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"'Batuku moves me': On Postcolonial Negotiations of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area"

verfasst von / submitted by

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1 Introduction

The topic of this thesis was developed as part of my employment as a pre-doctoral researcher for the research project 'Popular Culture in Translocal Spaces' at the University of Vienna from October 2015 to May 2019.[1] From September 2016 until early-March 2017, I conducted my main research stay and data collection in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area [*Área Metropolitana de Lisboa*; from now on AML], which represents the locational focus of my thesis. This main stay was preceded and followed by shorter trips in March 2016 and June 2017, respectively.

The given focus of the research project – namely analysing the role of popular cultural practices in diasporisation processes (and vice versa) in two European harbour cities (Lisbon, where my focus was, and Marseille, where my colleague had already done research) and two 'diasporas'[2] ('Cape Verdean' in the former and Franco-Comorian in the latter case) – meant that I had to put emphasis on a 'Cape Verdean' popular cultural practice in the postcolonial context of the AML. Among the vast array of 'diasporic practices', I decided to focus on Batuku – a practice that will be explained in more detail shortly – and how the 'diaspora space' (Brah 1996) of the AML is negotiated through it. There are various spellings – Batuque, Batuk, Batuco, Batuko, Batuku – but I have opted for writing in Cape Verdean Creole (Kriolu) when referring to Cape Verdean words and for using the ALUPEC[3] (the 'official' Cape Verdean alphabet) throughout this thesis (see also Stepanik 2019: 80). Therefore, I will henceforth write 'Batuku'.

As I was not interested in describing the music (i.e. the notes or instruments used) of Batuku per se, or in ascribing the category of 'diaspora' to an exclusive, allegedly homogeneous group of people, I framed the main question for the thesis as follows: How does (the practice of) Batuku contribute to the negotiation of the diaspora space that is the AML? Or, formulated differently, how is this diaspora space negotiated within Batuku? When using the term 'negotiation', I follow Avtar Brah (1996) and argue that diaspora spaces are constituted by postcolonial power relations and by the everyday ways in which people negotiate their space in these racialised,

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[1] The research project was directed by Dr. Birgit Englert and based at the Department of African Studies at the University of Vienna. It was funded by the Austrian Research Fund (FWF; P 26255-G22; https://translocalculture.com/).

[2] The use of several terms will be explained in section 1.2.

[3] ALUPEC stands for *Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Caboverdiano*, which can be translated as 'Unified Alphabet for Cape Verdean Writing'.

classed, or gendered environments; something which chapter 3 will deal with more in-depth. An understanding that current societies in (Western) Europe are characterised by diasporisation processes and their link to postcolonial power relations is thus fundamental to this research. What this means is that diasporisation processes are deeply ingrained in histories of colonialism as well as in the postcolonial realities shaping Portugal today.

In order to operationalise the research question, I needed to look at how Batuku was practiced in the context of the AML and ask questions such as: who practices it? For whom? Who organises it? Where does it take place? What are the objectives for those involved? The 'protagonists' in this thesis are thus not only the Batukaderas (the women who practice Batuku) but also those who support Batuku groups and/or organise events where Batuku performances take place.

Given that the main research for this thesis was conducted in 2016 and 2017, two major developments that have since occurred in the AML – aside from the omnipresent Covid-19 pandemic in 2019 and 2020, which will be addressed in the final conclusion (chapter 9) – are worth mentioning here; both of which might have had an impact on my research and ensuing analysis had they happened earlier. The first one is the opening of the *Casa de Cultura de Cabo Verde* [House of Cape Verdean Culture; from now on CCCV] in the *Lisboa* municipality on July 6th 2019. According to Abraão Vicente, the Cape Verdean Minister for Culture and Creative Industries [*Ministro da Cultura e Indústrias Criativas de Cabo Verde*],

> "this, is a house designated as a cultural bridge, real, de facto. With a programme that is vibrant but which also makes us think. Of that which is the new contemporary thought not only on Cape Verde but of Africa in the world" (Embaixada da República de Cabo Verde em Portugal 2019; translation HS).

The opening ceremony of the CCCV included a Batuku performance by the group *Orquestra De Batukadeiras De Portugal*[4] and one of the outer walls of its building displays a large mural depicting several Batukaderas. It will be interesting to see how else the practice of Batuku will henceforth be incorporated, promoted or represented in this new cultural space.

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[4] This group was founded after my research stay and can be considered as some kind of Batuku 'supergroup' as it includes individual members of other, previously founded, groups throughout the AML. Its name translates to 'Orchestra of Batukaderas of Portugal'.

The second development started with Dino D'Santiago, a Portuguese musician with 'Cape Verdean roots' (as he self-identifies on his Facebook page), being godfather of the *II Encontro das Batukaderas na Diáspora* [Second Meeting of the Batukaderas in the Diaspora] in the parish and municipality of *Odivelas*; an event which I attended in June 2017. His presence there was followed by a close and continued collaboration between him and the aforementioned Batuku group *Orquestra De Batukadeiras De Portugal*, a group which was founded soon after the *II Encontro* in June. This collaboration eventually resulted in a meeting between the *Orquestra* and Madonna, who had moved to the AML in 2017, and subsequently brought about the song 'Batuka' on her album MADAME X (released on June 14th 2019).[5] The song features several members of the *Orquestra* and some of them were later invited to join Madonna onstage for her international Madame X Tour.

It is impossible to say if this thesis and its main arguments would have been different, had I been able to personally witness these developments. It remains to be seen if and how they will influence the negotiation of the AML and how Batuku is practiced there in the future.

1.1 Batuku

While the main research focus of this thesis is not concerned with a historical depiction or exploration of Batuku, it is nonetheless crucial to offer a brief overview of different theories regarding its 'origins' as well as characteristics in order to better understand the ensuing analysis.

There are numerous opinions regarding the 'origin' and emergence of Batuku. While many support the theory that Batuku had already existed on the African mainland prior to the forced arrival of enslaved people on the Cape Verde islands, some favour a 'native' Cape Verdean development. Still others argue that there might have been a European genesis of Batuku as many Black people constructed as 'African' already lived in the AML in the 15th and 16th century. Even though the first documented mention of Batuku only appears in the 18th century, this is often explained by pointing out that it was perhaps only then that the practice had reached a

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[5] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nU2eApGw_TU

scale which necessitated an intervention of the colonial administration (Tavares 2016: 29). Those that defend a 'native' development of Batuku on Cape Verde nevertheless attribute an important role to its 'African influences' (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 158-184). Independent of the theories on Batuku's 'origin', there seems to be an agreement that it is the 'oldest' popular cultural practice of Cape Verde and that it can be ascribed to the island of Santiago (Hurley-Glowa 1997; Carter 2007; Castro Ribeiro 2012; Sheringham & Cohen 2013).

Batuku is a collective practice and the common name used for its practitioners creates the impression of it being an exclusively female group, as the female plural form is always used in relation to its various elements. One most frequently hears or reads the designation *Batukaderas* for practitioners, but the terms *Badjaderas* (the female term for 'dancers'), *Kantaderas* (the female term for 'singers') or *Txabetaderas* (the female term for 'drummers') also exist. The respective male terms (*Batukadoris*, *Badjadoris*, *Kantadoris*, *Txabetadoris*) are hardly ever used (Tavares 2016: 36). As will be analysed in more detail in chapter 6, this points to a gendered (feminised) narrative when it comes to the emergence and continuation of Batuku. In line with Stuart Hall (1998), I am not interested in pretending to depict accounts of (essentialised) fixed 'origins' in this thesis but rather in looking at diasporic and postcolonial negotiations. As I am not concerned with 'getting to the bottom' of the various theories regarding Batuku's 'origin', I hence consider it irrelevant to my analysis whether or not Batuku 'actually' emerged (or continued) as a manifestation that was (or is) predominantly practiced by women.[6] What matters to the arguments presented throughout this thesis is that Batuku is framed as a female practice.

Regardless of its 'actual' origin story, Batuku needs to be understood not simply a musical genre or literary style – which would be incomplete – but as a broader popular cultural practice. The practice and performance of Batuku contains three elements; namely (a) the musical level, (b) the linguistic, literary or poetic level, and (c) the choreographic level (Castro Ribeiro 2012; Tavares 2016). The name 'Batuku' refers to all of these activities; the dancing, the singing, the drumming, the clapping of hands, and the getting together. As Susan Hurley-Glowa (1997) puts it, 'each is part of doing batuko and is essential to the total experience' (ibid: 119).

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[6] To read more on doubts about the historical accuracy of this theory, please see Nogueira (2011) or Tavares (2016).

The musical aspect relates to the melodies as well as to the characteristic polyrhythmic percussion accompaniment of the Batuku songs (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 120, 123; Tavares 2016: 37, 40). This accompaniment – and the percussion instrument used for it – is called *Txabeta* and results from the combination of two contrasting, interlocking rhythms. These two rhythms, which together produce the unified full pattern (the *Txabeta*), are called *Pan-Pan* (also: *Pam-Pam*, *Ban-Ban*, or *Bam-Bam*) and *Rapikada* (also: *Rapica* or *Rapika*) (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 120, 125; Tavares 2016: 50). The *Txabeta* as an accompanying percussion instrument generally consists of pieces of cloth wrapped in plastic or leather, tucked between the legs and pounded with the hands (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 119f; Carter 2007: 116; Castro Ribeiro 2012: 78). Some authors mention the use of other instruments in Batuku apart from the *Txabeta*, especially the *Violá* (the classic six-string guitar) and the *Simboa* (a bowed chordophone); the latter having been widespread in the past but hardly ever used nowadays (Tavares 2016: 39).

The linguistic, literary or poetic element of Batuku concerns its songs and their role in terms of storytelling and the transmission of information (Tavares 2016: 37). Batuku songs are called *Kantigas* (also: *Cantigas*) and are of a 'call and response' style; that is, the main singer starting with a lament and the others responding with a chorus (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 119; Carter 2007: 116; Castro Ribeiro 2012: 81; Tavares 2016: 37). It is sometimes argued that Batuku sets itself apart from other cultural practices of the Cape Verdean archipelago due to its complex semantic dimension (Tavares 2016: 43). There are two types of *Kantigas*; namely the *Sanbuna* (where the musical aspect rather than the singing is in the foreground) and the *Finason* (a term reserved for stories, whose message is considered especially profound, and which is thus often not accompanied by drumming or dancing) (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 134; Tavares 2016: 43).

Last but not least, the choreographic dimension of Batuku predominantly refers to the dance but also to the overall staging of the performance (Tavares 2016: 37). Batuku includes a characteristic dance (the *Tornu*, sometimes also spelled *Torno*) but the staging already starts before the actual singing or dancing with the setting up of the *Tereru* (also: *Terero*). The term *Tereru* literally means 'terrain' or 'ground' and refers to the physical space where Batuku takes place. In the *Tereru*, the Batukaderas generally sit in a circle or semi-circle and sing and drum, while one or more Badjaderas dance in the middle (Lobban 1995; Hurley-Glowa 1997; Carter 2007).

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The *Tornu* dance can be considered the choreographic highlight of Batuku and signals the end of a *Kantiga*. *Tornu* itself can be translated as 'turn' or 'circulation' (Tavares 2016: 49, 51).

Another important aspect of the overall staging is the clothing of the Batukaderas. Strictly speaking, Batukaderas should enter the *Tereru* in full attire. This includes a light (usually white) short-sleeved blouse [*Mandrion*, *Maldirian*, or *Mandrião*], a dark calf-length skirt, a white underskirt [*Saiote*], a headdress [*lenço*] and – in the case of the dancer – a cloth wrapped around one's hips (this is usually the *Panu di Téra*; sometimes spelled as *Pano di Tera*). The *Panu* (*di Téra*) is an elaborately woven, costly piece of black and white cloth and is said to have previously been one of the most popular possessions of young, female Cape Verdeans of the interior of Santiago. By wearing it tied around her hips, the owner was allegedly considered of a higher social status. The *Panu* thus implied a certain respectability, which could be why many still consider it an integral part of a Batuku performance (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 186f; Castro Ribeiro 2012: 78; Tavares 2016: 50). At the end of a song, the dancer takes off her *Panu* and places it around the neck or hips of another Batukadera, thereby inviting her to dance the *Tornu* for the next *Kantiga* (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 129; Carter 2007: 116f; Tavares 2016: 52).

According to Kesha Fikes (1998), "under Portuguese colonization the Catholic church banned batuku [sic] arguing it was "sexually suggestive"" (ibid: 12), while Portuguese authorities – particularly during the authoritarian years of the *Estado Novo* (1926-74)[7] – considered it too 'African', too 'primitive' and too subversive (Lobban 1995: 75; Carter 2007: 122; Sheringham & Cohen 2013: 12f; Tavares 2016: 52f). The particularly rigid oppression during the *Estado Novo* was, among other things, related to the content of the Batuku songs: many *Finasons* denounced grievances throughout the country, criticised those in power, and disseminated ideas of independence (Carter 2007: 122; Tavares 2016: 48). The criticism that the *Tornu* was 'too sexual' in the sense of simulating the sexual act was connected to notions of civilisation and order during colonialism. In spite of this history of marginalisation and suppression, Batuku continued to be practiced and is thus closely associated with *Badius*[8] (the inhabitants

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[7] This period will be described in more detail in chapter 2.2.2.
[8] As I have mentioned in an earlier publication (Stepanik 2011: 93), the designation *Badiu* has its origins in Portuguese colonial rule and its racist system of classification. It is widely acknowledged that freed enslaved people or runaways, who had escaped into the interior mountainous regions of Santiago,

of Santiago) and their history of unarmed resistance (Tavares 2016: 48). Allegedly, for instance, women perform with *Txabetas* on their knees because Portuguese authorities prohibited the use of the drum. This prohibition, however, did not lead to outright suppression. Rather, practitioners adapted their activities to the circumstances and thus performed acts of resistance (Sheringham & Cohen 2013: 13). The *Tereru*, too, symbolised a space outside and separated from spaces of dominant power, which further facilitated resistant creativity (ibid: 12). The concept of 'resistance' in Batuku will be a central point of analysis throughout this thesis and will run through most of the following chapters.

1.2 Structure

Based on my core interest in postcolonial power relations and diasporisation processes, I apply an intersectional approach throughout this thesis in order to understand the interplay between different structural categories such as 'race', class or gender and their roles in shaping everyday negotiations of postcolonial diaspora spaces. In response to this research interest, the thesis comprises four analytical chapters.

Following a chapter providing some contextual information on the research setting, a chapter on my conceptual considerations, and a chapter on the methodology, the first analytical chapter (chapter 5) focuses on housing and labour issues in the AML and how these structure the Batukaderas' lives in order to understand their everyday experiences of the city. In it, I posit an understanding of housing and labour aspects as a crucial foundation for any analysis of everyday negotiation processes. Chapter 6 engages with the negotiation and framing of Batuku as a 'Cape Verdean' 'tradition' and how this is continued and/or adapted within the diaspora space of the AML. The chapter is hence interested in what the specific context of the AML – and the power relations embedded in it – does to these discourses around 'tradition'. And finally, chapters 7 and 8 explore the different means of contesting "structures of injustice" (Brah 1996: 239) within and through Batuku. Specifically, chapter 7 looks at 'public' manifestations of resistance by suggesting that postcolonial power relations

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were labeled as *vadios* (the Portuguese word for 'vagabonds' or 'bummers'), which later turned into *Badius* (Fikes 2007: 171; Pardue 2012b: 6, 2013: 111; Tavares 2016: 13, 19).

in the AML continue through absences and presences and that many Batukaderas negotiate and challenge these through and during Batuku performances at larger events. The central argument of chapter 8, however, will be that more 'mundane', 'subtle' or 'covert' methods of resistance matter just as much, that Batuku can be understood as a practice of (self)care and that – in the context of the AML – this constitutes a political act in the sense of being related to and challenging the ways power relations are established, maintained, and used. The thesis concludes by returning to and reflecting on the key debates presented in each chapter and by considering the wider relevance of the analyses and the stories presented here.

At this point, I also want to briefly address my use of some terms. As will be repeated throughout the individual chapters, my writing of 'Cape Verdean' with quotation marks points to it being an analytical category and I will use it when referring to discourses. Another use of terms, which will be explained again in most chapters, is the capitalising of 'Black' and italicised spelling of *white*. As I have highlighted in a previous publication (Stepanik 2019: 89), I understand 'whiteness' and 'blackness' as analytical categories and am hence italicising *whiteness* in order to clarify its constructive character and indicate racialised forms of domination and privilege (Eggers et al. 2005: 13). Capitalising 'blackness', on the other hand, emphasises its use as an analytical and political category. Having been developed by Black anti-racist movements in the US in the 1960s, it represents a self-designated and anti-racist category (Kuria 2015: 22). With respect to racialised categories, I rely on the People of Colour (PoC) discourse when writing about different people marked by racialisation processes. Like the category 'Black', PoC also stems from Black anti-racist movements in the US in the 1960s.

2 Historical and Research Setting

2.1 Introduction

When one thinks of (former) European colonial powers, it is most likely that either France or Great Britain come to mind first. Yet, with over five centuries of Portuguese colonialism, Portugal is arguably the European nation with the longest history of colonialism, taking place throughout various historical moments, manifestations, and contexts (Feldman-Bianco 2007: 268; Arenas 2015: 353). In spite of this, however, the equation of Portugal as coloniser, and now as a contemporary postcolonial nation, is rarely drawn.[9] The domination of postcolonial studies by Anglo- or Francophone theories does not take into account the specificities of Portuguese colonial legacies; thereby making the following analysis of postcolonial 'luso'-approaches all the more important.

Since the topic of my PhD research evolves around negotiations of 'diaspora' – meaning that I consider the everyday ways in which people negotiate their space in environments shaped by power relations – in the postcolonial setting of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area [AML] by means of, or within, the popular cultural practice of Batuku, I deem it crucial to start this thesis by 'setting the scene'; especially considering the aforementioned low awareness of Portugal's colonial history.

The concepts of *Lusofonia* and *Lusotropicalismo* will help here to elucidate current diasporisation processes and postcolonial power relations – which continue not only to shape Portuguese society but also other European countries – as well as the ongoing relevance of colonial discourses for contemporary Portugal. In short, *Lusotropicalismo* [Lusotropicalism] is a doctrine developed and advocated by the Brazilian sociologist and anthropologist Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) in the early 1930s. According to this theory, the Portuguese were more 'adaptable' to 'the tropics' than other Europeans, which resulted in the emergence of a new, 'luso-tropical'[10], civilisation [*civilização luso-tropical*] (Gomes 2001: 28). Based on this, a

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[9] This is not to say that there are no academic or popular debates or analyses on this matter. On the contrary, aspects of both colonial and postcolonial Portugal have been engaged with in various disciplines (see, for example, Gomes (2001), Feldman-Bianco (2007), da Cunha (2009/2010), or Gorjão Henriques (2016)). These debates or analyses, however, remain a minority.

[10] "The word *luso* comes from the Latin word *lusus* to designate the Portuguese" (Vala et al. 2008: 289). It can therefore be considered equivalent to the prefixes 'franco-' for France or 'anglo-' for the United Kingdom.

lusotropicalist understanding purports the uniqueness of Portuguese colonial relations, as their supposed 'adaptability' allegedly resulted in an exceptional emphatic capacity on the part of the Portuguese to interact with 'people from different cultures' (Vala et al. 2008: 287) in 'mild' and 'benign' ways (Arenas 2015; Abadia et al. 2016; Pires Valentim & Heleno 2018). While the first section of this chapter will focus on the use of *Lusotropicalismo* during António de Oliveira Salazar's dictatorial, fascist *Estado Novo* regime in Portugal, the second will demonstrate how and why Freyre's ideas are still present in today's political, social and cultural discourses. Even though they have now been disentangled from the colonial component of the *Estado Novo*, they continue to serve as justification for the formation of a 'lusophone community' (Gomes 2001: 28).

The notion of *Lusofonia* [Lusophony] is based on the idea of cultural proximity brought about by a 'shared', 'common past'. The alleged 'common past' evoked in this hegemonic discourse is a colonial one and its political imagination claims to unite those countries with Portuguese as an official language.[11] It thus rests on the notion that these countries not only share a 'common past' but that they are – as a result – connected by 'shared cultural values', a 'common language', and a 'sense of community' (Abadia et al. 2016: 2, 14).

Lusotropicalist (and also lusophone) conceptions matter both to past and present negotiations in Portugal and, accordingly, to the analysis of this research. As Pires Valentim & Heleno (2018) state, contemporary "psychosocial legacies of colonialism are not simple reminiscences of the past that arise here and there (…) nor are they even just a few elements feeding on nostalgia for old empires" (ibid: 35). Rather, they are "constitutive of social, cultural and social psychological ways of functioning" (ibid). This means that current (social, cultural or political) representations of the colonial past constitute people's systems of understanding and are framed by as well as frame the production and perpetuation of power relations. As such, they are fundamental to the ways the (racialised, gendered, classed) Other – and, by implication, the Self – is constructed and thought of.

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[11] In many articles and books, one can find the designation 'Portuguese-speaking' for countries formerly colonised by Portugal (see, for instance, Malheiros & Vala (2004), Fonseca (2013), Arenas (2015), or Abadia et al. (2016)). I prefer to use the description 'countries with Portuguese as their official language' as 'Portuguese-speaking' creates the (false) impression that every person in said countries speaks Portuguese.

The history of Portuguese colonialism not only transformed the lives, economies, institutions or social structures in the former colonies but also left a deep impact on Portuguese society itself. Discussions about *Lusotropicalismo* or *Lusofonia* continue in the present (Marques 2012: 17), something that will be elaborated on later in this chapter. Before my research stays in the AML, I had only read about the putative persistence of both lusotropicalist and lusophone notions in Portuguese everyday life. Nonetheless, I was astonished when I had my first encounter with lusotropicalist legacies in the very first week of my stay. I had decided to take a weeklong intensive one-to-one course in Portuguese as I felt a bit rusty. My teacher was a charismatic and fashionable man a few years my senior. On the first day, he asked me a bit about my work and – after I had briefly explained my research interest – quickly told me Portugal had been a very 'tolerant' coloniser and had exercised a 'mild' version of colonialism as they had been traders and explorers rather than colonisers. In fact, he continued, they were so 'interested in' and 'curious about' other populations that they 'mixed with them'. He concluded by saying that Portugal was a very 'open' and 'tolerant' society to this day. This 'explanation' and many subsequent discussions with people of all ages and (socio-economic or political) backgrounds made me realise how present the notions of *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia* continue to be in everyday narratives and perceptions of the postcolonial context of Portugal and the AML, in particular.

