophone African countries have already been considered, as have the reception of African American writers and Negritude in Mozambique and Angola.”

<sup>35</sup> Since the 15th century, Portugal’s history has been characterized by the confluence of and interaction between different cultures within its territory, which have contributed to shaping Portuguese musics and culture (Castelo-Branco 1997: 40). *Lusofonia* is a result of the historical Portuguese maritime expansion, but its implications for present power relations (in a postcolonial context) are complex. Inward and outward migration also has been a constant trend in Portuguese society. Portuguese identity is thus *doubly double* in that the former colonizer himself has been constantly colonized (Santos 2002: 9 and 121, Arenas 2005: np).

a 100 years.<sup>36</sup> 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 in Lisbon between the two countries, 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 would follow in 2004. The *Acordo Ortográfico* of 1990 came into force in early 2009 in Brazil and on 13/5/2009 in Portugal. The remaining CPLP countries are supposed to implement it soon.

Negotiations towards an orthographic agreement contributed toward increasing the relevance of the term *lusofonia* in cultural debates in Portuguese-speaking countries. As Cristóvão (2005: 5) points out, “de todas as tentativas para a constituição de uma comunidade de nações, o vínculo mais forte era o da própria língua [...] Assim foi ganhando terreno, a pouco e pouco, a ideia de *Lusofonia*, corporizada pelos, oito países e regiões que têm ou tiveram a língua Portuguesa como língua materna, oficial, de adopção ou de património.” Political changes, such as the independence of the Portuguese colonies in Africa in 1975, as well as the subsequent adoption of Portuguese as an official language in these new countries, further created favorable conditions for the consolidation of the concept of *lusofonia* and for initiatives evoking it.

### 2.2.2. Collaboration between migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries

Since the 1960s, musicians from the PALOP and Portugal increasingly performed together in Lisbon. For Portuguese nationals, this was especially manifest in the

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<sup>36</sup> <http://www.portaldalinguaportuguesa.org/?action=acordo>

domain of ‘*música popular portuguesa*’<sup>37</sup>, the ‘*canção de intervenção*’<sup>38</sup> and performers and composers with biographical links to African countries, such as José Afonso (Angola and Mozambique), Fausto (Angola) and, later, João Afonso (Mozambique) (Cidra 2010: 196-7 and 773-4).

In a climate of increasing internationalization in the 1990s, political institutions and cultural promoters gradually got interested in encouraging interaction between Portuguese musicians and their counterparts from other Portuguese-speaking countries. Initially, these collaborations especially included migrant musicians from the PALOP living in Portugal in the domains of jazz and ‘*música popular portuguesa*’ (Cidra 2010: 179). This may be clear from Sons da Fala (1994)<sup>39</sup> - a pioneering festival in Galicia (Spain) that, in its first edition, featured 9 singers from Portuguese-speaking countries<sup>40</sup> and 9 accompanying musicians born in the PALOP or Portugal, with numerous onstage collaborations.<sup>41</sup> It is also reflected in the Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia<sup>42</sup> (1995), founded and directed by jazz saxophone player Carlos Martins in Lisbon (see chapter 4). These actors contributed to intensifying the dialogue between Portuguese musicians and migrant musicians from the PALOP, with visibility in a number of official occasions. It is however noteworthy that Brazilian musicians did not figure in either of these projects.

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<sup>37</sup> Castelo-Branco, Salwa and Rui Cidra (2010), ‘*música popular portuguesa*’, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (coord.), *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX. / Encyclopedia of Music in Portugal in the XX Century*. Círculo de Leitores / Temas e Debates, pp. 875-8

<sup>38</sup> Côrte Real, Maria de São José (2010), ‘*canção de intervenção*’, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (coord.), *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX. / Encyclopedia of Music in Portugal in the XX Century*. Círculo de Leitores / Temas e Debates, pp. 220-8

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.pflores.com/sonsdafala/index.php>

<sup>40</sup> These singers were Sérgio Godinho, Vitorino and Janita Salomé (Portugal), Tito Paris (Cape Verde), Filipe Mukenga (Angola), André Cabaço (Mozambique), Guto Pires (Guinea-Bissau), Juka (São Tomé and Príncipe) and Madeira Júnior (Brazil) (Ibid.).

<sup>41</sup> “Trata-se de um grande espectáculo de cruzamento entre culturas de origem lusófona [...] Assim, por exemplo, Vitorino canta com o caboverdeano Tito Paris, Sérgio Godinho com o guineense Guto Pires, Janita Salomé com o moçambicano André Cabaço e com o santomense Juka, bem como muitas outras combinações entre todos os cantores” (Ibid.).

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com/SonsdaLusofonia/tabid/58/language/pt-PT/Default.aspx>



### 2.2.3. Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP)

The creation of the *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP)<sup>43</sup> in 1996 was an important step in the consolidation and promotion of the concept of *lusofonia* [also see 2.1.]. The initial 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 the Brazilian President José Sarney. In this meeting it was decided to create the *Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa* (IILP)<sup>44</sup> in order to promote and distribute the participants' common language. The idea of creating an actual lusophone community was also raised by various personalities. This led to the Summit of Heads of State and Government on the adoption of instruments of Community of Portuguese Language Countries, during the meeting of 7 ministers of Foreign Affairs in Brasilia in February 1994. These ministers also agreed on the establishment of a Permanent Coordination Group, based in Lisbon and integrated by a senior representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal (the Director-General of Foreign Affairs) as well as the Ambassadors accredited in Lisbon (the only capital where embassies of all Portuguese-speaking countries can be found). CPLP was officially founded in Lisbon's Centro Cultural de Belém on 17/7/1996, integrating Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe. 6 years later, on 20/5/2002, East Timor joined CPLP following independence, becoming the 8th member state.

The overall objectives of CPLP are political consensus and social, cultural and economic cooperation.<sup>45</sup> In order to achieve these objectives, this political institution attempts to promote the systematic coordination of activities of public institutions and private entities that are engaged in enhancing cooperation among its Member States. Hence, CPLP provides a crucial framework in the process of mutual construction of the eight member nations, using the idea of *lusofonia* as a vehicle.

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<sup>43</sup> <http://www.cplp.org>

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.iilp-cplp.cv>

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.cplp.org/id-45.aspx>, <http://www.cplp.org/id-46.aspx>, and <http://www.cplp.org/id-52.aspx>

#### 2.2.4. Events

Political, economic and socio-cultural concerns converged in the international event Expo '98<sup>46</sup> (1998 Lisbon World Exposition)<sup>47</sup>, reserving a special place for the concept of *lusofonia*.<sup>48</sup> Expo '98's linking theme 'The Oceans, a Heritage for the Future' discursively set out to reconnect the transcultural webs that resulted from 500 years of cross cultural interchange between Portugal and the regions with which it came in close contact in Africa, Asia and the Americas. As pointed out by Cidra (2010: 179), this "discursive allusion" to Portugal's maritime expansion as well as to the cultural marks it globally imprinted, thus resulted in a programming in accordance with the "new political concept" of *lusofonia*, as a singular aspect of the internationalization of Portuguese culture (Santos 1999: 132-3). Effectively, all countries pertaining to the lusophone space were present, including CPLP, with a proper programming. Expo '98 was pioneering in bringing together different musicians from the lusophone world. Previously unseen collaborations between musicians from Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries were programmed, reuniting diasporic communities and performers from their country of origin. These musical collaborations not only emphasized the idea of a lusophone world for an international audience, but also represented the multicultural city of Lisbon, based upon the concept of *lusofonia* (Santos 1999: 92-4, 112-3, Cidra 2010: 789).

Brazil was the Portuguese-speaking country best musically represented at Expo '98. Next to offering concerts of Brazilian musicians popular in Portugal, the event also featured collaborations with musicians from other Portuguese-speaking

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<sup>46</sup> This was a World Fair held in Lisbon, Portugal, from 22/5/1998 to 30/9/1998. The Expo received around 11 million visitors in 132 days. 155 countries and organizations were represented. [http://www.expo2000.de/expo2000/geschichte/detail.php?wa\\_id=20&lang=1&s\\_typ=1](http://www.expo2000.de/expo2000/geschichte/detail.php?wa_id=20&lang=1&s_typ=1), <http://www.facebook.com/pages/1998-Lisbon-World-Exposition/116314238383388>

<sup>47</sup> Lisbon 1994, the year-long celebration of Portugal's tenure as Cultural Capital of Europe, can be seen as a forerunner to Expo '98. Its linking theme of the event was 'Lisbon, a Meeting Point of Cultures'. However, this event did not present the idea of *lusofonia*. Instead, as Kimberly da Costa 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." This element is relevant for my discussion in chapter 3.

nations. The Expo's special project *Sem Legendas*<sup>49</sup> challenged four internationally renowned musicians to create unprecedented collaborations, using *lusofonia* as a reference. This included Caetano Veloso (with Paulinho Vieira and Pedro Abrunhosa); Sadao Watanabe (with Toquinho, Ala dos Namorados and N'Goma Makamba), Cesária Evora (with Marisa Monte, Dulce Pontes and Finka Pé), and David Byrne (with Balanescu Quartet, Tom Zé and Waldemar Bastos). Other musicians from the PALOP (such as Lura, Bonga, Filipe Mukenga, Netos do N'Gumbé, General D, Simentor), and Portugal (António Chainho, Mísia, Madreus, Né Ladeiras) and Brazil (Maria Bethânia, Chico César) also performed together (Santos 1999: 92-4, Cidra 2010: 178). 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 music compilation *Onda Sonora: Red Hot + Lisbon*<sup>50</sup> (1999), under the curatorship of the North American David Byrne<sup>51</sup>, can be seen as an extension of this idea. The phonogram pioneeringly presented original material by Portuguese musicians (Pedro Ayres Magalhães, Carlos Maria Trindade), musicians from the PALOP and their diasporas in Portugal (Mário Lúcio Sousa, Lura, Bonga, Filipe Mukenga, Netos de N'Gumbé, General D), as well as musicians from Brazil (Vinicius Cantuária and Moreno Veloso) and Goa (Ekvat).<sup>52</sup> The production features 40 artists from 11 countries, singing in 7 different languages. It points to the influence of Portuguese culture as a common factor, reconnecting the musical and cultural threads that resulted from Portuguese maritime expansion. *Onda Sonora*, originally published for commercial and humanitarian (AIDS) purposes, thus gave larger visibility to Lisbon's contemporary version of *lusofonia*. The record also was a breakthrough for PALOP musics on the world music market (Cidra 2010: 179). Additionally, the

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<sup>49</sup> 'Without subtitles'. This a telling name indicating the growing awareness of Portuguese as a world language. In my interpretation, this could be paraphrased as 'no need for subtitles anymore, we have a lot of talent in our own language'.

<sup>50</sup> <http://www.redhot.org/projects/ondaindex.html>

<sup>51</sup> <http://www.davidbyrne.com/news/index.php>

<sup>52</sup> A similar approach can be found in the *Projeto Enlace o Mar* (1997), with the following artists: Pena Branca e Xavantinho; Cesária Évora, Filipe Mukenga, Fafa de Belem, Bana, Marisa Monte, Paulo Bragança, Fausto, Mendes Brothers, Paula Ribas, Titina, Rui Sangara, Filipa Pais, Gilberto Gil e Umbelina, Orquestra Marrabenta Star, Bonga, Madreus, Manu Sei Kokorek, Paulinho da Viola. I am grateful to Barbara Alge for this reference.

anthology *A viagem dos sons* (1998), coordinated by Susana Sarde, was also released in the light of Expo '98, publishing ethnographic recordings by ethnomusicologists from different parts of the lusophone world. Although the concept of *lusofonia* is not explicitly mentioned, it does inform this collection of ethnographic recordings.

Most observers agree that Expo '98 has been tremendously 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 (Ibid: 191-2). The concept of *lusofonia* undergrid all these three levels. This becomes clear from the total number of 170 sessions at Expo '98 that were the responsibility of Portuguese-speaking countries and regions as well as CPLP (Brazil 60, Angola 23, Mozambique 21, East Timor 19, Cape Verde 18, Macau 10, São Tomé and Príncipe 9, CPLP 5, Guinea-Bissau 5). The relative weight of initiatives by Portuguese-speaking countries and territories in the total of performances was between 14% and 17%, varying according to categorization criteria (Santos 1999: 132).

Following Expo '98, several festivals centered on the concept of *lusofonia* have been organized especially in Lisbon, in other Portuguese-speaking capitals or state capitals (especially in Brazil) and in specific regions (Galicia/Spain; Macau/China). Governmental institutions, voluntary associations and cultural entrepreneurs organized these large-scale events, promoting the idea of *lusofonia* explicitly. The influence of these festivals on public opinion was considerable, given their attendance numbers and their regularity, thus constituting an audience that is acquainted with musics that are promoted as 'lusophone'. I will deal with the most significant examples below.

Cantos na Maré - Festival Internacional de Lusofonia<sup>53</sup> (since 2003) is promoted as “un proxecto cultural pioneiro no estado español, que a través da lingua e

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<sup>53</sup> <http://www.cantosnamare.org>

da música traza un mapa común entre os territorios da lusofonía que comparten raíces”. During the 2003 edition of the festival, a CD was also recorded entitled: *Cantos na Maré 2003: Voces do Atlántico ao vivo en Pontevedra*<sup>54</sup>. Another event announced under the heading “música lusófona anima Oeiras”<sup>55</sup>, O Amor é Fogo is “um novo festival que homenageia Luís Vaz de Camões e celebra a música lusófona”, was held on 17-9/6/2008 in the Estádio Municipal de Oeiras. Buraka Som Sistema, Tito Paris, Ana Moura, Chico César, Da Weasel, Sara Tavares, João Gil e Shout, Oquestrada, Tucanas and Ghorwane took the stage at its first edition to commemorate 250 years of the municipality of Oeiras.<sup>56</sup> The Iº Encontro na Lusofonia<sup>57</sup>, organized by the local Municipality and SC Na Virada in Cangas do Morraço on 2/8/2008 featured Couple Coffee (a Brazilian group based in Lisbon), Follas Novas (Galicia), Euclides Mattos Trio (Brazil-Uruguay-Argentina) and Pé na Terra (Portugal). Fourth, the Festival dos Oceanos in 2008 featured the project ‘Ethnos - Raízes do Atlântico’, taking to Miradouro do Adamastor (Alto de Santa Catarina), “uma fusão de influências musicais dos países lusófonos, com músicos de Cabo Verde, Angola, Brasil, Portugal, Moçambique e Guiné-Bissau.”<sup>58</sup> Finally, the yearly editions of Lusofonia Festival in Macau<sup>59</sup> seem to be growing in popularity. The 2010 edition, on 22-29/10/2010, included cultural representatives from all Portuguese-speaking countries, meaning that 10 nations/regions will bring their own committees. I have found no info on specific artists in the Internet.

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<sup>54</sup> <http://www.cantosnamare.org/disco>

<sup>55</sup> <http://musicadobrasil.blogs.sapo.pt/296038.html>

<sup>56</sup> <http://cronicasdaterra.com/cronicas/2009/06/25/festival-o-amor-e-fogo-celebra-a-lingua-portuguesa>

<sup>57</sup> <http://www.agal-gz.org/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=4584>

<sup>58</sup>

[http://www.festivaldosocenos.lpmcom.pt/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=259&Itemid=92](http://www.festivaldosocenos.lpmcom.pt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=259&Itemid=92)

<sup>59</sup> <http://a2zmacau.com/1156/lusofonia-festival> ;  
<http://www.macaudailytimes.com.mo/macau/15942-Lusofonia-Festival-goes-larger-this-year.html> ;  
[http://www.macau.com/en/shows\\_and\\_events/436/lusofonia-festival-2009](http://www.macau.com/en/shows_and_events/436/lusofonia-festival-2009)

### 2.3. Contexts of use

I will now pinpoint the current uses of the concept of *lusofonia* by political and academic institutions as well as by voluntary associations and the media. The use of expressive culture in consolidating ties between Portuguese-speaking countries is evident in their events and publications. I will analyze how the concept of *lusofonia* informs the actions of different actors and institutions as well as the creative work of musicians.

#### 2.3.1. Political institutions

The Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP)<sup>60</sup> has played a crucial role in the institutionalization of the concept of *lusofonia*. Next to its political, economic and educational concerns, CPLP explicitly wants to promote and disseminate the cultures of Portuguese-speaking countries and the concept of *lusofonia*. This is clear from various initiatives, such as the Festival de Música da CPLP, held in East Timor in 2002, and 2005, and in Guinea-Bissau in 2006. Its objective was to strengthen family ties between CPLP member states by putting musicians from its member states on stage.<sup>61</sup> The objective of the phonogram *A Música da CPLP*<sup>62</sup> (2003) was to show the cultural diversity of these countries and their musicians, as well to indicate the importance of CPLP (Ibid.). Third, on 25/3/2010, CPLP also organized in Brasilia the ‘Conferência Internacional sobre o Futuro da Língua Portuguesa no Sistema

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<sup>60</sup> <http://www.cplp.org>

<sup>61</sup> “No palco dos festejos realizou-se um encontro histórico unido pela música de Angola, Brasil, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Moçambique, Portugal, São Tomé e Príncipe, além de grupos e bandas de East Timor e convidados especiais do Japão, Austrália e Indonésia[.] Os timorenses cantaram e dançaram ao som de [Margareth Menezes do Brasil, Abubacar Djamanca, Dulce das Neves Samabaiá Kanuté da Guiné-Bissau, dos Delfins, de Nuno da Câmara Pereira e Luís Represas de Portugal, Ildo Lobo de Cabo Verde, and Juka de São Tomé e Príncipe]

In “Relatório da Deslocação à Timor-Leste da Secretária Executiva da CPLP. Dili, 20 de Maio de 2002.” Pdf available online via google at <http://www.cplp.org>

<sup>62</sup> <http://www.marcelosalazar.com/cplp.htm>; contrary to what one might expect, I have found no reference to this phonogram on the website of CPLP itself.

