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2023-05-08

Deposited version:
Accepted Version

Peer-review status of attached file:
Peer-reviewed

Citation for published item:
Raposo, O. & Varela, P. (2022). Insurgent aesthetics: Creole rap from the outskirts of Lisbon. In Carlos Garrido Castellano, Bruno Leitão (Ed.), Curating and the legacies of colonialism in contemporary Iberia. (pp. 281-300). Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Further information on publisher's website:
https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/distributed/C/bo185830710.html#anchor-table-of-contents

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18.

Insurgent Aesthetics: Creole Rap from the Outskirts of Lisbon

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Introduction

This chapter offers a broad reflection on the cultural and artistic production, lifestyle and the political engagement of young Black communities in Portugal. Its main focus is Creole Rap[3] produced on the outskirts of Lisbon. Followed by an increasing number of people, this musical style challenges the position of subalternity occupied by people of African descent in Portugal, redefining what it means to be young, poor and black. Many of the rappers of this music style were born and/or socialised in Portugal. They belong to peripheral social groups, live in supposedly 'problematic' neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city and are descendants of families that come from former Portuguese colonies in Africa, in particular Cape Verde.

The strong component of resistance found in the song lyrics of these young people demonstrates a shift from mainstream values that fail to recognize their rights as Portuguese citizens. The situation of racism and the stigma that they have to face reaffirm their exclusion from the nation as a whole, which comes in some cases with the aggravating circumstance of having their claims for Portuguese citizenship denied. The principle of *jus sanguinis* that

permeates the current Portuguese legal code turns them into foreigners in their own country, legitimising the 'outsider' character of these young communities.[4] Because of this, rapping in Creole is, for many, a 'shout of freedom' in contraposition to the institutional racism that deprives them of their freedom of speech and their right to a dignified future. As the rapper Chullage argues in the film documentary *Nu Bai. Lisbon's Black Rap*:[5]

> We have no space to express ourselves on TV, news or television, we have no opportunity at all. Rap created that opportunity. Rap informed and educated people in the outskirts and entertained them as well. (…) Most Cape Verdean rappers in Portugal keep up that the message of social awareness. So, when it's in Creole it's almost a battle cry, a scream of freedom!

The use of Cape Verdean Creole in rap lyrics, and in the everyday conversations of the youth, is symptomatic of the continuities and discontinuities between different generations. While it proves the strength of the cultural inheritance brought by the parents of these young people, it also reveals a different appropriation from that developed by older family members.[6] This is because Creole, which is spoken by young people with their peers, is already laden with expressions and slang that interconnect Portuguese codes with those brought from other parts of the world, including the United States, Angola and Brazil.[7] Because they have been socialised within an urban European context, where the very agents of socialisation are themselves changing, this group of young people does not reproduce the ethnic references and the lifestyle of their families in Portugal word for word. Rather, they confront a culture that is already 'filtered', reinterpreted in several aspects, while keeping elements of 'Portuguese culture'. These mixtures serve to create new ways of becoming a citizen and expressing individual and collective identity. It is important, therefore, to keep in mind that

we are not facing 'a second or third generation of migrants precariously suspended between two cultures, but rather groups of young Portuguese, born and/or raised within an urban context'.[8]

One of the most salient characteristics of this cultural production is the way in which these groups redefine the cultural references of the countries of origin of their families, in order to produce positive discourses about themselves through rap, is. At the same time, however, Cape Verdean Creole is not the exclusive heritage of the Cape Verdeans or their descendants. In the socially precarious neighbourhoods of Lisbon it is frequent to hear this language among the youth (Black and white alike, from heterogeneous origins) who share street bonds of solidarity and are interested in rap.[9] Creole becomes the street language *par excellence* of the Portuguese capital's periphery, a characteristic that was already noted by Dj Sas more than ten years ago:

> Rap flies from one neighborhood to another, Creole is spoken in all. I don't know a neighborhood in Greater Lisbon that doesn't speak Creole?! You tell me one! I can't, and I don't know them all, but Creole is spoken in everyone one. Even by white people! They even understand and speak it. So, you are not creating any barriers. Even the white guy will understand 'coz he already speaks the language. [Nu Bai. Lisbon's Black Rap, 2007]

Undervalued by record companies, radio stations and other hegemonic media, Creole Rap is currently one of the most dynamic creative styles of young communities in Portugal, mobilising artists and legions of fans that use modern production technologies and sharing

platforms to become visible.[10] Creole (and Portuguese) poetry are the raw material used by these groups to reinvent their lives and imagine themselves with dignity. As part of this process, music, visual arts, videoclips, digital network and political activism are mobilised as strategies for social transformation oriented towards denouncing racism and claiming spaces of legitimacy within Portuguese society. As a discourse that actively values *Blackness*, these rappers produce affirmative and insurgent aesthetics that dignify marginalised areas of the city, while making visible the presence of Black and African elements in the active configuration of Portuguese society, despite the lack of recognition by official institutions of the state.

This chapter draws on ethnographic and anthropologic research carried out by both authors at several points in time. The production of the documentary *Nu Bai. Lisbon's Black Rap* was crucial in coming to terms with Creole Rap and the condition of Black youth communities in Portugal, with knowledge obtained through fieldwork in Cova da Mora (Raposo, 2005; Varela et al, 2018) and Arrentela (Raposo, 2007), neighbourhoods with a strong presence of Black citizens, located in the Amadora and Seixal municipalities. The interviews and reflections in this chapter are the result of long-term immersions in these neighbourhoods, but it also includes the findings of fieldwork conducted in other areas, such as the Moinho da Rolas; Quinta da Fonte and Quinta do Mocho; Seis de Maio, Estrela de África and Reboleira.

Photo 1

Cabral singing at a rap party in Arrentela. Photography by Otávio Raposo

Situating Creole Rap in Portugal

Cape Verdean Creole has expanded its original scope in Portugal beyond groups of Cape Verdean descents, becoming the lingua franca of many young people from the outskirts of Lisbon, mainly in the neighbourhoods with a strong presence of Black citizens. While the current situation of Creole Rap is due to the wide dissemination of this language, it is worth keeping in mind that African and Black cultural references have influenced Portuguese culture since at least the fifteenth century, a process that is observable by looking at language, religion, literature, theatre or music.[11]

After the 1960s, and more intensely in the 1970s and 1980s —in the aftermath of the Portuguese decolonization in Africa—- many people (especially from Cape Verde), migrated to Portugal. In Portugal, 82% of the Cape Verdean population lives in the Lisbon metropolitan area (Oliveira et al, 2017). Recent official surveys document the presence in Portugal of between 34,986 and 36,578 Cape Verdean migrants (SEF, 2017; Oliveira and Gomes, 2017). This number, however, would be much higher if we include all the people who already have Portuguese nationality or if we include all those of Cape Verdean origins.

Creole Rap in Portugal is not just characterised by its language. It has a component of resistance and awareness, its lyrics tend to be more intense than those from other branches of rap music, and they refer to the precarious context from which these creative manifestations emerge. Sung mainly by those of Cape Verdean descent living in socially deprived neighbourhoods, Creole Rap reflects situations of poverty, unemployment, police violence and racism. Despite the absence of official ethno-racial statistics, recent studies point to the