The section below will address the decline of the 'Portuguese empire' and the transformation of Portugal into a postcolonial European nation. The formal end of Portugal's dictatorship and colonialism in 1974/75 marks a first decisive point, while another one is marked by the country's official accession to the European Union in 1986. As will be demonstrated, Portugal shifted and re-oriented its discourse of 'national belonging' and citizenship in the course of this development. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first will deal with Portugal's role as 'empire' and coloniser, highlighting the Salazar dictatorship (1926-1974) or the proclaimed *Estado Novo* regime (1933-1974), respectively, and their instrumentalisation of Freyre's *Lusotropicalismo* in particular. The second section will continue to engage with *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia*, while focussing on their (re)construction and utilisation in the postcolonial period – especially in national politics and discourses.

I have opted against dedicating a separate chapter or section to historical information on Cape Verde and to instead include specificities of Cape Verdean

history throughout different sections of this chapter. With regards to specific information on the emergence and development of the popular cultural practice Batuku – the practice that constitutes the analytic focus of this thesis – I have decided to include this in the general introduction (chapter 1) and then to substantiate with brief repetitions or explanations in each chapter.

2.2   Portugal as 'Empire' and Coloniser

I start this section of the chapter by briefly addressing the beginnings of Portuguese colonialism in the 14th century. I then expand on this historical depiction by engaging with the status of the so-called 'Portuguese empire' within Europe and its gradual loss of influence. This is followed by a more detailed enquiry into the period of the dictatorial Salazar regime and therein the specific situation of Cape Verde(ans). By focussing on the emergence and implementation of the concepts of *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia* during colonial times, these analyses will provide the basis for the subsequent historical period.

2.2.1   Portuguese Colonialism

Portugal is generally considered – and likes to portray itself – as the first European country to have established trade relations along the West and West-Central African coasts as early as the 1400s. Allegedly, the establishment of these 'commercial ties' was foundational for the later so-called 'empire', in which the transatlantic slave trade was of great importance. Portugal was also the last country in Europe to hold on to its African colonies, eventually relinquishing them in the mid-1970s. Accordingly, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Portugal can be considered the European country with the longest colonial history (Arenas 2015: 353). Its colonial expansion is at times justified with economic explanations but also with allusions to the notion that the "Portuguese have always heard the call of (…) departure" (de Sousa 2014: 505) due to the geographical location of the country. This justification of the Portuguese being almost 'destined' to be 'discoverers' is significant because it is

further connected to the continued denial or trivialisation of the horrors of slavery and colonialism as well as a refusal to take responsibility for the past and its legacies.

As was also hinted at in the introduction of this chapter, Portugal has a long history of non-*white* presence, especially in the AML. This is, among other things, related to the country's leading role and involvement in the slave trade. While there are no official numbers, it is estimated that

> "[b]etween 1441 and 1505, some 150,000 Africans were brought to Portugal as slaves – at a time when the total population was around 1 million – with their numbers peaking in the sixteenth century. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Lisbon, 'everybody had slaves', which may have been true up to the nineteenth century" (Reiter 2005: 81).

During the height of Portugal's maritime-colonial period between the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the AML – in particular – is said to have been "at least 10-15 per cent African" (Arenas 2015: 357), making them and their descendants an integral part of the population of the city (Marques 2012: 2; Arenas 2015: 359). Even though Portugal prohibited the importation of enslaved people in 1761, slavery nonetheless remained legal until 1836 and practiced until at least the 1880s (Reiter 2005: 81; Arenas 2015: 365).

In the African context, the Portuguese expansion – or the construction of a *mundo português* [Portuguese world] – took very specific dimensions. Represented in various parts of the African continent by means of different types of bases as of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese colonial presence only manifested itself on a larger scale from the Berlin Conference in 1884/85 onwards.[12] Until then, the occupation on the African mainland was – in contrast to the islands – almost exclusively present on the coastal areas, and the propagation and use of the Portuguese language were limited accordingly. In the Creole societies[13], which developed on the islands of São

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[12] At the Berlin Conference of 1884/85 – also known as the Congo Conference – European imperial powers violently partitioned Africa into "artifical geographical domains of European influence, exploitation and expropriation" (Adogame 2004: 186).

[13] Discourses around the etymology and the meaning of 'Creole', as well as of the terms 'Creolisation' and 'Creoleness', vary depending on the social, historical and cultural context and on whose perspective is being considered. 'Creole' is thus a highly contested term and often used in inconsistent ways. Sheringham & Cohen (2013) aptly summarise the debates, stating: "while there is a general consensus among scholars that its utility can extend beyond the study of creole languages and linguistics, there remains an unresolved debate around the extent to which creolization can be applied outside its initial associations with colonisation, slavery and the plantation system in the New World. Indeed, for some, creolization refers specifically to the violent encounters between the cultures of colonisers, slaves and indigenous people in the New World – and more specifically the Caribbean –

Tomé e Príncipe and Cape Verde from the fifteenth century, the cultural and linguistic contact between colonised and coloniser reflected and reproduced the asymmetrical and hierarchical relations. Even in the first known written sources, the new Creole languages, which emerged in this context, were already perceived and constructed as 'simplified versions' of Portuguese (i.e. the language of the dominant). This conception continues until today and results in the co-optation of these Creole languages into the 'Romanic (language) community' (Gomes 2001: 35).

2.2.1.1   Loss of Influence

There are multiple layers to the Portuguese colonial past, one of which is that of the fifteenth and sixteenth century sailing ships, which 'explored' and colonised different parts of the world. Another is during the sixteenth century, when Portugal's relationship to the rest of Europe became affected by its waning power and declining international influence (Reiter 2005: 84). During this time, Portugal distanced itself from Europe in order to concentrate on its 'Atlantic projects' and was consequently unable to compete in the global marketplace (Feldman-Bianco 2007: 268). This continued during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when Portugal's elites were simultaneously faced with the loss of their international influence, as well as the rise of countries such as France or Britain in the international power structure. In this way, Portugal has a long history of seeing itself as a nation 'in between' Africa and Europe, occupying an ambivalent position within the international hierarchy (Reiter 2005: 81); something that continues until today, as will be shown in this chapter. The historical episodes listed above are crucial to our understanding of *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia*.

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and to use the term beyond such contexts risks undervaluing or disregarding the highly politicized circumstances within which the terminology emerged (…). At the other end of the spectrum are those who hail the universal qualities of creolization, using it as a rich metaphor to analyse myriad contexts where inter-cultural interaction and new cultural expressions have developed, thus lending credence to (…) [the] assertion that we live in a 'creolizing world'" (ibid: 4). While my own personal understanding tends to lie with the first understanding, what I most certainly deem important is Hall's (2010: 29) warning that within creolization "questions of power, as well as issues of entanglement, are always at stake". For more information on 'Creole', 'Creolisation' and 'Creoleness', see Baron & Cara (2003), Knörr (2009), De Abreu Fialho Gomes (2012), Sheringham & Cohen (2013), or Gutiérrez Rodríguez & Tate (2015).

It is widely documented that the Portuguese maritime-colonial 'empire' became – at different critical moments – subordinate to other, more dominant European imperial powers such as Britain, Holland, and Spain. One example of this is the 1890 British Ultimatum that prevented Portugal from occupying territories in southern Africa (between Angola and Mozambique), which consolidated the 'subordinate' position of Portuguese colonial endeavours in the context of the scramble for Africa in the late nineteenth century. After the Berlin Conference (1884/85), at which Portugal lost some influence on the African continent, the so-called 'empire' tried to counterbalance its decreasing importance by reinforcing Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau as part of its domain (Reiter 2005: 84; Arenas 2015: 353).

It is thus generally understood that Portugal presents a divergent case within histories of colonialism. While it could, on the one hand, be considered the centre of political power with respect to its African colonies during its final decades, the early transatlantic 'Portuguese empire' initially exposed a simultaneous interdependence and asymmetry reflected by Brazil's economic reliance on the labour of enslaved people from African colonies and Portugal's economic 'inferiority' in relation to its South American colony. As a consequence, Portugal was doubly dependent upon both Brazil and parts of Africa for the continued existence of its proclaimed 'empire' (Arenas 2015: 353f).

We can therefore infer that one of the main differences between Portugal as a colonial power, and colonisers such as Britain or France, was Portugal's weak economic position. Despite the aforementioned long duration of the colonial period, Portugal occupied (and continues to occupy) a 'peripheral' position when compared to other (former) European colonial powers. The country's condition as an 'inferior' coloniser – from a geopolitical and economic standpoint – has "constituted one of its primary historical traits" (Arenas 2015: 353). This resulted in the proclaimed *império* [empire] occupying a central role in the cultivation of the Portuguese self-image.[14] In order to create and maintain this 'empire', dependency relationships between colonised and coloniser had to be constructed accordingly (Gomes 2001: 29f). As will be elaborated further in section 2.2.4, this was predominantly achieved by employing the concept of *Lusofonia* and relying more on cultural-political than economic tools.

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[14] The relevance of imperial and colonial legacies for the contemporary Portuguese self-image is addressed in more detail in section 2.3 of this chapter, as well as in chapter 7.

In this regard, a particular role was ascribed to the Portuguese language as a 'unifying factor' as well as a means to strengthen notions of a Portuguese 'national identity' (ibid: 30). The use of cultural-political tools and the emphasis on the role of the Portuguese language will be addressed in more detail throughout the thesis, particularly when analysing absences/presences of Batuku and the Batukaderas in chapter 7.

2.2.2 Salazar & the *Estado Novo*

Portugal was able to assert itself as a colonial power until 1974/75 and was ruled by a fascist, authoritarian regime from 1926 (Gomes 2001: 36). One of the founding ideological myths of the *Estado Novo* [New State] regime was based on imperialism and incorporated aspects of both colonialism and evangelism. The Portuguese nation and its 'historical role' in colonising overseas territories and 'civilising indigenous populations' was emphasised in the *Ato Colonial* [Colonial Act] of 1930. This postulated a hierarchical relationship between coloniser and colonised, and between 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' (de Sousa 2014: 504).[15]

As illustrated in more detail in chapter 1 of the thesis, the practice of Batuku – often considered the oldest popular cultural practice of Cape Verde – initially developed on the island of Santiago (Sheringham & Cohen 2013: 12). According to Fikes (1998), "under Portuguese colonization the Catholic church banned batuku [sic] arguing it was 'sexually suggestive'" (ibid: 12), while Portuguese authorities – particularly during the authoritarian years of the *Estado Novo* – considered it too 'African', too 'primitive' and too subversive (Lobban 1995: 75; Sheringham & Cohen 2013: 12f).

While the notion of a 'Portuguese national identity' was crucial to the construction of a 'unified' nation and, by implication, to the *Estado Novo*, what this 'identity' meant changed over time. From the early 1950s to the early 1970s, when the

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[15] More specifically, Article 2 of Title 1 of the act reads that "*é da essência orgânica da Nação Portuguesa desempenhar a função histórica de possuir e colonizar domínios ultramarinos e de civilizar as populações indígenas* (…)" (https://dre.pt/application/dir/pdfgratis/1930/07/15600.pdf). This can be translated as "it is of organic essence of the Portuguese nation to perform the historic function of possessing and colonising overseas domains and civilising the indigenous populations (…)".

proclaimed 'Portuguese empire' started crumbling, the fascist Salazar regime had to prove to international organisations – the United Nations (UN), in particular – that it no longer had any colonies. International pressure on Portugal to 'let go' of their African colonial territories resulted in Portuguese elites using all their persuasiveness to make the world believe that Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé e Príncipe were not colonies but, rather, 'overseas departments' and, as such, part of a larger Portuguese 'pluricontinental nation'. This was also done in order to evade potential sanctions from the UN (Reiter 2005: 80, 82).

We can thus summarise that Portugal defined itself as a 'pluricontinental nation' until the end of the Salazar regime in 1974. Yet, before 1974, the populations of the so-called 'empire' had different statuses and rights: "although Africans and Asians were, by definition, part of the Portuguese nation, they did not gain automatic access to Portuguese citizenship rights" (Reiter 2005: 82) and the stages one had to undergo from being 'indigenous' to 'civilised' – that is, in order to leave the state of 'uncivilised' and become an *assimilado* [assimilated], and to thereby gain access to Portuguese citizenship rights – were specified in the Indigenous Code of 1954. To that effect, the code defined "the achievement of European manners and habits" (ibid) as the standard needed to acquire Portuguese citizenship rights. As stated in chapter 3 of the code, "one had to be over 18 years old, able to express oneself correctly in Portuguese, carry on a profession, dress in a proper European style, wear shoes and eat according to European manners" (ibid: 85). According to Reiter (2005), the proportion of Angolans, for instance, that were 'allowed' into the Portuguese nation based on this code never exceeded one per cent, "which points to the gatekeeping function of this arrangement" (ibid: 85). The criteria of 'civilisation' were hence determined racially. The code, which controlled life in continental Africa until 1961, furthermore defined 'indigenous people' as

> "those individuals of black race, or their descendants, who, having been born or habitually lived in Guinea, in Angola or in Mozambique, still do not possess the education and the personal and social manners (…) considered necessary for the plain application of the public and private right of Portuguese citizens" (Reiter 2005: 85).

According to the code, one had to thus prove that one had left one's 'savagery' behind. The fact of the matter is that this code, and the policy behind it, cemented Portuguese racial (*white*) superiority and contributed to the aforementioned

establishment of hierarchical, paternalistic relations between the Portuguese and their colonial subjects (ibid).

This questionable structure of (racist) privilege and exploitation needed to be legitimated with an ideological framework and, in 1951, the Salazar regime engaged the Brazilian anthropologist and sociologist Gilberto Freyre to come up with an appropriate validation (Gomes 2001: 30; Reiter 2005: 82).

2.2.3   Gilberto Freyre's *Lusotropicalismo*

As mentioned, during the 1950s Portugal was increasingly pressured – by the United Nations (UN), among others – to start a process of (African) decolonisation. At the time, the Salazar dictatorship was still in power and its concept of a grand colonial past omnipresent. The authoritarian regime was hence desperately looking for ways to legitimise its continued presence in, and claim to, the colonised territories. A theory developed and promoted by the Brazilian anthropologist and sociologist Gilberto Freyre[16] proved to be useful and was thus selectively adopted by Salazar's dictatorial regime as an affirmation of Portugal's colonial and imperial rhetoric, and a legitimation of the country's continued desire to maintain its colonies in Africa. Freyre travelled across Portugal and parts of its maritime-colonial 'empire' and produced several books that were fundamental in founding the ideology of 'Portuguese exceptionalism' (Reiter 2005: 82f; Vala et al. 2008: 288; Arenas 2015: 358; Abadia et al. 2016: 7; Pires Valentim & Heleno 2018: 34) and in denoting the colonies as *vários Portugais espalhados pelo Mundo* [various Portugals scattered across the world] (Gomes 2001: 30). He outlined the epistemological foundation for this in his best-known work *Casa-Grande & Senzala* [The Masters and the Slaves] from 1933, which was intended to address the formation of Brazilian society (Vala et al. 2008: 288f; Arenas 2015: 358; Pires Valentim & Heleno 2018: 34).

In his (quasi) theory or – perhaps better suited – "doctrine of Portuguese racial cordiality" (Reiter 2005: 83), termed *Lusotropicalismo* [Lusotropicalism], Freyre's intention was to explain the supposedly 'successful' position of Brazil in the world

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[16] In this regard, Fernando Arenas (2015) argues that "Lusotropicalism is largely attributed to (…) Freyre, even though its premises were already part of the Portuguese intellectual field prior to him" (ibid: 358).

and make sense of the country's unique 'identity'.[17] According to his 'findings', the Portuguese had a "natural capacity to mix with those then considered to be of 'inferior races' and, therefore, comparatively a 'mild' colonization took place in their overseas territories" (Abadia et al. 2016: 7). They were also able to 'adapt' more easily to 'the tropics' (Pires Valentim & Heleno 2018: 34). Consequently, it was suggested that the Portuguese were more 'benign', 'humane' and 'open' towards 'socio-cultural intermingling and racial intermixing' (Vala et al. 2008: 289; Fikes 2009: 37; Arenas 2015: 358). It was further argued that they were therefore much 'closer' to and better at dealing with Africans and Brazilians than any other European nation (Reiter 2005: 83, 87). *Lusotropicalismo*, as a social representation, asserted (and still does) that Portugal was the European coloniser that came 'closest' to those who were 'inferior', and that the Portuguese had 'less cruel' and more 'harmonious' relations with enslaved people. In line with this, the Portuguese had a "special tolerance toward traditions, customs, and values of populations with whom they had contact (…)" (Vala et al. 2008: 294) and did not express the same negative attitudes as other colonial powers. It is almost as if it was argued that the Portuguese possessed a 'unique, special skill' for harmonious relations with other people as well as an 'inherent' lack of prejudice (ibid: 289; Fikes 2009: 38f; Pires Valentim & Heleno 2018: 34).[18]

In another one of his books, *O Mundo que o Português Criou* [The World that the Portuguese Created, 1951], Freyre argued that the main 'cultural trait' that united the Portuguese with their colonial subjects was their 'cordiality' towards non-*white* 'races' and their "openness to mixture and miscegenation" (Reiter 2005: 83). The Portuguese were ostensibly more 'hybrid' and 'racially mixed' than the more rigid French or English, for example, making them unlike any other Europeans. Because they were 'less pure', they were automatically more 'understanding' and 'tolerant' (ibid). In Kesha Fikes' (2009) words, Lusotropicalism was hence "an ideology about Portugal's experience of racial fraternity with those whom they colonized" (ibid: 31).

In this regard it is important to note that the valorisation of *Lusotropicalismo* (and of a 'good colonial past') was always – both then and now – associated with a

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[17] "*Mestiçagem,* as in *miscegenation*, refers to a process of crossing 'races' or individuals of different 'races', specifically White Portuguese and Black Africans. According to Gilberto Freyre, in Brazil the process of *mestiçagem* was based, among other reasons, on the fact that Portugal was itself a product of a process of *mestiçagem*" (Vala et al. 2008: 289, original emphasis).
[18] Let us remember the persistence of this in current, postcolonial times by referring back to the example of my Portuguese language teacher in Lisbon.

positive evaluation of the coloniser, i.e. of a Portuguese 'us', and not of the colonised ('them'). Accordingly, the Salazar regime implied that successful 'assimilation' was solely dependent on individual merit – thereby putting the blame on marginalised groups themselves – and that racism was only a problem in other European nations (Reiter 2005: 86; Fikes 2009: 39f; Pires Valentim & Heleno 2018: 40). This denial of the presence of racism is still omnipresent in Portuguese society and will be addressed again in the analytical chapters of this thesis.

Ironically, the strategic use of Freyre's theory to assuage the growing pressure and criticism by international organisations, such as the UN, was not successful and in fact became a liability once Portugal had to emphasise its ties with Europe, instead of Africa, post-1974 (Reiter 2005: 83). As will be discussed further in section 2.3, lusotropicalist ideas and narratives prevail in Portuguese society today in spite of its undeniable history of racism and the country's leading role in the transatlantic slave trade. The various chapters of this thesis will show that this persistence – the "fallacy of Lusotropicalism", as Kesha Fikes (2009: xi) calls it – has a subsequent impact on how the diaspora space of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is negotiated and, more specifically, how many Batukaderas call it into question.

2.2.4 Lusofonia

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the concept of *Lusofonia* [Lusophony] rests on the idea that all countries with Portuguese as their official language share a 'common past' and are therefore connected to each other by virtue of their "shared cultural values and language" (Abadia et al. 2016: 2).[19] The resultant 'Lusophone space' purports a 'community' constructed by notions of the "harmonious conviviality of different countries and people" (ibid: 1), thus following lusotropicalist conceptions. While debates regarding the meanings or values of *Lusofonia* are diverse, discursive understandings are broadly defined by notions of (a) a 'shared past', (b) a 'common language', and (c) a sense of 'community'.

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[19] This construct of a 'common language' continues to persist regardless of how many people actually speak it; in several countries – including Cape Verde – the use of Portuguese as a mother tongue is very limited.

Portuguese historiography is invariably characterised by two inseparable aspects, namely Portugal's self-proclaimed 'inherent' role in global history as a 'civilising nation of discoverers' and – as already mentioned – its position not only within the Iberian Peninsula but also the European continent. The country deployed the Portuguese language both as a tool to construct a supposedly homogeneous Portuguese identity and as a means to disqualify those who were not meant to be a part of it.[20] The enforcement and propagation, respectively, of the Portuguese language outside of Portugal served as a political instrument of the colonisation process and the construction of a 'lusophone world' (Gomes 2001: 32-36). As mentioned, language can thus be considered a cornerstone of the political and hegemonic discourse of *Lusofonia*, with Portuguese being constructed as the 'common language'. Within the so-called Portuguese *aventura* [adventure], the idea of 'civilisation' played a crucial role, with 'Portuguese language and culture' as the sole, unalterable benchmark for defining this very 'civilisation'. This inevitably resulted in processes of inclusion and exclusion (ibid: 33; Abadia et al. 2016: 8).

The Portuguese language was instrumentalised, whether for the purpose of missionary work, the education of local elites (who were supposed to represent Portuguese interests), or as a means to demarcate different social strata. The central role of linguistic measures and policies in the implementation of Portugal's 'civilising mission' was emphasised repeatedly. This insistence, however, was contradicted by the actions of the 'Portuguese empire'. In reality, the de facto investments in the area of education were extremely low (Gomes 2001: 27, 39). The fact that 'formal' Portuguese education was also a requirement for moving from the stage of 'indigenous' to *assimilado* – as discussed on page 21 – but access to education was severely limited, is further evidence of the hypocrisy written into the Indigenous Law (Reiter 2005: 85). While Cape Verde is sometimes said to have occupied a special position with respect to education, in that a larger percentage of the population received Portuguese education than in other colonies, it was in fact only a small minority of Cape Verdeans – the elite – that had access to it (Gomes 2001: 27, 39).

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[20] One example of this is the ban of the Romani language in Portugal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Gomes 2001: 33).

2.2.5 Migrations

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, it is generally argued that Portugal has largely been a country of emigration. The high rates of past migrations out of Portugal were partly due to the country's poorer economic position compared to the majority of its European neighbours (Reiter 2005: 81).[21] It should not be ignored, however, that people constructed as 'Africans' – of different statuses (such as students, clergy, or enslaved populations) – have lived in Portugal for centuries. After slavery was officially abolished in Portugal in the early 19th century, formerly enslaved people were no longer visible in statistics as they were thenceforth absorbed into the national population (Fikes 2009: 20).

The Portuguese colonial administration 'employed' colonial subjects from one territory to work as overseers or executors of state policies – as intermediaries, as it were – in another. Cape Verdeans, in particular, were frequently used in this way and forcefully relocated to other colonies (Mourão 2009: 86).[22] This aspect linked to migrations is particularly relevant when considering the already mentioned (racist) hierarchies during colonial times, creating a system of privileges and indirect rule which divided Portuguese colonial subjects and had long-lasting effects (the social and racialised hierarchies thereby created continued well beyond 1974/75) (Reiter 2005: 86). As will be elaborated on in more detail in chapter 6, one of these hierarchical effects concerns the racialised narratives of the 'origin' of Batuku as well as its related devalorisation. Furthermore, chapter 7 will show how this hierarchisation also involved the previously mentioned (de)valorisation of languages (with a central role given to the Portuguese language).