Mundial’.<sup>63</sup> The objective of the conference was to examine opportunities and define the instruments that value the Portuguese language<sup>64</sup>. In addition, between 25/3 and 11/4/2010, Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil Brasília also presented the project ‘Nossa Língua, Nossa Música’<sup>65</sup> in Brasília, under the seal of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs<sup>66</sup>, as part of the official programming of the 8th edition of the Conference of Heads and Governments of CPLP. The objective of the ‘Semana Cultural da CPLP’ (third edition in Lisbon, 30/4-9/5/2010) was to establish Lisbon as a point of encounter for *lusofonia*, offering a varied program to the city’s ‘lusophone populations that projects their interest’.<sup>67</sup> A full day was reserved for each CPLP-country. Projects included Programa CPLP nas Escolas<sup>68</sup>; FESTin - Festival Itinerante de Cinema da Língua Portuguesa; CPLP a Dançar<sup>69</sup> and CPLP a Cantar<sup>70</sup>; Campeonato Internacional de Kizomba<sup>71</sup>; and disco sessions<sup>72</sup>. Two months later, on

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<sup>63</sup> <http://www.africa21digital.com/noticia.kmf?cod=9701058&canal=403>,  
<http://www.portugaldigital.com.br/noticia.kmf?cod=9615752>

<sup>64</sup> [http://www.instituto-camoes.pt/images/stories/noticias/plano\\_acciao\\_brasilia.pdf](http://www.instituto-camoes.pt/images/stories/noticias/plano_acciao_brasilia.pdf)

<sup>65</sup> The project featured collaborations between Maria Dapaz (Pernambuco - Brazil) and Joana Amendoeira (Portugal); Maria Dapaz and Nancy Vieira (Cape Verde); Consuelo de Paula (Minas Gerais - Brazil) and José Amaral (East Timor); Consuelo de Paula and Rosa Madeira (Ilha da Madeira); Índio Cachoeira and Ricardo Vignini (São Paulo - Brazil) and Tonecas (São Tomé and Príncipe); Índio Cachoeira, Ricardo Vignini and Cheny Wa Gune (Mozambique); Fabiana Cozza (São Paulo - Brazil) and Eneida Marta (Guinea-Bissau); and Fabiana Cozza and Yami (Angola).  
<http://vejabrasil.abril.com.br/brasil/roteiro/shows-5229>,  
[http://www.lusofonia.com.pt/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=207:cplp&catid=6:CP LP&Itemid=29](http://www.lusofonia.com.pt/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=207:cplp&catid=6:CP LP&Itemid=29)

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br>

<sup>67</sup> [www.apel.pt/gest\\_cnt\\_upload/editor/File/PressReleaseSCCPLP.docx](http://www.apel.pt/gest_cnt_upload/editor/File/PressReleaseSCCPLP.docx),  
<http://cplp.dynamicweb.pt/Default.aspx?ID=2215>, <http://noticias.sapo.pt/especial/semanacplp>,  
<http://www.culturapalopsportugal.com/1751/semana-cultural-da-cplp>

<sup>68</sup> Presented in various schools of basic compulsory education of the greater Lisbon area, “*com o objectivo de promover e difundir a cultura lusófona e o conceito de Lusofonia*, terminando com a realização de oficinas de dança e música.” [my italics]

<sup>69</sup> Kilandukilu (Angola), CIA Art Brasil (Brazil), Nós Terra (Cape Verde), Allatantou Dance Co (Guinea-Bissau), Malimba Tradicional de Moçambique (Mozambique), Afrolatin Connection (Portugal), Kua Tela (São Tomé and Príncipe), Bei Gua (East Timor), Rafeiros (Angola) and Voicemail (Portugal).

<sup>70</sup> Bonga (Angola), Rafeiros (Angola), Raspa de Tacho (Brazil), Nicole (Cape Verde), Guto Pires (Guiné-Bissau), Ancha Cutchuaio (Mozambique), Joana Melo (Portugal), Quarteto Musical Timorense (East Timor), Tonecas, Felipe, Juka e Gapa (São Tomé and Príncipe) and Irmãos Verdades.

<sup>71</sup> Final of 3rd Campeonato Internacional de Kizomba, 7/5/2010, for the third time held in Lisbon, and transcending the strict frame of CPLP member-states, including participants from Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Holland, Luxemburg and the United Kingdom. <http://www.africadancar.com>

25/7/2010, CPLP also commemorated its 14<sup>th</sup> anniversary at Lisbon's Praça da Figueira.<sup>73</sup> In all of these instances, CPLP explicitly defends the concept of *lusofonia* by uniting musicians and populations of its member countries in cultural and educational events.

### 2.3.2. Academic institutions

Various academic institutions have used the concept of *lusofonia*. Their objective is to stimulate a special dialogue between (actors originating in) Portuguese-speaking countries, constructing a platform of social and cultural exchange.

Several events were organized under the heading of *lusofonia*, such as the conference 'Lusophonie et multiculturalisme' of the Gulbenkian Center in Paris on 8/12/2000<sup>74</sup>; the publication of *Dicionário Temático da Lusofonia* in Lisbon, Luanda, Praia and Maputo by ACLUS - Associação de Cultura Lusófona<sup>75</sup> in 2005; the conference 'CPLP e Lusofonia: de conceito multicultural a vector portador de futuro'<sup>76</sup> at the Universidade Católica Portuguesa (Lisbon, 9/5/2008); the Fórum dos Jogos da Lusofonia<sup>77</sup>, held on 17-8/7/2009 at the Universidade Lusófona in Lisbon; the Forum Lusofonia<sup>78</sup> at the Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa on 21/1/2009<sup>79</sup>; and the

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<sup>72</sup> On the evenings of 7-8-9/5/2010, discotheque sessions were held by CPLP in 'Discoteca Soul Club' and 'Barrio Latino', in Alcântara (Lisbon).

<sup>73</sup> The bands and artists that performed were Bonga, Toque de Classe, EDDU, Ancha, Akunamatata, Cremilda, Bei Gua and Super Mama Djombo. More info can be found online at <http://www.culturapalopsportugal.com/2245/em-portugues-nos-entendemos> ; <http://www.cplp.org/Default.aspx?ID=316&Action=1&NewsId=1434&M=NewsV2&PID=304>; <http://ditaduradoconsenso.blogspot.com/2010/07/cplp-na-praca-da-figueira.html>

<sup>74</sup> <http://www.gulbenkian-paris.org> [specific reference not found]

<sup>75</sup> <http://www.fl.ul.pt/aclus>; I include this association here because of it unites researchers, professors and teachers, based at Faculdade de Letras of Universidade de Lisboa. ACLUS' objectives is to defend and promote Portuguese-speaking cultures.

<sup>76</sup> [http://www.ucp.pt/site/resources/documents/IEE/Prof.%20Ern%C3%A2ni%20Lopes\\_CPLP.pdf](http://www.ucp.pt/site/resources/documents/IEE/Prof.%20Ern%C3%A2ni%20Lopes_CPLP.pdf)

<sup>77</sup> In collaboration with the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (ICT) and the Center for Globalization & Governance (CG&G) at the NOVA Economics and Management School (FEUNL).

<sup>78</sup> Organized by Centro Cultural Malaposta, ACLUS, Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa and Missão do Brasil junto à CPLP.



international encounter 'Língua Portuguesa e Culturas Lusófonas num Universo Globalizado' at the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian on 25-26/10/2010<sup>80</sup>. All of these instances stimulate intellectual exchange in the lusophone world. They also establish an international positioning on the basis of a common language.

Special mention must be made for the seminar 'Expressões musicais populares de Aquém e de Além-mar'<sup>81</sup> on 11/11/2009, organized by the Instituto de Etnomusicologia (UNL) and the Instituto de Ciências Sociais (UL), as well as the colloquium 'Sonoridades no Espaço Luso-Afro-Brasileiro'<sup>82</sup> on 20-22/11/2003, also organized by ICS, in collaboration with Chapatô, Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical (UNL) and Museu Nacional de Etnologia. In both cases, the objective is stimulating research on the cross-cultural processes in music involving the lusophone world.

Finally, two research institutions that are dedicated to the study of lusophone cultures must also be mentioned: CECLU - Centro de Estudos de Culturas Lusófonas (UNL)<sup>83</sup> and ISMPS - Instituto de Estudos Culturais do Mundo de Língua Portuguesa.<sup>84</sup> The 6<sup>th</sup> ICTM colloquium 'Crosscultural Processes - The Role of Portugal in the World's Music since the 15<sup>th</sup> Century', organized by Salwa Castelo-Branco at Lisbon's Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian on 15-19/12/1986, must also be mentioned.<sup>85</sup>

### 2.3.3. Voluntary associations

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<sup>79</sup> <http://missaodobrasiljuntoacplp.blogspot.com/search/label/F%C3%B3rum%20Lusofonia>

<sup>80</sup> [http://www.gulbenkian.pt/index.php?object=160&article\\_id=2731&langId=1](http://www.gulbenkian.pt/index.php?object=160&article_id=2731&langId=1)

<sup>81</sup> <http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/inet/conferenciascoloquios/seminarios/expressoesmusicais/pagina.html>

<sup>82</sup> <http://www.oi.acidi.gov.pt/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=196>

<sup>83</sup> <http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/ceclu>

<sup>84</sup> <http://www.ismps.de>

<sup>85</sup> The results are published in Castelo-Branco, Salwa (ed.) (1997), *Portugal e o mundo. O encontro de culturas na música / Portugal and the world. The encounter of cultures in music*. Lisboa: Dom Quixote

Some of Lisbon's voluntary associations directly organize activities under the banner of *lusofonia*. The association MIL - Movimento Internacional Lusófono<sup>86</sup>, represented in all CPLP-countries but based in Lisbon, aims to create a global lusophone community on the cultural, social, economical and political level. In this sense, the association held a public debate on 'O Futuro da CPLP - Comunidade de Países Língua Portuguesa' in Lisbon on 24/1/2009.

APCAB - Associação Portuguesa de Cultura Afro-Brasileira<sup>87</sup> is another association that explicitly utilizes the concept of *lusofonia*. Its objectives are the preservation of Afro-Brazilian culture and identity, and the promotion of multicultural dialogue. APCAB argues that Portuguese identity should be redefined given the interracial and intercultural experience of which *lusofonia* constitutes the stage. It states that the media need to be more attentive to the concept, and that diplomacy needs to promote initiatives aimed at the reconstruction of lusophone cultural space.

The associations ALDCI - Associação Lusófona para o Desenvolvimento (interview Fernando Machado, 27/11/2009), Cultura e Integração<sup>88</sup>, AACILUS - Lusofonia. Apoio à Imigração<sup>89</sup>, and ALCC - Associação Lusofonia, Cultura e Cidadania<sup>90</sup> (interview Nilzete Panheco, 24/11/2009), use the term *lusofonia*, focusing on the social integration, education and professional possibilities of Portuguese-speaking migrants.

The work of several associations concerned with expressive culture is also informed by the concept of *lusofonia*. Associação Sons da Lusofonia<sup>91</sup>, founded in Lisbon in 1996 by Portuguese saxophone player Carlos Martins, is especially important. Its objective is to promote "comprehensive interventions that ally social intervention and global education to music and the interaction between communities, people and

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<sup>86</sup> <http://movimentolusofono.wordpress.com>; I have not found any reference to a foundation date.

<sup>87</sup> <http://www.apcab.net/apcab-e-lusofonia>

<sup>88</sup> No website (interview with president Fernando Machado, 27/11/2009)

<sup>89</sup> <http://www.aacilus.org>

<sup>90</sup> <http://www.lusofonia.com.pt> (interview with president Nilzete Panheco, 24/11/2009)

<sup>91</sup> <http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com>; I will be dealing with Sons de Lusofonia in more detail in chapter 4.

arts.”<sup>92</sup> As such, one of the association’s main goals is to contribute to the cultural cooperation between Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries, “promovendo o desenvolvimento de uma identidade cultural baseada nas tradições comuns, mas orientada para o futuro” (Ibid.). In 1995, its Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia<sup>93</sup> brought together migrant musicians in Lisbon originating from PALOP countries. This focus on the concept of *lusofonia* gradually shifted to include other nationalities and cultures present in Lisbon as well, as can be read from the yearly editions of the association’s festival Lisboa Mistura (since 2006)<sup>94</sup>.

The association Etnia - Cultura e Desenvolvimento<sup>95</sup>, founded in 2000, works along similar lines. Its objective is to promote cultural dissemination through the organization of diversified multicultural events such as festivals, seminars, animation, expositions and workshops. Between 2003 and 2006, it organized many activities of intervention and sensibilization in migrant communities, attempting to highlight diversity as a factor of social inclusion. These activities resulted in the opening of the Centro InterculturalCidade<sup>96</sup>. Etnia explicitly deployed the concept of *lusofonia* in the project ‘Lusofonias: Culturas em Comunidade’<sup>97</sup>, which took place from 17/7/2008 up to 14/9/2008, with the objective of “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 ‘Lusofonias’ consisted of 8 thematic weeks<sup>98</sup> dedicated to the various Portuguese-speaking countries.

Both associations organize activities that are highly informed by the concept of *lusofonia*, promoting interculturality and the integration of migrants.

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<sup>92</sup> <http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com>

<sup>93</sup> <http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com/SonsdaLusofonia/tabid/58/language/pt-PT/Default.aspx>

<sup>94</sup> Please see chapter 4, where I will deal with Associação Sons da Lusofonia, Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia and festival Lisboa Mistura in more detail.

<sup>95</sup> <http://www.etnia.org.pt>

<sup>96</sup> <http://interculturacidade.wordpress.com>, <http://interculturacidade.wordpress.com/contactos>

<sup>97</sup> [http://www.etnia.org.pt/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=51&Itemid=81](http://www.etnia.org.pt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=51&Itemid=81), <http://lusofonias2008.blogspot.com>

<sup>98</sup> Angola: 21-27/7, Brazil: 28/7-3/8, Cape Verde: 4-10/8, Guinea-Bissau: 11-17/8, Mozambique: 18-24/8, Portugal: 25-31/8, São Tomé and Príncipe: 1-7/9, Timor-Leste: 8-14/9/2010.

#### 2.3.4. Media

Some media also use the concept of *lusofonia*. As Cidra (Ibid.) points out, at the same time as the music of the PALOP transnationally constituted itself as part of the world music circuit (not from Lisbon but largely from other European capitals), the emerging concept of *lusofonia* gradually got imbued with political meaning. This semantic enrichment in turn induced a new discourse on the level of cultural politics and media communication in Portugal. It also stimulated Portuguese record companies and concert promoters to review existing practices of disseminating migrant PALOP musics.

The creation in Portugal of RDP África<sup>99</sup> (1995) and RTP África<sup>100</sup> (1998)<sup>101</sup> is highly significant in this respect. This Lisbon-based channel was especially developed for the Portuguese-speaking communities of the 5 PALOP-countries and the cultural interchange between them and Portugal. Music programs have been transmitted from Mozambique (Música d'África, Massave) and from Cape Verde (Top Crioulo, Artes e Espéctáculos). *Latitudes* is a cultural program issuing the African immigrant communities in Portugal. In this sense, RTP África's transnational programming implicitly promoted the idea of *lusofonia*, however leaving room for “aberturas, mais ou menos largas, a outras músicas, portuguesa, brasileira, antilhana, latino-americana”<sup>102</sup>, thus more or less extending into the concept of world music. RTP Antenna 1's program Vozes da Lusofonia also makes explicit use of the concept of *lusofonia*.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> <http://programas.rtp.pt/EPG/radio/epg-dia.php?canal=4>

<sup>100</sup> <http://tv1.rtp.pt/EPG/tv/epg-dia.php?canal=6&ac=d&sem=e>

<sup>101</sup> <http://tv.rtp.pt/EPG/radio/epg-dia.php?canal=4>

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> [http://tv1.rtp.pt/programas-rtp/index.php?p\\_id=1055&e\\_id=&c\\_id=1&dif=radio](http://tv1.rtp.pt/programas-rtp/index.php?p_id=1055&e_id=&c_id=1&dif=radio)

Afro Music Channel<sup>104</sup> (based in Lisbon and Madrid, and broadcasting in Portugal, Angola and Mozambique) is an important medium for disseminating the concept of *lusofonia*. On its website, this broadcasting station explicitly mentions *lusofonia*: “durante a semana divulgamos os últimos trabalhos da música brasileira e fazemos um cruzamento de culturas com temas de músicos do mundo da *lusofonia*”[my italics].

