

Revising citizenship: migration and fado in the play of identities in the United States

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Abstract Music relaxes and awakens. Its influence in human behaviours some times produces unexpected results even for the own. Fado performance among Portuguese migrants in the US, in 1990, awakened reactions questioning identity and citizenship representation. Cultural policies, music repertoires, performing details and individual opinions in migrant and non-migrant contexts inspired the open interpretation I propose of interactions between the established nationalist narratives and the renewed social experiences in transnational context. I argue for an interpretation of the music culture in migrant context that contributes towards an understanding of intercultural relationships in the contemporary social development.

Keywords Migration, transnational citizenship, identity, music, dance, fado.

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Introduction

The *Grande Noite de Fados*, regularly performed among Portuguese migrants in the US, included dinner, musical performance and nationalist memory. I studied it, noting the systematic retention of musical models in performance. I compared it with what happened in Lisbon, through repertoire analysis; observation of performing details, sound material, voice character and individual gesture among other expressive behaviour patterns visible among musicians, artists and audiences; analysis of individual opinions and critical information held by performers as well as some members of the audiences. Fado celebrated the past, in a settled tradition of national representation. Something however constrained the ambience suggesting frustration. Marginal then, this strangeness is now at the centre of my interest. What behaviours revealed this sensation? Were they frustrated? What might the causes be? How did they manifest them? Why would they experience that? Might the feeling be productive?

After studying cultural policy and musical expression in the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Portugal, where fado emerged as a constructed musical category for / from nationalistic purposes (Côrte-Real, 2000), it became clear to me why participants seemed divided in their feelings, raising the sensation I termed frustration. Disparate identity forces were playing in a way that the planned nationalist demonstration vacillated before the interpretive experience of performance. Welfare, attention to the other, happiness and critical awareness, among others, prevailing over nationalist notions stressing sadness, loneliness, submission and jealousy, produced effect. I propose an interpretation of the event noting the role of the behaviours in performance and the multifarious forces dealing with individual identity to stress the importance of musical performance in the representation and interpretation of citizenship.

Mind and body in performance ...

Wrapped in white blankets disposed side by side in several rows they left a narrow central path. It was Penn Station in New York passing 4 a.m. on 25.03.1990. Homeless people used the sheltered hallway to sleep. Inhabitants of the city, bodies and the respective quiet minds, gave the public place a new use.¹

Mind and body reactions in the public place emerge in this study on music performance and citizenship representation. Complex networks of memory interact with new social circumstances shaping the play of identities that migrant, and non-migrant, populations live everyday. Increasing migration intensifies inter and intrapersonal relationships. The experience of displacement, enriched by contact with novelty,

challenges established canons and leads us to question and rebuild ways of life. The reference to the “global village in which we all live” requires reflection on the validity of the distinction of citizenship of national base. It is my aim to argue for the study of music among migrants, and fado performance in particular, to observe nuances and meanings of identity as a multipart performing, fluid and adaptable human characteristic, operating on individual and collective dimensions of each one’s life.

Music performance is a multifaceted and dynamic human phenomenon, involving rather capricious and sometimes intellectually elaborate, physical, aesthetical, social and symbolic dimensions, challenging barriers, amplifying the voice of its producers and touching its receivers. It rends itself particularly effective for an interpretive observation of citizenship representation in the intercultural arena. In an approach to the concept of identity, acknowledging its fluidity and performing character (Hall and du Gay, 1996; Baumann, 1996), I present a *Portuguese Night* also billed as the *Grand Night of Fados* in Newark, in 1990. Material for purposes of reference was collected in Lisbon, in the context of fado performances for tourists in the restaurants Adega Machado, which closed in 2009 after 72 years in business, and Adega Mesquita, founded in 1941 and still open.² I carried out field and archival work from 1993 to 2000, based on the Archive of SNI (*Secretariado Nacional de Informação* [Secretariat of National Information]), then *Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo* [Secretary of State for Information and Tourism]) of the former Portuguese dictatorship.

Paradigmatic interplays of behaviour involving mind and body, acting in adversity, revealed identity dilemmas that, questioning old nationalist canons, gave way to new individual interpretations on citizenship representation. The Ethnomusicology perspective, in which I am inscribed, studies music phenomena related with, among others, its hybrid character and national use. Inspiring texts have been written about the role of music in the understanding of change and in helping social transformation. Among them *Music and the Global Order* by Martin Stokes identifies circulation across cultural borders and the musical dynamics of interculture (2004). In time of mass migration and electronic mediation that elected music as a key channel of expression, communication, amusement and profit making, political use of this kind of informed analysis will aid in human collaborative development. The action of decision makers in the design of effective public policies stemming models networking music research, animation, experimentalism and diffusion (Carvalho, 2010) will surely benefit from the strengthening of such pursuit.

The *Portuguese Night* was fruitful. We were entering the third month of contact. Besides listening, enjoying the ambience, eating, recording the fado repertoire and speech, note taking and talking to develop interviewing strategic actions, my participant observation took me into levels of significance, whose decoding clues and understanding take eventually some time still. The *Portuguese Night* at the restaurant *Serra da Estrela*³ in Newark, New Jersey, next to New York City, was, in 1990, rather complete. In the Portuguese community of the Ironbound district, is still today a referential place for fado in the US.

As usual, the dinner was served to the sound of music – of a *homem orquestra*⁴, on other occasions a *conjunto*⁵. At about 11p.m., the *fadista* and musicians⁶ appeared, and the room fell silent, the first fado session took place. There were usually three of about 30' each. Songs of sorrow, sadness, disappointment, jealousy, nostalgic nature of fado and poor ambience of ancient Lisbon were sung to the accompaniment of the guitar and the Portuguese guitar. The vocal style was as close as possible to a model selected from pre-migrant memory. At the end of the session, fado performers left the "stage" space, without any kind of raised platform, or even the room, and dance music followed. With it, and suddenly, the atmosphere exchanged radically. The audience danced, laughed and spoke loud. The unstressed ambience called for participation. Lambada reigned with all its exuberance. Eventually some other Latin American hits and one or two items of Portuguese popular music made their way before another lambada rendition, tirelessly repeated all night long. The dancing periods lasted longer than those of fado, about 50' each. Dance and fado alternated as though after making it through a tense session, a time of release was vital to continuing with the event.

The announcement, as usual, had been for a *Grande Noite de Fados* and all staged attention seemed to concentrate on it. However, the night was clearly composed of two different and apparently independent parts. The most participated and animated was the least valued. A somewhat related model of performance was then observable, and still remains, in Lisbon, where in some *Casas de Fado* (restaurants called *Houses of Fado*) fado sessions are interwoven with staged moments of folklore dance. In Lisbon, however, the audience did not participate. Most clients in the restaurants visited in the summer of 1990 were tourists, either non-nationals or from other regions of Portugal, much less engaged in the performance than the US counterparts.