inequalities affecting these groups.[12] Unemployment of Cape Verdean citizens in Portugal in 2011, for example, was twice that of Portuguese citizens (28 per cent versus 13 per cent). At the same time, this population works in less qualified and underpaid occupations (37 per cent versus 13 per cent in the case of Portuguese natives): they receive an average €124 per month less than Portuguese natives (Abrantes and Roldão, 2016). This inequality is also present at educational levels, where the underage population from the *Portuguese-speaking African countries* (PALOP) have to repeat Primary School three times more than Portuguese underage populations (Abrantes and Roldão, 2016). The high rates of incarceration among Africans, at the same time, reveals the criminalisation of poverty and the racism that these populations suffer, with Cape Verdeans as the highest foreign nationality of inmates in proportional terms between 1994 and 2011 (Gomes, 2013). If these socioeconomic aspects and migrant origin are a key factor in understanding why Black populations occupy disadvantaged positions within Portuguese society, it is no less important to consider the effects of institutional racism and its imposition in segregated territories. Several national and international organisations have recently warned against a structural problem of racism in Portugal that often manifests in police violence targeting specifically Black, Roma and migrant citizens (OHCHR, 2012; ENAR, 2015; Council of Europe, 2017; Amnesty International, 2018; ECRI, 2018).

Covered up by the construction of a narrative of national, cultural and postcolonial exceptionalism (see Vala et al, 1999; Vale de Almeida, 2000) and built around Gilberto Freyre's theories of lusotropicalism (2003), racism has only recently been a central issue in institutional and media discussion in Portugal. This situation, however, was denounced much earlier by the Black rappers through their lyrics written in Cape Verdean Creole and

Portuguese. Because of this, we argue that these artists are at the origins of turning racism into a publicly acknowledged and publicly debatable issue in Portugal. Rappers such as General D and Ermelindo (aka Strike) participated in meetings of platforms such as SOS Racism, one of the first antiracist associations in Portugal in the 1990s (Simões, 2017).

Situating the political context in which Portuguese rap took root is crucial for understanding the role of these rappers in the struggle against racism in the country. It was in the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s that this musical style began to be absorbed by large segments of the country's youth (Contador 2001; Fradique, 2003; Simões, 2017), in a period when far-right groups made many violent attacks against Black youth and left-wing militants.[13]

Rap emerged in a context of rejection of the far-right government of Cavaco Silva (where young people played a central role) and when the first State antiracist institutional policies emerged.[14] It was also in these years that rap became popularised in Portugal, with the first albums launched between 1994 and 1995, reaching a broader audience. This movement included artists such as: *General D*, *Da Weasel*, *Black Company, Divine, Djamal, Ithaka, Mind da Gap e* através da coletânea *Rapública: Boss AC, Black Company, Family, Funky D, Líderes da Nova Mensagem, New Tribe, Zona Dread.* The incorporation of rap music into mainstream Portuguese culture was even granted official recognition, as demonstrated by the fact that both main candidates for the 1996 presidential elections, Mário Soares and Cavaco Silva, used rap for their election campaigns (Fradique, 2003).

The first manifestations of rap music in Portugal arose in the second half of the 1980s and were linked to an initial stage of commodification of urban culture (Contador 2001; Fradique, 2003; Simões, 2017). Within this decade, films dealing with hip-hop and more specifically with break dance, radio programmes and the circulation of information and cassettes were influential in the expansion of rap in Portugal. The rapper *Karlon,* member of the *Nigga Poison* band and one of the precursors of Creole Rap in the country, argues that

> that was ... basically at 1989, 1988. It was 'Technotronic' at the time. That music revolutionized the bars. At the time these cassettes started playing in the neighborhood and the older ones danced in the cafes this break dance and we would peek. They wouldn't let us go because it was the place of the elders, they drank. And we would always see them dancing, we would get on the track. Then later came Mc Hammer ... It gave a moral, it seemed that was what we wanted to live. And after all that came hip hop. People were coming from Linda-a-Velha, with video cassettes recorded from the satellite dish, we started to have the first video tapes through the rental ... We went to [video clubs] at the Tower of Flowers, rented movies and recorded tapes. And what did we record? Hip hop! [Karlon, 2015]

The emergence of Creole Rap, therefore, is intertwined with the origins of rap in Portugal. It echoes a moment when lyrics were sung in Portuguese, English or Cape Verdean Creole. In 1996, the Cova da Moura-based rapper *Djoek* launched the album *Nada Mi Ka Teni,* with songs mainly in Creole. In 1998 *Boss AC* produced *Manda Chuva,* an album partially recorded in the United States that included two songs in Creole,[15] *Corda* and *Tunga,*