Outside of the lusophone world, I found Radio Lusofonia<sup>105</sup>, based in Johannesburg, explicitly using the concept of *lusofonia*.

The Internet has also opened doors for the dissemination of the concept of *lusofonia*. Exemplary is the blogspot Caipirinha lounge<sup>106</sup>, dubbed ‘Lusotunes’. Caipirinha Lounge explicitly features music from Brazil, Angola, Portugal, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique, and East Timor. It relates to musical events and actors in the Portuguese-speaking countries. According to its creators, the site “is all about music in Portuguese or by lusophone artists. It's born out of a sincere belief that Lusophone music should reach a much larger audience” (Ibid.). The conceptual division between ‘in Portuguese’ and ‘by lusophone artists’ is telling in that it points to *lusofonia* as a cultural system with various languages and cultures.

Record labels gather musicians from different Portuguese-speaking countries and regions as a commercial strategy, as has been done by world music labels. For many PALOP migrant musicians, the delay in Portuguese recognition pointed towards commercialization based in other European capitals such as Paris, Amsterdam and Berlin. As indicated by Cidra (2010: 789), this transnational discographic framework stimulated Portuguese recognition and visibility for PALOP migrant musicians, connecting Lisbon with other diaspora centers of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe in Europe and the USA, as well as with the countries of origin. These transnational connections naturally evoked the concept of *lusofonia*.

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<sup>104</sup> <http://www.afro-music.com/site/programacao.html>; I have found no foundation date.

<sup>105</sup> <http://www.lyngsat-address.com/or/Radio-Lusofonia.html>

<sup>106</sup> <http://lusotunes.blogspot.com/2010/03/caipirinha-lounge-presents-lusofonia.html>

### 2.3.5. Governmental and municipal initiatives: 2008-2010

How does the concept of *lusofonia* inform the cultural policy and action of governmental and municipal institutions in Lisbon? To answer this question, I will briefly focus on events and actions since the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in 2008. I will analyze the implementation of this European measure on a lusophone postcolonial metropolis, exploring how the idea of *lusofonia* is configured, and how migrant musicians as well as voluntary organizations are involved in this process.

#### Initiatives

The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008 recognized Europe's cultural diversity as a unique advantage. It encouraged Europeans to learn from different cultural traditions.<sup>107</sup> In Lisbon, ACIDI - Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural was indicated as the coordinating institution for the Year. The Municipality of Lisbon (CML), represented by the Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Imigrantes e Minorias Étnicas, together with several voluntary associations coordinated projects such as the 'II Festival ImigrArte Comunicar Arte e Criar Diálogos' and 'Lisboa InterCultural'. After 2008, CML has continued to organize or sponsor expressive intercultural events, the majority of them bringing a mix of music, dance, theatre, craft fair and gastronomy. Noteworthy are the Festival Todos - Caminhada de Culturas (since 2009) and Festa da Interculturalidade 2010 (since 2008). Except for 'Fusão, um Mergulho na Lusofonia', on 20/7/2010, the concept of *lusofonia* is not explicitly used.

#### Actions

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<sup>107</sup> <http://www.interculturaldialogue2008.eu/406.0.html> ; For a full context sketch of activities in Lisbon during the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, see <http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/?idc=312&idi=32754>

In June 2009, CML published the strategic document ‘Estratégias para a Cultura em Lisboa’<sup>108</sup>, proposing 30 measures and 14 projects. This document dedicates a specific section on music and its various aspects, without referring to *lusofonia*.<sup>109</sup> 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” (unknown author, np), lusophone musics are only vaguely referenced as “mutações [que são] muito significativas e pela primeira vez ultrapassam 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 migrant 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 the contemporary intercultural production of Lisbon as a factor that can be further potentialized in fortifying the city’s memories and identities.<sup>110</sup> “Lisboa, numa posição de inevitável centralidade histórica entre Europa, África e América<sup>111</sup>, [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.). Even though the concept of *lusofonia* is not explicitly used, it seems to be implicit in the utilized perspective.

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<sup>108</sup> It 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 8 months, in which artists as well as cultural agents and producers were heard.

<sup>109</sup> <http://cultura.cm-lisboa.pt>, p. 51

<sup>110</sup> <http://cultura.cm-lisboa.pt>, p. 93

<sup>111</sup> I take this to be a reference to the historical processes of Portuguese colonialism, constituting a notion of *lusofonia* (see chapter 2.1 and 2.2.).

### Performance spaces for the expressive culture of *lusofonia*?

The idea for Africa.Cont, the new African cultural center to open in Santos in 2010, arose during the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. According to curator prof. dr. J.A. Fernandes Dias<sup>112</sup>, the project originates from “a vontade politica de responder à ausência em Portugal de uma plataforma [para] o desenvolvimento de relações de comunicação, cooperação e interação entre a Europa, os Países Africanos e as suas diásporas” (my italics)<sup>113</sup>. However, I think that, for a cultural center that is located in Lisbon, any reference to African diasporas directly points to the PALOP migrant populations in the city. I asked prof. Fernandes Dias about the expected input of these PALOP communities during the public debate. His answer then and his contribution to the journal *Migrações*<sup>114</sup> are positive: África Cont’s objective is to foment “uma imagem construtiva e actual de África, como agente da contemporaneidade cultural global, favorecendo também a integração e o ‘empowerment’ (empoderamento) das comunidades africanas em Portugal” [my italics]. (Ibid.) Despite the historic, linguistic and socio-cultural ties of Portugal with the lusophone world, Africa.Cont however also aims to open relations with other African countries, being “an independent institution, not an political instrument” (Fernandes Dias 2010). Africa.Cont’s focus on Africa may well be legitimate. But, given the results obtained from the paragraphs 2.3.1-4, would a cultural center of *lusofonia* not make more sense for Lisbon? In any case, the dimension of Africa.Cont, both in terms of physical space and proposed activities, stands in sharp contrast with the means conceded to other cultural players in Lisbon.

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<sup>112</sup> [http://www.africacont.org/africacont\\_pt.pdf](http://www.africacont.org/africacont_pt.pdf) ; on 4-5/12/2009, a public debate and conference were held at Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian to discuss the project’s objectives [I actively participated in the debate].

<sup>113</sup> The objective of África Festival -the predecessor of Africa.Cont- to also show non-lusophone Africa can be read through this statement.

<sup>114</sup> ACIDI (in press), *Música e Migração*. Special issue of journal *Migrações*. Scientific coordination by Maria de São José Côrte-Real and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (INET-MD, FCSH/UNL).



## 2.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have analyzed the discursive construction of the concept of *lusofonia*. I have explored its definitions, origins, contexts of use and influence on expressive culture.

*Lusofonia* is a relatively recent concept that refers to a linguistic, political, economic, and cultural space. While its historical origins may be found in Portuguese colonialism, the contemporary notion originated in the Acordo Ortográfico, gaining new significance with the increase of migration to Lisbon from Portugal's former colonies. The creation of CPLP in 1996, international events such as Expo '98, the transnational record industry and the rise of the Internet have also contributed to extending this notion beyond the common Portuguese idiom. Since then, the concept of *lusofonia* has increasingly informed Portugal's international relations. Many governmental and municipal institutions, scholars, voluntary associations, cultural entrepreneurs, musicians and journalists in the postcolonial Portuguese-speaking world evoke the concept of *lusofonia* explicitly in their objectives.

Politically and economically, various institutions and associations have adopted the concept. Collaboration between the CPLP-countries clearly has an enormous potential. At present, the main actors seem to be predominantly Portuguese, Brazilian and Angolan. Current economic strongholders of the CPLP-space are Brazil (member of Mercosur, with various Luso-Brazilian chambers of Commerce as well as several Luso-Brazilian summits on economic cooperation in Lisbon) and Angola, which has been attracting a lot of investment from Portugal and Brazil (in domains of banking and construction) since it came out of its civil war (1975-2002). Finally, what I have experienced myself during field research in Maputo, Mozambique (October 2009), is that Portugal -at a grassroots level in the former colonies- is sometimes still perceived as a neo-colonial nation looking for economic possibilities. In my view, the 'multipolar' (Lopes 2008: sp) concept of *lusofonia* and the mutual 'friendship relations' promoted by CPLP can be useful in changing this perception. Generally speaking, a common interest prevails, and the expansion of cooperation on various levels is underway.

Socio-culturally and linguistically, *lusofonia* is what binds the CPLP-countries and its diaspora populations together. This has become especially clear since Expo '98. Continuous migrations to and from Portugal's former colonies have stimulated the circulation of different social and cultural expressive forms (Cidra 2010: 773-4). From the 1970s through the 1990s, the concept of *lusofonia* has increasingly informed performance practice in the city of Lisbon. Since the mid 1990s, various collaborations between migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries and Portuguese musicians were initiated. Nevertheless, many lusophone musicians moved abroad in search of a record publisher. Festivals that promote the idea of *lusofonia* have been organized especially in Lisbon, in other Portuguese-speaking capitals or state capitals (especially in Brazil) and on the regional level (Galicia) by governmental institutions, voluntary associations and cultural entrepreneurs.

Lisbon is surrounded by municipalities that use the term *lusofonia* explicitly: Odivelas already held a 'Bienal de Culturas Lusófonas', calling itself 'Capital da Cultura Lusófona' e 'da *lusofonia*'; Oeiras organized the festival 'O Amor é Fogo' in explicit homage to Luís de Camões and lusophone musics; and Cascais presented the biannual economic congress 'Os Mares da Lusofonia'. Furthermore, CPLP, a crucial actor in the institutionalization of *lusofonia*, is based in Lisbon. Governmental, economic, academic, juridical and sport institutions that take Lisbon as a point of reference use the concept of *lusofonia*. Lisbon's voluntary associations also evoke or illustrate the concept of *lusofonia*, as is exemplified by projects such as 'Lusofonias: Culturas em Comunidade'. Regarding lusophone musics, Lisbon constitutes a privileged stage for collaborations between Portuguese musicians, migrant musicians and musicians from other CPLP-countries. Through ethnographic analysis and participatory observation of (some of) the events and institutions listed above, I have learned that, in practice, *lusofonia* is a concrete -though not exclusively- experienced reality in Lisbon.

However, the concept of *lusofonia* does not figure in the strategic document 'Estratégias para a Cultura em Lisboa'. Instead, interculturality and cosmopolitanism are key terms. This seems strange for a city that in other discourses has been called

‘capital<sup>115</sup> ou coração<sup>116</sup> da *lusofonia*’. There is a conceptual ambiguity in Lisbon between the municipal and European discourse on interculturality, on the one hand, and the historical and transnational discourse on *lusofonia*, on the other.<sup>117</sup> The universality of the discourse on *lusofonia* is thus questionable “as this collective project is shared varyingly by individuals and elite groups in the political, cultural, artistic, and academic realms in the countries involved” (Arenas 2008: np). Alternatively, *lusofonia* can also be seen in a positive way: as an open system; a philosophical discourse that tries to connect the postcolonial politics and cultures of nations with a similar history, constituting a “vector portador de futuro” (Lopes 2008: sp).

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<sup>115</sup> [http://www.africatoday.co.ao/pt/eventos\\_sociais/3039-Lisboa-capital-Lusofonia.html](http://www.africatoday.co.ao/pt/eventos_sociais/3039-Lisboa-capital-Lusofonia.html)

<sup>116</sup> <http://inclusaoecidadania.blogspot.com/2009/02/lisboa-capital-coracao-da-lusofonia-e.html>

<sup>117</sup> In practice however, *lusofonia* is also intercultural. The cultures of the Portuguese-speaking countries are heterogeneous.

### 3. *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução, a documentary*

A história cruzou-nos, a geografia faz de nós vizinhos, o futuro será o que fizermos dele (J.A. Fernandes Dias)<sup>118</sup>

I have selected Red Bull Music Academy's documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução*<sup>119</sup> (2006) as a case study because of the idea of *lusofonia* that it defends. Made by a Portuguese team, it focuses on lusophone musics in the city of Lisbon, linking their presence to processes of colonialism, migration and integration.

My objective is to analyze the documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* in promoting the notion of *lusofonia*. I will connect the use of the concept of *lusofonia* to ideas of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. I will also present a systematic content analysis of the documentary, describing what is represented, how and by whom. Finally, I will explore which issues transpire from the lyrics, the music, the images and the interviews.<sup>120</sup>

#### 3.1. Organization, sponsorship and dissemination

Red Bull Music Academy (RBMA)<sup>121</sup> is a non-commercial initiative that has been traveling around the world since 1998. For two weeks each year, it is based in a different musical metropolis to bring local musicians, DJs and producers together. Through these 60 selected participants - "pioneers of days-gone-by and musical legends of tomorrow," the platform aims at getting "a rare glimpse into local *musical hybrids* in a different country" (Ibid.). RBMA regards itself as a community of artists

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<sup>118</sup> [http://www.africacont.org/africacont\\_pt.pdf](http://www.africacont.org/africacont_pt.pdf)

<sup>119</sup> <http://www.redbullmusicacademy.com/video-archive/documentaries/3> (6:51, summary)  
<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=3792927019465076657#> (1:04:40, integral version)

<sup>120</sup> Since the abbreviated version only contains excerpts of the integral version, I will not refer to the former separately.  
<http://www.myspace.com/lusofoniaarevolucao>

<sup>121</sup> <http://www.redbullmusicacademy.com>

“which roots itself in the conviction that music ought not to have any borders and that to be unique is fundamental.”<sup>122</sup> [my italics]

Looking for uniqueness, the Portuguese delegation of RBMA in 2006 produced *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução*. The documentary sets out to reconnect the musical and cultural threads that have resulted from the Portuguese expansion since the 15th century. Dubbing itself “a calling card for lusophone musical identity”, the documentary makes a strong plea for a more supportive framework for lusophone musics in Portugal, both from the institutional and mercantile perspectives. That, for its makers, commercial possibilities abound may be clear from the accompanying announcement: “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.”<sup>123</sup>

Financial support for the production of *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* was obtained from RTP<sup>124</sup> (institutional partner), Instituto Camões<sup>125</sup>, CPLP (showing a logo of its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary) and the Municipality of Lisbon. The documentary got most airplay at its Portuguese premiere, during the 4th DocLisboa<sup>126</sup> at Culturgest<sup>127</sup> in Lisbon on 26/10/2006. After the screening, a party with the participation of migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries was organized at B.Leza. This event served as a fundraiser for Lisbon-based cultural association Khapaz<sup>128</sup>, working on the music skills of young Afro-descendants. A free public screening also took place at the FNAC’s<sup>129</sup> auditoria of Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra throughout November 2006. RTP

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<sup>122</sup> <http://www.redbullmusicacademy.com/academy-info/what-is-the-academy>

<sup>123</sup> <http://www.redbullmusicacademy.com/video-archive/documentaries>

<sup>124</sup> <http://tv2.rtp.pt/homepage>

<sup>125</sup> <http://www.instituto-camoes.pt>

<sup>126</sup> [http://www.doclisboa.org/2006/en\\_festival.html](http://www.doclisboa.org/2006/en_festival.html)

<sup>127</sup> <http://www.culturgest.pt/>

<sup>128</sup> <http://cidkhapaz.no.sapo.pt/indexpromo.html>

<sup>129</sup> <http://www.fnac.pt>

broadcasted the documentary on its channels throughout 2007. It was also offered to film, music and multimedia festivals, using RBMA's global network in some 70 countries. The documentary was available in a limited promotional dvd+cd pack edition, however without being commercialized<sup>130</sup>. Next to providing fragments of the documentary and a bilingual press kit online, the project's myspace<sup>131</sup> today functions as a platform where musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries can promote their work (linking to their respective myspaces, where a profile and downloadable music are available) and where shows can be announced.

### 3.2. Participants

The editorial team of *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* consisted of Artur Soares da Silva and João Xavier (scriptwriters) and Mariana Moore Matos (executive producer). Their list of interviewees included musicians and DJ's (Carlos do Carmo; Sara Tavares; Tito Paris; Celina Pereira; Raúl Indipwo/Duo Ouro Negro; Kika Santos/Loopless; Kalaf; Cool Hipnoise/Spaceboys; Sam the Kid; Chullage; Tekilla; Melo D; Pac Man/Da Weasel; Conjunto Ngonguenha; Messias; Karlon/Nigga Poison; SP & Wilson (Beatbox); N'dú; João Barbosa; Tó Ricciardi; Johnny-Cool Train Crew), publishers (José da Silva/Lusáfrica; David Ferreira/EMI; Pedro Tenreiro/A&R Norte Sul; Tozé Brito/Universal; Hernâni Miguel/'Rápública') as well as journalists and critics (Nuno Sardinha/RDP África, Gilles Peterson/BBC Radio 1, Vitor Belanciano, Duda Guennes, Luis Maio, Rui Pereira).