My study then led me to disregard the dancing intermissions between the fado sessions. Caught up by the relaxed ambience of the dance sessions, I capitalised on them as interviewing time. It was during these highly participative moments of intensive body reaction that I collected the comparatively intensive mind reactions of the participants regarding the interpretation whether of their own fado performances or that of others. As the focus of my study was established on the retention of musical models in performance, my aims proved in tune with those declared by participants. My attitude of overlooking the dance sessions seemed even welcome. The fieldwork strategy entailed two aspects: on the one hand, my observation of the unstressed moments of body priority was interrupted by the leading research interest in the event's officially advertised product, fado; on the other hand, my interviews, seeking intellectual response, clearly profited from the relaxed ambience. The paradoxical situation in these intermissions, when relaxed informants tried to produce controlled analytical descriptions of their own music behaviour, may have had some effect on the unexpected responses some answers revealed regarding the motivation to perform fado and even the sustainability of that form of representation of their Portuguese citizenship. Resonances of this ambivalence, nurtured by subsequent studies on cultural policy, musical expression and categorization during the dictatorship in Portugal (Côrte-Real, 2000), renewing my interest on the reflection about fado performance in the migrant context, provided me with the foundations for this article on the interpretation of citizenship representation.

Fado sessions took a formal structure in the US. As in the places visited in Portugal, they started with an instrumental *variação* for *viola* (guitar) and *guitarra* (Portuguese guitar). Then the *fadista* – one or two hired per night – sang five to seven fados. He/she announced the fados' names, joining the titles of the lyrics and those of the respective accompanying musical patterns. In some cases he venerated names of known fadistas who used to sing them. Sometimes the fadista would solicit audience participation to accompany him or her in a refrain. This happened in the last fados of each session. If there were *fadistas* in the audience, which was common, they would probably participate. During one intermission, the musicians would check the pitch for their vocal range and in the last session the fadista would formally invite them to sing two or three fados each. Although the size of the rooms did not require it, all fadistas used a microphone.

During sessions *fadistas* and musicians adopted a rather static, serious, as if saddened posture, in a performance model that seemed to highlight intellectual rather than body expression. The audience also adopted a formal attitude and the sensation given was that of the fulfilment of some kind of penitent ritual, loaded with symbolism. As explained by participants, the *Portuguese Night* was the occasion for the expression and reinforcement of the cultural identity of nationalist inspiration, both as individual and group activity. The symbolism was revealed for example in the opposition between the kind of performance context and structure. While the context was very informal and even familiar – performers and audience members knew each other well, most having even strong personal ties – the structure of the performance was formal. Previously prepared and cordially performed. When a member of the audience sang, he/she was formally invited by the *fadista* over the microphone, after requesting the permission of the restaurant's owner. There were evenings when, despite there being only Portuguese speakers in the room, the *fadista* would address the small audience (less than 40 people), at the beginning of the performance, in Portuguese, English, and French. This format, following a model from pre-migrant situations, intended for foreign tourists in Lisbon, revealed one of the ambivalences of the event as it stressed the distance between performers and the audience in what was deemed locally to be a practice of proximity.

There was though participation. That evening, as usual, somewhat unnatural. The audience would sing refrains, from most well known fados, and request specific numbers, sung as an extra at the end of sessions. After a number of performances, someone felt the audience reaction was quite stereotyped. There were always big ovations, even when an instrument was accidentally but audibly out of tune, or when one singer was not as good as the others. After one such instance, in justification, the fadista commented:

"She likes to sing, you know, and we are all equal, we have the same rights... After all there are not so many fadistas in our community, so if we don't welcome the voluntaries one of these days we will not have fadistas at all" (Miguel Valente,⁷ personal interview, Newark, 24.03.1990, in Carvalho 1991:32).⁸

The audience revealed a keen desire for participation. Some informants have stressed the importance of fado in the community as what they called a natural manifestation of *saudosismo* (homesickness), the heavily loaded Portuguese yearning that is said to express feelings of unity among participants, and which, as part of a romanticised strategy for nationalist propaganda, was said to be impossible to translate exactly into other languages. These performances seemed then to show a reinforcement of the group's cultural coherence to national identity for the purpose of citizenship representation. Commenting upon the reason to perform fado, one musician stated:

"It is difficult to explain, but for me fado symbolises Portugal. It seems that it says that Portugal is here, with us. It is like blues for the black Americans. They love it as we love fado. If we pay attention we see that 90% of our texts are sad texts, they are songs, they are sad fados that tell something about the past. Each fado has a specific meaning, something from the daily life of the people... And because it is typically Portuguese, it is very important that we show it. It is the way we have to show our culture. We don't have other ways of doing so... From time to time the Portuguese Consulate organises shows of paintings and plastic arts. But this happens only once in a year or so. We, with the music, it is different; we have fado every weekend. We all work but we take some of our time, a weekend or a special day just for this. It is important we have to maintain the tradition." (Fernando Costa, personal interview, Newark, 13.04.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:78).

The findings about the quantity of sad songs and the fact that they relate to the past, seem to be presented by the musician as somehow strange reasons to keep them in their repertoire. *"If we pay attention..."* he says, as though we might be better off not paying any. One may consider that the past experience of migrants is hard and so not so pleasurable to recall. Indeed, the explanation came soon after: *"it is typically Portuguese, it is very important that we show it. It is the way we have to show our culture. We don't have other ways of doing so..."* The final sentence, as an excuse, explains a certain discomfort as if performing fado was perceived as an obligation to fulfil as a demonstration of Portuguese citizenship.

One of the powers of music, visible on fado performance, is its potential to link intimate and public spheres of identity. The idea that fado is a very intimate expression, and that to interpret it satisfactorily one has to have passed through specific sad and hurtful experiences of loss or other feelings such as resentment, was expressed by different informants. The expertise in convincingly showing these feelings in public was seen as a sign of performance quality. In this sense, the audience appreciated and commented on the art of the *fadista* as part of his/her musical talent. In order to be a true artist, the *fadista* should first of all feel whatever he/she is singing about. The sonic quality of his/her voice is secondary in this context. Curiously enough, the concepts of music and art were again considered separately in this context of fado performance. The ages of audiences, as well as performers, ranged from around 30 to 60 years, being considered mature in the community. A member of the audience stressed:

"One needs to be mature in order to really understand fado. You have to have had a grief or a deep sorrow in your life, another woman in your life, you know, love displeasure, or something of that sort." (Antónia, personal interview, Newark, 24.11.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:33).

One of the most often heard fados during my fieldwork, was *Negro Ciúme* (gloomy jealousy). Asked about this preference, *fadistas* stressed that the more the fado was intimately felt, the better it was performed and understood. The emotional aspect of fado had, they stressed, a strong influence in the learning process as well:

"Fado can't be taught. It is there or it is not there at all. Fado is a way of life, it is an emotional state." (Conceição Antunes, personal interview, Newark, 24.11.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:33).

The heavily emotional themes of jealousy and unrequited love, so common in this context, are effective for connections of mind and body and intimate and public spheres of the identity expression in performance. Such expression is noted in literary and musical text references as well as on visible and audible components. Adding the palatal ones from the respective dinners one may think about the completeness and power involved in the behaviour and sensations of this complex symbol of Portuguese citizenship representation.

Although most fados in the community were sad, related with depressing aspects of life, and with the category of fado itself, there were less heavy ones referring to the status of being a migrant, however sung with the nostalgia of being far from homeland. Finally, some Lisbon related songs completed the repertoire. Though sung in the same performance context, these were classified as *marchas populares* (popular marches) by some participants. In contrast with the other fados, these songs are in a regular and fast tempo and usually in a major key. The participants' distinction between the music categories – *fados* and *marchas populares* – was not always clear. On asked about this, one musician told that marches were *"the happy fados"* (Fernando Costa, personal interview, Newark 13.04.1990). This opinion was however refuted by others who maintained fado was inherently sad. Although there were new fado texts in the community, they were also sad. The majority of the repertoire was old texts sung to old music patterns, in tune with the "emotional state" that characterized "a way of life" which they called *"typically Portuguese"*.