Tunghinha. It was not, however, until the beginning of the new millennium that Creole Rap acquired a broader dimension, with a higher number of artists producing albums and mixtapes. These artists benefitted from the first steps of a crucial transformation of technology in music recording, creation and dissemination that paved the way to the consolidation of an *underground* circuit of production, distribution and consumption. Rappers from neighbourhoods such as Cova da Moura, Casal da Boda, Miratejo and Monte da Caparica played a central role in the development of a style whose synergies and sense of belonging granted it the condition of an urban cultural movement. By narrating their experiences in marginalised spaces while using Creole poetry to deal with issues of power filtered through the lens of the Cape Verdean diaspora, they were able to generate a sense of collective identity that served as 'virtual shelter' in a context marked by unfavourable situations (Agier, 2001: 8). Some examples of this process can be found in the albums recorded around the turn of the millennium: in 2000 *Da Blazz* launched the album *Catchores di Pinga;* in 2001, *Nigga Poison,* a group created in the already demolished neighbourhood of Pedreira dos Húngaros launched *Podia ser 'mi'*. In this same year, *Chullage* from Arrentela produced *Rapresálisas: Sangue, Lágrimas, Suor,* with some songs in Creole. In 2002, the duo *TWA* also from Pedreira dos Húngaros, launched *Miraflor.* The characteristics of this movement are well summarised in *Nigga Poison'*s Dedicaçon song from their debut album:

> This song is dedicated / to all Blacks from the ghetto / who are pure real niggas / for those who have suffered because they are Black / Oh Miraflor, Yo / Oh Ghetto G, Yo / Oh Ghetto Stress, Yo / It's our home, Yo / Come into reality / Enter in the real world / Complete your mind / To see simply / Nothing here is real / In this fucking land of Portugal / Legal or illegal / They treat us all the same / But the Cape Verdean people / Never run away from their origins / They struggle for their lives / Every day that

> passes by / (...) Blacks have suffered a lot / Blacks have suffered a lot in silence / Remembering our past / We have all been deceived[16] [Nigga Poison – Dedicaçon]

Despite being a masculine-centred space, rap in Portugal also included female artists from the very beginning (Simões, 2017). Among the early female rappers who contributed to challenging the invisibility of women, we find the groups as Divine and Djamal and, more recently, Dama Bete, Lady R, Red Chicas and Capicua. In the context of Creole Rap, it is worth mentioning the work of *G'Fema*, *Juana na Rap* (a white artist) and the Cova da Moura-based Mynda Guevara. As Guevara explains:

> The fact that I grew up in Cova da Moura is also important for the music I make. Creole Rap had a lot of strength here […] Rap is a bit sexist. We women have to constantly prove that we can do things. We have to work double or the triple compared to boys. I've felt it on my skin, especially in the beginning. It takes a lot of willpower.[17]

The Affirmation of Creole Rap: Identity, Visibility and Social Engagement

A strong instrument for social cohesion, rap music may be considered a powerful agent of socialisation among young people, but it is also a tool for creating spaces of self-identification and encouraging a 'collective spirit' (Dayrell, 2005). For the young Black populations living in the peripheries of Lisbon, the cohesive characteristics of this cultural language are equally joined by experiences, values and representations linked to a shared sense of collective vulnerability and rejection. A significant part of the lyrics they create deal

with everyday experiences of oppression in marginalised territories and allow this group to denounce injustices while creating a positive image of themselves that has a broader influence in the redefinition of postcolonial Portugal.