In the middle of the twentieth century, it was predominantly a rather small group of (male) Cape Verdean students, merchants, and administrators – people who could be considered part of the elite – who moved to Portugal without any noteworthy procedural problems (Carling & Åkesson 2009: 129f; Fikes 2009: 21). The 1960s, however, is a period commonly cited as a major shift in migration patterns to Portugal

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[21] As will be discussed later in this chapter, the economic situation after 2002 has – again – resulted in an increase of emigration numbers and a decrease of people moving to Portugal in search of employment opportunities (Arenas 2015: 356).

[22] Several Batukaderas in the AML were born in other colonies, especially on São Tomé, because their fathers were 'employed' there. It is also worth mentioning that, in general, these 'intermediaries' were racialised as 'mixed' and therefore seen as 'closer' to the Portuguese and 'better' than 'pure' Africans (Fikes 2009: x; Mourão 2009: 86; De Abreu Fialho Gomes 2012:126).

(compared to previous migrations away from Portugal). This is when thousands of people from the colonies – especially Cape Verdeans – were recruited to do construction work in the AML, to fill the labour shortage resulting from the high number of Portuguese migrating to other European countries and North America as well as from the colonial wars in Africa after 1961. While this was initially very male-dominated, the "(…) pool of workers would gradually include large numbers of women by the early 1970s" (Fikes 2009: xi). The labour recruitment programme set up by the Portuguese authorities, however, was quite modest in terms of the number of people recruited through it (Marques 2012: 2; Arenas 2015: 354).

As I have thus far illustrated, *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia* were and are strongly tied to notions of 'race'. This focus, however, should not negate the importance of gendered experiences. As mentioned, the number of Cape Verdean women – particularly from the island of Santiago[23] – in Portugal increased from the 1970s onwards; predominantly in the AML. This was partly due to family-reunification policies [*agrupamento familiar*] initiated by the Institute for Labour, Support and Social Action [*Instituto do Trabalho, Previdência e Acção Social*; from now on ITPAS]. Families reunified through these policies were meant to include an employed male 'head of the family' and his nonworking dependents (Fikes 2009: 23ff). Hence, family reunification guidelines ultimately gendered working class Santiaguense by ascribing them to "supposedly natural duties" (ibid: 25). What Portuguese authorities had not taken into account, however, was that "the women they had typed as dependents associated work outside the home with a woman's moral and social respectability" (ibid). Consequently, wives, mothers, or sisters generally looked for income opportunities soon after their arrival in the AML. In chapter 5, I will discuss domestic work and the cleaning sector (and, initially, the selling of fish) in that respect; and argue that these continue to reproduce gendered (as well as racialised and classed) notions of labour.

As mentioned in chapter 3, the category of 'diaspora' is sometimes presumed to denote an exclusive, allegedly homogeneous group of people. Yet, as the above introduction to migration stories from Cape Verde to the AML during colonial times shows, these experiences – like that of all people – "are remarkably diverse (…) and

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[23] I mention Santiago here as this is the island associated with the origin story of Batuku.

dynamic in terms of class, (…) education and the intersections with gender and labor"
(Pardue 2013: 95, 99) as well as regarding the structural category of 'race'.

The next section of this chapter will focus on migrations in the postcolonial
period as well as on the continuation of colonial discourses through the concepts of
Lusotropicalismo and *Lusofonia*.

2.3   A Postcolonial Nation & Politics

I will now explore the postcolonial period in Portugal, using the conceptual
framework of *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia*. To do this, I will focus on Portugal's
ongoing ambivalent position, oscillating between identification with, and/or distance
from, Europe and Africa, as well as shifting notions of the country's 'national
identity'. These phenomena are, among others, connected to the continuation of
colonial and imperial discourses and imageries. Below, I will further address how
ideas of *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia* affect current discourses on racism,
'immigrants', 'multiculturalism', and 'cultural diversity'. As this thesis focuses on the
postcolonial diaspora space of the AML, and deals with contemporary negotiations of
this space within the practice of Batuku, this section is fundamental to understanding
my research setting.

2.3.1   Reinventions of 'Portuguese Identity': A Dilemma

When one writes about the postcolonial period in Portugal, the Carnation Revolution
in 1974, often simply referred to as *25 de Abril* [25th of April], when the authoritarian
Estado Novo regime came to an end after a military coup in Lisbon (Fikes 2009: xi),
is the first important date to mention. The revolution and – by implication – the end of
the fascist regime were only possible due to the combined efforts of left-wing
Portuguese military officers as well as activists, and anti-colonialist independence
movements in the African colonies (see Chabal 1983; Davidson 1984; Mendy 2019).

Thinking back to constructions of 'Portuguese identity' during the *Estado
Novo* and the Salazar regime's attempts to convince the international community that

its colonies were, in fact, 'overseas departments', we can remember that Portuguese nationalism then was constructed and promoted as an all-encompassing notion. After the end of the dictatorship in 1974, and even more so after Portugal joined the European Union (EU) in 1986, this broad definition became incompatible with the country's desire to portray itself as 'modern' and re-orient itself towards Europe. In addition, it also violated the rules of the EU's Schengen Convention of 1990, which Portugal ratified in 1991. It hence became necessary to adapt and redefine 'Portuguese national identity' in accordance with more restrictive European regulations (Reiter 2005: 80-85; Marques 2012: 18).

To sum up, "Portuguese nationality today is based on (…) the attempt to break with a colonial past and [simultaneously; A/N] a rather humiliating relationship to richer and more powerful European countries (…)" (Reiter 2005: 85). As will be shown in this chapter, both aspects are related to what Paul Gilroy (2005) calls a 'postcolonial melancholia' for those lost colonial and imperial times when Portugal considered itself 'superior' to its European neighbours. I will argue that it is this persistent feeling of structural subordination that feeds the country's desire for its former imperial glory. In his work on British postcolonial melancholia, Gilroy identifies a 'pathological character' (ibid: 90) related to the country's "inability to mourn its loss of empire" (ibid); that is, an inability to resolve the grief related to "what they had loved and lost" (ibid: 98). This condition is not unique to Britain and can be applied to other former European colonial powers (ibid: 100).[24] In this chapter, I argue that a Portuguese version of 'postcolonial melancholia' is closely tied to *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia*, and that this romanticisation of Portugal's colonial history, and concomitant silencing of colonial violence and its legacies, are not accidental or unintentional acts.

As mentioned, the construction of 'Portuguese identity' during the *Estado Novo* contrasted the rules imposed by the EU's Schengen Convention of 1990, which Portugal ratified in 1991. In order to comply with the Schengen Agreement and other regulations of the European Union, Portugal introduced several immigration laws in the 1990s in particular (turning the country into a gatekeeper of 'fortress Europe'),

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[24] Ranjana Khanna (2006) applies the concept of 'postcolonial melancholia' to her work and employs Sigmund Freud's theories in order to distinguish between 'mourning' and 'melancholia'. "In *mourning*, that which is lost is digested in a slow process in which one comes to terms with that loss. In time, the lost object is assimilated into the ego, expanding and nourishing it. In *melancholia*, the lost object remains elusive. Unable to recognize what it is, the ego swallows it whole, and begins to split in relation to it" (Khanna 2006: n/s, my emphasis).

some of which also affected citizens of former colonies (Reiter 2005: 87; Feldman-Bianco 2007: 268). One of the major changes in this regard occurred when, in 1981, the Portuguese National Assembly passed a new Nationality Law, which implemented a shift from the previous principle of *ius solis* [right of the soil] to *ius sanguinis* [right of the blood].[25] The former had granted citizenship to those born on Portuguese 'soil', which at the time included parts of Africa, while the latter restricted citizenship to those born 'of Portuguese descent'. The 1981 Nationality Law specified that "persons born in Portugal would not be recognized as citizens unless their parents had been working and residing in Portugal for a minimum of six *consecutive, documented* years" (Fikes 2009: 44, my emphasis). Many of these parents, however, either did not meet or could not prove their employment or residency status according to these requirements. Thus, the new law "threatened the citizenship potential of migrants' children who were born in Portugal" (ibid). This process of creating new nationality laws was similar to that of other former European colonial powers[26] and would help pave the way for Portugal to join the EU five years later, in 1986 (Reiter 2005: 80; Marques 2012: 9, 11).

The desire to create a self-image as 'modern' and 'European' is omnipresent in Portugal, particularly in the contemporary Lisbon Metropolitan Area. In this light, Portugal is intent on proving its 'modernity' and 'Europeanness' to the rest of the world and that it complies with the requirements of its EU membership accordingly. In order for this strategy to be successful, the country continues to distance itself from those considered 'backwards', 'underdeveloped' or 'uncivilised'. The underlining of Portugal's 'modernity' and 'Europeanness' is further related to an emphasis on *whiteness* and a differentiation from the non-European world; particularly "from those black Portuguese who were previously part of the 'pluricontinental' nation" (Reiter 205: 85). Hence, an emphasis on the country's 'Europeanness' goes hand in hand with a distancing from the ('backward') 'Africanness' of former colonies – and, by

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[25] In early 2017, a group of young, predominantly Black activists started a campaign and petition against this Nationality Law: https://www.facebook.com/pg/Campanha-por-outra-Lei-da-Nacionalidade-718352675008921 [accessed: 09/08/2020]. For more information, please see: https://www.publico.pt/2017/02/09/sociedade/noticia/dezassete-grupos-pedem-nacionalidade-para-quem-nasce-em-portugal-1761187 [accessed: 09/08/2020]. As of November 2020, it looks as if a New Nationality Law will be implemented, granting citizenship to "children of immigrants who have lived here [in Portugal; A/N] for a year" (Lopes 2020: n/s; translation HS).

[26] As Imogen Tyler (2013) argues, the British 1981 Nationality Act – which included the abolition of birthright citizenship (*ius solis*) – redesigned British citizenship to "abjectify specific groups and populations" (ibid: 14).

implication, their societies – such as Cape Verde. Yet again, this illustrates the negotiation process Portugal seems to be 'stuck in' in relation to its positioning.

Portugal's self-conscious positioning within the international community makes debates around Portuguese 'identity' and 'citizenship' even more complicated because they result in attempts to stress the supposed distance from the country's former colonies. As mentioned at the beginning of the previous section, this dissociation was all the more necessary after Portugal argued, between the 1950s-1970s, that the Portuguese were much 'closer' to Africans or Brazilians than any of their European neighbours (Reiter 2005: 86f) in order to let international organisations (such as the UN) believe that it no longer had any colonies but, instead, 'overseas departments'. To retract this self-positioning and 'return to Europe', Portuguese government officials started to emphasise both African and Brazilian 'underdevelopment' and 'backwardness' after 1974. The outcome of this entire 'dilemma' was and still is related to a Portuguese version of 'postcolonial melancholia': pride in its colonial and imperial past on the one hand, and the desire (and pressure) to conform to European standards of 'modernity' on the other (ibid: 87).

2.3.2   Postcolonial Migrations

As indicated in the previous section, migrations to Portugal during the colonial period increased in the 1960s and then again in the postcolonial period, especially since Portugal joined the EU in 1986 (Reiter 2005; Feldman-Bianco 2007; Vala et al. 2008; Arenas 2015). It is generally acknowledged that the numbers of (working class) Brazilian, East European and African nationals in Portugal sharply increased from 1975, when most former African colonies became (politically) independent, and then again from the late 1990s onwards (Reiter 2005: 82; Feldman-Bianco 2007: 274).

The increase in migration after 1975 can be divided into two groups; namely the so-called *retornados* [returnees] – "*white* Portuguese settlers and their African-born progeny" (Arenas 2015: 354, my emphasis) – and Black Portuguese nationals, who were constructed as having 'African origins'. The former, the *retornados*, predominantly lived in Angola and Mozambique at the time of independence and

mostly migrated to Portugal between 1974 and 1976 with support from Portuguese authorities (Marques 2012: 2; Arenas 2015: 355). The authorities born out of the 1974 revolution had pledged to safely 'bring home' those who wished to return to Portugal. As well as being repatriated, the *retornados* were also welcomed with specific measures to accommodate them, including the creation of public administrations, and the design and implementation of integration policies. They were highly educated upon their 'return' and many of them hold positions of economic or political leadership in Portugal today (Marques 2012: 3; Arenas 2015: 355).

The second group were Black Portuguese nationals based on parentage or because they had worked as civil servants[27] in the colonial administration. In contrast to those who had moved to Portugal in the 1960s, who were largely working class Cape Verdeans, many of them were part of the elite, highly educated (Arenas 2015: 355), and often racialised as 'mixed' in the sense of 'more *white*'.

Since Portugal's accession to the EU in 1986, migration patterns include not only people from former colonies but also populations from Eastern Europe and – to a lesser degree – South and East Asia. According to statistics, Brazilians constitute the largest migrant nationality group, while Cape Verdeans and Angolans continue to dominate migrations from former African colonies. [28] The majority of those constructed as 'immigrants' are concentrated in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Marques 2012: 5; Arenas 2015: 355). From the late 2002 onwards, however, there has been a decrease in migrations to Portugal due to the country's economic crisis and consequent high unemployment (Arenas 2015: 356).

Similar to other European contexts, narratives which construct immigration (and the presence of people of colour, in particular) as a recent phenomenon, are prevalent in Portugal. However, given Portugal's colonial past and the fact that – as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter – the presence of urban, Black populations is not new to postcolonial times, one should be aware that what occurred after African decolonisation was not an unprecedented entry of people constructed as 'foreigners'[29].

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[27] See section 2.2.5 on the use of intermediaries by Portuguese colonial authorities.

[28] One should be cautious with statistics as they can reproduce racialised or ethnicised categories.

[29] While science was in the past used to justify colonial exploitation, among other atrocities, it is nowadays employed to define who counts as a 'foreigner', 'immigrant' or 'outsider'. Bernd Reiter (2005) – and others – criticise that "as a result, Portuguese social science has spawned an amazing abundance of studies on immigrants and foreigners in Portugal. (…) very few studies have been conducted on ethnic minority communities (…) and the concept of 'black Portuguese' (…) [is] virtually unknown" (ibid: 87).

Rather, long-established Black populations became "more visible and more outspoken" (Reiter 2005: 82) against discrimination and inequality, creating more than fifty associations since the 1980s and thereby claiming spaces that they had previously been (made) absent from. Consequently, a Black presence was not new, but the assertiveness and attitude of many Black (Portuguese) populations was (ibid). The issue of an absence versus presence of Black populations – the Batukaderas, in the case of my research – in the AML will be the main point of analysis of chapter 7.

2.3.3   Continuation of Colonial and Imperial Discourses

After the victory of the Portuguese Socialist Party in the 1996 general election, *Lusofonia* (i.e. the idea that all countries with Portuguese as their official language have a 'shared past', a 'common language', and a sense of 'community') became the dominant state ideology and the new government continued to abide by European norms with regards to immigration and border control. Simultaneously, discourses around human rights – with a special emphasis on 'intercultural dialogue' and 'multiculturalism' – solely targeted those considered 'legal migrants' already settled in Portugal. In terms of Portuguese 'multicultural policies', however, it is important to note that these were defined in accordance with Gilberto Freyre's notion of *Lusotropicalismo*. In related political campaigns – predominantly aimed at those constructed as 'immigrants' from former African colonies – the Socialist government pointed to Portugal's 'plasticity' and to its 'positive' history of 'racial mixing' in order to highlight an alleged 'cultural homogeneity' between the former coloniser and colonised. In this way, government officials have also tried to obscure the continued reproduction of racialised categories, hierarchies, and power relations in Portuguese society (Feldman-Bianco 2007: 274). This 'silencing' or 'obscuring' of racism in postcolonial Portugal – in connection to the continued emphasis of lusotropicalist and lusophone narratives – will be thoroughly analysed in chapter 7 of this thesis.

In order to negotiate Portugal's ambivalent discursive positioning between Europe and/or Africa, and to present the country as a 'modern European nation', Portuguese governments (not only that of the Socialist Party) appropriated and reconstructed old imperial discourses and imageries, and continue to do so. Politics of

'high culture' as well as of investment are being used as a way to reinvent the 'Portuguese national identity' in line with more 'European' narratives (Feldman-Bianco 2007: 275), which will be highlighted below.

2.3.3.1 Lusotropicalismo & Lusofonia as Postcolonial Notions

While the lusotropicalist ideas of Gilberto Freyre have been – more or less – rid of the colonial components of the *Estado Novo*, they are now used to justify the official formation of a 'lusophone community' that pursues cultural, economic and foreign-policy interests (Gomes 2001: 28). Lusotropicalism has thus become part of a new 'Portuguese national identity' (Vala et al. 2008: 288). This can be understood as a continuation of Portuguese expansion ideology (Gomes 2001: 29). In Vítor de Sousa's (2014) words (following Edward Said): "even if colonialism is over, (…) imperialism persists at the level of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic and social practices" (ibid: 503f).

After 1974, the so-called 'Portuguese empire'[30] dissolved and split up into a heterogeneous, transnational, and symbolic 'community' of (officially) Portuguese-speaking countries linked by the concept of *Lusofonia* and its supposed 'common' linguistic and cultural affiliation (Arenas 2015: 358). According to Margarida Marques (2012), "the idea of a 'Lusophone community' was initially formulated by the political elites in the 1980s and was supported both by the ideological right and left" (ibid: 9). As we saw earlier in this chapter, the Portuguese language was a cornerstone in the construction of a 'Portuguese' or 'lusophone world'. Today, language still serves as one of the main arguments for the existence and preservation of this alleged lusophone space (Gomes 2001: 27).

In 1992, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe founded the organisation of Portuguese-speaking African Countries [*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*; from now on PALOP], or – to be more accurate – of 'African Countries of Portuguese Official Language'. In spite of the heterogeneity of the PALOPs, they are perceived as a 'shared space' and their

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[30] After feedback from Bea Gomes, I opted for writing 'Portuguese empire' with quotation marks. While Portugal still likes to portray itself as such, many question this narrative because the period was actually quite short and not very powerful.

different (pre-/post-)colonial histories dismissed accordingly. In their case, *Lusofonia* is understood as an expression of deep loyalty to Portugal as the former colonial power; a mental state, a voluntary identification and an emotive feeling of 'belonging'. In political and economic terms, *Lusofonia* thus functions as an ideology that tries to co-opt and standardise these five countries in service of neo-imperial policies. This alleged 'lusophone world' is presented and perceived as a unidimensional space where everybody speaks Portuguese and is 'united' by a Portuguese 'cultural heritage' (Gomes 2001: 31). Chapter 7 of this thesis will highlight events celebrating *Lusofonia* and this 'shared language', exploring how the Batukaderas use these spaces to challenge this very notion, among other things.

Since 1996, the PALOPs also form the Community of Portuguese Language Countries [*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*; from now on CPLP]; together with Brazil and Portugal.[31] The CPLP is a project based on the foundations of the Portuguese language as a historic bond and 'shared cultural heritage', again highlighting the importance ascribed to language. In the African context, the supposed distribution of the language and the fact that all five PALOP states still have Portuguese as their official language make the case for their incorporation into a 'lusophone world' (Gomes 2001: 29; Marques 2012: 9; Arenas 2015: 365). It can thus be argued that *Lusofonia*, as a political discourse, has been preserved to "weld political and economic projects together" (Abadia et al. 2016: 14) and to strengthen the global position of the Portuguese language based on assumed values such as 'unity'.

In spite of the continued overall prevalence and reappropriation of lusotropicalist and lusophone discourses and narratives, it should not be forgotten that contestations of these exist in Portuguese politics, academia and society. These are generally aimed at deconstructing common misconceptions such as "the misconception of Portuguese centrality, the erroneous reconstruction of narratives of the ancient empire in post-colonial context (…), the equivocation of Luso-tropicalism (…), the idea of sweet colonization (…)" (de Sousa 2014: 505), "the ability to adapt and cultural integration" (Pires Valentim & Heleno 2018: 34); which all continue to shape social discourse and knowledge until today. Some scholars also clearly and

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[31] https://www.cplp.org/

openly condemn the project of *Lusofonia* as "a new form of old colonial fantasies. (…) obscuring the violence of colonization" (Marques 2012: 10).

Moreover, the lusotropicalist notion of the 'special tolerance' of the Portuguese toward populations of its former colonies (in the past) and 'immigrant' populations (in the present) – and thus the absence of racism in Portuguese society – is challenged by some (albeit few) articles, which analyse the presence of 'subtle' as well as 'blatant' racism (Vala et al. 2008; Arenas 2015; Abadia et al. 2016; Pires Valentim & Heleno 2018). These publications debunk the common myth that the lusotropicalist representation – which emphasises the natural 'cordiality', 'plasticity' and/or 'openness' of the 'Portuguese national character' – 'protects' *white* Portuguese from expressions of racism.[32] As will be shown in the main analytical chapters of this thesis, many Batukaderas contest lusotropicalist or lusophone notions by highlighting their continued (intersectional) marginalisation and oppression in the AML.

Lusotropicalist notions about the 'benevolence' of Portuguese society continue today as the most widespread 'form of cultural common sense' (Arenas 2015: 358)[33] despite their scientific refutation as well as the end of the 'Portuguese empire'. One would assume that Portugal's sombre history of colonialism, racism and its leading role in the transatlantic slave trade would be enough to counter this narrative of 'mild manners' and 'kindness': "the Portuguese were responsible for the transportation of more than 5.8 million slaves (47% of the total)" (Bethencourt 2013/2015: 253f, cited in Pires Valentim & Heleno 2018: 35) and "Portuguese colonization in (…) [Brazil]

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[32] Some argue that this is further linked to the absence of (statistical) information or references to 'ethnicity' in Portuguese society. Discourses predominantly evolve around the presence of – a homogenised group of – 'immigrants', 'foreigners', or 'Africans' in Portugal (Reiter 2005; Arenas 2015) but not, for instance, around 'Black Portuguese'. "Instead, all available statistics in Portugal only distinguish by nationality and [hence] avoid any reference to (…) diversity within the category of 'Portuguese'" (Reiter 2005: 88). Portugal has thus failed to recognise the existence of Black Portuguese populations within its borders. According to Arenas (2015), the "question of 'ethnicity' remains a taboo" and is even "considered divisive by segments of society that embrace an idealized self-image of the Portuguese as having been more open and prone to miscegenation" (ibid: 357). While statistics and censuses can be criticised for various reasons, in particular with regard to racialised or ethnicised data, a major criticism concerning their absence in Portugal comes from Black Portuguese activist organisations (https://din.today/newsletter/2018_03/ethno-racial-data-collection-yes-but-with-whom-how-and-what-for/). The lack of official information and references was also criticised in a 2012 United Nations Report, which argued that "the official lack of racial and ethnic categories (…) [keep] Portuguese-born Afro-descendants within the confines of immigration" (ibid).