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<sup>130</sup> Telling about the lack in media dissemination (outside Portugal) is a rather explicit comment found on the website of the Brazilian Ministry of Culture:

“Ao final do filme, você terá, mais do que nunca, a *sensação de que não conhece absolutamente NADA do que está sendo feito em termos de música no âmbito dos países de língua portuguesa*. É a (não tão) boa e velha ladainha que eu venho repetindo há pelo menos um ano: o rapper de Amadora sabe quem é Marcelo D2, mas a gente não faz idéia de quem sejam Mind da Gap, Tito Paris ou Bonga. E como as chances de 'Lusofonia' freqüentar o nosso circuitinho cinematográfico ou ser exibido pela TV brasileira (talvez na TV Brasil, quem sabe?) são próximas de zero, segue o link para o respectivo torrent.” [my italics]

<http://www.cultura.gov.br/site/2009/02/06/musica-lusofona-a-revolucao-nao-sera-televisada>

<sup>131</sup> <http://www.myspace.com/lusofoniaarevolucao>

Soundtracks and video clips were used of the following labels (multinationals such as Sony BMG and EMI; lusophone labels that operate from other European countries such as Lusáfrica and World Connection; and young Portuguese independents such as Nylon and Loop) and musicians: Cesária Évora, Lura, Bonga, Tcheka, Ildo Lobo (label Lusáfrica); Mind the Gap, Boss AC, Cool Hipnoise, Batucaderas di Funaná, Duo Ouro Negro (Norte Sul/Valentim de Carvalho); Sara Tavares, Waldemar Bastos (World Connection); António Variações, Dany Silva, Seu Jorge, Da Weasel, Kussondulola, Mariza, Carlos Paredes (EMI/Valentim de Carvalho); 1-UIK Project, Buraka Som Sistema (Enchufada); Maria João and Mário Laginha, Mercado Negro, taxi, Herois do Mar, Etnocity (Universal); Sam the Kid (Edel, Universal, Loop); Spaceboys, Cyz (Nylon); Type+Kalaf (Meifumado); Melo D (Loop); Conjunto Ngonguenha (Matarroa); Pop Dell.Arte (Difference); Marcelo D2, Black Company/Rapública (Sony BMG); Marky & XRS (Innerground Records); Cibelle (Megamúsic); and Dog Murras (Vidisco). Nigga Poison, Nel.Assasin, and MC Playboy all published their music individually.

Finally, a phonogram -directly related to the documentary- was simultaneously released under the artistic direction of João Barbosa. It featured Bonga; Nel Assasin; Lura; Buraka Som Sistema feat. Petty; Sam the Kid; Conjunto Ngonguenha; Waldemar Bastos; Melo D; Spaceboys; Tcheka; Chullage; Cesária Évora; Cyz; and Sara Tavares feat. Ana Moura. What strikes me is that this audio CD unites both successful names with a strong connection to the lusophone country of origin (Cesária Évora, Bonga, Waldemar Bastos) and new talent (focusing both on traditional elements and hybrid musics). The collaboration between Sara Tavares and Ana Moura signals that fado, the music of the city of Lisbon, also takes part in this joint movement.

### 3.3. Objectives and issues

In what follows, I will discuss musicians' and journalists' readings of the documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução*, highlighting objectives and issues.

*Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* aims at promoting a fusion<sup>132</sup> between several types of music evolved through the centuries in Portugal, Brazil and PALOP. It argues that fado, samba, morna, merengue, marrabenta and other Africanized genres all carry distinctive cultural traits inherited from the lusophone cultural system.

In the accompanying press kit<sup>133</sup>, the documentary's makers point out that the concept of *lusofonia* gained in importance in the 1970s and 1980s, with Portuguese-speaking countries musicians arriving and settling in Portugal. What all lusophone countries in this period had in common was that they utilized protest/intervention songs: Brazil and Portugal against dictatorship, and Africa against colonialism. The concept of *lusofonia* gained a new vigor during the 1990s, owing to the 'new multiculturalism' of a generation of urban, hip hop influenced musicians born of Portuguese-speaking migrant parents. In 1994, the *Rapública* compilation came out, uniting tracks made by Portuguese rappers<sup>134</sup>. For the first time, there was rap in Portuguese (as opposed to English), making the album into what many consider a landmark of Portuguese hip hop.<sup>135</sup> As Da Weasel's Pac Man points out in the documentary, singing in Portuguese implied that "the public was identifying itself with what all that I was saying. Much more truthful and genuine".<sup>136</sup>

The idea of *lusofonia*, emerging by way of *Rapública*,<sup>137</sup> thus originally focused on the potential of lyrics in the Portuguese language. However, it also increased attention for new musical hybrids, "mixing and blending" various elements of lusophone

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<sup>132</sup> The voice-over mentions 'fusion' ['fusão'] as a key word, giving kuduro, kizomba, bossa nova and other genres as examples. I interpret 'fusion' as 'hybrid musics'.

<sup>133</sup> Available via <http://www.myspace.com/lusofoniaarevolucao> [scroll down]

<sup>134</sup> Participating musicians were Black Company, Zona Dread, Funky D, Boss AC, New Tribe, Lideres da Nova Mensagem, Family.

<sup>135</sup> <http://rapdungeon.blogspot.com/2006/09/rapblica.html>

<sup>136</sup> The citations in this chapter are transcriptions of the English subtitles in the documentary. The original copy of the documentary which I was able to obtain was of poor audio quality, making me opt for the (editorial) subtitles instead of the actual audio.

<sup>137</sup> *Rapública* influenced Da Weasel, one of the oldest hip hop projects in Portugal (since 1993), in their album *Dou-lhe Com A Alma* (1995). The group, that had previously been rapping in English, pioneeringly wrote all the songs in Portuguese. Boss AC, another performer and producer of *Rapública*, has also been influential in this respect.



expressive culture. Inspired by the example of Brazilian Marcelo D2, blending samba with hip hop, the press kit gives similar examples in Lisbon after the year 2000<sup>138</sup>: Cool Hipnoise's different approach to Brazilian rhythms; Kussundulola's Angolan-inspired reggae; the vitality of Creole in the music of Nigga Poison and Chullage; Buraka Som Sistema's dissemination of the Luanda-based dance genre kuduro; and the success of Lura and Sara Tavares on the world music scene, "whether following the traditions of Cape Verde, as in the case of the former, or fusing elements, as in the case of the latter" (Ibid.). As pointed out by Chullage in the documentary, morna and funana are being brought into hip hop while Angolans are discovering Brazilian samba and Cape Verdians get to know Angolan semba, and vice versa. "The music from these countries is bringing us together. We look at what is coming out of these countries and we are creating a common repository" [transcribed from documentary].<sup>139</sup>

According to the documentary and press kit, the increasing use of Portuguese and the increasing hybridity of lusophone musics should have a corresponding mercantile answer, in order to be able to disseminate *Portuguese products made by lusophone performers*. 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, us Lisbon, us Portugal, in the convergence of several cultures" [transcribed from documentary]. Musician Sara Tavares points out that both Lura, Mariza, and herself work for non-Portuguese record companies<sup>140</sup>. "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 -owner of Casa da Morna<sup>141</sup> in Alcântara, giving a stage to young migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries- calls for institutional action. "Portugal at this stage has, undoubtedly, a lot of potential. But the

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<sup>138</sup> The voice-over states that "Brazilian music is the most visible lusophone music on the global market, but artists of other lusophone countries are also conquering their space."

<sup>139</sup> The voice-over states that "multiculturalism uses music as an element of integration".

<sup>140</sup> See paragraph 2.2. for a broader discussion of this idea.

<sup>141</sup> <http://www.casadamorna.com.pt>

cultural entities, radio and TV stations, the ministry of cultural affairs, all must act now” [transcribed from documentary]. However, established Portuguese record labels have largely lagged behind in this process. Newer labels such as Nylon, Norte Sul, Enchufada, and Loop however have been pioneering in promoting (local) lusophone musics. José da Silva<sup>142</sup>, finally, suggests that the lusophone 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].

### 3.4. Representation of lusophone musics

I will now describe what is represented, how and by whom, followed by my interpretation.

*Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* starts with an introductory screen text that aims at reconciling a subjective narrative with journalistic treatment.<sup>143</sup> The documentary then subsequently shows mixed closeup images of a group performing on stage in Lisbon; a voice singing “não se passa nada” [“nothing happens”]; the earth seen from the moon [referring to globalization?]; moving images shot from a car driving through the city; a video clip of an unidentified musician amidst television screens; and satellite images zooming in on Lisbon’s city grid. The documentary’s title simultaneously appears in English and Portuguese, thus seemingly wanting to connect Portugal’s lusophone musicians to similar global trends. A female voice-over states that “a new image of Portuguese music is in motion all around the world.”

Flashy graphics guide the viewer through the documentary. As its main ideas and objectives are already materialized in the press kit, audiovisual material can be fully

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<sup>142</sup> Editor of Lusáfrica, based in Paris, talks about the differences in incentives between France and Portugal (also see paragraph 2.2.).

<sup>143</sup> “Este documentário é uma *visão subjectiva* sobre o percurso temporal e a identidade musical lusofono -que integra influências de Portugal, Brasil e PALOP- [e] tem como objectivo a sua divulgação. Todos os fragmentos das obras incluídas neste documentário têm carácter informativo e foram submetidos a *tratamento jornalístico*.” [my italics].

utilized to drive the scriptwriters' points home. There is a limited amount of binding text between the songs (female voice-over). Between and during interviews, music can always be heard and video clips abound. For each of these soundtracks, the artist/title/year is continuously indicated at the bottom of the screen.

The interviews are conducted both during the day and at night mainly against the canvas of daily life in Lisbon, be it on a stairway, in a living room, in a self-made studio, in an office, or in front of residential buildings. The suggestion given seems that lusophone musics can be heard in the city's ordinary places, being part and parcel of daily reality. The UIK project video clip is exemplary in that singer (with a megaphone), bass player and drummer (with kit) perform among people in a subway train and on a vegetable market.

The story of decolonization and subsequent migration to Portugal -both of *retornados* and Africans- as well as its effects on expressive culture in Portugal, is conveyed by means of pictures and audio fragments from colonial times, old film archives of historical events, music video clips of the 1970s and 1980s, and moving images of Portuguese-speaking countries today (Cape Verde, Angola, Brazil and Portugal are shown). The suggestion seems to be that *lusofonia* is a continuing and constitutive part of the daily life of the countries and diasporas that form part of it.

EMI-editor David Ferreira is filmed saying that lusophone musics bring people together: it is what they identify with. "This revolution already exists in the way children interact in school, [between black en white boyfriends and girlfriends], and in the way we see musicians working together [...] *but there is still this crust in society*. Major radio stations and record labels seem to be unreceptive to all this" [transcribed from documentary]. Celina Pereira -a Cape Verdian musician who also has been active in the field of cultural education in Lisbon's primary schools- thinks there is a "similarity in terms of emotions which drives people into recognizing themselves in the other" [transcribed from documentary]. Da Weasel, finally, implicitly points to the need for *lusofonia* as a uniting factor: "what we need is to find an identity because sampling from our heritage is very important. It's all there for the picking" [transcribed from documentary]. This idea is tacitly but intimately connected with the concepts of power and agency. Intertextually referring to the Carnation

revolution of 25 April 1974 (indirectly caused by events in the then colonial PALOP, and leading to their subsequent decolonization), the documentary shows a DJ scratching in front of a national guard at Lisbon's historic Largo do Carmo, together with revolutionary fresco's and graffiti.

*Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* adopts a rather mercantile approach. It links Portugal's colonial past to the insufficient marketing of migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries. The musicians that are interviewed already have some degree of visibility: most of them have a record label that publishes their work, and have produced video clips. This may well serve the goal of the documentary, reaching wider audiences by portraying more or less familiar interviewees. However, migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries at the grassroots level (playing in bars, restaurants or associations) are not represented.

Because of the focus on recording musicians, performance practice and public reception are less well represented. Instead, recorded music is aired and video clips are shown. A large amount of these clips show sensuous images of the artists' place of origin. In the case of Lura, Bonga, Cesária Évora, Tcheka and others, this entails a combination of dancers, beaches and local population that rather evokes a touristic notion of 'easy life'<sup>144</sup>. Black girls in bikini dancing, together or apart with male dancers with nude torso, create a strong visual link between music and body/dance/sensuality.<sup>145</sup> This relationship between music and dance also remains transnationally visible in Lisbon, through parts of live performances that are incorporated into the documentary. Live recordings featuring Maria João and Mário Laginha, Da Weasel, Conjunto Ngonguenha, Boss AC, Buraka Som Sistema, and Sara Tavares show an ecstatic public dancing. Generally speaking however, the actual performance practice of the portrayed musicians is absent.

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<sup>144</sup> Less frequently, social realities and city life are also portrayed.

<sup>145</sup> As pointed out to me via e-mail by Jorge de La Barre, most of these 'sensuous clips' are not made by RBMA, but by the musicians' record labels. He argues: "como é óbvio a RBMA não produziu todo o 'footage', ficou integrando bastantes trechos de clipes de editoras ou artistas. Mas mesmo assim [,] a RBMA não deixa de ser ou de reclamar-se como uma espécie de plataforma performativa no sentido em que ela acaba por criar a realidade que ela está promovendo - para parafrasear Austin ela 'diz' coisas para 'fazê-las'."

I think it would be interesting to investigate into who has the editing 'final word' regarding these video clips: the artist or the record company? And do they hence create or recreate the public's expectations?

### 3.4. Conclusion

*Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* sonically embodies the idea of *lusofonia*. At the same time, it promotes musical hybrids in Portugal. To do so, the Portuguese delegation of Red Bull Music Academy (RBMA) focused on the cosmopolitan connections of Lisbon as a postcolonial metropolis. They constructed a narrative that suggests that lusophone sounds have evolved but still belong together, making a strong plea for revalorizing an historical notion of *lusofonia*, that is also present in the ‘new multiculturalism’ of a generation of urban, hip hop influenced musicians. The use of Portuguese and the increasing hybridity of lusophone musics should have a corresponding mercantile answer in Portugal that has largely been lacking. This can also be said to be true for the documentary itself, which was influential in 2006, but is now difficult to buy. Through the Internet however, this new image of ‘Portuguese music’ can still reach part of its intended audience.

*Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* mostly shows established musicians in the context of the record industry. Meanwhile, musical dynamics and social transformations from underlying migratory contexts are largely omitted. It is my hypothesis that a representation of *lusofonia* in Lisbon could be further enriched by interviewing migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries that perform in the circuit of bars, restaurants and associations. Is *lusofonia* as relevant to them as one would believe after seeing the documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução*? I will explore the life stories of these musicians through ethnographic interviewing and participatory observation in chapter 5. I am especially interested in exploring whether the concept of *lusofonia* informs their musics, and if so, to what extent.

#### 4. Associação Sons da Lusofonia and its festival Lisboa Mistura

Travel with your ears (Christopher Borkowsky Akbar, WOMEX-director) <sup>146</sup>

In this chapter, I will analyze the intermediary role and actions of Sons da Lusofonia, a voluntary association that has evoked *lusofonia* as part of its goals. I will analyze its objectives, its initial evolution towards the Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia (1995), as well as the musicians that it presents during Lisboa Mistura - its yearly festival with migrant musicians in Lisbon (since 2006). I have chosen to focus on the festival dimension because it displays a specific kind of discourse that is consonant with the associations' objectives.

Using discourse analysis of ethnographic interviews and other materials pertaining to the musicians and projects, and analyzing the editions in which I was present, I will attempt to show how Lisboa Mistura constructs a narrative towards interculturality that is not in conflict with the Association's earlier evocations of the concept of *lusofonia*<sup>147</sup>.

##### 4.1. Associação Sons da Lusofonia

The Associação Sons da Lusofonia<sup>148</sup> was founded in Lisbon in 1996 by Portuguese saxophone player Carlos Martins<sup>149</sup>. One year earlier, Martins had already brought

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<sup>146</sup> I met Christopher Borkowsky Akbar in Recife -PE, Brazil in February 2005 during Portomusical 1, which he organized. We had been on the same plane. During the conference, he gave me his name card with this phrase on it.

<sup>147</sup> By interculturality, I mean "a dynamic process by which people from different cultures interact to learn about and question their own and each other's cultures. Over time this may lead to cultural change. It recognises the inequalities at work in society and the need to overcome these. It is a process which requires mutual respect and acknowledges human rights."

<http://www.coventry.ac.uk/researchnet/abc/a/4875>

Also see Guilherme, Glaser and Méndez-García (2010) in this respect.

I have experienced difficulties in coming across straightforward definitions of 'interculturality' in other academic literature.

<sup>148</sup> <http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com>

together PALOP migrant musicians in the Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia (see 4.2.). However, in the yearly editions of the festival Lisboa Mistura<sup>150</sup> (see 4.3.), both musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries and others were promoted. The 2008 edition of Lisboa Mistura saw the production of a series of 13 video programs, a documentary and a book [all under the name *Lisboa Mistura*]<sup>151</sup>, next to the Gala Intercultural<sup>152</sup> (18/12/2008), in co-organization with ACIDI, broadcast by RTP and recorded on the CD *Juntos na Diversidade*, closing the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in Lisbon. Still in 2008, Oficinas Portáteis de Música (OPA) was initiated, a pedagogical project of cultural intervention through music for youngsters living in Lisbon's poorer neighborhoods.<sup>153</sup>

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 Género, and New Time Recursos Humanos. In the past, it also received support by CNC - Centro Nacional de Cultura, SIC Notícias, Subfilmes Creative Network, and Castanheira Só Música. The association promotes “comprehensive interventions that ally social intervention and global education to music and the interaction between communities, people and arts.”<sup>154</sup> It 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

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<sup>149</sup> Carlos Martins -a Portuguese saxophone player, clarinet player and composer- studied at the Conservatório Nacional (Lisbon), Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (Lisbon) and IX Seminário Internacional de Música (Barcelona). He has dedicated himself professionally to jazz, with a strong link to art music, composing for music and dance. As an arranger, he has experimented with mixing jazz and música popular portuguesa. Transcribed from Curvelo, António (2010), ‘Carlos Martins’, in Salwa Castelo-Branco (coord.) (2010), *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX. /*. Círculo de Leitores/Temas e Debates, pp. 747-8.