The feeling of being unwelcome is very present in these songs, a strangely paradoxical feeling when we consider that those who are identified as ‘others’ were born in this very country. Such contradictions are actively confronted in Creole Rap, where the rejection of the *outsider* status is skilfully performed from an affirmative position capable of dislocating the power relations that promote such a status, while also subverting the negative categories about Black organizations (Raposo, 2014). It is not by chance that some of these young Black artists define themselves as Cape Verdeans or Africans in their songs, critically rethinking their own identity in a positive recognition of their origins, which are commonly discredited in processes of racial discrimination (Campos and Vaz, 2013). An identity symbol of Black and peripheral youth, Creole Rap becomes a powerful tool in the affirmation of a diasporic consciousness where African cultural references ground a collective sense of community. The complicity generated by Creole Rap is evident in public statements such as this one made by the rapper Krommo Di Ghetto:

> Once I started singing in Creole and expanding this, I found what I was looking for: purity, what is in my blood. Them I said: ‘Goodbye Portuguese!’. (…) I was born in Portugal, but I don’t have Portuguese nationality. I’m Cape Verdean. When we start to understand how this government and system are fucked, we say, ‘why must I sing in Portuguese to people who don't understand my life, what I feel, what I think? No, I’ll

sing in Creole for people in my area or living in my conditions, then yes, they will understand. [Nu Bai. Lisbon's Black Rap, 2007]

The experience of living in racialised neighbourhoods that are defined by their own young inhabitants as ghettos shapes the evolution of Creole Rap in Portugal. If we analyse some of the lyrics belonging to this creative artistic manifestation, it becomes clear that the affirmation of belonging and the active conceptualisation of the territory as a 'space for local interaction' (Costa, 1999) are narrated through the everyday experiences of these cultural producers. Through their songs, these young people reveal a deep sense of belonging to their neighbourhoods, which are relational worlds in miniature, where the search for positive identification takes place while there is also a critical concern with the place they inhabit and the precarious living conditions they experience. A common element in hip-hop culture, the word 'ghetto' gains a new meaning from these Black rappers and is used to value the positive qualities of their territories and neighbours. They subvert the stereotypes of 'life in the ghetto' by transforming the informal processes of apprenticeship acquired in these contexts into a positive biographical experience.

Photo 2

Ne Jah and Smeks rapping. Photography by Otávio Raposo

This process is summarized in the lyrics of Ne Jah and Euzy, where they move from place to place developing 'an armour' as a way of facing injustices:

> Slum stamped inside me / Will I ever stop being me? / Nigga, who makes me sail / Only my ghetto makes me sail / Only my ghetto makes me sail / Ghetto is my culture, my armor, my grave / Street law is what I know, It was in the ghetto that I studied / It was in the ghetto that I saw how hard life is / Creole is the dialect that within the ghetto endures / In the various types of color, nationality, street / Creole is ghetto, the ghetto is the street we all explore and we cry for it / It's inside him that I fight to get out from these shit / It was inside the ghetto that we live, that's where I suffer / In the ghetto, bro, I wait for my time [death] / I don't live in the ghetto, the ghetto it is inside me (…) It was here at the [South] Bank [of Lisbon] that we learned to fight for all that we love / We are: Children of the Slums! / Only my ghetto makes me sail / Only my ghetto makes me sail.[18] [Ne Jah ft Euzy - Ghetto, FdiB]

These experiences of living on the margin, which are strongly linked to migratory processes of experiencing forced neighbourhood relocation, poverty or racism become more significant when expressed in Creole. Acting as a social marker of difference (Pardue, 2015), Creole Rap becomes a highly ideologized and politicised ethnic mechanism of affirmation. Also, by linking the participants of this youth culture to other groups of young people in the Cape Verdean diaspora, these musicians have build a community that recurs to collaborative processes capable of generating new opportunities for further cultural projects. Within this process, these young people establish innovative fluxes between their areas of residence and more central areas of Lisbon, conferring centrality on their spaces of residency as cornerstone spaces of rap music in Portugal. Within this transit between different worlds, these youngsters amplify their cultural capital, becoming active cultural mediators between the city and its margins.