What to think then about the exuberant happiness and excitement of the same group of people, at the same event, the *Portuguese Night*, during the fado session dance intermissions? Was this in tune with the expressed typically Portuguese way of being? Were they thus less Portuguese, in these dancing intermissions, than in the sung fado sessions? Lambada fever, already present for some time in New York where I lived, heard loud from cars on Broadway, and from Latin stores, had been enhanced by the release of two films: *Lambada* and *The Forbidden Dance* directed by Joel Silberg and Greydon Clark respectively, on 18.03.1990. The films, Jon Pareles noted then in *The New York Times*, had in common, not only the promotion of the hot lambada as American dance music, but also to do so as a cry of protest against the anti-Mexican prejudice in Los Angeles (1990). The song had already been translated into 42 idioms and the *"dance craze, involving undulating, bikini-clad rumps and female-groin-to-*

-male-thigh contact" (1990), had achieved outstanding sale results in many countries. The following chart illustrates certificates and sales, topping 1,000,000 of certified sales in France and in Germany:

Figure 1 – Lambada sales information on Wikipedia

Country	Certification	Date	Sales certified	Physical Sales
Canada	Gold	February 28, 1990	50,000	
France	Platinum	1989	1,000,000	1,735,000
Germany	2 x Platinum	1989	1,000,000	
Japan	Platinum	1989		265,920
Netherlands	Platinum	1989	60,000	
Sweden	Gold	January 9, 1990	10,000	
Switzerland	Gold	1989	15,000	
UK	Gold	February 1, 1990	400,000	

Source: available at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lambada_\(Kaoma_song\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lambada_(Kaoma_song)),
last modified on 09.04.2010 at 18H06, accessed on 28.06.2010.

On 29.05.90, *El Pais* announced the first performance by Kjarkasin Madrid. The Bolivian group, author of the song *Llorando se fue* at the origin of the celebrated dance, would give a concert at the *Auditorio Nacional* hosted by Queen Sofia. Revenues, in favour of the archeological program in the city of Tiahuanaco, involved ticket prices ranging from 2,500 to 10,000 pesetas. The authorship rights scandal nurtured the success. It took a court decision: the celebrated song, popularised by the French group Kaoma, through the Brazilian singer Loalwa Braz was indeed a copy of *Llorando se fue*, composed by the Bolivian brothers Ulises and Gonzalo Hermosa, performed by Kjarkas in 1981 and registered with the German Society of Authors in 1985 [Tejada, 1990].

The success of lambada in the Portuguese community, attracting everyone, impossible to ignore in the body reactions on that *Portuguese Night* was avoided in our conversations. As if belonging to different worlds, the two music cultures present in that performing event could not be related. I did not insist and my few references were ignored, as if for those who had accepted me as a Portuguese researcher on fado, it did not make sense to mention this other domain. Gender issues, licentiousness, reluctance to music diversity, even a feeling of disrespect towards Portuguese citizenship representation may be pointed as plausible reasons for avoiding *The Forbidden Dance* in our conversations.

There were other subjects systematically avoided. Among them were the relationships between fado and politics, either on the controlling efforts of the right wing past dictatorship ruling Portugal from 1926 to 1974 or on the liberating actions of the left wing both before and after 1974. The major fado singers Amália Rodrigues and Carlos do Carmo were also, perhaps for the same reason, avoided references. The systematic avoidances were meaningful although participants would stress that music and politics were not related at all.

Producers involved in these events, owners of restaurants, musicians and singers, expressed main motivations for fado performance: on one hand, and clearly stated, were the worries over the survival of what was expressed to be “the cultural identity of the Portuguese community” and its presentation to the foreign society in which it was settled; on the other, and less overtly stated, was the individual hope to make some profit. Nationalist propaganda principles and models that constructed the tourist category of “traditional” Portuguese music guided their presentations idealized for American citizens or others occasionally visiting the community. The choice of the “typical” repertoire, characterized as “sad fados that tell something about the past”, the structure of the fado sessions, the content of the comments on the microphone, the dinner menu and the formal ambience were directly imported from a model then still present in Lisbon at some fado houses for the consumption of tourists. The clients were, however, for the time of my fieldwork, mostly members of the migrant community.

The community was struggling to establish a local tradition able to generate linkages with the well succeed model they knew from their pre-migrant situation. Involving music and gastronomy, it was associated with the commercial public place of the restaurant, and – as I later understood – had been shaped, refined and protected by the Portuguese dictatorial cultural policy. The effort seemed well succeeded. During my fieldwork, I heard references to the restaurant as the centre of the fado tradition, close to New York; recognized by fadistas in introductions to fado sessions, by audiences and other members of the community. Flyers on local store windows on Ferry Street, and ads in *Luso Americano*⁹ attested so. In fado for around 30 years in several restaurants in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, a musician, guitar maker stated:

“Today fado is more appreciated than some years ago here in the United States. It is because we are doing this as a form of tradition. However, I should say that here (Newark) fado is more appreciated than in Rhode Island and in the other states. Most people there come from the Azores. They go there with the wives and children only for dinner, you know! They don't know how to appreciate fado. It is indifferent for them to hear fado or other music. The real centre of fado is here.” (António Rosa, personal interview, Newark, 24.03.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:79).

The realization of the tradition, presented as a cultural obligation, was said to be essential to the identification of the group in the host society, in relation to other migrant communities, and within the community itself.¹⁰ Informants compared the meaning of fado to the Portuguese with that of flamenco to the Spanish and that of

samba to the Brazilians, explaining the nationalist identity they were representing. Invariably, local notions of tradition were connected with concepts such as “style”, “Portuguese identity” (without explanation) and antiquity of the repertoire. It was widely considered among participants, even in Lisbon, that fado and Portuguese music had lost its “Portuguese identity” in the last two decades. Worried, a musician in Lisbon noted:

“There is no defined style in modern Portuguese music. Portuguese music continues in search of a style, which it cannot find. In the old days, there was a determined style, a true style. Today, they try new things, but they fall into the old things again. They haven’t discovered yet anything new and valid. And now with Portuguese membership of the EEC (European Economic Community) things are getting even worse. Now Portugal is only a European country, it has nothing more. It is empty in my opinion it completely lost its identity, as Portuguese music did” (João Matos, personal interview, Lisbon 29.08.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:80).

The disappointment associated with the *“loss of identity of Portuguese music, and of fado’s in particular”* was common to both homeland and migrant contexts in the public spaces visited. Musicians seemed to be unanimous. However, their action expressed as “correct”, did not correspond to the indicators of success mentioned. It was not in tune with the reported “optimum” phase in fado’s reception mentioned by the same musician:

“We are in an optimum phase of fado reception. It is getting better in the last five or six years. I had another profession (architect designer), but now I only play the guitar.” (João Matos, personal interview, Lisbon, 29.08.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:73).