<sup>150</sup> <http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com/Projectos/LisboaMistura2009/tabid/102/language/pt-PT/Default.aspx>

<sup>151</sup> Associação Sons da Lusofonia (ed.) (2008), *Lisboa Mistura*. ISBN 978-989-20-1364-0

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> The objective is allowing them to voice themselves through music, offering tools and ways to create a proper identity inside the city's culture. <http://sonslusofonia.blogspot.com>

<sup>154</sup> <http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com>

implementação junto das várias comunidades residentes na área da Grande Lisboa” (Martins 2010). As such, one of the association’s main goals 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.).

#### 4.2. Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia

During a personal interview with Carlos Martins on 7/1/2010, he talked about his arrival in Lisbon from Alentejo, after having witnessed many *retornados* and migrants from PALOP settling in Portugal during his adolescence. Besides his studies in saxophone and composition at the Conservatório Nacional, Martins performed with African musicians in Lisbon’s clubs until the early hours. “Tinha muitos amigos músicos que tinham acabado de chegar, que tinham chegado à Portugal também nesta altura, de vários países, e tocávamos tudo juntos: Cesária Évora [,] Tito Paris, Paulinho Vieira, .... só que havia só um [lugar] nesta altura, que era o Bana, uma discoteca” (Interview with Carlos Martins on 7/1/2010). Playing with PALOP migrant musicians greatly influenced Martins. “Ganhei um respeito enorme, pois eu falava com os músicos luso-africanos[,] eram pessoas [com] as quais ligava muito, aprendi muito, e com as quais tinha uma relação de amizade[.] Isso deu-me uma grande ajuda para eu no fundo viver a questão da *interculturalidade* mental” [my italics] (Ibid.). Martins’ awareness of this interculturality stood in stark contrast with a pejorative societal conception of migrant musicians in Portugal at the time: “isto tudo aconteceu numa altura em que [os] músicos quer no Ritz club quer no Beleza não tinham a mínima dignidade na comunidade” (Ibid.).

Martins got fully involved with Lisbon’s migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in the mid 1990s, through Lisbon 1994 and the foundation of the association Sons da Lusofonia. He points out that Lisbon showed a lack of structure and support, despite the artistic potential present. “Em 1994, fui convidado para fazer algumas coisas com músicos em termos culturais[.] Havia possibilidades mas poucos recursos deste lado[.] Lisboa como capital da cultura nesta altura foi uma coisa



desorganizada.” (Ibid.). In 1995, Martins founded the Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia, followed by the associação Sons da Lusofonia in 1996. “Encontramo-nos com [uns 20] músicos, ensaiavamos juntos, fazíamos algumas aventuras musicais digamos. [...] A Orquestra era um grande *projecto português de divulgação dos músicos africanos*, fomos tocar em vários tipos de festivais internacionais. Depois os próprios artistas [tornaram-se conhecidos] e nunca mais voltaram à orquestra” (Ibid.) [my italics]. Like some voices in the documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução*, Martins points here at Portugal’s privileged position in promoting lusophone musics.

Martins criticizes the term *lusofonia*, arguing that it has not been used appropriately. He also questions the prefix ‘luso’, which in his view refers to ‘som luso’, ‘music referring to or originating in Portugal’<sup>155</sup>. “Eu dizia que a *lusofonia* é um conceito, nós vivemos conceitos, só que, depois na prática, a *lusofonia* é o que nós fazemos. E o que nós fazemos tem sido mal feito. Portanto, a *lusofonia* não existe enquanto uma prática boa, descontraída, qualitativa, de troca ... [Agora,] nós [portugueses], *sem a Lusofonia, não tínhamos tido condição nenhuma para encarrar questões interculturais*”<sup>156</sup> [my italics] (Ibid.). The latter statement has informed the festival Lisboa Mistura since its beginning: “Nós chegamos a um ponto em que a *lusofonia*, é o que nós fazemos dela. E isto o que é o nosso trabalho com o festival Lisboa Mistura” (Ibid.).

#### 4.2. Festival Lisboa Mistura

As has been pointed out above, the festival Lisboa Mistura (since 2006), has been promoting both musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries as well as others, demonstrating a shift in the public discourse of Associação Sons da Lusofonia from

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<sup>155</sup> “Um das problemas maiores que havia com *lusofonia* -e eu disse isso desde muito cedo- foi: *lusofonia* é uma coisa fechada, e quanto mais fechado, mais esteril.” (Interview with Carlos Martins, 7/1/2010).

<sup>156</sup> Informally, after the interview, Martins made the following, interesting statement: “O que seria Portugal sem a *lusofonia*? *Será que os brasileiros são lusofonos, ou que é nos que somos lusófonos por causa dos brasileiros?*” [my italics]

*lusofonia* towards interculturality. Below, I will analyze discourse and the selection in turn of musicians and projects in the festival's editions that I attended (28-29/11/2008 and 28-29/11/2009).

In 2008<sup>157</sup>, there were 3 important projects: Lis-Nave, Festa Intercultural and Novos Sons. **Lis-Nave** mainly counted on the participation of migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries<sup>158</sup>; **Festa Intercultural** brought music, dance and performative arts from Portuguese-speaking countries and others<sup>159</sup>; and **Novos Sons** was a pedagogical artistic project presenting youngsters of Lisbon's neighborhoods, mostly bringing hip-hop<sup>160</sup>. Beside these three main projects, the book and documentary *Lisboa Mistura* were launched.

In 2009<sup>161</sup>, the 3 main projects of 2008 were continued. **Lis-Nave 2009** brought together 18 musicians - Portuguese, Mozambican and Angolan migrant musicians - under the name Kota Cool Afrobeat Orkestra<sup>162</sup>; **Festa Cultural** was in part continued<sup>163</sup>; and **Novos Sons** continued into Oficina Portátil de Artes (OPA). Additionally, the book *Luso-Tropicália* (Tatiana Macedo) and a phonogram resulting from the ACIDI-project Escolhas were also launched.

Many of the featured musicians have connections with Portuguese-speaking countries (as first or second generation migrants). These musicians are either focusing on the traditions of their country of origin, or are making hybrid musics. Parts of

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<sup>157</sup> <http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com/Projectos/LisboaMistura2008/tabid/72/language/pt-PT/Default.aspx>

<sup>158</sup> NBC, Bob the Rage Sense, Skunk, Cacique '97, Kimi Djabate, Galissá, Buba Djabate, Makongo, Orelha Negra, André Fernandes Quinteto, Marta Hugon, Couple Coffee, a.o

<sup>159</sup> Dimitry Bogomolov (Russia), Miguel Sermão (Angola), Dança do Leão (China), Batucadeiras (Cape Verde), Galissá (*korá* from Guinea-Bissau), Awaaz (music and dance from India), Muzenza (capoeira, maculelê and roda de samba from Brazil), Batoto Yetu (African dance from Portugal), and Ana Marta, António Jorge and Gilberto Silva (fado, Portugal)

<sup>160</sup> Orquestra de percussão Kukiuro, Soldado Revolucionário, Peter Mastah e Mandiglas, Movifem, and 10080 RPM

<sup>161</sup> <http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com/Projectos/LisboaMistura2009/tabid/102/language/pt-PT/Default.aspx>

<sup>162</sup> The group in fact united members of Cool Hipnoise, Terrakota e Cacique '97), with a guest performance of Carlos Martins on saxophone during one of the final songs.

<sup>163</sup> Performances of André Cabaço Quintet (Mozambique), Carmen Souza (Cape Verde), Batida (Portugal/Angola), Dhoad Gypsies from Rajasthan (India), Ciganos d'Ouro (gypsy community of Portugal), a.o.

projects such as Lis-Nave, Festa Intercultural, *Lisboa Mistura TV* and *Luso-Tropicália* point to the continued importance of the concept of *lusofonia*. In general however, presentations aim to foment interculturality and to promote diversity, using the artistic human capital of resident communities of Lisbon. This is in line with the objectives of Associação Sons da Lusofonia.

The festival Lisboa Mistura is explicit about the fact that *lusofonia* forms the basis for interculturality in Lisbon. Lusophone cultures are heterogenous, so *lusofonia* is necessarily intercultural. Carlos Martins confirmed this idea during our interview on 7/1/2010. “A nossa relação estende-se muito além da *lusofonia*, e o nosso interesse é obviamente de cosmopolitismo, que é o meu interesse inicial.” (Ibid.) In this sense, Lisboa Mistura is “uma evolução de toda a relação tida com os povos de língua portuguesa,” pointing at the importance of the relation between *lusofonia* and “extra-*lusofonia*” [Carlos Martins’ term] (Ibid.). As Martins points out, this relation seems to point both to non-lusophone sounds within Lisbon, as to the relationship of *lusofonia* with other cultural systems that are based on a common language (e.g. English Commonwealth, Francophonie).

According to Martins, Lisbon is in need of *intercultural spots* to achieve this goal, “sitios onde pudesse haver actividades interculturais de forma fluida. Há poucos sitios onde isso acontece, havia Beleza que fechou, pois há clubes, como Tito Paris e a Casa da Morna[,] pois há outros onde se faz misturas e tal, mas na verdade não há sitios” (Ibid.).<sup>164</sup> He argues that an *intercultural forum* is necessary to coordinate these musical activities in Lisbon, stimulating interculturality and working together with other associations in the field. “O que faz falta em Lisboa é um Forum de Interculturalidade<sup>165</sup>, um forum permanente sobre interculturalidade e relações transculturais, a criar, desenvolver e patrocinar com outros entidades que já trabalham nessa area, [a criar] pontes de relação, [e] com a criação de marketing tácticas.

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<sup>164</sup> Referring to Africa.Cont, Martins states: “Um centro só para África não pode ser, Lisboa tem imensa gente, e o cosmopolitismo de Lisboa exige mais do que África. [...] Se isso teria ter feito 20 anos antes, era óptimo.” (Interview with Carlos Martins, 7/1/2010).

<sup>165</sup> “A Pedagogia e a Cooperação através das artes, e em particular na área da música e comportamentos expressivos, servem como veículos de comunicação privilegiados, no sentido de consolidar a rede de cooperação cultural e técnica que gostaríamos de ver como um ‘Fórum Intercultural’ na cidade de Lisboa” (Martins 2010).

Deveria ter um lugar fixo também, mas não é o essencial do forum” (Ibid.).<sup>166</sup>  
According to Martins, interculturality is essential in empowering development of migrant communities and a society in general.<sup>167</sup>

#### 4.4. Conclusion

Through an analysis of objectives and expressive culture, I have tried to show how the festival Lisboa Mistura explicitly evokes the concept of interculturality, using local migrant musicians and their communities of greater Lisbon. The festivals does not actively use the concept of *lusofonia*, even though it features many musicians from lusophone countries.

Carlos Martins, the festival’s director and founder of Associação Sons da Lusofonia, however affirms that *lusofonia* forms the basis for interculturality in Lisbon, explicit in its goals about wanting to make a cultural contribution between Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries, promoting a cultural identity that is based on common traditions towards the future.

I thus argue that the festival Lisboa Mistura works with the notion of interculturality that is not in conflict with Associação Sons da Lusofonia earlier evocations of the concept of *lusofonia*, as evident from the rhetoric used at the time of Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia. The cultures of Portuguese-speaking countries are heterogenous, which makes *lusofonia* necessarily intercultural.

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<sup>166</sup> Martins points at the responsibility of transnational institutions such as CPLP in this respect: “A CPLP presta muito pouco ao nível de conhecimento, porque se fundou não sobre a cultura mas sim sobre a questão empresarial, que é um erro estratégico grave. [...] Fazem pouco enquanto a cultura, é o pouco que fazem está mal feito e não tem visão cultural.” (Interview with Carlos Martins, 7/1/2010).

<sup>167</sup> “Surge a necessidade de criar uma intervenção intercultural onde a criatividade humana é assumida como um poderoso instrumento de comunicação, de união e de clarificação das nossas diferenças, e que muitas vezes o outro somos nós. [É] do cruzamento intercultural que nascem a força e os caminhos para o desenvolvimento.” [my italics] (Associação Sons da Lusofonia (ed.) 2008).

## 5. Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians in Lisbon

Modernizar o passado é uma revolução musical (Chico Science & Nação Zumbi) <sup>168</sup>

In this chapter, I will analyze how musicians from different countries that speak Portuguese conceptualize the notion of *lusofonia* and how this concept might affect their creative work and their opportunities to perform.<sup>169</sup> In addition, I will propose a management model based on collaboration between authorities and associations that could contribute to increasing the visibility of and professional opportunities for migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon and abroad.

My analysis is based on ethnographic interviews and participant-observation with selected musicians from Lusophone countries (see AP1). I designed an interview guide (see AP2) including questions about *lusofonia*, language and music as well as the context of (lusophone) musics in Lisbon. I started each interview with open questions, only discussing concepts (such as *lusofonia*) or categories (such as lusophone musics) as the interview progressed and if these denominations were not emically used. Starting with life stories, I addressed specific topics related to my research questions.

A specific focus for the selection of interviewees (migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon) arose during ethnographic research. A first selection criterion was nationality (different Portuguese-speaking countries), given the contrast between the transnational dimension of *lusofonia* and the identification of many interviewees with their former home country. Second, I grouped some musicians -all singer-songwriters that have largely performed outside of the commercial circuit- together, given the similarity of their discourse. Third, all interviewees are first generation musicians, allowing for an applied transnational

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<sup>168</sup> Chico Science & Nação Zumbi (1996), 'Monólogo ao pé do ouvido', *Afrociberdelia*, Sony Brazil

<sup>169</sup> I have also carried out discourse analysis in turn of the concepts of interculturality and cosmopolitanism; interestingly, except for 2 marginal occurrences, these have not been emically used by any interviewee.

perspective. I interviewed the following musicians<sup>170</sup>: Aldo Milá (Angola), Guto Pires (Guinea-Bissau), Jefferson Negreiros (Brazil), Tonecas (São Tomé and Príncipe), José Amaral (East Timor), Zézé Barbosa (Cape Verde) and Costa Neto (Mozambique). These singer-songwriters mostly regard the music that they make as traditional, being all first generation migrants, they maintain strong (emotional or physical) connections with their home countries. The individual experience of each of these musicians addresses my research problem from various individual perspectives. How do they see themselves? Do they link themselves to the idea of *lusofonia*? How does *lusofonia* possibly affect their relationship to other musicians, to Portuguese institutions and to their own creative processes?

I have observed individual performances of my interviewees in restaurants and bars in Lisbon: Aldo Milá in Irish Pub O’Gilins, Jefferson Negreiros with Dona Canô in Onda Jazz and with Banda Toque de Classe in Cuba Libre, José Amaral in Associação Solidariedade Imigrante (SOLIM), Tonecas in restaurant Sabor ao Brasil, Costa Neto in FNAC Colombo café, and Zézé Barbosa in Associação Caboverdiana Casa Mãe.

### 5.1. Lusofonia and language

Most of the interviewees first relate *lusofonia* with the issue of language. They point out that Portuguese can be seen as a language of unification. However, they indicate that the protagonism of Portuguese may not imply a postcolonial cultural imperialism. Indigenous languages and local Portuguese variants should be approached without preconceptions. For CN, *lusofonia* “enquanto uma comunidade de países que têm como coisa em comum uma língua oficial que falam, isso é importante, é um contributo muito grande, mas é preciso ter estes cuidados em relação à mal usar isso para fazer desaparecer outras coisas né [,] como uma idéia ainda oportunista que às

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<sup>170</sup> I will use initials to make identification easier: AM (Aldo Milá); CN (Costa Neto); GP (Guto Pires); JA (José Amaral); JN (Jefferson Negreiros); TO (Tonecas) and ZB (Zézé Barbosa). BV refers to myself as interviewer.

As I have done elsewhere in this thesis, I will indicate key words in **negrito**, and leading arguments in *italics*.

vezes faz sentir de querer prevalecer determinadas culturas acima de outras” (Interview with CN, 10/12/2009). For AM, “*lusofonia* é um fenómeno de 500 anos” that has acquired another meaning, as well as a great protagonism, since the PALOP gained their independency. “Todas as pessoas entendem, pelo menos falam português, a língua de unificação, de unidade. A independência veio dar uma força, porque antigamente era todo mundo português não é” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009).

GP argues that, although “a *lusofonia* significa ‘luso’, Portugal, português”, its strength today can be found outside of Portugal, in Brazil and PALOP: “penso que, não Portugal mas outros países, têm mais condições, são mais tranquilos, para fazer entrar cada vez mais a língua portuguesa” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009). For CN, this also entails to assume “a língua portuguesa como a nossa, com todas as formas que ela ganha, em função das diversas origens de cada um, ou então não vale a pena, porque não se pode ter um complexo de que, por exemplo no caso da música, a língua portuguesa só fica bonita cantada desta forma ou daquela”<sup>171</sup> (Interview with CN, 10/12/2009).