[33] According to Jorge Vala, Diniz Lopes and Marcus Lima (2008), a study carried out with Portuguese university students in 2003 showed that "participants actually believed that the Portuguese colonization process was more benevolent, that it originated more *mesticagem*, and that, nowadays, racism is expressed less frequently in Portugal than in other European countries" (ibid: 289f). Despite the study being approximately 15 years old, these findings correspond with most of the conversations I had with *white* Portuguese during my research stay.

led to the death of [at least; A/N] 5 million native (…) [Americans]" (Vala et al. 2008: 290). Yet, it seems that the extraordinary prevalence of this 'common sense' narrative is almost impermeable to criticism and is – as mentioned – closely connected to a Portuguese 'postcolonial melancholia' and the act of 'active forgetting'.

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the persistence of lusotropicalist (and lusophone) discourses matters: "(…) social representations refer to knowledge or common-sense theories about abstract concepts circulating in society. (…) they are not only ideas (…) or shared beliefs that influence action, but (…) they '*constitute*' people's daily practices" (Pires Valentim & Heleno 2018: 35, original emphasis) and "sustain narratives of the world" (Abadia et al. 2016: 2). This means that current (social, cultural or political) representations of Portugal's colonial past constitute people's systems of understanding. They are framed by, and frame, the production and perpetuation of power relations. While *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia* were previously used to legitimise the continuation of colonialism, today they are employed to uphold the myth of Portuguese 'racial tolerance' and 'acceptance' and are thus a conscious strategy to dissociate the nation from racism and colonialism (Arenas 2015: 358f).

Regarding the continuation of colonial discourses and the ongoing prevalence of *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia*, it is also important to note that the label or self-ascription of 'luso-' does not apply to many activist or migrant organisations. According to a list by Marques (2012),

> "the far majority of the 106 migrant organisations in Portugal (…) have names that refer to the country of origin (…). Only six of these organisations carry 'Lusophone' or the hyphenated 'Luso-some other nationality' in their names or refer to that in another way. Another five organisations adopted a pan-ethnic reference (e.g. African)" (ibid: 13).[34]

Self-ascriptions or -identifications of racialised or ethnicised population groups thus frequently contradict the common narrative of a 'lusophone community' constructed and imagined by Portuguese political elites. It was also interesting to observe in my research that none of the Batukaderas self-identified as 'Luso-African' or 'Luso-Cape Verdean', independent of generation and age. While I never specifically asked about

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[34] The number of organisations listed in this quote should not be taken at face value as they have certainly changed over the last ten years. Rather, this quote is meant to highlight the discrepancy regarding self-identifications and public discourse.

identifications in conversations or interviews, it was obvious that the majority self-identified as 'Cape Verdean' or 'Kriolu'[35] in most contexts and perhaps as 'Black Portuguese' in others. None of the organisations with affiliations to Batuku groups that I interacted with during my research stay had the prefix 'luso' in their name. Those organisations that supported or (had) founded Batuku groups at the time of my research were *Moinho da Juventude* [Mill of the Youth], *Centro Social 6 de Maio* [Social Centre 6 de Maio][36], and the *Associação de Mulheres Cabo-Verdianas na Diáspora em Portugal* [Association of Cape Verdean Women in the Diaspora in Portugal; from now AMCDP].

2.3.3.2 Discourses on 'Multiculturalism' & 'African Lisbon'

Over the last 20 years or so, a new lexicon is argued to have emerged in both Portuguese political discourse and academic debates around notions such as 'interculturalism' and 'multiculturalism'. Over the same period of time, Portugal – and the AML in particular – has also recognised the opportunity to commodify the idea of 'cultural diversity' as an "urban experience and (…) a business opportunity" (Arenas 2015: 357). This adoption of an 'intercultural' discourse by Portugal is connected to the country's colonial past and its ideologies of 'mixing' (hybridity) and *Lusotropicalismo*.

Large-scale cultural events, which started taking place from the 1990s onward, still tend to focus on what Portugal has 'given the world' and celebrate maritime-colonial history as an 'expansion', 'adventure', and 'encounter of cultures' (Marques 2012: 17). In this respect, chapter 7 will explore and critically analyse these celebrations of *Lusofonia* at big events and festivals, including the 'romanticisation' and commercialisation of ('peripheral') popular cultural practices.

This commodification and commercialisation of 'cultural diversity' is also linked to a 're-Africanisation of Lisbon' (Arenas 2015: 359). With the 'peripheral' position of Portugal in global politics and economics – as discussed in section 2.2.1.1

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[35] As Derek Pardue (2014b: 322) notes, the use of the letter 'k' in itself can be understood as a distancing from 'luso-' and Portugal, as it does not officially exist in the Portuguese language. In Portuguese, it would be spelled with a 'c'.
[36] *6 de Maio* is a neighbourhood in the *Amadora* municipality.

– the country and particularly the capital have tried to portray themselves as 'modern'. This self-image and -portrayal of the AML as a 'modern' and 'open' city is strongly connected to its cultural field. In fact, as the AML has transformed into an increasingly major global tourist destination, it has become apparent that 'African Lisbon' is a crucial part of its appeal and is hence increasingly promoted as an "important source of cultural capital" (ibid). As discussed several times, 'African Lisbon' is nothing new, but its traces almost disappeared in the last century (Marques 2012: 14). Ironically, as I will analyse thoroughly later, this 'rediscovery' of 'African Lisbon' connects into the postcolonial project of *Lusofonia* and takes shape at numerous cultural festivals designed to celebrate the 'unity' of countries with Portuguese as their official language while simultaneously promoting 'multiculturalism'. As I will then also argue in chapter 7, some performers – including many Batukaderas – use these spaces to highlight issues of racism, marginalisation, and oppression. Drawing on Imogen Tyler's (2013) work, I frame these issues as different aspects of 'social abjection' and exemplify them by bringing housing as well as labour conditions into focus (chapters 5 and 8).

Many of these larger festivals can be considered 'top-down' initiatives and are rarely organised by smaller grassroots associations or members of the so-called 'African Lisbon' that is being commodified. Events organised by migrant or community organisations themselves, on the other hand, generally receive modest 'outside' participation[37], operate on a much smaller scale, and are assigned to very clear geographical locations of this 'African Lisbon' (the peripheries, to be specific). Some larger events nonetheless offer interesting performance opportunities as well as more 'public', 'visible' space to voice dissatisfactions and to assert "particular forms of belonging (to (…) [a] neighbourhood and its socioeconomic context)" (Marques 2012: 5). This will also be dealt with in more detail in chapter 7.

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[37] In a conversation with an activist of the *Cova da Moura* neighbourhood, I still vividly remember her denouncing the fact that 'outside' interest – especially from politicians and the media – only occurred when there were negative headlines (i.e. related to criminality, drug trafficking etc.) but not if organisations put on popular cultural events.

3 'Popular Culture' & 'Diaspora': Conceptual Considerations

3.1 Introduction

As mentioned in chapter 1, the main research interest of this thesis is the negotiation of 'diaspora' in the postcolonial context of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area [AML] by means of, or within, the popular cultural practice of Batuku. By using the term 'negotiation', I intend to point towards the negotiation of power, of difference and of identities, and to suggest that their meanings are not static but under constant reformulation (and, therefore, re-*negotiation*). Meanings – in particular those around 'race' and 'culture' – are produced through specific interactions, in specific spaces, and are thus always subject to negotiation. Following Avtar Brah (1996), I understand negotiations as integral to diaspora spaces and, by implication, postcolonial power relations. Section 3.3.1 of this chapter will therefore elaborate on my conceptualisation of 'negotiation'.

As this thesis focuses on a popular cultural practice in the postcolonial AML, the first part of this chapter will present a brief overview of recent publications on the Portuguese setting (or the AML, more precisely) in relation to topics such as 'Cape Verdean' 'popular culture'.

3.2 State of the Art

Publications on 'Cape Verdean' popular cultural practices in Portugal, or the AML, mainly focus on genres such as Kriolu Rap (see Barbosa 2011; Pardue 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2015, 2016a, 2016b; Campos & Vaz 2013; Campos & Simões 2014) or – to a lesser extent – Cabo-zouk / Cabo-love[38] (see Sieber 2005; Hoffman 2008). This academic work thus generally addresses 'popular' performances with

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[38] Zouk is said to have developed in the French Antilles in the 1970s and 1980s. The adoption of Zouk rhythms by 'Cape Verdean' musicians in Europe led to genres now known as Cabo-love, Zouk-love or Cabo-Zouk (Sieber 2005: 129f).

larger audiences and more recent, 'modern' musical styles.[39] It is also notable that most of these publications are from an (ethno-)musicological (Cidra; Hoffman; Lopes Miguel; Pardue), sociological (Barbosa; Campos & Simões; Sieber), or cultural anthropological (Campos & Vaz; Pardue) perspective and that they generally refer to the existence of a 'Cape Verdean diaspora' (Sieber 2005; Hoffman 2008; Lopes Miguel 2010, 2016; Barbosa 2011; Pardue 2012: 6, 2015: 155, 2016a, b), a 'Cape Verdean community' (Sieber 2005; Hoffman 2008; Barbosa 2011), or to 'Cape Verdeans [in Lisbon or Portugal]' (Sieber 2005; Hoffman 2008; Pardue 2016: 3) or '[people of] Cape Verdean descent' (Barbosa 2011; Pardue 2012a: E52, 2012b: 2ff, 2014a: 53, 2014b: 308).[40] The notion of a 'Cape Verdean diaspora' or 'community', or of 'Cape Verdeans' in the AML, is something that I will critically address in section 3.3.1 of this chapter.

There has been little research into Batuku in general and particularly in the context of Portugal or the AML. Regarding Cape Verde, this research has been conducted primarily in disciplines such as Musicology, Ethnomusicology, Social Anthropology or History (see Hurley-Glowa 1997; Carter 2007; Carter & Aulette 2009; Carvalho Semedo 2009; Nogueira 2011, 2012; Schubert 2020). Since a direct comparison between Batuku on Cape Verde and in the AML is not at the heart of my analysis, these publications are not part of the core literature I draw on, but rather serve as contextual and historical background information. When looking at the Portuguese context, the available literature is even scarcer and there is also a focus on anthropological and (ethno-)musicological perspectives, as will be shown in the following pages. It is also noteworthy that most research is published at European or US-American institutions and that there are hardly any publications coming out of Cape Verdean research contexts.[41] My research thus joins company with a set of predominantly *white* European publications.

Jorge Castro Ribeiro, currently assistant professor at the Institute for Ethnomusicology at the University of Aveiro, has written some articles based on his

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[39] Exceptions to this include Lopes Miguel's work on Kola San Jon (2010, 2016), and Rui Cidra's thesis on Funana (2011), although – as will be argued later in the thesis – Funana can also be considered to have been 'modernised' in recent years.

[40] Exceptions to this include Pardue's (2013) use of the terms *Badiu* and 'creole citizens' when writing about Kriolu rappers, and Campos & Vaz' (2013) as well as Campos & Simões' (2014) references to 'afro-descendants'.

[41] A notable exception is Gláucia Nogueira's MA thesis at the University of Cape Verde in Praia (2011).

research with Batuku groups in the 1990s and early 2000s. In 2012, he finished his dissertation entitled *Inquietude, memory and assertion in batuque: Cape Verdean music and dance in Portugal*, which explores the role and importance of Batuku as a diasporic practice from a historical, etymological and musical point of view by looking at two Batuku groups in the municipality of *Amadora*.[42] His article *Migration, sodade and conciliation: Cape Verdean batuque practice in Portugal* (2010), asks questions about Batuku as a source of comfort and antidote to hostilities, as an articulation of feelings of nostalgia [*sodadi*] and as a strategy of conciliation with Portuguese society. This is achieved by comparing a group in the AML with one in the city of Porto. Castro Ribeiro's work thus offered an important starting point for my research and provided valuable background information. It was due to this work, for instance, that I realised – even before travelling to the AML for the first time – that the *Cova da Moura* neighbourhood could be considered a well-established research object. This, in turn, led to my immediate decision to try to speak to Batuku groups in other parts of the AML as well. There are some key differences, however, including Castro Ribeiro's more historico-social and ethno-musicological research interest, and the fact that I chose to not only interview Batukaderas but also various other people linked to the practice, support, and organisation of Batuku in the AML. In addition, my work draws on a different theoretical framework, taking an intersectional approach and critiquing essentialising notions of 'diaspora' (section 3.3.1 of this chapter).

In his article *'Batuku in Lisbon': An exercise of transnational citizenship*[43] (2009), the anthropologist Max Ruben Ramos posits that the notion of citizenship needs to be challenged and broadened to include the practice of Batuku in the AML as a prime example of exercising transnational citizenship. Based on his interviews with members of one Batuku group (like Castro Ribeiro, he interviewed the group from the *Cova da Moura* neighbourhood), he argues that they use their practice – and particularly the poetic and political content of their songs – as a tool of (re-)claiming their rights in terms of an active political, social and cultural participation (ibid: 142). This publication hence already points to debates of resistance surrounding the practice

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[42] The original title is "Inquietação, memória e afirmação no *batuque*: música e dança cabo-verdiana em Portugal".
[43] The original title is "'Batuku na Lisboa': um exercício de cidadania transnacional".

of Batuku, which I will address in more detail in the second part of this chapter. This will also be the main focus of my analyses in chapters 7 and 8.

In recent years, there has been some initiative to study the practice of Batuku from the perspective of music therapy and psychotherapy. A seminar paper entitled *'Nos Batuco, Nos Identidadi'. The body during an absolute emotional experience*[44] (2012) at the Department of Music Therapy at the University Lusíada in Lisbon as well as presentations at a colloquium on *The culture and unconscious collective of colonised peoples*[45], organised by the cultural association *Moinho da Juventude*[46] (ACMJ) in the AML in April 2016, develop these ideas. The framing of Batuku as therapy will be addressed in detail in chapter 8, where I argue for a conceptualisation of Batuku as (self)care and therefore 'resistance'. From a more sociological perspective, César Augusto Monteiro's PhD thesis (2011) at the Department of Sociology at the University of Lisbon (ISCTE-IUL), entitled *Cape Verdean musical landscape in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area: Protagonists, identities and migrant music*[47], includes one chapter on the 'place of the woman in the musical landscape' and deals with the 'strength of Batuque in the neighbourhoods of Lisbon'. Monteiro distinguishes an 'urban' from an 'ethnic' or 'traditional' Batuku and discusses the musical preferences of several Batukaderas as well as the dissemination, continuation, and current transformation of Batuku in the AML by quoting extensively from interviews. Overall, his account is quite descriptive and not very analytical.

The most recent work on Batuku in Cape Verde at the time of writing this thesis is Elisa Tavares' dissertation at the School of Linguistics at the University of Freiburg, entitled *Authenticity and Identity. Tradition and Transition in the Creole Batuku of Cape Verde*[48], which was published in 2016. In it, Tavares focuses on the transitions in function and meaning that the practice of Batuku has experienced; transitions that she relates to tourism and other phenomena of globalisation. She analyses various elements of performance (including an in-depth, linguistic enquiry

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[44] The original title of the paper is "'*Nos Batuco, Nos Identidadi*'. O Corpo enquanto vivência absoluta de emoções".

[45] The original title of the colloquium was "A cultura e o inconsciente coletivo de povos que foram colonizados".

[46] The foundation and role of the *Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude* will be briefly addressed in chapter 4.4.2.1.

[47] The original title is "Campo musical cabo-verdiano na Área Metropolitana de Lisboa: Protagonistas, identidades e música migrante".

[48] The original title in German is "Authentizität und Identität. Tradition und Wandel im kreolischen Batuku Kap Verdes".

into the songs and their lyrics) and challenges notions of 'tradition' (including the concepts of 'authenticity' and 'commodification'). While there is no self-contained section dealing with these 'transitions' in Portugal, there are numerous references as well as a few interviews with people connected to the practice of Batuku in the AML; namely, some Batukaderas from the group *Finka Pé* and one from *Unidos de Vialonga*, a Batuku supporter and activist from the *Cova da Moura* neighbourhood, and the writer Francisco Fragoso. Tavares' book was not only essential in gaining a deeper understanding of the practice of Batuku but also formed the basis for my reflections on its traditionalisation both on Cape Verde and in the AML (chapter 6).

Kesha Fikes is one of the few – if not the only – scholars who has worked on 'Cape Verdean' practices in the context of the AML from a clear feminist perspective. While she does not focus on Batuku, her book *Managing African Portugal: The Citizen-Migrant Distinction* (2009) as well as some of her articles have strongly influenced my focus, my approach, and my analysis. In *Managing African Portugal*, Fikes looks at the new concept of Portuguese citizenship and its relation to ideals of 'modernity' after the country's accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986 and its simultaneous economic integration into the European Union (EU). In order to do so, she focuses on the citizen-migrant distinction as a "capacity that comes to life through interaction" (ibid: xv), locating her ethnographic work at a fish market. Women constructed as 'Portuguese' and 'Cape Verdean' once worked at the market as fishmongers [*peixeiras*]; the former started leaving these jobs in the 1980s while the latter continued until the early 2000s. In the end, both left the fish market to seek employment in low-paying jobs such as maids, nannies and kitchen help (although with very different results).

The setting of the fish market [*Docapesca*] and the analysis of the *peixeiras*' everyday activities can also be found in some of Fikes' articles, two of which I want to highlight here: *Ri(ght)es of Intimacy at Docapesca. Race versus Racism at a Fish Market in Portugal* (2005) and *Diasporic Governmentality: On the Gendered Limits of Migrant Wage-Labour in Portugal* (2008). The first publication addresses how 'race' (in the sense of racialised information and knowledge) is negotiated between whole-sale fish vendors (mainly *white* 'Portuguese' men) and their clients, 'Cape Verdean' *peixeiras*, at *Docapesca*, which existed in Lisbon from 1989 to 2003. This article, as well as Fikes' book *Managing African Portugal*, provide lucid analyses and outlines of racialised, labour-related encounters. This offered important background

information for my research, highlighting encounters that several Batukaderas might have experienced in the 1990s and early 2000s as some of them previously worked as *peixeiras* before being forced into waged domestic labour.

In her article on 'diasporic governmentality', Fikes argues that much research on diasporic practices in the contemporary Black Atlantic context has focused on what she calls 'visible' or 'performative' practices with broad audiences. She contends that this misses passing moments of negotiation and addresses how gendered configurations of migrant labour-time (in her case study, of the 'Cape Verdean' *peixeiras*) influence the diasporic process. When the fish market *Docapesca* closed in 2003 and was moved to the outskirts of Lisbon, 'Cape Verdean' women stopped selling fish in public, hence "disappearing all together from public view. Thereafter, their visibility to the general public would be primarily restricted to their legitimate labouring capacity" (Fikes 2008: 49). While music is generally considered a visibly aesthetic product of diasporic practice, some musical forms – Batuku, in the case of my research – do not have an 'active' or 'visible' social place in what Fikes calls 'black Portugal'. "(…) women's musical performances occur in the privacy of their homes, and at other times in front of non-immigrant audiences; thus they have little community-building momentum, at least to date" (ibid: 50). She centres on everyday exchanges (e.g. regarding police harassment or racist treatment) and impromptu gatherings among *peixeiras* and emphasises that while these moments are not tangible, but 'quiet', and leave no archive behind, they should indeed be considered crucial in producing and forming diasporic subjectivities. "(…) these moments are important nonetheless because they are part of the normative experience of daily living in the postcolonial world" (ibid: 57). In this sense, too, Fikes' work has shaped my understanding of diasporic practices, expressions, and productions, particularly in relation to gendered (but also racialised and classed) experiences. Chapter 7 will deal with notions of (gendered, racialised and classed) absences and presences, and how many Batukaderas contest these, by looking at big events in the AML.

3.3 Theoretical Framework

Based on my research focus and central question, this section will locate the thesis within its main theoretical framework and present an overview of academic debates on 'diaspora' and 'popular culture'. In this case, however, these concepts are linked to debates on identity, resistance, and intersectionality; thus resulting in a broader theoretical embedding.

3.3.1 Diaspora Space

Contemporary theorisations on 'diaspora' are, for obvious reasons, central to the theoretical positioning of this thesis. With roots in the Jewish experience of dispersal and exile from Jerusalem, and referring to the "scattering of people from their homelands into new communities across the globe" (Braziel 2008: 24), 'diaspora' has become a term to describe various forms of migration: pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial (Clifford 1994; Brubaker 1995). The notion of 'home' has been important in this regard, partly resulting in naturalising and esssentialising conceptualisations of 'identity' and 'belonging' (Brah 1996: 193), both of which will be addressed shortly.

Although postcolonial scholars such as Paul Gilroy and Stuart Hall have profoundly influenced the analytical concept of 'diaspora' as well as my understanding of it, Avtar Brah's work – particularly her book *Cartographies of Diaspora* (1996) – is my principal point of reference and of great importance to this research. [49] Gilroy (1993a, b) strives to challenge an assumed connection of a 'diaspora' to a 'home', 'kin' or 'territory' and calls for a hybrid notion of diaspora that holds tension between 'routes' and 'roots'. At times, though, he nevertheless relies on metaphors (such as 'racial community' or 'unity') that are reminiscent of certain 'historical ties of kinship' or 'roots'. He does this in order to highlight the need for diasporic, marginalised cultural forms (such as music or dance) to construct a political agenda.

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[49] While Avtar Brah as well as Paul Gilroy and Stuart Hall all produced their most important work on 'diaspora', '(popular) culture' or 'identity' predominantly in the 1990s – and might thus be deemed 'outdated' – they can nonetheless still be considered some of the most influential theorists on these issues. Contemporary scholars largely reference and rely on the above-mentioned publications.

"The need to locate cultural or ethnic *roots* and then to use the idea of being in touch with them as a means to refigure the cartography of dispersal and exile is perhaps best understood as a simple and direct *response to the varieties of racism* which have denied the historical character of black experience and the integrity of black cultures" (Gilroy 1993a: 112, my emphasis).

Hall (1990) uses the term 'diaspora' metaphorically; in other words, not in order to refer to scattered people "whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland" (ibid: 235) but, rather, to those identities "which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" (ibid). Both Gilroy and Hall thus recognise that identities are produced and emphasise the 'hybridity' of diasporas.