The disappointment was also not in tune with the relaxed state and contagious animation reached in the dancing parts of the *Grande Noite de Fados* in Newark. Mind and body reactions opposed in that. Neither the body animation in the migrant dance nor the satisfactory financial results reported were enough to overcome the negative mental construction that prevented participants rejoicing at the good results obtained. The opposing roles of body and mind competing within music mediation were revealing intimate/rational and public/physical domains of identity in that performance context. Strange feelings obscured the possible satisfaction in the representation of Portuguese citizenship through fado not only in the migrant community in the US but also in Lisbon.

... dealing with identity ...

The discrepancy between rational and physical responses to music stimulus by participants in that situation, stressed the plurality of identity roles, pointing to awkwardness or inability in its interpretation. It is not easy to understand one’s exquisite and dynamic identity in a world undergoing increasing diversification, multicultural and in consequent demand of interpretive openness. With Appiah, in his comments on the writings of Amartya Sen, I argue that in order to understand our identity, we need

cultural freedom “to preserve or to change our priorities” (Sen, 2006:113 in Appiah, 2008:346).

The frustration of fado participants in the Portuguese migrant group and elsewhere, I could understand later, resulted from the old Portuguese official “national conscience” (*consciência nacional*). There were still remains of it here and there in the minds of many in 1990, resulting from the strong national identity-belonging feeling that the dictatorial “policy of the spirit” (*política do espírito*) efficiently infused into less critical ones. The case of fado was special within the music scenario for national and individual identity purposes. For the efficacy of the dictatorial services, among other factors, fado may be considered a supreme tool for popular subjugation to a unitary nationalist state ideology. Unexpectedly the political aim surpassed the regime.

These fado participants faced a problem that Amartya Sen conceptualised as “one of the central issues... how human beings are seen” and how they should be categorised. How to balance in the process inherited traditions and other affiliations such as those “involving politics, profession, class, gender, language, literature, social involvements, and many other connections?” (2006:150 in Appiah, 2008:343-44). Chosen and unchosen identities, resultant from myriad affiliations such as national citizenship, place of residence, geographic origin, class, politics, profession, employment, food habits, sports interests, music preference, social commitments, etc., make us members of a variety of groups. Past and present conditions and forces, not all understood, rationally and emotionally constructed, channelled through body and mind behaviours, interacted in the play of identities. These participants lived that night as on others, while trying to explain connections between fado and their own Portuguese citizenship representation. Body action, against the mind’s conditioned reflection, played an active role in the liberation of their identity balance, through the forbidden Latin dance of the day.

Among the writings about Portuguese national character abundant during the dictatorship, demonstrating more than interpreting, I mention one by Jorge Dias, stressing the ambiguity of the subject. By characterising Portuguese people he says: “it is a paradoxical people and difficult to govern. Its defects may be its virtues, and its virtues its defects, conform the aegis of the moment”¹¹ (1971:33 in Cabral, 2003:524). Although eventually more interested on its virtues and defects, the fact is that Dias draws attention towards the meaning of the moment suggesting openness to the interpretive action of the observer, conditioned by the “aegis of the moment”, in other words, the source of protection in power at that specific time and place.

More than fado and my ethnographic questions, it was the “aegis of the moment” that prevailed. The body, awakened by the dance, faced the accepted nationalist narratives. The play of identities in which those participants were caught up made them question their roles and interpret the national character of their citizenship representation. Bodies conducted minds to the versatility, openness and diversity of the notion of identity. How did they see themselves? The question I did not pose seemed to worry them in their discourse. *The Forbidden Dance* made them pass from the

mechanistic-determinist perspective (Fonseca, 2008:16) to what may be called the performative-diversifiable perspective of the character or identity. Using the image of Zygmunt Bauman, they were recognising then, in their interpretation, the passage of identity, in individual and national grounds, from the pilgrim phase, previously determined, to that of the tourist in an open and fluid state (1996). The power of present body behaviour in performance had surpassed that of rationalised nationalist memory. Nationalist reasons were still dominant in the fado culture in the migrant context, and the political sides of right and left wings prevailed in their minds.

Older than the dictatorship the music category of fado, shaped as a national design, fitted extraordinarily well the nationalist purposes of *Estado Novo* (New State). Strong circumstantial conditions, like state control, enhanced the dictatorial use of fado: the romantic origin, the connection with destiny and the performing character. Apparently born in the 19th century, in a time of exacerbated nationalist feelings, it was consistently constructed out of a number of features that served well the also nationalist proposals of the dictatorship. Its conspicuousness in worshipping past times and homeland virtues, giving voice to the people, leaning on unrequited love of different sorts, nurtured nostalgic feelings such as sorrow and yearning. The latter serving so well the contemporary mystic of *saudade*, one of the virtual images of the complex affective node Portuguese people have constructed about themselves through time (Moreira de Sá, nd:1), was shaped not only in music but also in literature, theatre, film and other art works, producing multiple referential connections for later symbolic interpretation. The destiny or fate in the name, acted as an exceptionally strong representation in a then mostly illiterate country dominated by religious faith and fears of Roman Catholic inspiration. Finally, its performing character giving voice to intimate feelings of many sorts, combined with the previous conditions, made fado an extremely efficient channel to link individual identities to the national conscience constructed.

Concerted actions and strategies of dictatorial initiative, adapting fado to its purposes included stripping the lyrics of any possible kinds of critical feelings, through means of censorship; promoting the taste for fado, joining the leader, Salazar, in its advocacy, through information as to his preference and proximity to it (Garnier, 1952); and making it a privileged means for national propaganda through the reinforcement of the music category in the entertainment industry (radio, recordings, journals, cinema, music theatre, restaurants for tourists and international diplomatic entertainment and representation). The great diva Amália Rodrigues stressed her own forced maintenance in fado activity by what she verbalized as "...[they] wanted me for fado", leaving unsaid whom. She was then mentioning the power of the nation, leaving open who "wanted" her for that: precise government agents? Ambivalent forces? People's will channelled through nationalist means? (personal interview, Lisbon, 28.08.1990, in Côte-Real, 2005).

Even the stress on the minor tonality associated with fado, and the prevalence of the image of the *fado menor* category/music pattern was object of governmental action. Processed, among other means, through consecutive fado contests of national scope, involving most if not all licensed fado houses, in the so called April Festivities (Côte-Real, 2000, 2002 and 2008). For tourist propaganda, these events happened

in the festive venue of the water mirror restaurant, still existing today close by Praça do Império in Lisbon. Curiously enough, the winner of the last *Concurso de Fado Amador* (Amateur Fado Contest), a young pre-teenager girl, was accepted for the competition on the very day of the *Revolução dos Cravos* (Carnation's Revolution) - 25.04.1974.¹² Also curious is the fact that the intervention song *Grândola Vila Morena*, by José Afonso, used as the radio signal - on Rádio Renascença - to launch military action was chosen by one of the final candidates, and accepted by the jury, to represent his entry in the compulsory *fado menor* category (Côrte-Real, 2000:408).

The political action used to shape the national conscience through fado was so effective that the results last for long after the fall of the regime. Salazar's propaganda stressed that the spirit shapes and transforms men more profoundly than the force of dominators (Garnier, 1955:222). The policy for the national revolution, as the government called the revolution of 28.05.1926 was pursued on spiritual educational grounds and presented as "*the holy war in advocacy of human liberty, of homes (lares) and shrines (altares)*" (Caetano, 1941:123 in Côrte-Real, 2000:28).