JN points to the global influence of Brazil in promulgating Portuguese: “tudo relacionado à língua portuguesa hoje eu acho que é mais puxado ao Brasil, no geral e na música e cultura” (Interview with JN, 10/11/2009 and 4/2/2010). This has a certain logic given its demography and migrants abroad. However, mediatic contact with Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries is a relatively recent phenomenon in Brazil. As JN points out, “nós temos Portugal na televisão há 5 anos, antes não. Era, ‘ah, é Portugal’. Hoje você tem mesmo Portugal, não só pela televisão, mas também pela Internet. Entao nós começamos a entender já a língua portuguesa no Brasil. [E] a música facilitou” (Ibid.).

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<sup>171</sup> According to CN, “não se pode ter um complexo de que que a língua portuguesa só fica bonita no fado, que a língua portuguesa só fica bonita cantado em brasileiro, pronto mas isto também é um pouco uma luta, entre aspás, que nos também vivemos fazer, e assim que ainda há algum preconceito: a língua portuguesa quando é falada com sonoridade africana ainda é olhado como uma forma mais ... como é que ia o dizer ... a forma mais baixa de falar o português [...] Devidamente falada não significa falar igual ao outro, falar como eu sei, como me sinto bem, não vou falar como português, nem um português do continente vai falar igual a um açoriano.” (Interview with CN, 10/12/2009).

In sum, the breadth of contemporary Portuguese does not confine itself to one nation state, but to (the interrelations between) several. This plural belonging opens the way for a valorization of other **local languages, dialects** and cultures. As pointed out by AM, “o facto do português ser uma língua de unidade nacional ao nível do pensamento público não significa que temos que omitir toda a expressividade estética-cultural nas línguas dos respectivos povos ou vários grupos étnicos desses povos”<sup>172</sup> (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009). GP in this sense points to Creole, that today “é considerada a língua nacional de Guiné-Bissau, enquanto o português é a língua oficial” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009). For TO, talking about São Tomé and Príncipe, also English and French can be international vehicles of dissemination. “Português ouve-se em toda parte do mundo, pois nós estamos numa zona francófona, e inglês é uma língua internacional que todos falam” (Interview with TO, 14/12/2009).

Most of my interviewees sing in their mother tongue and other local languages or dialects of their countries of origin, next to Portuguese. GP sings in urban Creole, next to Portuguese and languages of various ethnic groups, such as Balanza and Mandinga. JA recorded a CD in 3 languages: Mumbai, Tetum and Portuguese. In various cases, Portuguese is thus not the first or only language of the interviewees. As JA points out, “cantar em português não tem o mesmo sabor do que cantar em Tetum, né. Nós na altura não sentimos obrigado a fazer isso [cantar em português], era uma espontaneidade” (Interview with JA, 5/1/2010). ZB notes a similar phenomenon with some Creole speakers that start to sing in Portuguese: “há gente de Cabo Verde que canta crioulo e depois de repente tá com português[,] e canta bem! Até as vezes gosto de ouvir estas pessoas a cantarem mais, e digo, ‘e pá, tou a gostar de ouvir cantar-te em português, né, e isto em Portugal” (Interview with ZB, 26/11/2009).

These interviewees thus indicate their language they are used to and might be inclined to use in their communication. They also point to power-related ambiguity between Portuguese and other languages of Portuguese-speaking countries. CN who sings in Ronga and Portuguese, is aware of this: “Eu pessoalmente já ouvi pessoas dizerem que em relação aos minhas próprias músicas, ‘olha, mais se calhar tu deverias

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<sup>172</sup> AM signals that these local languages “são o suporte cultural local, isto quer dizer, em que a língua é praticamente um instrumento da memória cultural específico desses povos, não é?” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009).



cantar com os teus idiomas’, e nunca me souberam explicar porquê. Claro que nunca vou interpretar uma música do Moçambique, uma música minha em português igual ao fadista, nem igual a um cantor de samba, sou de Moçambique”<sup>173</sup> (Interview with CN, 10/12/2009).

## 5.2. Lusofonia and music

In this paragraph, I will attempt to understand how migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon value the concept of *lusofonia*. I will explore whether the concept of *lusofonia* contributes to creating a new identification between musicians coming from Portuguese-speaking countries, leading to their collaboration. I will also analyze the musics that are often labeled as ‘música lusófona’ [lusophone musics]<sup>174</sup> by some musicians, publishers, cultural entrepreneurs, journalists and others.<sup>175</sup>

For many interviewees, the connection to language problematizes a rigid definition of ‘**música lusófona**’, a denomination that not all of them emically use. As AM points out, “O que é música lusófona? É a música dos países africanos de língua portuguesa mais as suas línguas locais, ou é só a música dos países de língua oficial portuguesa simplesmente em português? O que eu tenho verificado, é quando se trata de ‘mais as línguas locais’, este lado está em dificuldade” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and

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<sup>173</sup> CN: “Eu canto mais em ronga que é um idioma que falo melhor, com o qual cresci né, ocorre-me muitas vezes que estou a comunicar-me em um idioma que não tem convenção ortográfica.” (Interview with CN, 10/12/2009).

<sup>174</sup> Virginia Brás Gomes, not included here because of my focus on countries instead of regions (Brás Gomes talks about Goa), offers an interesting distinction between musics sung in the Portuguese language (*‘músicas lusófonas’*) and all musics existing in the territory of Portuguese-speaking countries (*‘músicas da lusofonia’*) in this respect:

“Eu não sei se há muito *música lusófona* como tal. Eu penso que pode haver um conceito de *música da Lusofonia*, ou seja, de todos esses povos que partilharam com Portugal a sua história. [Música lusófona:] eu aqui acho entender uma uniformização que não é vantajosa, porque penso que se perderia um bocado o conceito dos diferentes componentes da *lusofonia* [...] Não seria um win win situation para ninguém” (Interview with Virginia Brás Gomes, 8/1/2010, my italics).

<sup>175</sup> Interesting in this respect is the question-reply section ‘O que é a música lusófona para ti? Como a sentes?’ on the blog Caipirinha Lounge, available online at <http://lusotunes.blogspot.com/2010/03/o-que-significa-musica-lusofona-para-ti.html>

4/12/2009). Asked about the utility of Portuguese, CN echoes AM: “primeiro, assumir a língua portuguesa como a minha também. [Ela] faz parte da nossa cultura, são mais de 500 anos com a língua portuguesa em Moçambique. Mas não posso dizer que só falo português”<sup>176</sup> (Interview with CN, 10/12/2009). Finally, GP thinks that “se nós africanos deixarmos de cantar em português, já não existiria música lusófona.[...] Poderia ter crescido mais. Mas não cresceu tanto como devia” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009).

For Brazilian JN, the joint use of Portuguese seems to be interesting in understanding other cultures: “Então a *lusofonia* faz o quê? Com que a língua seja uma coisa mágica, que eu sei o que os brasileiros estão dizendo sei o que os africanos estão dizendo, tudo. [...] Então o que acontece: eu fui num show onde cantaram crioulo. Um batida muito legal, só que não sei o que tá dizendo. Talvez se eu souber o que tá dizendo, aquela música para mim seria mais gira” (Interview with JN, 10/11/2009 and 4/2/2010).

This is conflicting with the view expressed by AM, that argues that a specific focus on ‘música lusófona’ is “limitante, porque te permite exprimir só uma parte” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009). AM also posits a contrast between traditional music and electronically generated music in disliking the denomination ‘música lusófona’, pointing to the role of Portuguese media such as RDP/RTP África in promoting the latter. He argues that “a música lusófona foi criada por um protótipo estruturado por uns especialistas cá no rádio; que acho um abuso de confiança da cultura africana. Quase 80% da música lá é eletrônica, como aquela bateria eletrônica [bate um ritmo na mesa], cantada em português. O africano precisa de ser integrado no seu próprio país, com os seus próprios instrumentos, com a sua própria cultura. Eu não me revejo nesta África” (Ibid.). AM, suggests that RDP/RTP África “tem muito poucas músicas de outros países que não são de expressão portuguesa”, should conduct a survey “a perguntar se os africanos portugueses ou os africanos dos

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<sup>176</sup> Interesting is António Pires’ remark: “Temos que perceber que o português foi a língua dominante em Angola, Cabo Verde, Guiné, Moçambique, e outros territórios durante alguns tempos. Mas as populações locais nunca deixaram de utilizar as suas línguas. [É] o caso especial por exemplo de Guiné-Bissau e de Cabo Verde, onde foi criado o crioulo, né. [...] *Isto já é uma barreira à um conceito alargado de Lusofonia. Porque Lusofonia, e não kimbundofonia?* Ok, há uma língua em comum, mas os portugueses do Brasil é diferente do português de Portugal, como é diferente do crioulo do Cabo Verde.” (Interview with António Pires, 13/11/2009, my italics).

A. Pires is a Lisbon-based world Music DJ and former Blitz journalist that has explicitly written about *lusofonia* and lusophone migrant musicians in Portugal. He was interviewed in a initial stage of my field research.

PALOP se revejam numa rádio assim” (Ibid.). This is in line with GP that signals a Portuguese lack in relation to what he calls ‘intellectual music’. “É o matriz de um dado país. Eu, música banal não faço. A música é como comida: muito gente está com fome e não sabe comer. Para mim kizomba é hamburguer e não enche” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009).

Various interviewees indicate a **growing interaction** between Portuguese-speaking musicians and musics, as part of a daily reality. In the vast majority of cases, the groups in which the interviewees play or have played unite members originating in CPLP-countries. GP has worked with “toda gente que toca bem, brasileiros, portugueses, africanos,” recording his first cds “com portugueses, com angolano, com moçambicano, com senegaleses, com caboverdiano, com são tomenses” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009). AM also put quality before nationality: “a minha banda tem Moçambique, Guiné, Brasil, Cabo Verde. Sempre que toquei cá em Portugal, tocava com pessoas de várias nacionalidades. Para já, preciso de músicos que, antes de serem nacionais, sabem exprimir tecnicamente aquilo que preciso” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009). ZB states that today, “músicos de Cabo Verde pode[m] cantar com músicos de Angola, ou Angola canta com Cabo Verde. Ou Cabo Verde com Portugal. Agora está a acontecer muito. Nos palcos e fora dos palcos, nos estúdios de gravação, e na parte comercial também” (Interview with ZB, 26/11/2009).

Interaction in terms of musical repertoire originating in Portuguese-speaking countries is also frequent, as individuals or groups bring covers of popular artists. As TO points out, “aprendi mais com a música brasileira, caboverdiana, portuguesa, angolana, do que propriamente com a música de São Tomé e Príncipe. Mais e mais, compartilhamos uma coisa mais consistente, que possa ganhar mais divulgação” (Interview with TO, 14/12/2009). This translates itself in TO’s performance practice. “Eu canto fado numa questão de fazer um gesto de gratidão[.] Eu faço música de animação, com aquilo que é bom da música portuguesa, brasileira, africana no seu todo. Normalmente, o espaço onde eu vou só gosta de ouvir bossa nova, timbaladas ou uma valsa espanhola[.] Depois gosto muito da música portuguesa. Mas também toco muita música da minha terra” (Ibid.). GP is more experimental in his approach: bringing genres such as balança and gumbe, he tries to make “aquela mescla com música de Angola, Moçambique, música europeia, rock, punk, e, porque não, salsa. Eu mesclo quando acho bem, posso mesclar, fazer cruzamentos” (Interview with GP,

18/12/2009). A similar mix of traditional and experimental elements is clear from AM with his band Africa Beat. Finally, a more essentialist view is suggested by JN, pointing at the influence of Brazilian music: “pode chegar música de qualquer lugar do mundo[,] nós vamos *brasilear* ela” (Interview with JN, 10/11/2009 and 4/2/2010). This seems clear from the latter’s work as percussionist in the Portuguese-Brazilian band Dona Canô.

The musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries that I interviewed play together at informal jams, as special guests at each others concerts, in special projects inspired by *lusofonia* or at festivals<sup>177</sup> (in Lisbon and in other centers of the lusophone world) that are using the concept of *lusofonia* to promote musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries. As for the latter, certain interviewees, such as TO, JA, JN, CN and GP were lucky enough to participate in them. TO, for example, participated in a festival for CPLP<sup>178</sup>, connected to a seminar about the chambers of commerce of the Portuguese-speaking countries, in Brazil. “Foi um festival muito bom e interessante que juntou a comunidade toda. Havia [entre] 50 e 100 patrocinadores, empresas e pessoas. Acho que o esforço que a CPLP fez foi de sensibilização. Festivais têm um papel importante na divulgação da nossa cultura, para aquilo que há, tá justo, se puder fazer mais, ótimo” (Interview with TO, 14/12/2009).

In contrast, for interviewees such like ZB, this transnational festivals circuit inspired by the concept of *lusofonia* seems that of the ‘happy few’, resembling a closed circle controlled by impresarios: “O círculo fechado é para aquelas pessoas que querem ir mais longe, então fecham aquele circuito para ninguém mais[.] Há um festival ali! Vai o fulano. Um festival não sei que? Vai o mesmo fulano. [O] empresário dele tá a rodar para os sítios todos, não está a dar oportunidade de voz a outras pessoas” (Interview with ZB, 26/11/2009).

Cultural entrepreneurs have recently brought these musicians together to serve political and cultural goals on a transnational level. This takes place at official

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<sup>177</sup> In this respect please see paragraph 2.4.

<sup>178</sup> TO: “Havia Manecas Costa de Guiné-Bissau, Tito Paris representava Cabo Verde, Don Kikas de Angola, Raquel Tavares fadista de Portugal, Zé Amaral do Timor, as Timbila Muzimba de Moçambique, eu de São Tomé e Príncipe, [entre outros.] Tocamos todos, *representando a música do nosso país*. Manecas Costa foi o grande orchestrador disto tudo. [...] Correu tudo bem, eu em Abril [2010] vou lá outra vez, para Brasília, também tocar num evento da CPLP” [in fact ‘Nossa Língua, Nossa Música’; see paragraph 2.2.]” (Interview with TO, 14/12/2009, my italics).

occasions in Portuguese-speaking capitals, allowing musicians to play their own work. I argue that their presence has a double utility: it both legitimates/illustrates the transnational focus of the organizer as it promotes the musician individually and internationally.

However, this growing interaction **does not contribute to creating a new identification between musicians** that are coming from Portuguese-speaking countries. They seem to identify themselves in relation to their mother country or continent (such as Brazil and Africa), but not to the political concept of *lusofonia*. None of the musicians interviewed emically use the concept of *lusofonia* to denominate their interaction with other musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries. *Lusofonia* is a theoretical concept with little or no practical relevance for Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians.

All interviewees connect their music directly to their home country. They consider themselves cultural agents that use music as a way of preserving tradition. Most of all, they want to safeguard ‘traditional music’, promoting their native cultural values and languages, by using Lisbon as a communicative space <sup>179</sup>. AM puts it as follows: “primeiro, antes do mais, sou Aldo Milá, músico angolano, mas há também a vertente cosmopolita, como cidadão do mundo né [...] Eu saí de Angola e vim para o mundo, vim pra Portugal[,] mas fui carimbado” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009). As GP points out, “além de mostrar o contexto musical, também pretendo mostrar o ritmo e vários géneros musicais que ainda não estão explorados, e mostrar a ideologia musical de Guiné-Bissau: canções de alegria, de casamento, [e outros,] para não perdermos aquela educação” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009). This is in line with JA: “uma coisa com a qual me sempre preocupei foi que tinha que ser melodias originais e ritmos tradicionais de Timor. [Sempre quis divulgar] temas baseados na situação que se vivia em Timor politicamente e culturalmente” (Interview with JA, 5/1/2010).

The interviewed PALOP musicians largely see their work as contributing to the safeguarding and valorization of ‘African musics’. CN indicates that “é mais urgente defender a parte tradicional da música, música africana neste caso, do que

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<sup>179</sup> CN: “Artistas, particularmente os músicos que eu conheço melhor, muitas vezes esquecem-se daquilo que é a sua função principal: antes de serem músicos, são agentes culturais.” (Interview with CN, 10/12/2009).

aquilo que muita gente já está a fazer. Estou a dizer: ‘olha, façam uso de mim para valorizar o património que é do mundo’, não é?’ (Interview with CN, 10/12/2009). GP in this sense point to a bias towards African musics in Portugal: “Portugal exige automaticamente que a música seja daquela corrente de *branqueamento musical*. Tem que passar por fado [...] Um africano tem que branquear a música para poder passar por aqui. Acho que outros países, Espanha para frente, não vão branquear, o músico só vai como ele é, negro, a fazer a sua música negra. É a primeira vez que estou a falar isso, a vontade, porque há sítios onde nem vale a pena falar” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009). GP describes his resistance to this pressure to change his music to fit Portuguese taste as “uma luta” that has been going on since he arrived in Portugal 30 years ago.