In contrast to more or less essentialising notions of diaspora, Avtar Brah offers a critique of discourses of fixed origins and prefers to speak of a 'homing desire' instead of the desire for a 'homeland', arguing that this distinction is important in order to avoid the ascription of a 'wish to return' to all diasporas (Brah 1996: 16, 189). Based on this critique, she coins the concept of 'diaspora space' (as distinct from the concept of 'diaspora'), which emphasises a process-oriented perspective and focuses on the various negotiation processes of "boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, belonging and otherness, of 'us' and 'them'" (ibid: 205). According to her, processes of diasporisation not only include so-called 'diasporic subjects' (i.e. those who have migrated and their descendants), but also those who are – problematically – constructed as 'natives' or 'indigenous' (ibid: 16, 178, 205, 238). Correspondingly, Floya Anthias (1998) foregrounds that 'diaspora' is constituted as much in difference and division as it is in commonality and solidarity: "Different groups within the overall category will have different political projects; this may include the crosscuttings of gender, class, political affiliation and generation" (ibid: 564). This points to the importance of applying an intersectional approach when analysing diaspora spaces, something that will be addressed shortly.

In accordance with Brah (1996), I understand diaspora not as an essentialising concept linked to an 'original community' but, rather, as an ongoing negotiation process (ibid: 190). In the case of my research this process is focused mainly around issues of 'race', ethnicity, class, gender, and – to some degree – age. Diasporic spaces as well as diasporic communities are by definition not fixed or pre-given but

constantly in the process of re-construction. "As such, all diasporas are differentiated, heterogeneous, contested spaces, even as they are implicated in the construction of a common 'we'" (ibid: 180f). I understand Portugal as one such diaspora space, in which notions of Cape Verdean, Brazilian, Angolan, Ukrainian and other diasporas are in contact with each other as well as with the proclaimed, constructed essence of a 'Portugueseness' (ibid: 205f).

Diaspora spaces are constituted by postcolonial power relations and by the everyday ways in which people negotiate their space in these racialised, classed, and/or gendered environments. In line with Brah (1996), I am interested in how wider social structures are implicated in the lived cultures that people inhabit (ibid: 137). To examine this, I follow her understanding of 'negotiation' in order to analyse the various ways in which people "negotiate the many and varying facets of power in their everyday lives" (ibid). According to her, 'culture' is amongst those ways "of negotiating and/or combating hierarchies of power (…)" (ibid: 82).

I am aware of the challenge or possible contradiction of trying to implement Brah's concept of diaspora in a non-ethnicising way while at the same time seemingly focusing on a specific 'group' (i.e. 'Cape Verdeans'). In *Cartographies of Diaspora* (1996), Brah discusses the subjectivities and experiences of '(South) Asians'. Thus, in a way, she also focuses on an imagined group but looks at its negotiations and constructions. In this thesis, I analyse notions of 'diaspora' by looking at Batuku, and Brah's approach helps me to conceptualise these notions in a non-essentialising, heterogeneous and intersectional way.

3.3.2   Notions of 'Popular' & 'Culture'

While it is sometimes – as I have highlighted in a previous publication (Stepanik 2019: 76) – claimed that the field of postcolonial studies (among others) has paid insufficient attention to popular culture as a productive site (Devadas & Prentice 2011: 687), various theorists have thoroughly engaged with popular cultural practices in diaspora spaces and argue that these practices play an important role for the construction of diasporic identities (Hall 1990, 1998; Gilroy 1993a; Sharma et al. 1996; Appadurai 1998). It can thus be argued that there is an inherent link between

diaspora spaces and popular cultural practices. Music and dance are two key markers of a so-called Cape Verdean 'cultural identity' (Castro Ribeiro 2010), with music often being defined as one of the most important forms or artistic expressions of popular culture (Englert 2008: 1).[50] As the analytical chapters of this thesis will show, Batuku has different purposes and meanings not only for practitioners but also for people involved in its preservation, dissemination and promotion (such as godmothers and –fathers of groups[51], supporters, or event organisers). In addition, I will also demonstrate that Batukaderas often practice for themselves while at other times they use Batuku to purposefully address specific audiences in the AML.

As many scholars over the years have noted, 'popular culture' is notoriously difficult to define. Many also argue that it is in fact an "*empty* conceptual category, one that can be filled in a wide variety of often conflicting ways, depending on the context of use" (Storey 2009: 1, original emphasis), or, as Tony Bennett wrote in 1980, "(…) the concept of popular culture is virtually useless, a melting pot of confused and contradictory meanings capable of misdirecting inquiry up any number of theoretical blind alleys" (ibid: 18). In principle, I agree with this and can also relate to Stuart Hall when he writes that he has "almost as many problems with 'popular' as (…) [he has] with 'culture'" (Hall 1998: 442), especially if the meaning of 'culture' is understood as referring to "(...) whatever is distinctive about the 'way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group" (Hall 1997: 2). How can one define 'culture' let alone 'popular'?

Definitions of 'popular culture' range from equating it with 'mass culture', 'youth culture', or 'urban culture', through to an emphasis of its (broad) impact or low entry barriers ('accessibility') as a crucial defining factor (Englert 2008; Storey 2009: 6-11; Devadas & Prentice 2011: 689); which is something I have addressed previously (Stepanik 2019: 78). While it is essential to keep in mind the conceptual problems and ambiguities with 'popular culture', it is nonetheless necessary to formulate a working definition in order to continue with an analysis. For a while I wondered whether or not the concept was useful in the case of my research. However, it soon became clear that the focus of this thesis relates to many of the discussions that surround so-called popular cultural practices. Birgit Englert (2008) points out that

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[50] See also Stepanik (2019: 76).
[51] Godmothers (*madrinhas*) and godfathers (*padrinhos*) of Batuku groups are nominated by the Batukaderas themselves and help the group in various ways (e.g. organising events, inviting the group to private parties to perform there, paying for outfits, and facilitating contacts).

various authors and disciplines have emphasised different aspects in their attempts to define 'popular culture'. Among them are questions of 'authenticity' (ibid: 1, 9), the frequent study of popular cultural practices as "sites of resistance" (ibid: 7), the focus on popular culture as a space in which the "marginalised can participate" (ibid: 6), or its appropriation by governing bodies (ibid: 12). The negotiation of 'diaspora' through Batuku is connected to these debates in diverse ways. Chapter 6 will address the negotiation of Batuku as 'tradition' in the diasporic context and relate this to notions of 'authenticity'. And chapters 7 and 8, in particular, evolve around the various manifestations of resistance which Batuku and/or the Batukaderas exhibit in the postcolonial setting of the AML, and link these to different aspects of marginalisation.

In accordance with Paul Gilroy and Stuart Hall, I locate my reflections within discussions on postcolonial popular cultures. Hall insists that "what is essential to the definition of popular culture is the relations which define 'popular culture' in a *continuing tension* (relationship, influence, antagonism) to the dominant culture" (Hall 1998: 449, my emphasis). While it could be argued that this definition is now more than 20 years old, it is still not only widely used but also apt for my analysis throughout the thesis. Hall emphasises the complex relation of the term 'popular' to the term 'class', the non-interchangeability of the two, as well as the highly problematic use of 'popular' and 'the people' as neither can ever be considered fixed categories (ibid: 452).

I consider Hall's elaborations on the 'popular' as well as 'culture' among the most useful to my own analysis, partly because he conceptualises culture as a constantly changing field (thus as having a processual character and pointing to negotiation processes) and focuses on the (power) relations which structure and define this field in a hierarchical way. To be specific, he understands 'culture' as referring

> "to that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life, and give *expressive form* to their social and material life-experience. Culture is the way, the forms, in which groups 'handle' the raw material of their social and material existence" (Hall & Jefferson 2006: 4, original emphasis).

According to Hall, the question of cultural struggle is at the core of this process; that is, the relation between culture, hegemony and the uneven power relations that define the field of culture (Hall 1998: 449; Hall & Jefferson 2006: 5). Cultures should thus not only be perceived as 'ways of life' but also as 'ways of struggle' (Hall 1998:

450).[52] Using Antonio Gramsci's political concept of 'hegemony' to define popular culture as a site of struggle "turns it into a terrain of exchange and negotiation" (Storey 2009: 10) between the dominant and the oppositional culture of the more marginalised. Or, in other words,

> "cultures are neither something 'authentic' (spontaneously emerging from 'below'), nor something which is simply imposed from 'above', but a 'compromise equilibrium' (…) between the two; a contradictory mix of forces from both 'below' and 'above'; both 'commercial' and 'authentic'; (…) marked by both 'resistance' and 'incorporation', (…)" (ibid: 209).

Defining popular cultural practices as terrains of 'exchange and negotiation' is in line with my enquiry into the negotiation of 'diaspora' in the postcolonial context of the AML. This research interest follows – as previously mentioned – Brah's understanding that diaspora spaces are about everyday negotiations of one's place within wider power relations and that cultural practices can be one of these everyday ways of doing so (Brah 1996).

In addition to Hall's discussion of (popular) culture, my theoretical stance concurs with Brah's (1996) definition that

> "in broad terms, culture may be viewed as the symbolic construction of the *vast array of a social group's life experiences*. Culture is the embodiment, the chronicle of a group's history. (…) Further, group histories are inextricably linked with the material conditions of society, so that cultures are marked by the social and economic conditions of a group at the various stages of its history. *Cultures are never static: they evolve through history*. (…) culture is the play of signifying practices; the idiom in which *social meaning is constituted, appropriated, contested and transformed*; the space where the entanglement of subjectivity, identity and politics is performed. Culture is essentially process, but this does not mean that we cannot talk about cultural artifacts, such as those understood in terms of customs, traditions and values. Rather, the emphasis on process draws attention to the reiterative performance constitutive of that which is constructed as 'custom',

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[52] Stuart Hall's notion of 'culture' is strongly influenced by Raymond Williams' social definition thereof. Williams broadened the previously common definition of 'culture': "instead of culture being defined as only the 'elite' texts and practices (ballet, opera, the novel, poetry), Williams redefined culture to include *as* culture, for example, pop music, television, cinema, advertising, going on holiday, etc" (Storey 2009: 86, original emphasis), and – most notably – made a connection between meaning and culture; that is, 'culture' as a particular way of life that expresses certain meanings and values. While "culture as a signifying system is [thus] not reducible to 'a particular way of life'" (ibid), it should not be reduced to a 'way of struggle' either.

'tradition' or 'value'" (ibid: 18, 231, my emphasis).

Brah, too, thus points to the processual character of popular cultural practices as well as to their everyday, contextual specificities. This is important to my work because I will be analysing how Batuku contributes to the negotiation of the diaspora space that is the AML by addressing the everyday, contextual specificities of the lives of many Batukaderas.

Another connection between debates on 'popular culture' and Batuku in the AML is that Batuku is often defined in relation to (assumed) dichotomies such as 'modern' and 'traditional', 'authentic' and 'inauthentic'. Hall (1998) stresses that one should not be concerned with questions of authenticity or 'organic wholeness' in the definition of popular culture. Rather, "almost *all* cultural forms will be contradictory in this sense, composed of antagonistic and unstable elements" (ibid: 449; original emphasis). Hence, meanings of cultural forms or their positions in the cultural field are not fixed or clearly marked out.

I also consider Gilroy's approach towards '(popular) culture' an important starting point for my own theoretical positioning. In his book *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993a), he works with the term *Black Atlantic* in order to look at the cultural dynamics of Black diasporas. By taking the Atlantic as the focus of analysis, Gilroy develops an alternative cultural theory and – similar to Hall – proposes a fluid understanding of culture as a process (Gilroy 1993a: 15, 29). The Black Atlantic as an approach highlights issues around "nationality, location, identity, and historical memory" (ibid: 16), and locates Black his-/herstory and present in a deterritorialising manner. Gilroy criticises colonial concepts of culture, which point to an existing correlation between culture and territory, nation and nationality, and seeks to go beyond prevalent debates in cultural history and cultural criticism about nationality, ethnicity, authenticity, and cultural integrity. Many scholars and groups (here he references many texts within Cultural Studies) defend an idea of cultural nationalism and thus the essentialist notion that culture is 'absolute', 'pure' and 'immutable'. Gilroy defines this as 'ethnic absolutism' and argues instead for more open dimensions and hybrid understandings of culture (ibid: 2-7). He particularly challenges the dominant ways in which the meaning of 'English culture' has been negotiated in a racialised sense where "blackness and Englishness appeared suddenly to be mutually exclusive attributes and where the conspicuous antagonism

between them proceeded on the terrain of culture [in the sense of cultural values and 'national identity'; A/N], not that of politics" (ibid: 10) and consequently denounces the racially constructed unit of (a homogeneous) 'nation' or 'territory'. This is extremely relevant when one considers current political debates around borders, the nation, immigration, and identity in the European context, including Portugal. Gilroy's emphasis on the hybridity, translocality and diasporic dimensions of cultural practices (ibid: 33f) can thus be understood as "a way of avoiding a dichotomous understanding of [for example; A/N] Africa and African diaspora" (Improta 2013: n/s) based on ideas of 'authenticity', 'origin' and 'tradition'. The negotiation of Batuku as 'tradition' and surrounding debates around its 'origin' constitute the main analysis of chapter 6.

3.3.3 Notions of 'Identity'

Due to Cape Verde's long history of migration and the postcolonial situatedness of those constructed as 'migrants' in Portugal, there are many debates concerning what constitutes a 'Cape Verdean identity' or a 'Cape Verdean culture'. Generally speaking, identity constructions are closely linked to notions of 'diaspora' as well as of 'culture' (Brah 1996: 21).[53] Theories and concepts surrounding the term 'identity' have shifted significantly over time as a result of persistent critiques of the term itself. Today, it has become a key word in most social sciences. While Brah (1996) emphasises that 'identity' is often conceptualised in terms of 'difference' (ibid: 4), she herself states that "the idea of identity, like that of culture, is singularly elusive" (ibid: 20). It is thus important to reiterate that every individual holds various complex, multi-layered 'identities' and that making it a singular notion would be a 'misnomer' (Butler 1990: 6). In accordance with Brah (1996: 20) and Hall (1990: 226, 2000: 707), I understand 'identity' as a positioning, not as a natural essence. Hall calls for researchers to think of identity "as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (Hall 1990: 222). In line with one of Hall's definitions of 'cultural identity', my research focus is about

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[53] According to Frantz Fanon, the rediscovery of identities in postcolonial societies is a "passionate research directed by the secret hope of discovering beyond the misery of today, beyond self-contempt, resignation (…) some very beautiful and splendid era whose existence rehabilitates us both in regard to ourselves and in regard to others" (Hall 2000: 705).

"a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'" (Hall 2000: 706). Rather than already existing, it is in constant creation and transformation. In analysing the negotiation of 'diaspora' in the AML by means of or within Batuku, understanding 'identity' as a constantly *renegotiated* positioning is crucial.

As notions of 'belonging' are closely linked to 'identity', I want to briefly clarify my understanding of the former. According to Avtar Brah (1996), "diaspora space is the point at which boundaries of *inclusion* and exclusion, of *belonging* and otherness, of 'us' and 'them', are contested" (ibid: 205, my emphasis). Diaspora spaces thus constantly, and inherently, (re)negotiate questions of 'belonging' in the sense of 'belonging to' (inclusion in) or 'not belonging to' (exclusion from) a certain space. In addition to Brah, my understanding of 'belonging' is also in line with Nira Yuval-Davis' (2006) work, which conceptualises 'belonging' as being "about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home' and (…) about feeling 'safe'" (ibid: 197). "Identity [is constructed] as transition, always producing itself through the combined processes of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong" (ibid: 202). Just like every individual holds various complex, multi-layered 'identities' – as mentioned above –, people can also 'belong' to many different spaces or groups and in many different ways. Furthermore, 'belonging' can be a matter of self-identification or identification by others, and it is a dynamic and fluctuating process.

3.3.4   Popular Culture as Resistance?

Another seemingly inherent feature of popular cultural practices, particularly those involving music, is that they are often perceived as sites of resistance and an important counter-hegemonic force; a view that has predominantly been promoted throughout Cultural Studies due to the *Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies'* interest in the political dimension of popular culture (Englert 2008: 7f). While I do agree that the automatic equation of 'popular culture' with 'resistance' can be problematic (ibid: 8) and lead to, for instance, romanticising interpretations (Swan & Fox 2010: 576), I also believe that it is important not to ignore actual political negotiations simply because of this tendency. In the case of Batuku on Cape Verde and in the AML, for instance, the idea of resistance is ever-present and cannot be

ignored. However, a critical debate around whether or not a given cultural expression is 'resisting' or 'subversive' requires clarity around both the concept of resistance one is working with, and the forces that people are resisting, both of which will be addressed subsequently.

The idea of resistance is central to analyses of power relations. As Ball & Olmedo (2013) argue – drawing on Foucault – "the power/resistance paradox is unresolvable" (ibid: 87) because if there were no opportunities for resistance in its various forms, there would be no power relations at all; in other words, where there are power relations, there is also always the potentiality of resistance. Holmer-Nadesan (1996) puts it more concretely when she writes that resistance means the "capacities to draw upon alternative discourses that subvert the privileged position of the dominant system (…)" (ibid: 57). Since my research examines how power relations are negotiated in everyday life in a diasporic context, I want to elaborate, citing Brah (1996), that

> "the concept of *diaspora space* relies on a *multi-axial* performative notion of power. This idea of power holds that individuals and collectivities are simultaneously positioned in social relations constituted and performed across multiple dimensions of differentiation; that these categories always operate in articulation. Muiti-axiality [sic] foregrounds the *intersectionality* of economic, political and cultural facets of power. It highlights that power does not inhabit the realm of macro structures alone, but is thoroughly implicated in the *everyday of lived experience*. (…) power is not always already constituted but is *produced, and reiterated or challenged*, through its exercise in multiple sites. Its effects may be oppressive, repressive, or suppressive, serving to control, discipline, inferiorise and install hierarchies of domination. Yet on the other hand, power is also at the heart of *cultural creativity, of pleasure and desire, of subversion and resistance*. Power is the very means for challenging, contesting and dismantling the structures of injustice" (ibid: 239, my emphasis).

In her understanding of power in diaspora spaces, Brah thus stresses its 'multi-axiality' in the sense that it expresses itself in institutions, discourses, and practices, and is embedded both in macro structures and in the everyday of lived experience. Thereby, she points to the need for an intersectional analysis in order to explore how each facet of power is "produced, and reiterated or challenged" (ibid), and makes clear that "power is (…) at the heart (…) of subversion and resistance" (ibid). This subversion or resistance can manifest itself in different ways, from more "low-level, informal (…) ways such as sabotage, irony, humour and cynicism (…)" (Swan & Fox

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2010: 575) as well as interventions in meanings and subjectivities by creating counter-narratives, to more "formal, collective practices such as strikes" (ibid), revolts, or demonstrations (Sheringham & Cohen 2013: 5). Or, as Brah (1996) writes,

> "*resistance* to the processes of exclusion may come from many sources, not least from those excluded, and such resistance may take many forms—from workplace struggles, through campaigning against specific state policies and, importantly, *through culture*: music, art, literary production, cinematic practices, fashion" (ibid: 173, my emphasis).

When considering popular cultural practices as potentially counter-hegemonic forces, Sheringham & Cohen (2013) remind us that cultural creativity can be "'counter-hegemonic' and, perhaps, quietly 'revolutionary'" (ibid: 5) and that it can "subtly, if perhaps unintentionally, resist dominant discourses by providing counter narratives and social practices" (ibid). While chapter 7 of this thesis will address more 'visible' forms of resistance, chapter 8 will focus on these more 'quiet' or 'subtle' discourses (although I do not refer to them as 'unintentional').

3.3.5 The Importance of Intersectionality

The notion of intersectionality or 'interdependence', as Katharina Walgenbach et al. (2007: 9ff) describe it, is also central to my approach. Analytic categories such as gender, 'race', class, sexuality or disability are perceived here as interdependent, constituting each other in a reciprocal manner. Intersectional approaches do not constitute a new paradigm as questions of difference have always been part of Feminist Theory and Gender Studies, from where the concept is derived (Davis 2008). As it is about a combined analysis of various forms of inequality, intersectionality requires openness for different theoretical and methodical approaches. The concept of "organising categories of social difference" (West & Fenstermaker 1995: 9) or 'interdependent categories' is of crucial importance for an analysis of diaspora spaces, as it emphasises the variety of categories due to specific contexts (Walgenbach et al. 2007: 62ff). Along similar lines, Brah (1996: 179) asks: "How and in what ways is a group inserted within the social relations of class, gender, racism, sexuality, or other axes of differentiation in the country to which it migrates?". We can thus see that the concept of intersectionality is crucial to this framing of diaspora space, as this is the

only way that negotiations of 'belonging' and 'Otherness' can be addressed along the previously mentioned "multi-axial (…) notion of power" (ibid: 239). Scholarship about notions of 'Cape Verdean diaspora' and 'popular culture' generally pays attention to 'race' (see Sieber 2005; Pardue 2016) and occasionally to its intersections with class (see Barbosa 2011; Pardue 2014a, 2015). When it comes to gendered experiences and their intersections with 'race' and class, however, the literature on the context of the AML becomes scarce, limited – according to my reading – to the publications by Kesha Fikes (1998, 2005, 2008, 2009), although she does not focus on popular cultural practices in all of her work.

In my research, the structural categories that mainly come into effect are that of 'race', class, and gender (with the categories of age or generation playing a minor role as well). Following Hall & Jefferson (2006), I understand cultural practices as being related to class formations.

> "Just as different groups and classes are unequally ranked in relation to one another, in terms of their productive relations, wealth and power, so *cultures* are differently ranked, and stand in opposition to one another, in relations of domination and subordination, along the scale of 'cultural power'" (Hall & Jefferson 2006: 5, original emphasis).

In other words, cultural practices are related to structures of socio-economic inequality, which are represented by the category of class. As chapter 6 will show, the prevalence of the structural categories of 'race', class, and gender starts with the framing of Batuku as 'tradition' and with narratives of its 'origin' on Cape Verde.

4   Methodological Considerations

This chapter will give an overview of the methodological approaches and considerations taken throughout the research. The overall thesis is a product of particular power relations, which is why I consider it crucial to connect my methodological considerations to my theoretical framework. Therefore, as will be shown in the following sections, my methodological approach is influenced by debates around power relations, positionality, intersectionality, (self-)reflexivity, and 'Othering' in research (related to 'race' and 'diaspora'). Furthermore – and in line with these debates – this chapter argues against the notion of 'truth' or 'real meanings', 'objectivity', 'authority', and 'authenticity' in research (Clifford 1983; Clifford 1986; Alexander 2004, 2006; James 2012, 2016).