The development of Portuguese society, in its different domains, was dominated by nationalism, used as a unifying identity force. Extremely elaborate processes of cultural construction were developed to build products such as "national conscience", "national family" (Ferro, 1946:II), "national gastronomy", "national folklore" and "national song". The mono-cultural configuration of society was carefully constructed through diversified political strategies. The information of cultural, artistic and leisure nationalist identity was carefully transmitted across the national metropolitan territory, colonies and migrant communities through tools such as different periodicals and, among others, the book *Portugal: Breviário da Pátria para Portugueses Ausentes* (Portugal: Fatherland Book for Absent Portuguese) by SNI (1946), or *Vacances avec Salazar* (Holidays with Salazar) by Garnier(1952). The important media channels of the phonograph industry, including radio and television, meanwhile mass-mediated, of difficult access until recently, are now being object of study and gradual archive availability, revealing recent history.

With the advent of democracy, in progress, the trends develop slowly towards a more multicultural configuration. The new Constitution of the Portuguese Republic (1976) proclaimed in article 73 "*the democratization of culture*". In its last (7th) revision (2005) the text of the article referent to education, culture and science states "*the democratization of culture by encouraging and ensuring access by all citizens to cultural enjoyment and creation*".¹³ This measure contrasts with the old dictatorial constitutional policy of Estado Novo (1933) that stressed "*the observance of the hierarchy and coordination of the state in the domain of arts and sciences*" (Article 43, 2 in Côrte-Real, 2000:15).

The dictatorial construct of the nation, conceived out of the national identity principle, whose primary aim was the "*subordination of all individual interests to the common welfare, to the interest of the Pátria*"¹⁴ (Salazar, 1961:227) developed a tight system of social organisation - the corporatism. According to its followers, the corporative system, a solution of social and moral order, recognised the various human societies

in which man participates. From family, commune organised administratively in *freguesias* and *municípios*, profession organised in corporations including associations of employees and employers, to nation and church, respecting a hierarchy of social aims from the substance to the spiritual, and from the particular to the general, taking the national interest as the supreme expression of the common welfare. It is the ideology of integral nationalism. In juridical terms, according to Marcelo Caetano, the next prime minister, this means the integration of all modes of social life into the nation – furnished with the juridical means necessary to the realisation of its own aims – in the political constitution of the state (1941:55). In a military conceptualisation, so much in the taste of *Estado Novo*, the nation was presented as “*an army that marches, animated by the spirit of unity, to the realisation of the common ideal*” (1941:133, in Côrte-Real, 2000:24). With such a strategy, the state controlled every single movement of society, deliberately shaping, as Salazar stressed in 1929, a new spirit and a new mentality (Salazar, 1961:38). The universality of state functions was clearly mentioned by the dictator in a 1930 speech about the fundamental principles of the revolution: “*the state has the right to promote, harmonize and control all national activities*” (1961:81, in Côrte-Real 2000:24). The highly hierarchical system necessary to operate the “national renaissance” (Ferro, 1933:xxxv) was constructed over the notion of a mindless Portuguese people, “*a mass of men anxious for command and protection, good for all kinds of enterprise, so sacrificed for so many adventures*” (Caetano, 1941:34, in Côrte-Real, 2000:27).

Cultural policy represented a central concern of *Estado Novo*. Promoted by *política do espírito*, it was introduced into the Portuguese scenario by the journalist António Ferro, in a famous series of interviews with Salazar in 1932. The concept of *política do espírito* was a central European construct whose origins were reported to reach back to Napoleon’s writings. Ferro traces the implementation of the concept in its various approaches, stressing the Russian and the Italian cases, foreseeing its implementation within the Portuguese political context. “*In France, in Italy, in Russia, in Germany, in England and even in the Balkans, the State acknowledges the Policy of the Spirit and realizes it, with amplitude, morally and materially protecting all the literary and artistic initiatives*” (Ferro, 1933:274). Noting the political importance of musical expression as a privileged moving force for human emotions Ferro stressed that: “*of all the arts, music is the one that exercises greatest influence in the passions, the one that the legislator should most encourage*” (1933:275, in Côrte-Real, 2000:83). With this purpose in mind, Ferro would pay particular attention to musical expression in Portugal. Music, especially with literary text, and fado in particular, would occupy a meaningful place within the cultural policy of *Estado Novo*. Shaped by its conservative character, the governmental awareness of the powers of musical expression would inevitably promoted its stagnation at various levels.

During World War II and in post-war times, fado was used as a propaganda tool to illustrate the “peaceful” existence of the Portuguese people. Deprived of critical views, thanks to tight censorial action, it was presented as the sweet popular urban expression of Portuguese attraction. The image broadcasted by the government through the book *Vacances avec Salazar* by the French journalist, of Belgian origin, Christine Garnier in 1952, stresses his love for fado and the policy of the spirit as a

condition for national reconstruction.¹⁵

The generalised stagnation, systematically infused, was valued for tourist policy purposes. The full-page ad by Swissair in the *New York Times* travel section on 18.02.1966 stating “*Portugal is Europe before it changed*” is illustrative. A small text alludes to fado as “*the beautiful songs of Portuguese women... heard in cafes*” and to “*the old fishermen mending nets...*”. The strategy, to attract those interested in the eventual exotic purity of life in a poor European past, must be seen as a justification for the overall backlog of the country. Spread through so efficient channels, the valorisation of past constructs, repertoires and practices, as pure and true national representations, would leave deep influences on the imaginary of many Portuguese who learned to associate with Portuguese identity.

The over emphasis on past fado repertoires was observable in the migrant group in Newark. There was a strong reaction against innovation. Local *fadistas* built their repertoires out of old fados, the so called “true”, “traditional” and “typical” ones; visiting *fadistas* invited from Portugal were usually selected from among the older performers and those who sang the older fados; the records and cassettes sold in the stores also featured old *fadistas*, some already retired or even dead. The negation of innovation was clearly stated by participants:

“People come here to hear old fados and songs, they don’t want to hear new things. I don’t give them old fados because they ask for them. I give because I don’t sing new songs, ok!? I refuse to sing new fados, they have no meaning for me. And so I feel fine, because I know that I’m going to sing for them what they like to hear. Something that makes them remember old days, their childhood, and their homeland.” [Miguel Valente, personal interview, Newark, 24.03.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:81].

The strange reaction of the participants, avoiding references to the famous fado singers Amália Rodrigues and Carlos do Carmo, even when asked about great voices and their influential effects, may have also been determined by the innovative action that these two singers represented regarding the fado repertoire. Both of them did indeed bring novelty to fado, challenging its identity. Carlos do Carmo did it on purpose, replacing fado’s image of man in society. His record *Um Homem na Cidade* (LP, UPAV 1977) (União Portuguesa de Artistas de Variedades) illustrates this perspective. It considers democratic policy concerns and promotes citizenship; points to innovation in the lyrics, by José Carlos Ary dos Santos, with new and appealing visions of the city; and innovative use of sound material, with some melodic, harmonic and formal challenge. This innovative sonic domain, referred to as *fado novo* (new fado) in the migrant community, was linked with the image of the sounds of April, from the intervention songs emerging during the 1974 Portuguese Revolution.¹⁶

Amália Rodrigues, on the other hand, although having introduced some innovation to fado on purpose, was in her own words surprised by the opinion of those who heard her performances. Amália stressed that it was her audiences who introduced the major innovation to the fado definition. They termed all the songs she sung as fado.