The treatment of Brazilian musics in Portugal seems to be the opposite of the alleged musical whitening or devalorization of PALOP musics signaled above. Brazilian musics seem to have a more intimate relationship with Portuguese musics, as indicated by JN: “Fado, bossa nova: então isso é puro *lusofonia*. Porque a pessoa que tá aqui vai ouvir fado e vai perceber do ritmo da bossa nova. E a pessoa brasileira que vai ouvir fado vai conseguir aceitar porque tem bossa nova lá” (Interview with JN, 10/11/2009 and 4/2/2010).

The concept of *lusofonia*<sup>180</sup> may have no or little practical relevance for the interviewees, but some of them do use the concept in **pointing out future possibilities** for migrant musicians, in order to promote or disseminate the expressive culture of Portuguese-speaking countries.

For GP, *lusofonia* is a promising concept that does not receive the attention it needs. “Há algumas vozes que aproveitam esse nome para conseguir artistas por objetivos políticos, ainda não percebo porquê. [...] Existe no papel. Mas na prática? Culturalmente, a *lusofonia* não tem muito substância[,] mas pode vir a ter. [...] Não tem substância cultural porque os indivíduos que estão lá não sabem lidar com a cultura” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009). JN is in favor of *lusofonia* as a marketing term<sup>181</sup>, although he argues that Brazilian musicians will not sell more music because

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<sup>180</sup> As pointed out above, the concept of *lusofonia* was etically introduced halfway the interview, since it was not used by the interviewees themselves.

<sup>181</sup> The idea of *lusofonia* as a marketing label arose in various interviews in discussing dissemination.

of it. “Seria um bom título para trazer os países da língua portuguesa, seria como foi feito com a União Europeia, porque havia alguns países que estavam mal e os outros tentaram ajudar né. Acaba se ajudando por além da comunidade, e acho que há alguns países favoritos por estarem dentro da *lusofonia*. [Mesmo assim,] eu acho que a música brasileira não entra dentro da *lusofonia*”<sup>182</sup> (Interview with JN, 10/11/2009 and 4/2/2010). TO also likes the idea of marketing a product as lusophone music, “embora os empresários não estão muito virados por aí.” For JA, finally, the issue of various languages under the banner of *lusofonia* may be problematic in its dissemination as a label. “Pode tocar no contexto de *lusofonia*, mas vai cantar em que língua né. Se no contexto da *lusofonia* haver um interesse em conhecer essas línguas” (Interview with TO, 14/12/2009). However, JA implicitly suggests that the term can be useful in uniting forces and in increasing visibility of the elements it combines. “Falta aqui uma coisa, que estamos tão ricos e não está hoje sendo apreciados. Pode se ouvir muita música, bons músicos, mas eu vejo que pelo lado cultural, a CPLP ainda precisa da muita coisa. E quando eu estiver por aqui, vou lutar para isso” (Interview with JA, 5/1/2010).

Some interviewees point at the importance of implementing (a notion of) lusofonia in **cultural and civic education**. GP states that “grandes pesquisas podem servir a *lusofonia*, podem servir África e até Portugal” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009). CN argues that “os eventos que estão sendo disponibilizados[,] acho que servem para isso[,] acho que também devem contribuir na formação cultural e cívica do próprio povo” (Interview with CN, 10/12/2009). Much like Carlos Martins in paragraph 4.2., he explicitly denounces Portugal’s delay in recognizing its lusophone heritage. “O primeiro festival lusófono em que em participei foi em Berlim [.] Anos depois [houve] Lisboa, Capital Europeia da Cultura. 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” (Ibid.). Portugal

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<sup>182</sup> JN however positions Brazil outside of the framework of *lusofonia*:

“Música brasileira é conhecida no mundo inteiro como música brasileira, não música da *lusofonia*, isso não! A música brasileira, isso é como a Suíça não entrar na União Europeia. Não entrou né. Porque não é preciso. O Brasil também não precisa da *lusofonia*, só Brasil e vão consumir, mesmo dentro da *lusofonia*, os países da *lusofonia*, se nós não fizermos parte, nós vamos vender igual. [...]

Claro, se faz parte da língua portuguesa, Brasil vai estar. Mas, se não estivesse, não faria diferença nenhuma. Porque é mais fácil encontrarmos 5 países da *lusofonia*, Brasil e mais 4, talvez alguns destes 4 países fiquem mais conhecidos por estarem dentro deste projeto de *lusofonia*, mas o Brasil claro que não.” (Interview with JN, 10/11/2009 and 4/2/2010)

misses out on something if it does not caress its historical ties, argues CN. “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 que tem a responsabilidade de apresentar um pouco de todo aquilo que também já faz parte da sua própria história” (Ibid.).

### 5.3. Lusofonia and support

I will now analyze how and if the actions of governmental institutions and voluntary associations inform the creative work and identities of Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians. This chapter is relevant in discussing the receptivity of Portugal toward non-Portuguese lusophone musics.

A number of interviewees regard Lisbon as a contemporary **point of encounter** for migrant populations from Portuguese-speaking countries and its musicians. “Lisboa é a partida onde se encontram todos os músicos lusófonos. Lisboa é o centro, não de todo, mas é um ponto onde se pode conseguir em pouco tempo juntar todos os músicos de países de língua portuguesa” (Interview with JA, 5/1/2010). In this sense, Lisbon seems unique within Portugal. “Lisboa é um outro mundo do que Portugal. É diferente. Tive ontem numa cidade, em Torres Vedras, realmente tem músicos bons e tudo, sei lá, mas não é a frequência da música aqui. Aqui você tem pelo menos 10 bares com música brasileira. 10” (Interview with JN, 10/11/2009 and 4/2/2010). Migrant populations that have an historic presence in Lisbon have more interaction with the native Portuguese public of Lisbon. “Em Lisboa, nos sentimos em casa. É muito boa a aceitação de música de Cabo Verde cá em Portugal. [Em] um evento de 100 pessoas[,] 20% se calhar é africano, se calhar nem digo caboverdiano. É pá, então a maioria, 80%, é tudo português. [Eles] gostam, até dançam mesmo[,] conhecem as músicas, chegam ao pé de mim e dizem, ‘e pá, gostava que cantasse aquela morna’, e muitas vezes vão cantar comigo” (Interview with ZB, 26/11/2009).

According to all interviewees, Lisbon is not well prepared for its role in the lusophone world: it lacks a supportive network for the dissemination of ‘qualitative music’, that



does exist in other capitals and countries. GP thinks that “Portugal não está preparado para receber. [P]orque há anos eu vi grandes músicos talentosos, músicos africanos, que passaram por aqui, que podiam servir de ponte para Portugal. Está aqui neste momento um potencial que você nem imagina” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009). According to AM, “não há nenhum empresariado que invista a fulltime para o desenvolvimento cultural das sociedades sobretudo lusófonas.” He points out that in Lisbon, yes, Cape Verdian clubs may be found. But a club with music from Angola, São Tomé, Guinea? “Não há nada, porquê? Isto vem da ausência de dinamizadores culturais” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009). For GP, a possible explanation is that “aquilo que Portugal aceita é a música que ele conhece” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009). CN argues that “hoje em dia, de forma geral [em] Portugal, a música africana é divulgada como uma coisa banal, só para saltar. Isto é grave, porque a música serviu em África sempre para as coisas que nós configuramos como as mais sérias das nossas vidas” (Interview with CN, 10/12/2009). JN, finally, argues that “o próprio português deveria ser mais exigente. Se ele for mais exigente, obviamente teria mais bandas e variedade, e obviamente a música consumida seria de maior qualidade” (Interview with JN, 10/11/2009 and 4/2/2010). As for Portuguese-speaking countries, most interviewees agree that Brazilian musics get more airplay in the Portuguese media. JN points out that “se você for a ver todos as rádios de Portugal que já tocaram uma música brasileira, [vai ver que] eles não vão tocar música caboverdiana. A visibilidade da música brasileira é muito grande” (Ibid.). This is in line with JA: “Neste momento, julgo que o Brasil é o país mais ouvido por aqui, na rádio né. Agora Cabo Verde, Angola, Moçambique, Guiné-Bissau, São Tomé e Príncipe[,] se eles já passaram? Não sei. Eu acho que nunca passaram uma música do Timor na rádio” (Interview with JA, 5/1/2010).

According to the interviewed musicians, dissemination is very difficult. As TO points out, production and masterization facilities in Portugal are insufficient. Because of this lack of support, some of the interviewees have produced their own work. The rest did not reach that point.<sup>183</sup> The interviewees point at the need for **political action**.

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<sup>183</sup> This is in line with Cidra’s conclusions (2010: 196-7 and 784-7): “As edições fonográficas de intérpretes imigrantes não profissionalmente ligados à música ou de músicos vivendo nos PALOP que se deslocaram a Portugal para gravar obedeceram, maioritariamente, a investimentos pessoais. [...] Dada a inexistência de uma indústria musical estruturada, a edição fonográfica obedeceu acima de tudo a estratégias informais de mercantilização que envolveram músicos, empresários, editores e

There is a direct relation between a deficit there and a deficit here<sup>184</sup>. Local cultural promoters are largely absent, both in the country of origin and in Portugal. This is especially true for the PALOP. This calls for a change of mentality, indicates AM. “A política precisa de ser modernizada. Não há modernizadores. Nós cá temos um consulado, uma embaixada, recursos humanos, artistas, uma comunidade artística. O quê que falta? Falta dinamizadores” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009). GP is equally critical. “Os grandes homens, não só músicos, que estão aqui, não são bem aproveitados. São centenas. Outros têm sorte e outros não têm, mas a responsabilidade não é de Paris nem é da França para conhecer a música lusófona” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009).

According to a number of interviewees, national and supranational institutions should give more support and visibility to Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians - both grassroots performers and artists - on a regular basis. AM in this sense makes a plea for daily continuity through the idea of ‘cultural embassies’ [‘embaixadas culturais’]<sup>185</sup>, using a focus that is “cultural, não geográfica” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009). JA, himself cultural head of the Timorese Embassy in Lisbon, links this to a structural financial problem. “Enquanto apoios da embaixada<sup>186</sup>, temos vindo a trabalhar com associações, [mas] não é isso a função de uma embaixada. [Mesmo assim, temos dado] subsídio para manutenção” (Interview with JA, 5/1/2010). TO equally points to the need for structural funding. “Deveria também ter um orçamento para o desenvolvimento da cultura lusófona, nas juntas de freguesia, nas câmaras municipais, no ministério da cultura, na presidência da República” (Interview with TO, 14/12/2009).

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distribuidores de fonogramas. Estas negociações, regra geral, lesaram os músicos em detrimento de interesses empresariais informais.”

<sup>184</sup> I have taken this interesting idea from AM during a second interview with him:

*“Há uma relação com o défice de lá com o défice de cá. A falta de integração aqui dos músicos africanos é resultante da inexistência de interessados nos seus respectivos países que sejam promotores da cultura ou da música desses respectivos países. Então, a desintegração que existe também aqui na diáspora é resultante da falta de interesse dos próprios governantes nos seus respectivos países. O défice da diáspora é uma consequência do défice nacional. Existe uma interrelação entre deficiências.”* (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009, my italics).

<sup>185</sup> An idea uttered by AM during our first interview [27/11/2009].

<sup>186</sup> JA is chief of the cultural department of the Embassy of East Timor in Lisbon, next to being a lusophone migrant musician. He talks here with both faces.

“Estou aqui como responsável cultural neste momento, mas quando saio por esta porta fora, sou cantor timorense. E quero lhe falar enquanto cantor timorense” (Interview with JA, 5/1/2010).

According to most of the interviewees, **CPLP** -based in Lisbon- has an increasingly important role in supporting their music. AM is very critical: “CPLP como instituição? [Ao] meu ver, não tem tido actividade, porque até agora não conheço nada. Nós queremos que ela seja assim: uma instituição vocacionada para fazer recensionamento dos músicos[,] recenseamento das suas grandes dificuldades, encontrando propostas de solução sobretudo a partir de cá” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009). JA answers along the same lines. “A CPLP, julgo que, aos poucos, vai se disparando para esta necessidade porque os 8 países são muito ricos; só em Timor se fala 12-15 línguas locais, cada um com o seu hábito cultural. Esta dinâmica é necessária[.] Não vai ser tão fácil, mas já se vai sentindo a necessidade da própria cúpula da CPLP que de facto a cultura é a nossa raiz” (Interview with JA, 5/1/2010).

According to JA, a transnational cultural recognition, however, implies financial and mental support, as well as a music preservation strategies. He points at francophonie in this sense, where every country has to pay a yearly contribution [quota], the total amount being divided over all regions. “Agora, aqui da parte da CPLP, temos aqui a questão de possibilidades. [...] Falamos indirectamente fazer pé a CPLP, parte política, que sem esta parte cultural sólida, nós não vamos muito longe” (Ibid.). Regarding mental support, JA calls for impartial cultural entrepreneurship. “[Implica] ter curiosidade no lançamento de encontro de várias raízes culturais, de ritmo em ritmo, de país em país, cada um com o seu ritmo, isso é algo que ainda falta” (Ibid.). Finally, JA argues that CPLP should also take up responsibilities towards archiving the existing cultural heritage. “Nós, em termos de registos para o futuro, a nova geração que vier procurar alguma coisa sobre a nossa existência, não vai encontrar. [Deveria ter] um arquivo que tem a ver com o que há aqui: artistas dos países de língua oficial portuguesa. Julgo que a CPLP tem essa função” (Ibid.).

All interviewees agree that the presence of Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians in Lisbon is a fact. Obviously, there are differences in the size of certain communities that translate into a lesser visibility. “Não é na mesma proporção das casas portuguesas e brasileiras, não dá. Mas a gente vê que a comunidade é grande. Mesmo se você for procurar, se você tirar um mês e for em todos os bares [em Lisboa], eu creio que a grande maioria não seja de fado,” JN argues (Interview with JN, 10/11/2009 and 4/2/2010).

The interviewees from PALOP all independently referred to their need for a joint performative space, either using the label Africa or *lusofonia*. Regarding the former, GP informally commented that “precisamos de um espaço africano em Lisboa, não só com música caboverdiana, mas também com Angola e os outros. Se poderia apresentar cada um por sua vez: esta é a música e cultura angolana, ... este é tal, este é tal, ... De Angola ouve-se pouco, São Tomé e Moçambique ainda menos” (Interview with GP, 18/12/2009). Regarding the latter, AM recalls that in the past, the concept of *lusofonia* has already been materialized in a ‘Casa de *lusofonia*’. “Tava pra existir, eu fui para a abertura, mas desapareceu. Era a Casa de *lusofonia*, era feito pelo Mário Alves, aquilo chama-se Etnia<sup>187</sup>” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009). AM laments the end of the project, because it corresponded to a reality in Lisbon. “A *lusofonia* é um bom conceito para divulgar. Quando exprimes a *lusofonia* todos os dias na vida quotidiana, e vais nos sítios onde eu vou, [já] fazes este convívio lusófono”<sup>188</sup> (Ibid.).

#### 5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored how musicians from different countries that speak Portuguese conceptualize the concept of *lusofonia* and how this concept might affect their creative work and their opportunities to perform. It is clear that each of these musicians seeks to present the music they know of their own country and that they do not identify themselves as ‘lusophone musicians’. *Lusofonia* is a political term and currently seems to have little practical relevance for musicians and their practice in Lisbon. The term does not (yet) affect their relationship to other musicians, to

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<sup>187</sup> AM refers to the Centro InterculturaCidade in Lisbon’s Madragoa, that explicitly deployed the concept of Lusofonia in the project ‘Lusofonias: Culturas em Comunidade’<sup>187</sup>, realized on 17/7-14/9/2008. See paragraph 2.3.

<sup>188</sup> Asked about Africa.Cont, AM states: “Acho que é bonito, mas *nunca poderia existir sem primeiro investir num projecto de dinamização de formação [...] dos quadros técnicos e artísticos, são o suporte cultural dos países africanos que estão aqui. Tu não podes fazer surgir um centro cultural assim de repente, é ilusório, torna-se mais perigoso fazer neste momento do que não ter nada. [BV: Será que os músicos de cá deveriam lá também aparecer, num espaço pra desempenhar?] [Enfático] Sim sim sim sim*” (Interview with AM, 27/11 and 4/12/2009, my italics).

Portuguese institutions and to their own creative processes. The term *lusofonia* was not emically used by the musicians to name the above mentioned processes, and their use of the denomination ‘música lusófona’ is complex. ‘Música lusófona’ not only seems a categorization for non-Portuguese, non-intellectual music, but the focus on Portuguese also implies an uncertain positioning of other local dialects and languages. Additionally, it seems that the visibility of the musical influences from the Portuguese ex-colonies in Portugal is largely denied.

However, the interviewees also indicate that Lisbon is a point of encounter for Portuguese-speaking populations, and that it displays a daily, growing interaction between Portuguese-speaking musicians and musics. These musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries play together at informal jams, as a special guest at each others concerts, in special projects inspired by *lusofonia* or at festivals in which cultural entrepreneurs are using the concept of *lusofonia* in promoting musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries. In the latter cases, one could thus argue that the implicit content of the concept of *lusofonia* (language, culture, music) is utilized as a tool in order to legitimate explicit political and economic objectives.