At the outset, I want to offer some contextual information regarding the development of my methodological framework. I joined the research project 'Popular Culture in Translocal Spaces' at the University of Vienna in October 2015, approximately one and a half years after it was started at the Department of African Studies. This was daunting at times because I felt like qualitative comparisons would be made between my work and the work of the other PhD student, who had worked in the project since the very beginning. However, it quickly proved to be an inspiring environment with many productive conversations. My colleague and friend, Katharina Fritsch, had been devising her methodological concept for some time: her thesis (2018) looks at mobilisations of 'Franco-Comorian diaspora' within political and cultural events in Marseille. To this end, she had devised a methodology to engage with how intersectionality and performativity come together in cultural and political practices, focusing on the mobilisation and staging of social categories such as gender, ethnicity and generation in various kinds of events. My research is strongly influenced by this conceptual and methodological spadework, especially regarding the event-approach (and the related decision to speak to event organisers), which initially was not part of the overall framework of this research project.

This chapter is comprised of four main sections. Firstly, I will briefly discuss ethnographic approaches and methodologies, followed by a short section on the specific methodological approaches taken in my research. Subsequently, I engage specifically with the approach known as *participatory observation* (PO) and therein

address my choice regarding interviews (which I consider to be part of PO). This section will also include some information on the process of data evaluation. Section 4.4 constitutes the main part of the chapter and will highlight a number of ethical dilemmas related to my research.

As Claire Alexander (2006) points out, a lot of empirical work highlights the methods, locations, or subjects/objects of its research – "the *hows*, *whens* and *whos*" (ibid: 398, original emphasis), as she phrases it – but often neglects the *whys* of generating research (i.e. the institutional, personal, or political agendas), *shoulds*, *what ifs*, or *why nots* (the implications and consequences of one's research). Furthermore, she stresses that honestly addressing research dynamics ("turning the gaze back on the *who* and the *how* within the research" (ibid: 398, original emphasis)) is of equal importance. The following chapter hence aims to deal with the *hows*, *whens*, *whos* (and turning the gaze back on them) as well as the *shoulds*, *what ifs*, and *why nots*.

4.1 Ethnographic Approaches

When starting to review the literature on ethnographic approaches, one quickly comes across Grounded Theory (GT); a method that supposedly ensures a relatively open research process. In short, this approach purports that the researcher involves herself in a continual interplay between data collection and analysis in order to produce a theory during the research process. Accordingly, it is claimed that GT gives priority to the data encountered in the 'field' from the outset.[54] Thus, previously formulated theoretical assumptions are not brought to the inquiry. Rather, the theory is developed and formulated as a result of the data collected in the 'field' (Bowen 2006; Flick et al. 2009; Glaser et al. 2010; Breidenstein et al. 2011). Whilst I had set out with an intention to use GT as a methodology, throughout the course of my research this became increasingly problematic. Not only was a 'neat' distinction of 'before',

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[54] There are other criticisms regarding the notion of a 'field' (and thus the related term 'fieldwork'). As Alexander (2004) remarks, 'the field' entails ideas of "boundedness and Otherness" (ibid: 137); it is a remote destination that is waiting to be explored. It promises some kind of 'innocence' and portrays the quest for a 'native, authentic truth'. In line with this, 'fieldwork' acts as a warrant, ensuring the authority of the researcher and the credibility of the research. With this argumentation of 'first-hand' knowledge, the researcher (not the researched!) crosses borders and boundaries (ibid).

'during' and 'after' the 'field research' impossible, but the whole notion of 'data' being collected in a self-contained phase seemed inherently disingenuous. Also, in the case of my research, it was unrealistic to pretend that I had started my 'inquiry' without any pre-formulated theoretical assumptions. This chapter will therefore illustrate the 'messiness' (Alexander 2004; James 2016) and 'uncertainty' (James 2012) of my research.

Throughout the research, I made various assumptions that were later discarded or proved to be 'wrong'.[55] Several of them will be referenced again throughout the thesis but I want to briefly mention some here. In terms of theoretical considerations, for instance, I had assumed that the differentiation between 'private' and 'public' (or 'informal' and 'formal') space would be of great importance to the practice of Batuku in the AML. Yet, this quickly turned out to be irrelevant – at least to my main research interest – and was thus discarded. I had also planned to put a greater emphasis on Judith Butler's concept of performativity, which, however, proved to be of less interest as my research focus evolved. On the other hand, theories which I had initially not considered or even known about, were added to my framework in accordance with my changing focus and data analysis. These include theoretical reflections on (self)care as resistance and Imogen Tyler's (2013) notion of 'social abjection'. Additionally, I realised during my stays in the AML that some of my expectations were, in fact, 'wrong' ascriptions. This included the assumption that there was an automatic identification of the Batukaderas (the women who practice Batuku)[56] with the neighbourhoods they lived in, or the assumption that large-scale events in major locations were instances of the Batukaderas' co-optation, among others. The former expectation proved to be 'true' in some, but not all, cases, while the second was demystified by my realisation that some locations had in fact been contacted by supporters of Batuku groups and not the other way around.

At the beginning of 2016, I had to write my first exposé and defend it in front of reviewers in order to move to the second stage of my PhD. In this exposé, my main

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[55] In terms of 'wrong' assumptions, I am using quotation marks because I want to highlight that there are no 'right' or 'true' or 'wrong' answers in this regard (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi 2012: 303) but that all analysis in this thesis is my interpretation.

[56] As mentioned, this is not to say that there were or are no male practitioners in Batuku. However, their presence – or, at the very least, the framing around it – seems to have been (and continues to be) rather minimal; to the extent thatone will hardly ever come across the term to describe those who practice it. The only publications that I have found with a reference are Rui Cidra's dissertation from 2011 where he refers to the small number of 'Batukeros' among his interviewees (ibid: 305) and Elisa Tavares' book from 2016 where she writes about male 'Batukadoris' (ibid: 36).

research question was 'how is Batuku as "Cape Verdean" popular music practiced and instrumentalised in formal and informal settings and how does this, in turn, contribute to the negotiation of "diaspora"?'. As mentioned, I quickly discarded the categories 'formal' and 'informal' due to their irrelevance. In addition, the question 'how is Batuku as "Cape Verdean" popular music practiced?' soon struck me as problematic, not only because it pointed towards a simplistic description of a popular cultural practice, but also because it risked reproducing essentialist notions by bringing the category of 'Cape Verdean' to the fore of my research.[57] The second part of the initial research question, however, was open enough to capture my thought processes as well as the complexities and pluralities I was interested in, and was thus maintained, albeit slightly modified. Therefore, my research question ultimately focuses on the negotiation of 'diaspora' in the postcolonial context of the AML by means of or within the popular cultural practice of Batuku.

Relying on Avtar Brah's concept of 'diaspora space', i.e. trying to avoid ethnicisations, might seem contradictory as my thesis also deals with an imagined group of people. My starting point, however, focuses more on the practice than on individual members of an imaginary 'community', which was also why I decided to interview Batukaderas and supporters of Batuku groups or event organisers equally. In this thesis, I work on negotiations of the AML as a diaspora space by means of a 'Cape Verdean' popular cultural practice. I am thus hopeful that Brah's approach has helped me to conceptualise this space and these negotiations in a non-essentialising, heterogeneous and intersectional way.

4.1.1 Introduction to Ethnographic Methodologies

There have been numerous publications on the power relations implicated in research methods over the past decade. Many of them highlight the historical development of ethnographic approaches as colonial, violent enquiries, which were presented as displaying "natural truths" (James 2012: 36), dissociated from power relations and the privileges of *white* researchers (ibid). These approaches have been under attack at

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[57] I use 'Cape Verdean' with quotation marks throughout this thesis when referring to discourses in the context of the AML.

least since the 1960s, when theorists started to criticise their "naturalist and realist assumptions" (ibid: 37) and later challenged essentialising positions of researchers as "positioned subjects" (Rosaldo 1993: 19), reflecting on how they contributed to the maintenance of hegemonic power relations. British Cultural Studies, in particular, made important contributions to understadings of how writing and the ethnographer's pen were complicit in the perpetuation of racism and imperialism (James 2012: 38). Assumptions of the 'authority' of the ethnographer's pen and of the 'finality' of his/her account were consequently scrutinised – at least in theory – and a recognition of his/her work as an interpretation, partial truth, or fiction was put forward. While these reflections were crucial steps in moving ethnography away from being a "colonial tool of oppression" (ibid: 39) and in reflecting upon the production of ethnographic work, claims to 'truth' or 'objectivity' continue to exist. In this thesis, my aim is not to reproduce romanticisations, victimisations or other essentialist portrayals of racialised, classed, and gendered 'Others' but, rather, to highlight the complex negotiations associated with postcolonial diasporisation processes while simultaneously acknowledging that the stories presented therein are – at best – a partial truth. This chapter will provide the basis for this acknowledgement.

4.2   Methodological Details

The data collection for this research was conducted in the AML, the largest population concentration in Portugal and an administrative division consisting of 18 municipalities.[58] The analysis in this thesis is based on 25 semi-structured interviews[59] and approximately 40 fieldnote entries from participatory observations at various events (30 of those included the practice of Batuku, either in the form of a performance, a rehearsal, or a spontaneous happening), which took place over different periods in 2016 and 2017. In addition, I kept a notebook where I wrote down thoughts, conversations, notes and comments of all kinds, and collected a vast number of advertisements for events on social media.[60] These notes were largely written in my room or in cafes after my travels or attending events. Overall, however, participatory

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[58] https://www.aml.pt/index.php
[59] Twenty-two were conducted between September 2016-March 2017 and three in June 2017.
[60] On Facebook, in particular.

observation (PO) and interviews are the two principal sets of data analysed in this thesis.

In the following sections, I will address my methodological choices and give an overview of academic debates surrounding different methods, including their inherent challenges and possible (dis)advantages. Subsequently, I will elaborate on ethical considerations regarding the chosen approaches.

4.3   Participatory Observation

Apart from criticisms on the coloniality of ethnographic research methods (as discussed above), the concept of participatory observation (PO) can also be considered a bit ambiguous and conflicting. Does the researcher want to participate or observe? And what does either even mean? Based on the literature on methodologies, the answers depend on context and focus. Some research projects require complete participation (e.g. investigative studies) while others make this unsuitable at times. 'Strong' and 'weak' participation are two observational modes between which the researcher should – where practicable – shift (Breidenstein et al. 2011: 52f; Dahlke et al. 2015: 1117). Accordingly, strong participation is supposed to be able to offer 'unique' insights into a context but often at the expense of taking notes and an analytical distancing. Weak participation, on the other hand, makes it easier to observe and record but can lead to a certain distance beetween the happenings and the observer. The researcher thus remains 'external' and events can seem incomprehensible and unamenable (Breidenstein et al. 2011: 53).

During the first three or four Batuku reunions and performances I attended, I tried to take notes and observe simultaneously but soon decided that this was too distracting and did not allow me to actually observe as much as possible. I therefore opted for a 'stronger' observation approach in the sense of not writing things down immediately but, rather, after the respective event. The fact that people at these events or rehearsals often asked me to take pictures of them for their social media profiles helped to later recapitulate what the locations looked like, who was present, how big

the audience was and so forth.[61]

When I was invited to meetings or gatherings I was usually either asked to present myself or was presented to the others by the person that had invited me. At events or performances, on the other hand, I was generally one of many 'observers' in the audience and my presence was thus more or less 'invisible'. This, however, also varied depending on the kind of event; I was among very few *white* people at many 'community-related' events [62] and therefore significantly 'observed' myself (see Tavares 2016: 76), whereas I got lost in the shuffle when it came to bigger 'multi-cultural' festivals. This shows that the position of the researcher as 'observer' is determined by many fluctuations. There are no 'neat' roles in research. I was different things at different times and my positionality could shift from 'observer' to 'centre of attention'. As Malcolm James (2012) points out regarding his research in London youth clubs, "(…) locations, knowledge and competencies (…) [are] cross-cut by class, 'race' and gender" (ibid: 54) and how the researcher positions herself is often at odds with the ways she is positioned by others.

So what exactly can be understood by 'observation'? At times, it is defined very narrowly as the visual perception of occurring events. Contrasting this is a broader use of the concept, which defines 'observation' as all forms of processing of information. An ethnographic understanding arguably lies somewhere in the middle. Observations comprise all forms of perception and thus all sensations (smelling, seeing, hearing, feeling of social practice) that become accessible via participation. Yet, the social sense of the researcher – that is her ability to understand, to focus, to familiarise herself – also falls within her capacity (Breidenstein et al. 2011: 58).

Many argue (Clark et al. 2009: 348; Dahlke et al. 2015: 1117) that observation methods remain beneficial for various reasons, such as being able to document and understand the context within which activities and events occur, to reveal the mundane activities that make up everyday life practices, and to understand what interviewees may be unable or unwilling (for whatever reason) to reveal verbally. While I concur with this in principle, I also believe that every researcher who opts for

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[61] While I revisited these pictures in order to reconstruct the events or encounters, I never used them in any other way and only forwarded them to those that had asked me to take them in the first place.

[62] By using the term 'community-related', I am referring to events that are organised by 'Cape Verdean' associations and/or neighbourhood organisations or institutions; and can therefore be considered to be 'by' or 'for' an alleged 'community'. This framing was inspired by Katharina Fritsch's PhD thesis (2018). In the AML, these 'community-related' events usually take place in the so-called periphery/ies.

PO should be cautious in this regard and remember that there is no 'objective truth' but only their personal interpretation (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi 2012: 303). In other words, one must be aware that an observation can never result in an 'understanding' of what interviewees are not saying out loud because even the notion that somebody is 'unable' or 'unwilling' to reveal something verbally is likely to be an ascription on the part of the researcher. This is in line with my above reflections on the production of knowledge and power: the notion that ethnographic approaches can ever disclose 'natural truths' and that the ethnographer possesses the 'authority' of a 'final' account (James 2012: 36-39) is strongly related to power relations and *white* privilege.

4.3.1 Interviews

In the context of ethnographic research, there are various possibilities for qualitative interviews, such as narrative, guided or so-called 'expert' interviews. Another typical form of ethnographic inquiry is called *accompanying interviews*, meaning that they generally occur as spontaneous, informal or casual conversations in the course of POs (Breidenstein et al. 2011: 67f). This happened a lot in the case of my research and was documented as well as possible in a notebook. These conversations were, however, never recorded and my interlocutors were never explicitly asked about being included in my research. While I made clear to most of them that I was a researcher, it was not always addressed in our conversations. Hence, these so-called accompanying interviews raise ethical questions regarding consent. Consequently, I have decided to keep the citation of these conversations to a minimum throughout the thesis.

After much deliberation, I opted for the use of semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews follow similar principles as unstructured ones but include, among other things, an interview guide with general themes and ideas that should be covered during the conversation. I decided against an unstructured technique mainly due to the fact that my theory-driven and intersectional approach, with certain structural categories in mind, would clash with a completely open form of interviewing.

In total, 12 of the 25 interviews were conducted with Batukaderas and three of these were group interviews.[63] [64] Interview times range from 45 minutes to roughly 1.5 hours. Corresponding to recommendations regarding sampling (Glaser et al. 2010) and representativity, and also because I was interested in various structural categories (related to gendered, classed, and racialised experiences), I tried to interview Batukaderas from various age groups and generations. The remaining 13 of the total 25 interviews were carried out with people who had another kind of connection to the practice or the organisation of Batuku, whether as supporters or godmothers/-fathers of groups, or as event organisers. All of the interviews were recorded and conducted in Portuguese by myself;[65] the interviewees were informed about the research and signed consent forms. Every interview took place at a location suggested by the interviewee. These included cafes, restaurants, offices, rehearsal rooms, or people's homes. Apart from these 'official' interviews, the analysis also draws on one recording taken during and after a short presentation I gave at a cultural association as well as notes from a telephone conversation with an event organiser who did not have time to meet in person.

I transcribed all of the recorded interviews using the transcription program F5. The transcription proved challenging at times, as about half of the interviews were conducted with people whose mother tongue was Kriolu (the native language on the Cape Verde islands). While my basic knowledge of Kriolu helped to grasp the general meaning of those parts of the interviews where code-switching occurred, I nonetheless had these transcripts double-checked by a Kriolu native speaker. This was done by Víctor Barros, a historian currently working on Portuguese colonial history in Africa under Salazar's dictatorship, on a contract basis.

With regard to interviewing Batukaderas, I initially thought to anonymise them and use aliases as I assumed that some of them might be undocumented or be in vulnerable legal situations in the AML. In fact, it turned out that many people were

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[63] Ten interviews were conducted with Batukaderas and two with Batukadoris – a term that exists in Kriolu (the native language on the Cape Verde islands) to indicate a male presence and a gender-neutral plural form, respectively, but is hardly ever used. The female plural form Batukaderas is generally employed when referring to the members of a Batuku group, even if a small number of men might be present (Tavares 2016: 36, 77).

[64] Towards the end of my research stays, I decided to do some group interviews. One of the main reasons for this was that I was running out of time. But I was also getting the impression that some groups preferred not to meet individually but to invite me for a rehearsal in order not just to 'talk' about Batuku but to show / share their art with me.

[65] I mainly decided to record the interviews because I was not confident that I would remember enough information in Portuguese.

indifferent to this and that nobody I interviewed was undocumented or in an uncertain legal situation. This consideration occurred before my first research stay and was meant to safeguard people's identities. Therefore, I did not include a question about this on the previously mentioned consent forms. One of the interviewees, however, was adamant that he wanted to be named in order to make sure that his statements were clearly connected to his position as a representative of the Cape Verdean Association [*Associação Caboverdeana*; from now on ACV] in the AML. This person is the poet, essayist, and analyst José Luís Hopffer Almada, who was also the vice president of the ACV at the time of my research. Based on his request, I adapted his version of the consent form to include the option to be named or anonymised. This occurred after I had already conducted several other interviews where the consent forms did not include this option. Being immersed in my research, I did not stop to reflect on this and adapt all future consent forms accordingly. As a result, I was left with the paradox of having one interviewee insist on being named while all others were told (not asked) that they would be anonymised. In hindsight, I should have included the option of ticking one's preference to be named or not for everyone from the very beginning. When I realised this, however, I had already conducted all of my interviews and could not think of a way to go back to ask each interviewee again and get their signatures. Having told everyone except for Hopffer (the nickname José Luís Hopffer Almada goes by, which is also used for his quotes throughout this thesis) that they would be anonymised, I decided to stick to this by using aliases and having one exception. Although I still consider the protection of people crucial in terms of anonymity, the just mentioned incident also shows the problematic of invisibilisation through anonymisation (Fritsch 2018: 59).

4.3.2 Data Evaluation

After the research phases in the AML, I returned to Vienna and started the evaluation of my empirical material. This was very much in line with what Breidenstein et al. (2011) call a 'distancing' both in terms of location and an "intellectual distance" (ibid: 95; translation HS) to the immediate experiences of the 'field'. For the evaluation, I chose the method of coding in order to organise and analyse the data as well as the

subject matters (social situations, practices) (ibid: 98). All research materials (interview transcripts, observation protocols, notes) were entered into the data analysis and research software ATLAS.ti. I started the first round of *open coding* in September 2017. This involved *in vivo* codes (Charmaz 2006: 55), which were codes derived from words used by interviewees themselves or in a specific situation as well as topics I ascribed to certain statements. As Breidenstein et al. (2011) point out, the code lists and collection of topics grew rapidly in the process of open coding and soon appeared disorganised, confusing, and overwhelming (ibid: 115). This quickly made it necessary to summarise, hierarchise and link all the codes and topics and start drafting first hypotheses (ibid: 116). While open coding is meant to result in a variety of codes and themes based on terms, topics, or categories, I thus also wrote *memos* (Charmaz 2006; Breidenstein et al. 2011) in order to formulate initial analytical ideas and directions. The first round of coding can be summarised as rather messy; I seemed to lose focus and ended up with 220 codes, which ranged from the type of event ('community-related' or 'multicultural' events) to structural categories (articulations of 'race', gender, or class), to meanings ascribed to Batuku by different actors. In hindsight, however, this was a very necessary process as it allowed me to generate codes on the lowest analytical level: close to the terms and concepts used in the empirical material (Waldschmidt et al. 2009).

The second phase followed a *focused coding* (Charmaz 2006) approach and started in January 2018. For this, I copied all of the codes from the first round into a new project within ATLAS.ti, re-coded them, and re-grouped them into thematic blocks or code-groups that brought together my theoretical framework with the previous codes. The process of focused coding can thus be described as *axial* in the sense of creating codes that reflected on the analytical dimensions and/or categories (Waldschmidt et al. 2009: 141). As a result, I was left with a total of 27 codes, which allowed me to keep track of my data and gradually develop the structure of my thesis. All in all, both phases of the analysis were part of an iterative process between the literature, my research stays in the AML and the material collected there.

4.4 Ethical Dilemmas

My research has been shaped by postcolonial power relations from the very beginning. As the following sections will demonstrate, the research process was – consequently – characterised by unease at reproducing colonial approaches of *white* research on a Black 'Other'. None of my attempts to critically reflect on this during the research or the process of writing changes anything about this. As Suki Ali (2006) summarises, "we cannot ever hope to escape (non)hierarchical power relations in research, (…) all research is inevitably, to an extent, racializing" (ibid: 471). The next pages will thus deal with turning the gaze back on the *who* and the *how* of this research as well as address the *what ifs*, *shoulds*, and *why nots*; as was discussed with Alexander (2006: 398) on page 60.

4.4.1 'Errors' and 'Failures' of Research

As indicated earlier, the discipline of Anthropology has been widely critiqued and challenged (since the 1970s/80s) – by Critical Feminist Studies, among others – for contributing to the perpetuation of colonial concepts and power hierarchies (Ali 2006: 472; James 2016: 2), although some argue that this critique has had little or no impact on the actual production of ethnographies (Alexander 2004: 136).

One way of disrupting this anthropological legacy, which is advocated by many theorists and activists, is to include more 'participatory' approaches to knowledge production – such as co-production – within research (Cotterill 1992: 594; Clark et al. 2009: 345f; Krumer-Nevo & Sidi 2012: 300). These 'participatory' approaches are supposed to offer "(…) the subjects of research a say in determining what is being studied (…) [and] engage people in all aspects of the research process" (Clark et al. 2009: 346). Another strategy is for researchers to adopt a reflexive approach as some kind of tool for deconstructing power dynamics (Ali 2006: 475). The concept of reflexivity embeds the researcher into the text and turns her into a subject of examination. This focus 'inwards' mostly includes a reflection of one's history and position, an analysis of one's analytically situated self and of the frequently hidden or unaddressed mechanisms of authorship (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi

2012: 305f).

As Alexander (2004) rightly points out, reflections on positionality are more often than not added to a research process as a "watered-down and half-hearted gesture" (ibid: 138). Instead of shaking up persistent notions of the 'Other', the trend toward reflexivity often makes for an over-valorisation of the researcher's experiences (centring on the author as the Heroine of the narrative), and can thereby be misused in a narcissistic manner (Ali 2006: 476, 482). Reflexivity is then usually rattled off or considered a 'necessity' and neatly packaged into a short methodological chapter or section as some kind of formulaic incantation before "going about ethnographic business as usual" (Alexander 2004: 138). In addition to this critique, I also want to contest the potential of reflexivity alone in disrupting power relations. Reflexivity 'on paper' can result in making power relations more 'visible' or 'transparent' but without changes to the research practice itself, there is no challenge to them.