The informal pedagogy expressed through Creole Rap encourages a sense of unease about the injustices shaping the territories of origin of these groups.[19] In many cases, this feeling encourages the participants of these cultural exchanges to engage in informal collectives and local associations in order to better promote their music, but also to influence the contours of the uneven societies they belong to. This leads us to contextualise and conceive of Creole Rap as an insurgent aesthetic that confers a 'militant habitus' on its participants while providing the group with further political and associative engagement (Crossley, 2002). The case of the rapper Chullage, for whom music acted as the driving force for his urban experience and his civic engagement, is symptomatic of this point:

> By singing here and there, you know a lot more neighborhoods, you know a lot more people. It was rap that did this to me, otherwise I didn't know anyone, you see? It was really through rap that I met a world of people. It was also through the cultural association [Khapaz]. I made an association, or I joined with brothers to make an association because rap educated me, because I learned from rap. [Chullage, 2005]

Looking at this statement, we can understand how Creole Rap subverts the control exerted by the mainstream music and cultural industries, conquering new digital territories but also breaking into commercial radio and the Portuguese public space. This musical journey exemplifies the increasing influence of artistic and cultural productions of peripheral young people in the Lisbon context (Caldeira, 2012). The use of digital networks and technologies plays a decisive role in this process, enabling new modes of legitimation and aesthetic definition (Marcon *et al*, 2018). The popularisation of the internet opened up new opportunities for peripheral artists to become visible. The creation of music studios at home

and the use of samplers, personal computers, software for musical creation, specialised websites and streaming services demonstrate that musical production in Portugal is increasingly horizontal, a process that redefines the importance of Creole Rap within the Portuguese cultural and artistic landscape (Aderaldo and Raposo, 2016). The importance of digital technologies in the evolution of Creole Rap is evidenced by the strong presence of this genre in platforms such as YouTube, with songs such as Apollo G's 'Tempo Antigo' reaching more than eleven million views or Ne Jah's 'Sem Mimos' reaching three and a half million. These numbers reveal that the internet has become the main platform for sharing this cultural phenomenon.

Easier access to film-making and image-creating technologies provided by the spread of digital cameras has also had an impact on this process. The critical content of many lyrics in Creole Rap acquires greater intensity through their circulation in digital music videos. By stressing the insurgent aesthetic resulting from the act of affirming their Blackness in racialized areas of Lisbon, these artists are developing alternative understandings of being Black and African in Portugal, opposing the stereotypical and lusotropicalism views projected by state institutions that downplay the inequality and violence these communities experience. The defiant and resistant attitude characteristic of this musical production clashes with the image of Portugal as a well-intentioned, tolerant, racism-free multicultural society. Creole Rap's music video production frequently depicts the harsh conditions of living and lack of opportunities experienced by Black communities in Portugal. At the same time, however, they also celebrate childhood, friendship and living together as elements of resistance against authoritarian power. These music videos therefore become a powerful a visual tool for

dealing with the contradictions of present-day Portuguese society and for asserting the legitimacy of populations of African descent as fully fledged citizens.

Conclusion

By fulfilling an effective role in unmasking silenced realities, Black rappers from the outskirts of Lisbon have been responsible for turning issues of racism and Blackness into matters of public discussion, playing a central role in antiracist struggles in Portugal. The language, the ethnic origins of the participants, their criticism of subaltern status, the affirmation of Blackness and Africanity, as well as the positive valuing of the stigmatised territories where these groups live, are only some of the elements that bond Creole Rap and help shape an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983) among the consumers of this movement that is not restricted to those of Cape Verdean descent.