Furthermore, I argue that a lack of institutional recognition for the contribution of Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians to the expressive culture of Lisbon also translates itself in a shortage of places to perform. Thus, difficulties in gaining visibility within the public space reflect a lack of institutional investment in defining the public space for these migrants from Portuguese-speaking countries. In this sense, this shortage influences the opinion of migrant musicians about the political concept of *lusofonia*.

Interestingly, many if not all of my interviewees -especially those coming from PALOP- do see some future relevance for the concept of *lusofonia* for migrant musicians. The interviewees appeal to supranational institutions such as CPLP and national governments to give structural support to promote or disseminate the expressive culture of Portuguese-speaking countries.

The different (trans)national realities of these migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries, connected to a verifiable presence of their communities in the city

of Lisbon, can make the idea of a Casa da *lusofonia* interesting. In programming its offer, surveys of Lisbon's migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries and structural funding by local, national or supranational authorities should go hand in hand. A similar management model based on collaboration between authorities and associations could contribute to increasing the visibility of and professional opportunities for Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians, both in Lisbon and abroad.

## 6. CONCLUSION / CONCLUSÃO

O idioma é a maior fortuna dum povo. É [a sua] instrução, a sua arte e sua educação<sup>189</sup>

Starting from a discursive analysis of the concept of *lusofonia*, I have tried to gain insight into how *lusofonia* is part of the cultural policies of the Municipality of Lisbon and of governmental institutions, and how it informs their actions. I have also analyzed the intermediary role and actions of voluntary associations that evoke *lusofonia* as part of their goals. I have then questioned how migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon value the concept of *lusofonia* vis-à-vis the action of governmental institutions and voluntary associations for their creative work, for collective identity formation and for larger group visibility, both from the local and transnational perspectives. I built my discursive analysis of the construction of the concept of *lusofonia* on an exploration of its definitions, origins, contexts of use and influence on expressive culture.

*Lusofonia* is a relatively recent concept based on a linguistic definition, but it also designates a political, economic, and cultural space. While its historical origins may be found in Portuguese colonialism, the contemporary notion originated in the *Acordo Ortográfico*, gaining new significance with the increase of migration to Lisbon from Portugal's former colonies since 1974. The creation of CPLP in 1996, international events such as Expo '98, the transnational record industry and the rise of the Internet have also contributed to extending this notion beyond a strict linguistic definition. Since then, the concept of *lusofonia* has increasingly informed Lisbon's international relations. Many governmental and municipal institutions in Lisbon and its surroundings, scholars, voluntary associations, cultural promoters, musicians and journalists in the postcolonial Portuguese-speaking world evoke the concept in their discourse and objectives. Lisbon also hosts CPLP, a crucial actor in the institutionalization of *lusofonia*.

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<sup>189</sup> Metropolitano de Lisboa, Estação Saldanha. Text featured on the walls of the new connection towards Estação Oriente (site of Expo '98), inaugurated on 29/8/2010. "A temática geral escolhida para a estação pelos dois artistas intervenientes - Jorge Vieira e Luís Filipe de Abreu -, centra-se no desenvolvimento do tema 'As características universais do Homem', mais concretamente na componente 'o Homem em movimento'".  
<http://www.metrolisboa.pt/Default.aspx?tabid=478>

Politically and economically, institutions and associations of various CPLP member-states have adopted the concept in their collaboration. In the discourse of these institutions and associations, *lusofonia* is what binds the CPLP member-states and its diaspora populations together socio-culturally and linguistically. Since the mid 1990s, scattered events have been organized under the banner of *lusofonia*, but most musicians make a living out of performing the musics of their country/region of origin and that is what they identify with. Meanwhile, festivals that promote the idea of *lusofonia* have increasingly been organized especially in Lisbon, in other Portuguese-speaking capitals of states or regions by governmental institutions, voluntary associations and cultural entrepreneurs. Some projects have also resulted in collective phonograms that carry the imprint of *lusofonia*, uniting migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries with Portuguese musicians. The Internet has also much facilitated contacts within the lusophone world. However, all of these developments seem to have had no or little effect on the identity formation of migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries. Spontaneous collaborations of musicians under the explicit banner of *lusofonia* are rare.

My analysis of *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* (2006) has pointed out that this documentary ideologically embodies the idea of *lusofonia*. At the same time, it promotes musical hybrids in Portugal. To do so, the Portuguese delegation of Red Bull Music Academy (RBMA) has constructed a narrative that suggests that lusophone sounds have evolved but still belongs together. It attempted to revalorize an historical notion of *lusofonia* in order to increase musicians' visibility and professional opportunities.

*Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* mostly shows established musicians in the context of the record industry. Meanwhile, musical dynamics and social transformations from underlying migratory contexts are largely omitted. It is my hypothesis that a representation of *lusofonia* in Lisbon could be further enriched by including migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries that perform in the circuit of bars, restaurants and associations.

Through an analysis of objectives and expressive culture, I have tried to show how the festival Lisboa Mistura of Associação Sons da Lusofonia is anchored on the concept of interculturality, featuring local migrant musicians and their communities in greater Lisbon. Lisboa Mistura does not use the concept of *lusofonia*, even though it features



many musicians from lusophone countries. The cultures of Portuguese-speaking countries are heterogenous, which makes *lusofonia* necessarily intercultural. Associação Sons da Lusofonia is however explicit in its goals about wanting to make a cultural contribution involving Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries, promoting a cultural identity that is based on common traditions towards the future. According to its director, Carlos Martins, Lisbon needs intercultural spots and a coordinating body to achieve this goal.

I have then explored how musicians from different countries that speak Portuguese conceptualize the notion of *lusofonia* and how this concept might affect their creative work and their opportunities to perform. It has become clear that each of the interviewed musicians seeks to present the music they know of their own country and that they do not identify themselves as ‘lusophone musicians’. *Lusofonia* is a political term and currently seems to have little practical relevance for musicians and their performance practice in Lisbon. The term does not (yet) affect their relationship to other musicians, to Portuguese institutions and to their own creative processes. Musicians referring to these processes do not use the term *lusofonia*. Furthermore, they regard the denomination ‘música lusófona’ as problematic, as for them it involves issues of cultural and linguistic domination.

However, the interviewees also indicate that Lisbon displays a daily, growing interaction between Portuguese-speaking musicians and musics. These musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries play together at informal jams, as special guests at each others concerts, in special projects inspired by *lusofonia* or at festivals in which cultural entrepreneurs are using the concept of *lusofonia* in promoting musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries. In the latter cases, one could thus argue that the implicit content of the concept of *lusofonia* is utilized as a tool in order to legitimate explicit political and economic objectives. But in general, a lack of institutional recognition for the contribution of Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians to the expressive culture of Lisbon also translates itself in a shortage of places to perform. In my view, this shortage influences the perspective of migrant musicians regarding the political concept of *lusofonia*. Interestingly, many if not all of my interviewees -especially those coming from PALOP- do see some future relevance in the concept of *lusofonia* for migrant musicians. They appeal to supranational

institutions such as CPLP and national governments to give structural support to promote or disseminate the expressive culture of Portuguese-speaking countries.

In exploring the discursive breadth of the concept of *lusofonia*, the way it informs cultural policy as well as the work of selected voluntary associations, and how musicians conceptualize the notion, I have encountered an interesting tension between, on the one hand, institutional actors that appear to be interested in feeding perceptions of *lusofonia* in order to glue political, economic, linguistic or cultural elements together, and on the other, the reality of voluntary associations and migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries who evoke the concept as well.

My interviewees indicate that migrant musics from Portuguese-speaking countries should be considered part of Portugal's cultural history and patrimony, but do not receive recognition as such. The similar national realities of these Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians, connected to a verifiable presence of their communities in the city of Lisbon, points towards the possibilities of institutionally and structurally promoting a notion of *lusofonia* in the context of Lisbon. Portugal's delay in actively recognizing its lusophone heritage can be converted into a privileged position in promoting (local and transnational) migrant musics from Portuguese-speaking countries (and 'affectively empowering' the corresponding populations), using Lisbon as an historical and contemporary center of coordination.

Carlos Martins' idea of a network of an intercultural forum with intercultural spots seems a promising starting point in doing so. His plea for a qualitative and structured promotion reminds me of the Portomusical - Convenção Internacional de Música e Tecnologia<sup>190</sup> (since 2005, yearly), in Recife (Pernambuco - Brazil), which was founded by local cultural entrepreneurs through WOMEX<sup>191</sup>. Over its editions, this convention has been hugely successful in connecting local musicians to (inter)national professional possibilities.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> <http://www.portomusical.com> ;

I participated in the first edition of 2005, supported by the Institute for Cultural Studies at the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium. <http://www.culturelestudies.be>

<sup>191</sup> [http://www.womex.com/realwomex/main.php?id\\_headings=91&id\\_realwomex=11](http://www.womex.com/realwomex/main.php?id_headings=91&id_realwomex=11)

<sup>192</sup> The announcement for the event's 5<sup>th</sup> edition, in February 2011, is interesting if we hypothetically apply it to Lisbon and its musics:

“Se você é um profissional de música e tecnologia de qualquer parte do mundo, venha participar da 5ª edição do Porto Musical. Todos se encontrarão por aqui: brasileiros interessados no

This reasoning makes the idea of a (renewed) Casa da *lusofonia* –indicated by one of my interviewees- societally relevant from an urban as well as transnational perspective.<sup>193</sup> A management model based on collaboration between authorities and associations could further contribute to increasing the visibility of and professional opportunities for migrant musicians from Portuguese-speaking countries in Portugal and abroad, promoting Lisbon as a context for postcolonial conciliation.

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mercado internacional, estrangeiros atentos à movimentação musical e ao mercado brasileiro, além de pessoas que trabalham com tecnologia ou simplesmente gostam de música.

Mais importante iniciativa do gênero no Brasil, o Porto Musical realizou sua 4ª edição, em Recife, Pernambuco, atraindo profissionais da música de mais de oito países. Proponha conferências e showcases e fique atento às novidades que serão publicadas aqui no nosso site” (Ibid.).

<sup>193</sup> I would like to compare the idea of a Casa da *lusofonia* with the existing Casa da America Latina (<http://www.casamericalatina.pt>) in Lisbon, which gives voice to (migrants and natives of) Spanish-speaking countries in Lisbon, Brazil being the only Portuguese-speaking exception. I intuitively feel that the inclusion of Brazil in this transnational framework based on geography causes a certain friction. I therefore argue that a transnational framework based on language is more logical, using cultural instead of geographical bonds. In this sense, a Casa da *lusofonia* can promote a shared musical heritage across borders (O’Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010), against polarization and in favor of collective belonging.

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<http://www.redbullmusicacademy.com/video-archive/documentaries/3> (6:51, summary)

<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=3792927019465076657#> (1:04:40, integral version)

### 4) Websites

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- ACIDI - Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural  
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[http://www.africacont.org/africacont\\_pt.pdf](http://www.africacont.org/africacont_pt.pdf)
  
- Afro Music Channel  
<http://www.afro-music.com/site/programacao.html>
  
- ALCC - Associação Lusofonia, Cultura e Cidadania  
<http://www.lusofonia.com.pt>
  
- APCAB - Associação Portuguesa de Cultura Afro-Brasileira  
<http://www.apcab.net/apcab-e-lusofonia>
  
- Associação Sons da Lusofonia  
<http://www.sonsdalusofonia.com>
  
- Cantos na Maré - Festival Internacional de Lusofonia  
<http://www.cantosnamare.org>
  
- Casa da America Latina  
<http://www.casamericalatina.pt>
  
- CECLU - Centro de Estudos de Culturas Lusófonas  
<http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/ceclu>

-CML - Câmara Municipal de Lisboa: “Relatório final Estratégias para a Cultura”

<http://cultura.cm-lisboa.pt>

-CPLP - Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa

<http://www.cplp.org>

-Cultura: PALOP Portugal

<http://www.culturapalopsportugal.com>

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<http://www.culturgest.pt/>

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[http://www.doclisboa.org/2006/en\\_festival.html](http://www.doclisboa.org/2006/en_festival.html)

-EGEAC - Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural

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<http://www.gulbenkian.pt>

<http://www.gulbenkian-paris.org>

-Instituto Camões

<http://www.instituto-camoes.pt>

-INET-md - Instituto de Etnomusicologia – Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança

<http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/inet>

-IOF - Organisation Internationale de La Francophonie

<http://www.francophonie.org>

-Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa

<http://www.iilp-cplp.cv>

-ISMPS - Instituto de Estudos Culturais do Mundo de Língua Portuguesa

<http://www.ismps.de>

-*Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* (myspace)

<http://www.myspace.com/lusofoniaarevolucao>

-MIL - Movimento Internacional Lusófono

<http://movimentolusofono.wordpress.com>

-Missão do Brasil junto à CPLP

<http://missaodobrasiljuntoacplp.blogspot.com>

-O Patifúndio. Revista Cultural da Lusofonia

<http://opatifundio.com/site>

-Portal da Língua Portuguesa

<http://www.portaldalinguaportuguesa.org>

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<http://www.redbullmusicacademy.com>

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<http://www.subfilmes.pt>

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-UNESCO's Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity and its World Report on Cultural Diversity

<http://www.unesco.org/new/index.php?id=18671&L=0> and

<http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php->

[URL\\_ID=35396&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=35396&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

-Womad

<http://womad.org>

-Womex

<http://www.womex.com>

-World Culture Open

<http://www.worldcultureopen.org/organization/missiongoals.php>

## AP 1 LIST OF INTERVIEWS

i

All interviews were conducted in Lisbon.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Musical activity</i>	<i>Home country</i>	<i>Interview date</i>
<b>MUSICIANS</b>			
Zézé Barbosa	Singer-songwriter, guitarist	Cape Verde	26/11/2009
Celina Perreira	Singer-songwriter	Cape Verde	1/12/2009
Tito Paris	Singer-songwriter, guitarist	Cape Verde	3/12/2009
Guto Pires	Singer-songwriter, guitarist	Guinea-Bissau	18/12/2009
Kimi Djabaté	Singer-songwriter, percussionist	Guinea-Bissau	12/12/2009
Luanda Cozetti	Singer-songwriter	Brazil	16/12/2009
Jefferson Negreiros	Singer-songwriter, percussionist	Brazil	10/11/2009 and 4/2/2010
Mucio Sá	Singer-songwriter, guitarist	Brazil	11/12/2009
Tonecas (António dos Prazeres)	Singer-songwriter, keyboard/guitar	São Tomé and Príncipe	14/12/2009
Sergio Fonseca	Singer-songwriter	São Tomé and Príncipe	12/12/2009
Aldo Milá	Singer-songwriter, guitarist	Angola	27/11/2009 and 4/12/2009
Ricardo Gouveia	Singer-songwriter, guitarist	Angola	28/11/2009
Chalo	Singer-songwriter, guitarist	Angola	10/11/2009
Júlio Silva	Musician, producer	Mozambique	15/12/2009
António da Costa Neto	Singer-songwriter, guitarist	Mozambique	10/12/2009
André Cabaço	Singer-songwriter,	Mozambique	Scheduled but

	guitarist		unsuccessful
José do Amaral	Singer-songwriter, guitarist	East Timor	5/1/2010
Arvi Barbosa	Grupo Ekvat	Goa	12/1/2010
Marua de Lourdes Elvino de Sousa	Grupo Ekvat	Goa	7/1/2010
Virgínia Brás Gomes	Grupo Ekvat	Goa	8/1/2010
António Pires	'World Music DJ', journalist	Portugal	13/11/2009
<b>ASSOCIATIONS and INSTITUTIONS</b>			
Carlos Martins	Musician, director Sons da Lusofonia	Portugal	7/1/2010
Paula Nascimento	África Festival (EGEAC)	Portugal	26/11/2009
Énio de Souza	Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau	Macau	25/1/2010
Tica (Ana Fernandes)	SOLIM	Portugal	13/12/2009
Timóteo Macedo	SOLIM	Portugal	19/1/2010
Nilzete Pacheco	ALCC	Portugal	24/11/2009
Fernando Machado	ALDCI	Portugal	27/11/2009
José A. Fernandes Dias	Africa.Cont	Portugal	4/12/2009



1.-Qual foi o seu **percurso**? Bandas? **Estilos** musicais, e **instrumentos**?

-Qual ao seu ver é o **contexto** da música em Lisboa? O que se **toca/ouve**?

-O que existe de música em relação aos países dos **PALOP ou lusofalantes**? STP, Timor, Guiné, Macau? Há intercâmbio? Exemplos?

2. -O que entende por *lusofonia*/música lusófona? Vantagens / desvantagens. **Porque** é que acha que este conceito está a aparecer **agora**?

-Pode talvez explicar por meio de idade, classe, etnicidade, idioma, município e/ou estado?

-O que acha do **mercado** discográfica lusófona? E da relação entre mercado e sociedade (ou seja, o lado mercantil versus o lado comunitário de fazer música)?

-**Divulgação** (discos, mp3, online)? O que acontece, o que é bom, o que fica em falta?

-**Visibilidade** nas média (rádio local, televisão, online)?

3.-**Apoio**. Projectos versus instituições. O que acontece? Também países de origem.

-Lugares para tocar. **Espaços** físicos na cidade e fora?

-**Associações** relevantes?