What is needed is a political commitment and sensibility throughout one's research (Alexander 2004: 144; Ali 2006: 472). This must include the entirety of the process, not merely the phase of writing. Ramazanoglu & Holland (2002: 119) identify four key areas for critical reflection: (1) attempt to identify power and its relations, (2) consider power structures in research, (3) make ethical judgements, and (4) be accountable for the knowledge produced. In order to tackle this, researchers are advised to acknowledge the limits of their own competence and accept that the 'managing' of issues regarding ethics and power may not always work throughout the research process as they intended. I am very aware of this in my own research and hope that the analytical chapters of this thesis match this theoretical knowledge in practice.

My thesis does not include the co-production of research or any other 'participatory' approaches. Instead, this chapter – and the overall thesis – is a tribute to and acknowledgement of the 'messiness', 'failures' and general vicissitude of ethnographic approaches (Alexander 2004: 147, James 2016: 7). It is my antidote to ethnographies that claim to have done steps A, B, and then C in a structured manner and that everything worked out 'neatly' and as planned. It is also a reminder that intentions are easier to *think* and harder to *do* (Alexander 2004: 147; James 2012: 48). For me, acknowledging this was a first important step in accepting the "untidiness and errors of everyday life" (James 2016: 7). As James (ibid) accurately puts it with respect to his own PhD work, "everyday life does not conform to preordained

progression. So in place of certainty, trial, error and failure guided the research".

Embracing the messiness, however, should not be seen as an excuse for the choices and decisions I made. I take full responsibility for my work and for the fact that I – a *white*, middle-class, PhD student from Austria – conducted research on and analysed living realities of racialised 'Others', and eventually put them to paper with my *white* pen (James 2012). In the end, it is crucial to remember that the entire research was about my PhD and the final authorship and benefits – or, in other words, the hierarchies in this research – are thus very clear.

4.4.2 Feelings of Uncertainty

In line with my initial elaborations on PO, I now want to turn to a very specific example regarding ethical considerations of participation. As I am looking at the practice of Batuku in the AML – and having been familiar with the practice on Cape Verde before my PhD research – I knew from the outset that there could be situations where I would be asked by Batukaderas to participate in dancing the *Tornu*[66] or playing the *Txabeta*[67]. In a memo written before my main research stay, I wrote down my concerns with 'actively' participating in Batuku and linked this to the idea of cultural appropriation as a serious issue in the face of unequal power relations.[68] After more contemplation and conversations about this with my colleague Katharina Fritsch and my second supervisor Malcolm James, however, I realised I needed to understand whether or not it was important for my analysis to participate in the sense of dancing the *Tornu* or playing the *Txabeta* and why (not).

I therefore revisited the purpose of my attending Batuku rehearsals and performances in the first place. Did I want 'access' to the practice or merely to 'watch'? I felt uncomfortable with the first but realised that both were problematic

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[66] Batuku includes a characteristic dance, the *Tornu*, which can be translated as 'turn' or 'circulation' (Tavares 2016: 49, 51).

[67] The *Txabeta* as an accompanying percussive instrument generally consists of pieces of cloth wrapped in plastic or leather, tucked between one's legs and pounded with one's hands (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 119f; Carter 2007: 116; Castro Ribeiro 2012: 78).

[68] While "cultural appropriation, defined broadly as the use of a culture's symbols, artifacts, genres, rituals, or technologies by members of another culture, is inescapable when cultures come into contact, including virtual or representational contact" (Rogers 2006: 474), it "is often mentioned in critical analyses of media representations and commodifications of marginalized and/or colonized cultures" (ibid).

and embedded within power relations. Just 'watching' would not mean that I was not 'participating' as both 'watching' and 'participating' would make me part of the context and had the potential to be intrusive and done in a disrespectful and exoticising way. My research interest was not in 'learning' Batuku from a musical or dance perspective but, rather, in trying to 'understand' the constructions connected to and the negotiations around it. Accordingly, I did not make a definitive decision about this before travelling to the AML but decided instead to choose depending on the respective context (and if I were to be asked and accept, I would have to be conscious of the power relations in place). Moreover, as the practice of Batuku is not only related to racialised and gendered but also to classed experiences[69], I imagined that there would also be a certain sense of arrogance connected to denying a participation when asked.

Reviewing my observation protocols, my uneasiness in this respect is quite evident at first, although it slightly diminished over time, and based on a growing familiarity with specific Batuku groups. In the second note from a particular instance during an event, the mentioned class distinctions related to Batuku become apparent (Observation Prot. 23/09/2016).

> "After a few songs they, again, take their *Panus*[70] and try to 'catch' some audience members (although there is only a very small audience that day).[71] They first 'catch' two of the 'actors' from the Brazilian group. For the next song, they look for other people … I feel uncomfortable; I don't want to be 'caught'; I look for a tissue in my purse (or pretend to look?!) – How will I deal with this in the future??" (Observation Prot. 18/09/2016).

> "During one of the songs, a Batukadera tries to 'catch' the Embassy Representative with her *Panu*. It seems like the Representative is not happy about this and doesn't want to dance because she tries to wrap the *Panu* around the Batukadera in return. The Batukadera tries again and again, without success. She gives up and laughs (she seems a bit annoyed?) and tells the Representative that she will now have to pay a fine … The Representative then stands up after the song and talks about how there is the stereotype that all 'African women' can dance because they 'have it in their

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[69] As the following chapters will show in more detail, this is linked to the notions of Batuku being from the 'lower' or 'working classes'.

[70] As mentioned, the *Panu* (*di Téra*) is an elaborately woven, costly piece of black and white cloth and is said to have previously been one of the most popular possessions of young, female Cape Verdeans of the interior of Santiago. Please see chapter 1 for more details.

[71] As mentioned, it is common practice that at the end of a song, the dancer takes off her *Panu* and places it around the neck or hips of another Batukadera, thereby inviting her to dance the *Tornu* for the next song (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 129; Carter 2007: 116f; Tavares 2016: 52).

blood'. She says that this is obviously not true as they are like any other women, some can dance and some can't and she is clearly one who can't. But, she says, being able to dance is not necessary in order to 'feel' the Batuku" (Observation Prot. 23/09/2016).

My discomfort and uneasiness with my role as 'observer' and/or 'participant' is evident in the first note through the fact that I was pretending to look for something in my purse so as to not be 'caught' by one of the Batukaderas and asked to participate. Following Alexander's elaboration on the "messiness of power inequalities" (Alexander 2004: 138), the above note is also in line with Payson's self-reflection regarding her awkwardness (Payson 2018: 48, 95) and with Duneier's description of feeling 'uneasy' about bridging "many gaps between (…) [himself] and the people (…) [he] hoped to understand" (Duneier 2004: 92). For the most part, and in accordance with Ali (2006: 483), I understand feelings of discomfort as useful because they forced me to 're/assess' what I did – and how I did it.

There are a number of other ethical challenges that need to be considered when using PO. Conventionally, for instance, the researcher continues to be seen as a neutral observer, "a traveller across cultural borders and, once safely returned, a translator of cultural truths" (Alexander 2004: 139). Accordingly, some of the problematic assumptions attached to PO are the privileging of experience ('participating' as a way of 'observing' the 'truth') or the dominance of the researcher's gaze in perceiving these 'truths'. As Alexander (2004) rightly notes, the positioning of the researcher and the researched "through discourses of difference and hierarchy" (ibid: 139) is not always addressed explicitly when discussing POs methodologically.

According to some scholars (Clark et al. 2009), PO is supposed to be conducted in a covert manner and as 'unobstrusively' as possible. Others (Iacono et al. 2009) – including myself – consider this an ethical dilemma and believe that researchers should, instead, try to inform people of the nature and scope of the observation and of their presence. Of course, there is also then the 'concern' that the (known) presence of the researcher will influence how participants act and talk. "Informants may be suspicious of the researcher and reluctant to participate or be eager to please; they may interject their own impressions and biases etc." (Iacono et al. 2009: 42). I disagree with this as I think that this is an inevitable aspect of qualitative methods and is similar in interview situations. It was clear or at least

assumed in many locations I went to that I was a 'researcher' or some kind of 'newcomer' to the area, based on my classed and racialised positionality as a *white*, middle-class PhD student.

These considerations do not mean that POs or interviews should not take place but merely call for (self-)reflexivity about their own presence and positionality, as well as about ethical considerations and responsibilities, on the part of the researcher. This applies to both interviews and POs. Furthermore, I find it problematic to discriminate between the above-cited 'impressions and biases' of participants, as if this did not apply to researchers as well and as if researchers were capable of presenting things more 'objectively'.

4.4.2.1 Sites & Contacts

In the course of the initial determination of a research focus and in preparation for my first stay in the AML in 2016, I contacted various scholars and academics who had published on topics related to mine, whether in terms of 'Cape Verdean music', his-/herstories of migration from Cape Verde or living conditions of people positioned as 'migrants' in the AML. I had not expected to hear back from so many of them with advice and details of people to contact in the AML. I met many of these initial contacts, most of whom were from academic contexts, during my first stay in the AML in mid-March / early April 2016. Being in and from an academic context myself, this was an easy starting point to acquire a basic understanding of the AML as a research setting as well as to receive further 'non-academic' contacts. Two institutions that many recommended I get in touch with were the *Embaixada de Cabo Verde em Portugal* [Cape Verdean Embassy in Portugal] and the already mentioned ACV [Cape Verdean Association]. Another helpful source at the beginning was the 'Cultural Association Windmill of the Youth' [*Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude*; from now on simply *Moinho*] in *Cova da Moura* (a large so-called 'improvised', 'migrant' neighbourhood in the municipality of *Amadora*).[72] I had previously read about this non-profit association – where the oldest official Batuku group (called *Finka Pé*) in the AML was founded in 1989 – in an article by Jorge

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[72] The common narrative is that 'Cape Verdeans' constitute one of the largest 'migrant groups' in *Cova da Moura* (see, for example, Beja Horta (2007); Machado (2010) or Arenas (2012)).

Castro Ribeiro (2010). *Moinho* itself was established in 1984 by a small group of residents, initially as a grassroots movement fighting for basic infrastructure in the neighbourhood (Beja Horta 2006; Pardue 2014b).

It quickly became clear that *Cova da Moura*, in general, and *Moinho*, in particular, could be considered well-established research objects. This was clear from the publications I found online before my first trip, which were related to identity (Costa 2004; Martins 2009), music and other art forms (Monteiro 2009; Lopes Miguel 2010, 2016; Castro Ribeiro 2010; Vaz 2011; Pardue 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014a; Campos 2013; Carmo 2014), housing (Valente 2013; Carolino & Quaresma 2014), or immigration (Beja Horta 2006), to name just a few.[73] However, the 'overemphasis' on *Cova da Moura* and/or *Moinho* was also mentioned repeatedly during the afore-mentioned conversations in March and April 2016: people told me that anyone doing work around anything 'Cape Verdean' was usually referred to *Cova da Moura* and to *Moinho*, and that residents there might thus (understandably!) be 'fed up' or repeat pre-formulated answers. It was also mentioned that people living in other neighbourhoods or municipalities sometimes felt 'overlooked' or 'disregarded' by the many researchers' focus on this one locality. It was pointed out, however, that starting in *Cova da Moura* might help precisely due to the residents' longstanding interaction with academia and investigators, as they would be 'accustomed to it' and would have a lot of contacts to other Batuku groups as well. This proved to be true: one of the co-founders of *Moinho* always gave me valuable advice and kept me updated on current events, whilst a volunteer, who helped the group *Finka Pé* with their event management, shared his contacts to other Batuku groups with me. Having read about the amount of research on *Cova da Moura* and on *Moinho*, I was very nervous when I first met with the mentioned co-founder and anxiously tried to distance myself from other researchers and convince her that I would be doing things 'differently' (without knowing what this was supposed to actually mean); that I was a 'critical *white* researcher' (as opposed to all the other 'uncritical *white* researchers'). I wanted her to trust me in order to feel better about my work (Duneier 2004: 93). She did not seem interested or convinced, but was helpful nonetheless.

Furthermore, these debates at the outset helped me to realise the need to

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[73] I recall a meeting at *Moinho*, which I was invited to in June 2017, where an employee and activist mentioned that they had more than 90 theses about *Cova da Moura* and *Moinho da Juventude*, respectively, at their library.

analyse the organisation and structuring of various spaces within the metropolitan area. I therefore decided to interview members of several Batuku groups, from different areas of the ALM. The selection of the groups and the sites, respectively, was tricky and not really 'controlled' by me. The availability of people and also whether or not they wanted to talk to me influenced who I interviewed and where I went; which – again – points to the 'messiness' (Alexander 2004; James 2012, 2016) of ethnography.

Besides *Moinho*, another crucial institution that facilitated my 'access' was the Association of Cape Verdean Women in the Diaspora in Portugal [*Associação de Mulheres Cabo-Verdianas na Diáspora em Portugal*; from now on AMCDP]. After inquiring via email and in person at the previously mentioned association ACV during my first short research stay in 2016, I received some information on their activities and was added to the mailing list. Shortly thereafter, I received a notification about an event to commemorate the *Dia da Mulher Caboverdiana* [Cape Verdean Women's Day][74] on the premises of the ACV in April 2016. The event was organised by the AMCDP and advertised an afternoon and evening of "conversations by women: the path of the Cape Verdean woman in the diaspora" and "recitation of poetry, live music, traditional dances, Batuku, Funana, among other surprises (…)" (Pro-Africa n.d.; translation HS). This was a lucky coincidence for me; I went to the event and met the then president of the AMCDP, who told me that she was also the founder of the Batuku group (called *Ramedi Terra*) that would perform that day. We kept in touch and she provided me with valuable information and many more contacts upon my return to the AML in September 2016.

As with any other ethnography, the conditions for research in the AML were not always 'advantageous'. Contacting and meeting potential interviewees, for example, was tricky at times. This was not helped by my initially naïve and insecure way of getting in touch. As stated, I had received most phone numbers of Batukaderas from two sources. I decided firstly to send text messages briefly explaining who I was, who had given me the number and asking if I could call at a later time. My initial motivation for doing this was that I did not want to disturb people at work. I subsequently called them if I did not hear anything for a few days. It was only after

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[74] This event is officially commemorated every year on March 27th. If it falls on a weekday the celebrations usually take place on the following Friday, Saturday or Sunday. It will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

meeting them in person that I found out that many could not read or write. When I finally spoke to some for the first time and explained a little bit about me and that I was hoping to speak with them in person, they asked how long I would be staying in Portugal. After replying that I would probably stay until early March, many responded that we still had plenty of time left to schedule a first encounter. Both of these 'mistakes' or 'indiscretions' on my part thus delayed things.

There was a further issue that delayed the data collection process in a similar way. In several of the initial telephone conversations with Batukaderas, I proposed to meet in person once before doing the actual interview in order for me to be able to properly introduce myself and explain what I was doing. In a memo early on, I reflected on this: 'Am I doing this out of my own insecurity? For whom? Why am I doing this? Is it purely in my own interest? Am I thereby forcing people to make time that they perhaps don't have (and pay for extra transport)?' (Observation Prot. 07/10/2016). It also meant that I was creating a 'difference' or particularism, as I did not ask representatives of associations or event organisers for a similar kind of preliminary meeting.[75] This is another example of how research processes are marked by power relations and ethnographic authority from the very beginning (Clifford 1983), and how the collection of data is never a 'neutral', 'organic' process. It highlights the degree of my involvement with what is being described in this thesis (Rosaldo 1993) and shows how my position and assumptions influenced how research relations developed.

In addition to my privileged positionality in terms of 'race', my own location in terms of class soon became apparent. During the very first telephone conversations with some Batukaderas, I was often asked where I lived. In one of the many notes after these conversations, I reflected on this.

> "In both phone calls, I am asked where I live. Both times I answer 'close to *Bairro Alto*'. I don't say that I live in *Chiado*. This is problematic, as I believe I'm doing it to 'conceal' my position. *Chiado* is considered more 'posh' than *Bairro Alto*, I guess" (Personal Note 28/09/2016).[76]

This note elucidates the fact that I initially developed a very vague answer to these

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[75] This was pointed out to me by Katharina Fritsch.
[76] While *Chiado* is generally considered a very upscale, elegant, middle class neighbourhood (Malheiros et al. 2012; Buhr 2017b), *Bairro Alto* is sometimes seen as more 'shabby' because of its many bars and nightclubs.

questions in order to play down my classed privileges. In line with James' (2012) reflections on his middle-class location, my discomfort in this regard "merely confirmed my class position" (ibid: 56).

Another main challenge in terms of meeting and interviewing Batukaderas was related to their working hours and overall living situations. As they work long hours during the week (and some work on Saturdays too) and have long journeys to and from work, potential conversations and events could mostly only take place on weekends. While this was not an issue per se, it automatically resulted in less actual opportunities to talk to people over a research period of six months. In addition to the 'delays', the personal circumstances of the Batukaderas together with holiday periods in September and December and many cancellations due to illness in the wintertime, it was harder to spend as much time with people and interview as many as I had hoped to at the beginning. At the same time, these very difficulties were important to understand the complexity of people's lives and their everyday choices, struggles, pressures, ups and downs (Abranches 2013: 39); and to recognise the structural context of my research, namely focusing on negotiations by racialised, classed, and gendered inhabitants of the AML.

4.4.3   On Power and Positionality

Within older feminist theory and Feminist Sociology, some scholars (Oakley 1981; Finch 1984) put forward the belief that intimate, non-hierarchical relationships are possible between the (feminist) researcher and the (female) participants. They argue that these can be achieved by appealing to their shared structural position and gender socialisation (and thus their common experience as women).

In agreement with Pamela Cotterill (1992) and Caroline Ramazanoglu (1989, 2002), however, I want to note that there are a number of challenges to this perception. First, although it can be assumed that women share certain experiences due to their gender (despite the fact that this is also problematic as it presumes that there are two fixed genders!), this alone is not enough to invalidate other structural categories such as 'race', class, age, sexuality, religion or able-bodiedness. Female oppression is diverse in terms of manifestation and degree and it would be naïve and

simplistic to assume an identification solely on the basis of gender. Second, it is crucial to distinguish between 'friendship' and 'friendliness' in a research relationship and not to feel as if the research has failed if only the latter occurs. As Duneier (2004) points out,

> "don't begin [your work] with the assumption that special rapport or trust is always a precondition for doing successful fieldwork. And don't be so presumptuous as to believe that you have trust or even special rapport with the people you are trying to write about, even when it seems you do" (ibid: 96).

Third, (feminist) researchers must be aware that there are ethical issues inherent in an interview model which advocates 'friendship' (and what is that anyway?) between women in different positions and thus has the potential to exploit them in order to gather data.

It seems to be particularly anthropologists who react to the complex and often problematic conditions of ethnography by exhibiting a tendency to reframe research relationships as friendships (Abranches 2013) and thus conceal the instrumental momentum of ethnography in terms of power or authority. To reiterate, there are structural categories apart from gender that can prevent a 'friendship' (or a feeling of 'sisterhood') from developing. The pivotal critique of an assumed 'global sisterhood' or equal, non-hierarchical relationship is not new; this discussion around intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989) and different axes of oppression (Hill Collins 1990) has been around for decades, yet it is still relevant. The deconstruction of the category 'woman' and the call for an intersectional approach that includes 'race' and class in particular – in relation to gender – was (and is) predominantly brought forward and advanced by Black Feminism and (postcolonial) feminist scholars of colour (hooks 1981; Carby 1982; Lorde 1984; Mohanty 1984).

In line with James' (2012: 49f) reflection on his methods, my research can be described as a slow, unstable and uncertain process, with elements of unpredictability that often made planning, and the notion of 'forming relationships', difficult. My naïve, insecure way of getting in touch and arranging meetings with some of the Batukaderas as well as their workload and overall living situations (long journeys to and from work, illnesses or other personal circumstances), plus the fact that I tried to 'do things differently' by interviewing members of various Batuku groups, resulted in the 'impossibility' of more 'intimate' relationships with the Batukaderas that I

interviewed.

More importantly, I am a *white*, female, middle-class PhD student from Austria who interviewed many Black (some self-defining as 'Afro-descendant'), female (and a few male), working class practitioners of a 'Cape Verdean' popular cultural practice in the AML. Before my research stays in the AML, I thought that it might turn out to be an 'advantage' that I was not Portuguese. I had assumed this because of complicated relations with the former colonial power and because I speculated that potential interviewees might be 'fed up' with being researched by Portuguese investigators and institutions. In retrospect, however, I do not believe that this made a big difference to most of them (or at least I never noticed anything to this effect). The only instances I recall were questions such as "You're not Portuguese, are you?! Where are you from?", which were mostly asked by male, Black audience members at 'community-related' festivities, uttered before I had said anything – as if the presence of a *white* (female) Portuguese spectator at the event were something unlikely.[77] In my relation with many of the Batukaderas, age often seemed to be another significant category, an assumption that I base on the frequency of being referred to as *filha* [daughter], them asking if I needed warm clothes in the winter, or calling to make sure I had gotten home safely after a visit to their house.[78]

In relation to the hitherto mentioned debates on research relations, it is important to consider the role of the researcher. Pamela Cotterill argues that it can only be that of a sympathetic listener. Most researchers will tend to feel impacted by what happens during the interview, in one way or another. This is something that is difficult to prepare for. Cotterill refers to Angela McRobbie and records that the researcher should not fall into the trap of believing that "she can actually share the woman's experience" (Cotterill 1992: 598). To imagine that she could and that interviewees need anything done for them would – at the very least – be extremely condescending and patronising. I, too, had made the assumption that the Batukaderas I was talking to needed something done for them in return, which was reflected in my obsession to 'give back' and my 'bad conscience' concerning my 'failure' to do so. As McRobbie (1982) points out, even if the researcher attempts to control her emotions, it is difficult to prepare for a sense of 'guilt' related to the feeling that she is

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[77] As Duneier (2004: 101) points out, it is often difficult to know if researchers are being treated 'differently' due to privileges in terms of 'race', class, or gender, or by some interaction between them.
[78] At the time of the research, I was 30 and many of them were over 50 years old.

"holidaying on other people's misery" (ibid: 55). I argue that these notions of 'guilt', 'bad conscience', and feelings of discomfort more broadly, point toward questions of power and the complicity of *whiteness* in the production of power/knowledge (Ali 2006).

At this point, I want to mention my decision to not offer any monetary compensation in return for interviews. There was budget available for this within the research project I was working for and I initially had many discussions about it with the project leader, Birgit Englert, and my colleagues Katharina Fritsch and Andrés Carvajal. The city of Marseille was the context of the other main focus of the project, and research there had already been conducted by my colleagues when I joined the team. There, compensation was not offered to people who were interviewed during their work period (e.g. scholars or politicians). When people gave interviews in their spare time, however, a symbolic compensation was offered; independent of what their potential income might have been. As I learned from my colleagues, while some interviewees gladly accepted this, others found it insulting and were offended.