"I may sing a malhão¹⁷ or a vira¹⁸, or even a simple song; everybody will consider it a fado."
(personal interview, Lisbon, 28.08.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:67).

New meanings challenged the identity of fado. If until then fado could be considered *"a musical genre, defined within certain limits in terms of song format, tempo, melodic, harmonic and rhythmic patterns, literary thematic and instrumentation"*, from then on, vocal style, Amália's references in other interpretive ways were also defining characteristics of the category (Carvalho, 1991:67-68). The elasticity these interpreters gave to the identity of fado was not well accepted by those who saw it as a reference to the past, subject to the nationalist purposes of the Estado Novo's cultural policy.

In the migrant context in Newark, the conditions expressed as motivations for participation in the event: the taste for old repertoire, the preference for sad subjects and past themes, apparently working for the conservative categorisation of fado, did not work for the other musical repertoire present on the same night. The intensity of the participation left, however, the impression that the audience was more identified with the lambada dance than with the fados offered up. The contrasting domains co-existing within the event resulted respectively from accepted past narratives of nationalist inspiration and mind subjection or from current experience of intercultural motivation and body attraction. Both produced essence for identity-belonging strategies, observable in the solidarity expressed by the participants in both parts of the performance. However, one of the domains was accepted to represent Portuguese national identity and the other was not. Is it possible that this inference has been part of the cause for the frustration expressed by the participants? Why is it that a performance domain that interests and promotes solidarity, motivating identity within a group of Portuguese people cannot or should not be considered motive for Portuguese identity? What are the impediments for a group of Portuguese people in Portugal or elsewhere to choose a domain for identity-belonging? May this identity be considered a Portuguese identity? Who or what determines the Portugueseness of the Portuguese identity?

From the complex and diversified domains implying different roles of identity dealt with in the situation described, it is possible to interpret that, for this case:

- Reasoning dealing with and eventually choosing from among plural identities, a notion advocated by Sen (in Appiah, 2008:346), may imply mental reflection and body experience; both may point to opposite directions and the apparently less rationalised may prevail;
- Awkwardness in advocating what is "officially" announced as the chosen identity may indicate that it is not so. Avoiding names, circumstances, links of different sorts are among plausible indicators of contrariness;
- Reluctance in accepting welfare as part of one's own identity may compromise the condition to an extreme point so that it may mean unintended identification, or identification with something not wanted.
- The "aegis of the moment" (Dias, 1971:33 in Cabral, 2003:524), changing through time and place, requires constant updating regarding domains of identity of individual, group and country or nation concern.

... for citizenship representation

Different peoples experience different organising principles, and citizenship, a millennial European concept, seems to resist time and space adapting itself, not without tragic experiences and inhumane delay, to the changing needs of everyday life. The main systems of Latin representation, *jus sanguini* and *jus soli*, respectively the right of blood and the right of soil, have coexisted within the policies different states have produced to determine citizenship rights. Who we are born from and where, relating the earliest body and place experience of each individual, have been so far determinant for peoples' organisation into nations, states or countries,¹⁹ most of them founded on old previous parts of others. In contemporary, complex and changing environments however, who we are and where we are, after birth though, and in different phases and circumstances of life, have motivated reflection and study on the notions of identity and citizenship. These, in turn bear relevance for the delineation of changing policies of state organisation and care. Social Sciences, including Anthropology, Cultural Studies and Ethnomusicology, among others, have produced theoretical insights for the study of human behaviour as representative of identity strategies basic to life in society. Being part of the interest in the study of music performance processes and products since the 1980s, the notion of identity was recently reviewed in the Ethnomusicology literature by Timothy Rice (2007, 2010). Migration in its growing manifestation, allied with other globalising trends like electronic mediation potentially reducing distances and multiplying contacts, is showing problems, inaccuracies, shortcomings and tremendous gaps in the organisation of nations, requesting urgent deep revision of some established state principles.

The notion of citizenship, the quality of being citizen, the inhabitant of the city in the enjoyment of civil and political rights of a free state,²⁰ is under scrutiny. Central to legal sciences for long, it became increasingly meaningful for social, human and educational sciences in contemporary democratic societies. It implies a legal and political relationship between individual and state and it is a fundamental right. Liberalism and multiculturalism, mainly conceived in the social struggle of migrant efforts, have enriched and challenged the concept. Questioning the idea of citizenship as a form of inclusion Halfmann notes its oddity:

"Citizenship is an odd form of inclusion as compared to membership in other social systems because it combines universalistic and particularistic criteria in the same process of inclusion. Citizenship is attributed to all individuals equally, but only insofar as they belong to a particular nation-state. This inclusion in the political system originates from the formula of the Human Rights Declaration of the French Revolution, which stated that every individual [excluding women]²¹ has a right to be a member of a «nation»" (Halfmann, 1998:514).

The fusion of the "nation" with the state, he stresses, makes citizenship different from the forms of inclusion in other social systems of modern society whose universalism is not restricted to nationals (Halfmann, 1998). The notions of citizenship and nationalism need continuously renewed attention. Policies implemented throughout the world are being challenged as unsatisfactory measures in the light of compliance with

Human Rights proposals and the proclaimed democratic world order. Migrant experiences have been crucial to illustrating the need to review longstanding practices and mentalities. Music phenomena, in production and reception dimensions, are playing meaningful roles questioning social trends delaying intercultural partnership.

The idea of membership, at the base of the citizenship notion, relating people and place ownership rights at various levels, still essential to the contemporary social organisation of states, carries in itself the need for symbolic representation. This is a way to show to others the condition of being a member of an entity – the state in this case. This condition of belonging, known as identity, subject in many cases to a number and information made public in the form of a card, find a turbulent phase in the process of migration. Social scientists have acknowledged and expressed the fluidity and trickiness of the notion of identity, linking individual and national interests, not only in migrant contexts but also in all contexts of life (Baumann, 1996). However, public life seems in many cases to be reluctant in acknowledging this fluidity and need of wise care. Academia and society reveal distance on this issue as on many others. The documentation and analysis of specific situations, in this case involving music and fado phenomena, help to understand some flaws in the interpretation of citizenship and particularly of Portuguese citizenship representation. These flaws stress contradictions between peoples' new social interests, tastes, preferences and needs, and old meanings that social forces effectively implemented emanating through already past organizing policies on identity.