Creole Rap creates a place of sociability and subjective formation, it encourages a body of experiences that go beyond music. It provides a creative and multidisciplinary platform that employs diverse artistic expressions and digital platforms to reach transnational audiences. At the same time, Creole Rap offers a way of framing reality and developing critical and political attitudes concerning the place of people of African descent in Portuguese society. The rap shows organised in the suburbs and city centre and the music videos distributed online are some of the identifying strategies used by these artists to achieve recognition within the urban space, transferring knowledge from social places at the margin of power from a decolonial perspective (Mignolo, 2007). Through the use of digital technologies, Creole Rap has amplified the possibilities of exchange between these artists

who share the symbols of this urban culture and show an attachment to Black and peripheral identity, allowing the expansion of creative practices through national and transnational networks.[20] By criticising stereotypical images of these identities and the spaces where they are produced, Creole rappers make their own situation of marginalisation problematic, reinventing themselves as Black youngsters from the peripheries. Creole Rap does not hide its open confrontation of racism, denouncing the harsh conditions of living affecting many people of African descent in Portugal, and this clashes directly with lusotropicalist notions of citizenship (Pardue, 2015).

The aesthetic and political power of Creole Rap has transformed the mechanisms of cultural resistance of young Black people in Portugal. In direct opposition to insensitive cultural institutions, this genre has become a privileged instrument to make the struggles of these communities visible, a platform used to articulate an insurgent aesthetic that situates young Black creators at the forefront of present-day civic struggles in Portugal.

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[1] This chapter is the result of the research carried out by Otávio Raposo within the institutional framework of the University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE-IUL) and the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology (CIES-IUL), also within the scope of the Art Citizenship project, with financial support from the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT) — PTDC/SOC — SOC/28655/2017. See: https://artcitizenship.fcsh.unl.pt/ (last checked 28.02.2021).

[2] Also the result of research carried out by Pedro Varela, with Portuguese national funds, through the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT), under the PhD Scholarship SFRH/BD/129171/2017; also within the scope of the COMBAT project, with financial support

from the FCT, through national funds and FEDER co-financing, as part of the Programa Operacional Competitividade e Inovação COMPETE 2020, under the project PTDC/IVC-SOC/1209/2014–POCI-01-0145-FEDER-016806.

[3] Creole Rap in Portugal is expressed in Cape Verdean Creole/Cape Verdean language. This is the main language of Cape Verde and Cape Verdeans, a hybrid combination of Portuguese and other West African languages, such as Wolof, Manjak or Mandinka (D. Pardue, 'Creole chronotopes: the convergences of time and place in becoming Black,' *Identities*, 25/4 (2018) 417–435).

[4] The Nationality Law in Portugal, based on the prevalence of the principle of *jus sanguinis* over the principle of *jus soli*, states that it is not enough to be born in Portugal to be Portuguese. For more information, see: http://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=614&tabela=leis (last checked 28/02/2021).

[5] This documentary film was recorded from 2003 to 2006 and was an extremely rich audiovisual record in the approach to this marginalized musical expression. Watch on: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mv YIcg3o7-w&t=198s (last checked 28/02/2021).

[6] O. Raposo, *Representa Red Eyes Gang: das redes de amizade ao hip hop.* (Unpublished Masters thesis in Urban Anthropology, Lisbon: Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2007).

[7] With strong affinities with Cape Verdean Creole, Guinea-Bissau Creole is also present in Portugal, including in rap music. However, when we refer to the Creole language or Creole rap throughout this chapter we will be addressing only Cape Verdean Creole.

[8] M. Antunes, 'O Grupo é a minha Alma: Amizade e Pertença entre Jovens', in Graça Índias Cordeiro, Luís V. Baptista and António F. Costa (eds), *Etnografias Urbanas* (Oeiras: Celta Editora, 2003), p. 146.

[9] O. Raposo, '*Tu és rapper, representa arrentela, és red eyes gang: sociabilidades e estilos de vida de jovens do subúrbio de Lisboa'*, *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, 64, (2010), 127–147.

[10] Creole rap is also practiced in Cape Verde or the United States but in this chapter we will cover only Creole rap from Portugal.