Governmental strategies to deal with citizenship have changed in Portugal in recent years. Among the major ones is the new Law of Nationality (1981)²² regulatory framework that entered into effect on 15.12.2006. It values *jus soli*, in the case of those born in Portuguese territory, for the attribution and acquisition of nationality. This important criterion was based on the European Convention on Nationality (1997) that stated in its 2nd article: "*nationality means the legal bond between a person and a State and does not indicate the person's ethnic origin*".²³ The novelty produced effects and the official numbers newly requesting Portuguese nationality increased significantly: four times more foreigners asked for a Portuguese identity card in the first semester of the year, rising from 4,146 in 2006 to 17,185 in 2007 (Neves and Spranger 2007). International indexes and reports such as the MIPLEX, *Migrant Integration Policy Index*, [2005-07], praised Portuguese policies especially in terms of family reunion, rights associated with long-term residence, active government information on political participation, access to nationality and anti-discrimination efforts. Regarding public perceptions in Portugal, and providing statistics for the subjective value that they should have, the report states encouraging figures relative to migrants' social rights.²⁴

Rosário Farmhouse, the High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue, mentions the experience of the Portuguese diaspora and the close relationship with the immigrant associations for the meaningful advances in these policies. With a limited experience as a country of immigration, and officially considered a host only for the last 15 years, Portugal struggles to attain an efficient performance in this domain. The strategy has been one of integration, and besides the new regulation of

the Law of Nationality, a Plan for Immigrant Integration was approved in 2007, with 122 concrete measures involving 13 Ministries.²⁵

The need to consider the multiple experiences of migrant populations, whether Portuguese living abroad or foreigners in whatever the country, has been valued at many levels, and constitutional documents do reflect this position to some extent. The concept of citizenship is open, dynamic and subject to constant revision and recognition. The role of international partnership in the definition of Portuguese citizenship is stressed in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic (1976). On its 7th and last revision (2005), the text points to principles of equality and of fundamental rights in the articles related to citizenship as a fundamental principle and to general principles of fundamental rights and duties related with it.²⁶

Supranational terms and conditions, the governance forces beyond the state, act on the Portuguese Constitution, and others, ensuring protection to Portuguese and other citizens. With the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Constitutions are, as Dieter Christensen mentions, clouds protecting from the daily burning sun for many (personal talk September 2010). The complexity of working on those governance forces was illustrated by the failed process for the establishment of a European Constitution in 2005, initiated by the French public rejection in a referendum. The growing deterritorialization and atomization of power in the European Union, due to globalizing and pluralist migrant trends, among other factors, have been identified by analysts and social scientists as the main arguments for constitutional renovation (Zagrebelsky, 1992; Everson, 1998; Shaw, 1999; Maduro, 2000; Vila Maior, 2006). The deconstruction of constitutionalism required by European integration, Póiares Maduro stresses, may promote an extended application of its democratic ideals (2000:2). Analysing the situation after the failed trial, Vila Maior compares the traditional state centred constitutionalism with a new, *“already postmodern one, inclusive and open to the evolution of political science, overflowing beyond the inexorable reality of the State”* (2006:298).

The UN *Human Development Report* stresses the potential of transnational circulation, arguing for the valorisation of benefits of diversity visible through migrants' expressive behaviour. *“The freedom to act in pursuit of personal goals and well-being”* is referred to as a source for *“empowerment, civic rights and participation”* promoting *“the social bases for self-respect”* (2009:60). The importance of *“having a voice – and having that voice heard”* is stressed as a way to develop capital gain denoting that *“decentralization and democratization”* provide *“opportunities to lobby and to make incremental gains”* (2009:87). The recognition that *“migrants can affect the ethnic and cultural diversity of a society, literally changing the face of a nation”*, and particularly that *“in countries with a long and proud history of independence and a strong sense of national identity, the arrival of newcomers may pose more challenges”* (2009:91), is reported as is the fact that in the impact of migration *“there is no evidence of significant adverse economic, labour market or fiscal impacts, and there is evidence of gains in such areas as social diversity and capacity for innovation”* (2009:92). These findings value the meaning of the expressive behaviour of migrant groups for the new and needed conception of citizenship that, as the new and also needed Europe-

an Constitution will hopefully develop, using Vila Maior's words, "overflowing beyond the inexorable reality of the State". The accomplishment of such complex tasks may promote a new model for the organisation of European and other societies in which the experiences of those who migrate and express themselves through performing practices represent useful meaning for political action.

Conclusion

Forms of social organisation, notions of citizenship and the validity of national and supranational constitutionalism are being revised. Studies on identity issues, observed in performing scenes such as the *Portuguese Night* among migrants in Newark, are useful for their versatility.

Expressive behaviours involving music are characterised by multipart completion, dynamism, fusion and emotional reference. In the case of fado, the relative longevity and the social representation, involving symbolic reference, may be considered platforms of observation for intercultural inquiry and understanding.

Body and mind reactions pointing in opposite directions in circumstances such as musical sound preferences, choice of leading references and reflection on one's identity-belonging, seem to highlight the discussion on citizenship, implying openness to diversity, creativity and collaborative endeavour on the interpretive experience.

Contributing to the knowledge of fado this article testifies meanings of migrant music activity to foster intercultural practice. The analysis of transnational situations as this one may inspire decision makers on the revision of the citizenship concept. Having alerted those migrants, fado may play a new role: to emphasise the fluidity and performing character of citizenship resultant from the interplay of human identities in social context.

Notas

¹ This image, retained from the time of my yearlong fieldwork on fado performance among Portuguese migrants around New York for my MA Thesis in Ethnomusicology at Columbia University under the guidance of Dieter Christensen, revisited my thoughts while now dealing with citizenship representation.

² Available at <http://www.adegamesquita.com/>, accessed on 07.06.2010.

³ For privacy, the name of the restaurant was exchanged.

⁴ *Homem orquestra*, literally meaning "orchestra man", was the local designation for the synthesizer or keyboard player who could provide "the music of an entire group".

⁵ *Conjunto* meaning group is a Portuguese word for "band".

⁶ The concepts *fadistas* (fado singers) and *músicos* (the guitar and the Portuguese guitar players), used both in the migrant community as in the observed scenes in Lisbon showed that musician was applied only to those who played music instruments. The singers were mentioned as *fadistas* or *artists*, marking the difference between a musician and a singer or artist. This distinction separated also those who "knew music" in the sense of dominating knowledge on music theory related with tonal system details and performing techniques on the instruments, from those who dominated only the part associated with the sung melody, the literary and musical texts and its "history". This distinction made visible also in the performance experience regarding attitude towards the public, emotional state and stage location, among other aspects, marked also a distinction between the more technical/scientific and less emotionally engaged side on the one hand, and the more artistic and emotionally engaged side of fado performance, on the other.

⁷ Where informants appear in the text, for their privacy, I have changed their names.

⁸ All translations into English are my own.

⁹ *Luso Americano* is a newspaper edited in Newark since 1928. Being the most read Portuguese newspaper in the US, it has been edited twice a week since 1988, available at <http://www.lusoamericano.com/default.aspx>, accessed on 20.05.2010.

¹⁰ Other members within the community explicitly adhered to other music cultures. That of *ranchos folclóricos*, studied by Soeiro de Carvalho (1990), is an example of it. Some fado informants also regretted the distance of youngsters who preferred pop music.

¹¹ "É um povo paradoxal e difícil de governar. Os seus defeitos podem ser as suas virtudes e as suas virtudes os seus defeitos, conforme a égide do momento" (1971: 33 cited by Cabral, 2003: 524).

¹² Documents in the Archive of the SNI/SEIT, Pendão; consulted in April 1994, Côrte-Real, 2000:407.

¹³ From the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, available at http://app.parlamento.pt/site_antigo/ingles/cons_leg/Constitution_VII_revisao_definitive.pdf, accessed on 27/05/10.

1. Everyone shall possess the right to education and culture.
2. The state shall promote the democratization of education and the other conditions needed for an education conducted at school and via other means of training to contribute to equal opportunities, the overcoming of economic, social and cultural inequalities, the development of the personality and the spirit of tolerance, mutual understanding, solidarity and responsibility, to social progress and to democratic participation in public life.
3. Acting in cooperation with the media, cultural associations and foundations, cultural and recreational groups, cultural heritage associations, residents' associations and other cultural agents, the state shall promote the democratization of culture by encouraging and ensuring access by all citizens to cultural enjoyment and creation.
4. The state shall stimulate and support scientific research and creation and technological innovation, in such a way as to ensure their freedom and autonomy, reinforce competitiveness and ensure cooperation between scientific institutions and businesses.

¹⁴ *Patria*, the Latin concept for country of origin, meaning the fatherland, was used abundantly in Salazar's dictatorial speeches and writings. Stressing its moral and authoritarian significance, it was linked to government action, always for the national good, to which every citizen would uncritically obey. An illustration of this procedure can be observed in the ending form of every official letter: "For the National Good" (*A Bem da Nação*).

¹⁵ - *La douceur d'une existence tranquille...*

J'ai répété ces mots avec mélancolie. Je pense aux fleurs, aux fontaines et aux passants paisibles de Lisbonne. Je me souviens des nuits où les homes silencieux viennent s'asseoir à un miradouro pour regarder les lumières de la ville, tandis que les fados se répètent de ruelles en ruelles. Au Portugal, le peuple trouve encore le temps de s'émouvoir et garde le goût du rêve. [...]

- *L'expérience nous enseigne, poursuit-il, qu'une activité plus intense, les progrès techniques, les réformes sociales les plus profondes laissent intactes les qualités de notre peuple, si par de soins attentifs nous savons maintenir les cœurs purs et saines les pensées. C'est pourquoi nous mettons l'esprit au-dessus de tout.*

L'esprit? Voici peut-être le mot clef. Celui qui définit le mieux la politique de Salazar. Pour lui, en quelque domaine que ce soit, tout est projection de l'esprit. Il pense que l'esprit façonne et transforme les homes plus profondément que ne le peut la force des dominateurs. N'a-t-il pas même dit, une fois, que la paix est surtout oeuvre de l'esprit? - Cette condition posée, dit Salazar, nous poursuivons le plus rapidement possible notre oeuvre de reconstruction nationale (Garnier, 1952: 233-34).

¹⁶ For an analysis of this perspective see Côrte-Real (1996:141-71).

¹⁷ A song/dance category of the folklore domain, linked with rural works.

¹⁸ A song/dance category of the folklore domain, linked with a choreographic detail.

¹⁹ Although the notions of nation, state and country may be considered synonyms to denominate a particular territory with its own government, due to the nationalist dictatorial policies that governed European countries and Portugal in particular during the 20th century, the term 'nation' appears in this article especially connected with that ideological load.

²⁰ My translation from *Dicionário Priberam da Língua Portuguesa*, available at: <http://www.priberam.pt/dlpo/>, accessed on 15.04.2010.

²¹ From ancient Greek times women were not considered citizens due to their belonging to the *oikos* space (the household) rather than to the polis space (the city-state).

²² It is important to note that living practice and written theory, in the case of Portuguese citizenship, as in others, are different instances and that individual identity feelings and constructs are not registered in the laws of the countries. With the advent of democracy, the new Portuguese Nationality Law, *Lei n.º 37/81 de 3 de Outubro - Lei da Nacionalidade*, available at: http://www.cidadevirtual.pt/cpr/asilo1/37_81.html, (accessed on 27.05.2010), tends to privilege jus sanguinis, whereas the former, from 1959, tended to privilege jus soli. Some further changes have also been introduced, the most recent in 2006. Changes to the Law of Nationality, *Lei Orgânica n.º 2/2006*, de 17 de Abril, continue to privilege jus sanguinis, available at: http://www.pgdlisboa.pt/pgdl/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=735&tabela=leis&nversao (accessed on 27.05.2010).

²³ European Convention on Nationality, Strasbourg 06/11/97, available at: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/166.htm>, accessed on 27.05.2010.

²⁴ "The Portuguese express some of the highest support for equal social rights for migrants (69.3%) and for the right to family reunion (72.2%). 45.2% believe that migrants should be able to become Portuguese citizens easily. Six in ten Portuguese think diversity to be an enrichment, although a significant one in ten do not know. 32.2% did not know that ethnic discrimination in the labour market is illegal. Only 37.8% believe that Portugal is not doing enough

to combat discrimination, although six in ten believe ethnic discrimination is fairly widespread. The population was divided on whether foreigners are treated unfairly in the labour market. At 85.9%, the Portuguese are the most supportive in the EU-27 of positive action measures in the labour market based on ethnicity." MIPEX Report, pp.151, available at: <http://www.integrationindex.eu/multiversions/2712/FileName/MIPEX-2006-2007-final.pdf>, accessed on 27.05.2010).

²⁵ *Resolução do Conselho de Ministros n.º 63-A/2007. DR 85 SÉRIE I 1º SUPLEMENTO de 2007-05-03*, available at: <http://www.igualdade.gov.pt/index.php/pt/menu-legislacao/imigracao/406-resolucao-do-conselho-de-ministros-no-63-a-2007> [accessed on 27/05/10]. Currently, the II Plano para a Integração de Migrantes is already under way (information from the editor).

²⁶ Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, available at: http://app.parlamento.pt/site_antigo/ingles/cons_leg/Constitution_VII_revisao_definitive.pdf, accessed on 27.05.2010.

Article 4 (on Portuguese citizenship as a Fundamental principle)

All persons whom the law or international convention consider to be Portuguese citizens shall be such citizens.

Article 12 (on the Principle of universality as a General principle of the Fundamental rights and duties)

1. Every citizen shall enjoy the rights and be subject to the duties enshrined in this Constitution.

2. Bodies corporate shall enjoy such rights and be subject to such duties as are compatible with their nature.

Article 13 (on the Principle of equality as a General principle of the Fundamental rights and duties)

1. Every citizen shall possess the same social dignity and shall be equal before the law.

2. No one shall be privileged, favoured, prejudiced, deprived of any right or exempted from any duty on the basis of ancestry, sex, race, language, place of origin, religion, political or ideological beliefs, education, economic situation, social circumstances or sexual orientation.

Article 14 (on the Portuguese abroad as a General principle of the Fundamental rights and duties)

Portuguese citizens who find themselves or who reside abroad shall enjoy the state's protection in the exercise of such rights and shall be subject to such duties as are not incompatible with their absence from the country.

Article 15 (on Foreigners, stateless persons, European citizens as a General principle of the Fundamental rights and duties)

1. Foreigners and stateless persons who find themselves or who reside in Portugal shall enjoy the same rights and be subject to the same duties as Portuguese citizens.

2. Political rights, the exercise of public offices that are not predominantly technical in nature, and the rights that this Constitution and the law reserve exclusively to Portuguese citizens shall be excepted from the provisions of the previous paragraph.

3. With the exceptions of appointment to the offices of President of the Republic, President of the Assembly of the Republic, Prime Minister and President of any of the supreme courts, and of service in the armed forces and the diplomatic corps, in accordance with the law and subject to reciprocity, such rights as are not otherwise granted to foreigners shall apply to citizens of Portuguese-speaking states who reside permanently in Portugal.

4. Subject to reciprocity, the law may grant foreigners who reside in Portugal the right to vote for and stand for election as local councilors.

5. Subject to reciprocity, the law may also grant citizens of European Union Member States who reside in Portugal the right to vote for and stand for election as Members of the European Parliament.

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