[11] Despite this long history, the Black presence in Portugal has been silenced. In Lisbon, between the late-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, Black women and men, free or enslaved, may have represented 15 per cent of the city's population (D. Lahon, 'O escravo africano na vida económica e social portuguesa do antigo regime', *Africana Studia*, 7, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto (2004)) .The musical genre fado, for example, has its origins in lundum, a kind of dance and singing brought by Afro-Brazilians (J. Ramos Tinhorão, *Os Negros em Portugal: Uma Presença Silenciosa*. (Lisboa: Caminho, 1988), R. Vieira Nery, *Para uma história do fado* (Publico & Corda Seca, 2004). The *lundum* was adopted and transformed into fado by the Lisbon's working class, whether Black, Roma or white.

[12] There are numerous international recommendations for data collection in the field of race and ethnicity in Portugal, recommendations made by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, *ECRI Report on Portugal: fourth monitoring cycle*. Council of Europe, (2013). Also, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD/ONU, *Concluding observations on the fifteenth to seventeenth periodic reports of Portugal*, CERD/C/PRT/CO/15-17, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Geneva. (2016).

[13] In 1989, Jose Carvalho, a factory worker and militant of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), was stabbed to death by fascist skinheads in front of his party headquarters (E. Sertório, *Livro Negro do Racismo em Portugal*: (Lisbon: Edições Dinossauro, 2001)). In 1995, on Portugal Day, the murder of the young Black Alcino Monteiro by fascist skinheads took place

on a night when dozens of other attacks were carried out against people of African descent in the Bairro Alto in Lisbon.

[14] Considered one of the 'fathers' of rap in Portugal, General D was a spokesman for the anti-racist association SOS Racismo and was also linked with the leftist organization Politica XXI (V. Belanciano, 'General D: Uma história nunca contada', *Jornal Público* (2014); S. Simões, *RAPublicar: A micro-história que fez história numa Lisboa adiada*: (Lisbon: Caleidoscópio, 2017).

[15] Many other rappers contributed decisively to the emergence of Creole Rap, although they left no records of their songs.

[16] Original version in Cape Verdean Creole: *Kel música li e um dedicaçon / pra tudu pretu di ghetto / Ki es puru real niggas / Kes ki dja sufri pamo e pretu / Oh Miraflor, Yo/ Oh Ghetto G, Yo / Oh Ghetto Stress, Yo / É nos address, Yo/ Entra na realidade / Entra na mundu di verdade/ Completa bu menti/ Bo pudi ve simplicidade / Nada li e real / É Fucking tchom Portugal / Legal o Ilegal / Es tratanu sempre igual / Mas povu caboberdiano/ Nunca ka fugi di se raça / Ta luta pa vida / Na tudu dia ki ta passa (...) Pretu dja sufri tcheu / Pretu dja sufri tcehu kaladu / Recurdanu nos passado / Nu foi tudu enganadu (...)*

[17] Mynda in M. Duarte, 'Guerreira do Rap', *Jornal Público,* 27.02.2018.

[18] Original version in Cape Verdean Creole: *Barracada carimbado dentru mim / Sera qui um dia n'ta dexa di ser mim niggaaa qui ta pom ta nabegaaa / Só nha ghetto qui ta pom ta nabegaa / Só nha ghetto qui ta pom ta nabega / Só nha ghetto qui ta pom ta nabega / Só nha ghetto qui ta pom ta nabega / Ghetto nha cultura, nha armadura, nha sepultura / Lei di rua ki conxi foi na ghetto ki nstuda / Foi na ghetto ki odja modi ki vida eh dura / Krioulo dialeto ki dento ghetto ta perdura / Na varios tipos di cor nacionalidade eh rua / Crioulo é ghetto, ghetto é rua ki nós tudo nu explora / Foi li na margem qui nu prendi luta / Por tudo aquilo ki nu ta ama / a nos nu é fidjos di barraca / Só nha ghetto qui ta pom ta navega*

[19] This also occurs in other music genres and other hip-hop styles.

[20] Several Creole Rap artists from Portugal are known in the Cape Verdean diaspora, performing in France, Luxembourg or the United Kingdom, and also in Cape Verde.