As well as reflecting on the general ethical implications of offering money for interviews, I also explored the general approach in Portugal, asking for experience reports by people who had conducted research in the AML (particularly with people positioned as 'Cape Verdean') in this respect. [79] None of them had offered any 'payment' for interviews and listed a number of reasons for this – including the current economic situation of academic institutions in Portugal (there was generally no budget to spend on compensations), the apparent 'ethical' dilemmas, or 'culturally specific connotations of offering money'. Most instead decided to pay for drinks and/or food if the interview took place in a restaurant or café, to bring small thank-you gifts when invited to people's houses, to buy people's products (such as CDs in the case of musicians), help with emergency expenses, tutor children or grandchildren, or volunteer at social institutions.

With regard to 'cultural aspects', some also mentioned a specific Cape Verdean practice called *djunta-mô* ('juntar as mãos' in Portuguese, which literally means 'join hands' but can be translated to 'work together'). On Cape Verde, this practice refers to a non-monetised system of organising labour at peak intervals by

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[79] I am grateful to Ricardo Campos, Elizabeth Challinor, Kesha Fikes, Jorge Malheiros, Ana Raquel Matias, Derek Pardue, Sónia Pereira, Max Ruben Ramos, João Sardinha and Samuel Weeks for sharing their opinions concerning this matter.

having neighbours or family members work in each other's fields (Weeks 2012a). In the AML, these mutual-help practices

> "involve fewer people (mostly women), take place on a year-round basis, and are concerned primarily with domestic work. They also help people find employment, access childcare, secure interest-free credit, construct or repair houses, share scarce household appliances, and 'consume' (without purchasing) circulating goods such as clothing, jewelry, and consumer products. (…) [they] ensure Cape Verdean migrants in Lisbon a sufficient pool of family and friends upon which they can rely for support and assistance. In this sense, the wide extent and range of Cape Verdean kinship and neighborly networks introduce an element of stability into what are situations frequently marked by precariousness and hardship" (Weeks 2012a: 1).

Djunta-mô therefore almost turns into a general philosophy of life.[80] Shortly before the end of my research stay in the AML, I made sure to meet with most of the interviewees again in order to say goodbye and thank them for their immense generosity and hospitality. Many laughed about this, almost discounting it, and one Batukadera replied that she would have done this for anyone, that it was self-evident and that her father had taught her that "one hand washes the other" (Observation Prot. 14/02/2017)[81]; thereby suggesting that her participation in my research constituted a form of *djunta-mô* to her. I believe that this example relates to wider issues surrounding unequal power relations in research. While it is vital to consciously reflect on one's own positionality and privileges at all times and to be aware that the ultimate benefit of the research clearly works to the researcher's advantage, it is also important to try to be critical of victimisations. Even if the main benefit was my own, this does not mean that there could be no benefits for some interviewees. One should not deny people's agency or decision-making powers in this regard, nor their specific cultural practices such as *djunta-mô*. There were various moments throughout my own research when I caught myself generalising along these lines, usually expressed in feelings of 'guilt' or a 'bad conscience'. This is evident in an observation protocol written after my first meeting with the Batuku group *Sul do Tejo*, based in the neighbourhood of *Laranjeiro* (municipality of *Almada*) south of the river *Tejo*, at a youth and cultural centre that they also used for rehearsals.

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[80] The practice of *djunta-mô* will be addressed again in more detail in chapter 8.
[81] In Portuguese, she said *uma mão lava a outra*.

"I find out that not all of them live in *Laranjeiro*. Three of them live in *Moscavide / Olivais* (close to the airport) and they've come just for our meeting and paid the transport costs … I feel 'guilty'. I had thought that they all lived in *Laranjeiro* … They suggest that we start. They lead me to a room and ask me if they should change into their Batuku outfits. I start to realise that this is not just a meeting where I introduce myself but where they perform Batuku (with me as their only 'audience'). I tell them that if they want to, then yes. They ask me if I will be taking pictures. I tell them that I can take pictures if they want me to … I am surprised and slightly perplexed. I am briefly unsure if perhaps I have misunderstood something or said something wrong or miscommunicated my intentions or what I expect from them. I have a 'bad conscience' that they came to *Laranjeiro* 'just for me' (but maybe it wasn't about me?)" (Observation Prot. 01/10/2016).

It was only later, after encounters with other groups as well, that I realised that many Batukaderas took my request to meet them as an overdue opportunity to meet amongst themselves and rehearse (Observation Prot. 28/11/2016) and almost as a leverage to motivate others to make the effort to come to these rehearsals (Observation Prot. 17/01/2017). The Batukaderas took decisions consciously and to assume that these were only related to me and thus putting myself at the centre of these decisions was both egoistic and patronising. As Alida Payson (2018) points out (following Robin DiAngelo), feelings of 'guilt', 'awkwardness' or 'bad conscience' in this regard are often symptomatic of 'white fragility' or "the way whiteness expects, demands and protects its own comfort" (ibid: 94f). There were other times when 'benefits' of our meetings on their part were expressed, for instance when asking if I could record their songs on my phone so that they could send them to their children on Cape Verde (Observation Prot. 10/02/2017).

This is not to say that I felt as if there were no 'expectations' at all (Cotterill 1992), although it would perhaps be more correct to speak of them as 'requests'. These ranged from 'demands' to stay in touch after I left, indirect queries as to whether I wanted to become the *madrinha* [godmother] of their group, requests to help source funding for the recording of an album (Observation Prot. 22/10/2016; Personal Note 15/11/2016), or to organise performances for them in my home country.

My desire to 'give back' (and, to some extent, my 'bad conscience' or 'guilt' about not doing this) was a concern throughout my research stay that I did not completely resolve. This manifested, for instance, in my offers to film or photograph Batuku groups during performances. At points it became difficult to distinguish who

had suggested it first, whether my offer was genuine (i.e. 'not for myself'), and if, in the instances that the Batukaderas asked me, they did so for themselves or because they assumed that I wanted or needed to for my research (Observation Prot. 14/12/2016; Observation Prot. 03/02/2017; Observation Prot. 23/02/2017). It is thus important to reflect on the various ascriptions taking place between researcher and researched. This includes, as mentioned, the common yet condescending ascription that interviewees need anything done for them (Cotterill 1992: 598).

As already mentioned, related to my self-perception as a 'critical *white* researcher' was the desire to 'do things differently'. When I first started talking to people – activists, in particular – at the very beginning of my research, I therefore tried to figure out how I could get involved in any of their political activities. I often felt uneasy with these attempts, however, as they positioned me as yet another *white* researcher desperate to 'help' the racialised, classed, and gendered 'Other'. In addition, I quickly felt overwhelmed at the prospect of doing research and being involved politically in a context that was very new to me (what a privilege to be overwhelmed by this kind of situation!). In hindsight, while these attempts toward 'doing things differently' were about trying to negotiate power and form less hierarchical relations (however fraught), they were also a way to make myself feel better (Duneier 2004: 93) about what I was doing in the AML: researching negotiations of a postcolonial diaspora space (and, by implication, of racialised 'Others') from a *white* position.

There is an intricate balance of power between researcher and researched; the researcher might at times also feel vulnerable during interviews and some contexts may render the interviewee more dominant. It is nevertheless important to be aware that the final shift of power always favours the researcher, "for it is she who eventually walks away" (Cotterill 1992: 604). In Cotterill's words, to "define other people's realities for them and for a wider audience may be the greatest power the researcher has" (ibid). Even if interviewees express interest in the findings of the project, they will not benefit from it directly nor will they have any control over what it includes. In the end, the researcher writes everything down and presents her conclusion to an audience, which is – most likely – inaccessible to the people she has interviewed (ibid: 605).

Ultimately, I am responsible for how the data is analysed and interpreted. Furthermore, I made the decision to write and publish this research in English and

hence exclude certain populations from ever reading these findings. While most of my presentations have taken place at English-speaking conferences, I have, however, presented preliminary considerations in Portuguese to different audiences in three diverse locations in the AML during my stays. While the first was an invitation to speak at a monthly seminar from the CIES-IUL [*Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia*, Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology] and therefore not 'open' to everybody, the second was a short presentation at a cultural association, prepared for one of the Batuku groups.[82] The third was an invitation by the already mentioned AMCDP to talk about my research at the *II Encontro de Batukaderas* [Second Meeting of Batukaderas] in front of several Batuku groups. Nonetheless, everything I write remains unavailable to the Batukaderas, even if I share my publications (which I have, and plan to continue) with the different cultural associations in the AML.

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[82] This second, short presentation at a cultural association only came about after one of the founders of the association criticised that I had not done this before. In a personal meeting, she took issue with me not having spoken to the Batuku group that she was supporting before my presentation at the university. Specifically, she criticised that I was not 'opening my doors' and advised me to 'give back' by breaking down relations of dominance through dialogue (a perfect example of how my trying to be 'respectful' by not dominating spaces, in which I did research, 'backfired').

5 Structures of the City

5.1 Introduction

In the general introduction (chapter 1), as well as in my conceptual considerations (chapter 3), I pointed out that my research interest lies in analysing how the practice of Batuku contributes to the negotiation of 'diaspora' in the postcolonial context of Lisbon; or, how 'diaspora' is negotiated within Batuku.

In this chapter, I will focus on aspects of housing and labour in the 'diaspora space' (Brah 1996) of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (the AML), and how these structure the Batukaderas' [83] lives. This analysis includes discussions of *spatial* inequalities, power relations and identities. I believe that an understanding of housing and labour is crucial to explore 'negotiations' of the diaspora space because I consider them to be at the very core of people's everyday experiences of the city. Hereafter, I also argue that housing and labour need to be considered from an intersectional perspective and that spaces are shaped by and related to categories such as 'race', gender, or class at all times. The questions that frame my analysis are associated with the ways in which many Batukaderas navigate the city: how do they use urban space? What are their daily routines? Where do they work, live, and practice Batuku? Having been made aware of issues such as housing demolitions and forced relocations at the very beginning of my research, I tried to incorporate these issues into interviews and to be aware of issues such as spatial inequalities throughout my own travels of the city.

The analysis of this chapter is largely based on observation notes from my own navigations of the AML (for personal reasons as well as for travels to and from interviews or events) as well as on interview transcripts. During the coding process, it became apparent that references to employment, neighbourhoods [*bairros*][84], housing,

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[83] As mentioned, this is not to say that there were or are no male practitioners in Batuku. However, their presence – or, at the very least, the framing around it – is minimal; to the extent that one will rarely come across the term to describe those who practice it. The only publications that I have found with a reference are Rui Cidra's dissertation from 2011 where he refers to the small number of 'Batukeros' among his interviewees (ibid: 305) and Elisa Tavares' book from 2016 where she writes about male 'Batukadoris' (ibid: 36).

[84] While *bairro* is the literal translation of 'neighbourhood', it was noticeable during my research that it was mostly used to refer to *bairros sociais* ('social housing neighbourhoods') or *bairros degradados* ('slums' or 'shanty towns').

demolitions and resettlements, 'shanties' [*barracas*] and modes of transport are relevant topics for the analysis of 'space' and 'the city' in this chapter.

I will start with a brief account of theoretical debates on 'space', followed by an introduction of the AML touching on (past and present) residential patterns, programmes and urban renewal plans. This will then be linked to the use of housing as a tool of racist and classist spatial categorisation, and related to the Batukaderas' navigations of space. Issues of labour will be addressed in the following section, which will provide some background information on the gendering, classing and racialisation of specific labour sectors, namely cleaning and domestic work – the two main sectors in which many Batukaderas in the AML work. This section will also include an analysis of the Batukaderas' daily routines and navigations of the city.

5.2   Conceptualisations of 'Space'

In order to properly analyse the structuring of the ALM, this chapter will predominantly rely on conceptualisations of 'space' by scholars of Gender Studies, Critical Geography, and Sociology, such as Katherine McKittrick, Doreen Massey, Caroline Knowles and Nirmal Puwar. In line with their work, I understand 'space' as produced, not a "fixed entity" (Puwar 2004: 1f) that "just is" (McKittrick 2006: xi): "Geography is not (…) secure and unwavering: we produce space, we produce its meanings, and we work very hard to make geography what it is" (ibid). This process, according to McKittrick, involves boundaries, marginalisations, and omissions. None of these, however, are 'natural'; all are, rather, social processes.

Research on cities as urban spaces has gained more and more attention – in Migration Studies, for instance – but has often focused on the 'neighbourhood' as a unit of analysis. Yet, according to Franz Buhr (2017a), the common perception of 'neighbourhood' as a self-constituting place risks presuming that residents are confined to and rarely leave this area, and that happenings 'beyond its limits' are not as important as those within it (ibid: 4). This is a caution against dividing cities into smaller, separate, predetermined and fixed entities and a call instead to conceive of urban spaces as complex, multifarious and practiced territories (Knowles 2011; Buhr 2017a).

Knowles points to this processual understanding of space by arguing that

> "[people's] lives are not fixed in place although they compose place, but in process of many journeys from one place to another. (…) Space is etched by the feet traversing it as pathways: and pathways are about *jobs, home, shopping, use of facilities, social networks and social activities* and the configurations they bring to bear upon it" (Knowles 2003: 102f, cited in Buhr 2017a: 4, my emphasis).

Accordingly, she calls for a 'sociology of journeys' that conceptualises urban space as "[being] inhabited by people doing things (…) [which] always entails some degree of spatial mobility" (Buhr 2017a: 4). In doing so, she implies that everybody uses the city – albeit in different ways – and thereby *composes* and *produces* it; thus challenging us to reassess the idea of 'using' versus 'producing' space. This understanding posits that space is navigated by people: their use of space constitutes space itself, giving it its corporeal and lived dimensions.

It has furthermore been noted by many scholars (Amin 2002; McKittrick 2006; Nelson & Hiemstra 2008; Clark et al. 2009; Massey 2009; Cheng 2010) that space and power are interrelated. This matters because it represents the basis for understanding space as (1) a complex product of relations, (2) a dimension of multiplicity, and (3) as always being 'under construction' and in the process of being (re/un)made (Massey 2009: 17). With this in mind, Massey emphasises that it is not only space that is a product of power relations, but that "power itself has a geography" (ibid: 19). She highlights "cartographies of power" (ibid) and the fact that "'places' are never homogeneous" (ibid: 23).

That space and power are intertwined further points to the importance of intersectionality. Space is not equal: there are places within a city or urban area which are not "open for anybody to occupy" (Puwar 2004: 8) and which some may find difficult (or impossible) to enter. Buhr (2017b) refers to the "co-existence of many cities within a city" (ibid: 8), not all of which are equally accessible, available or comfortable to all urban residents alike. Urban spaces are characterised by systems of dominance and their production of racialised, gendered, or classed geographies or "sociospatial demarcations" (James 2015: 52). In *Space Invaders* (2004), Puwar sheds light on the ways in which spaces have always been shaped by "what has been constructed out" (ibid: 1) and how this has – at times – become more explicit through the new or increased arrival of racialised or ethnicised Others, inter alia, in spaces

from which they had hitherto been excluded. How space is constructed via the exclusion of the 'Other' will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 7, which elaborates an understanding of some Batukaderas as 'space invaders'.

When we consider who is seen as having a relationship to the production of space (in the sense of producing space) and as being 'geographic', exclusions of the Other are also omnipresent. Based on McKittrick's work *Demonic Grounds* (2006), I consider it crucial to address her analysis concerning Black women's (diasporic) geographies.[85] According to her,

> "black women have an investment in space, and spatial politics, precisely because they have been relegated to the margins of knowledge and have therefore been *imagined* as outside of the production of space. But (…) this position outside is just that, imagined and socially produced" (ibid: 54, original emphasis).[86]

In the case of many Batukaderas, it is thus important to consider them not as 'passive' or 'outside' the production of space but, rather, as active and invested in space as well as in spatial politics. McKittrick further argues that there has been a general lack of acknowledgement of 'subaltern populations' as "viable geographic subjects who *live* and negotiate the world around them in complex ways" (ibid: 92, my emphasis). It is therefore important, she continues, for Black geographies not to be considered only from the point of view of 'peripherality' or 'invisibility'.[87] Of course, everybody produces space – although on different terms – yet diasporic spaces, McKittrick reiterates, are imbued with "racist paradigms of the past and their ongoing hierarchical patterns" (ibid: xii). I deem her work particularly useful in understanding and analysing the AML, as it helps to frame the AML as a site of postcolonial relationships and as representing the Portuguese version of anti-Black racism.

This chapter particularly explores the AML's dealings with postcolonial migrants and Black citizens and the links to racialised (and classed) housing policies and racialised (and classed and gendered) labour practices. This results in the ensuing structure of the chapter: In the pages that follow, I will predominantly focus on housing and labour issues in order to analyse how these structure the Batukaderas'

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[85] While it might be self-evident that her work on Black women's (diasporic) geographies is relevant to my analysis of a gendered (feminised), racialised – and classed – popular cultural practice in a postcolonial, diasporic context, I nonetheless want to take the opportunity to point this out here.
[86] In addition to this chapter, chapter 7 of the thesis will address the conscious and self-confident identification with certain spaces by many Batukaderas.
[87] The dichotomy 'invisible' versus 'visible' is something that I am looking at in detail in chapter 7.

everyday navigations of the AML. In order to do this, it is first necessary to briefly present some historical and political background on the research setting.

5.3 The City of Lisbon

When one walks around the AML, reads about it in tourist guides or follows official discourses, it quickly becomes apparent that the city is represented and represents itself with strong imperial references. As Eduardo Ascensão (2015) remarks, "[t]he city and its monuments are associated with the history of its Navigators and with the Portuguese Empire, and many elements are presented as 'remnants of empire'" (ibid: 37).

One of the most popular (tourist) attractions is the parish of *Belém*; the most southwestern civil parish of the municipality of Lisbon [*Lisboa*], located by the river Tagus [*Tejo*]. There, one can find several monuments that celebrate Portugal's 'discoveries' and depict the 'heroic navigators'. Among them is the Belém Tower [*Torre de Belém*], which is described on the relevant governmental website as

> "[b]uilt on the northern bank of the Tagus between 1514 and 1520 (…). (…) a cultural reference, a symbol of the specificity of Portugal at the time, including its privileged exchange with other cultures and civilisations. (…) a protector of Portuguese individuality and universality (…)" (Torre D Belem n.d.; translation HS),

which clearly indicates its supposed importance in the Portuguese maritime 'discoveries'. Yet another – perhaps even more explicit – example is the Monument of the Discoveries [*Padrão dos Descobrimentos*], which can also be found at the bank of the Tagus. According to the depiction on the official website, "the Monument to the Discoveries evokes the Portuguese overseas expansion, recalls the country's glorious past and symbolises the enormity of the work carried out by the Infante, the driving force behind the Discoveries"[88] (EGEAC - Padrão dos Descobrimentos 2018; translation HS) and includes the inscription "To The Infante Dom Henrique and the Portuguese who discovered the Sea Routes" (ibid). Again, we see a glorifying – and, I would argue, romanticising – spatial tribute to and narrative of Portugal's past as a

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[88] *Infante* is a reference to *Dom Henrique* [Henry the Navigator].

nation of 'hard-working explorers and discoverers'. As argued in chapter 2, this romanticisation of Portugal's colonial history and its concomitant silencing of colonial violence and legacy is not accidental or unintentional but, rather, conscious and actively implemented. In relation to memorials, Connerton (2009) points out that

> "The relationship between memorials and forgetting is reciprocal: the threat of forgetting begets memorials and the construction of memorials begets forgetting. If giving monumental shape to what we remember is to discard the obligation to remember, that is because memorials permit only some things to be remembered and, by exclusion, cause others to be forgotten. Memorials conceal the past as much as they cause us to remember it" (ibid: 29).

And with McKittrick (2006), we can remember that space and its meanings are produced and that this process involves marginalisations and – as becomes visible through the mentioned romanticisation of Portugal's history – omissions (ibid: xy).[89] [90]

These two examples of monuments serve to 'set the scene' with regard to the AML, hinting at different ways in which (urban) space is structured and how these are negotiated by power. This forms the basis for a more thorough analysis of the daily navigations of a postcolonial space by the Batukaderas, to which we now return.

5.3.1   On Notions of 'Illegality' & Housing

While some argue that the AML has relatively low levels of residential segregation when compared to other European capitals or large cities, others suggest that there is an unambiguous link between the racialised/ethnicised geography of the city and the

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[89] The concept of *Lusofonia* and its romanticising of Portugal's colonial past, its role in the slave trade and the postcolonial legacies of these were detailed in chapter 2.

[90] When it comes to monuments in the AML, in particular, it should be pointed out that debates around creating a slavery memorial in the capital started in 2018 (see for example, https://www.politico.eu/article/portugal-slave-trade-confronts-its-past/ and https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-44965631?SThisFB). As far as I am aware, however, the memorial still has not been built. Furthermore, a campaign was started to build a *Museu das Descobertas* [Museum of the Discoveries] in the AML in early 2018 to celebrate Portugal's past. This plan went largely unnoticed until April 2018 when an open petition was started which criticised "both the proposed name and also the very principle of such a museum" (Barchfield 2018: n/s) as it would glorify colonialism and slavery and reinforce the Portuguese colonial ideology with its romanticisations. See: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/17/lisbon-museum-plan-stirs-debate-over-portugals-colonial-past and https://www.publico.pt/2018/06/22/culturaipsilon/opiniao/nao-a-um-museu-contra-nos-1835227, [accessed: 08/10/2018].

spatial manifestation of marginalisation (Fonseca & McGarrigle 2013: 18). Some (Ascensão 2010) even consider the "city of Lisbon (…) [to be] an exceptional place for the topic of slums" (ibid: 6)[91] due to fact that they have been part of the social city landscape for several decades, their particularly 'central' locations, and the high numbers of postcolonial populations constructing as well as living in them. Some scholars have also highlighted that the AML displays "extremely contrasting spatial distribution patterns" (Fonseca 1999: 204) and that *white* residents can predominantly be found in those parts of the AML with better reputations, such as the already mentioned *Belém/Restelo* or along the coastal area of the *Sintra* municipality. Racialised and ethnicised (Black) populations, on the other hand, generally reside in 'informal' or 'illegal' neighbourhoods as well as in so-called 'social housing' areas in the (more peripheral) eastern and northern – or southern, on the *Setúbal* peninsula – parishes and municipalities (ibid: 204, 207).[92] [93]

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[91] In this thesis, I refrain from using the term 'slum' as I consider it to have very problematic connotations. 'Slum' is a loaded descriptor and generally used to negatively describe areas where the ('poor' and racialised) Other lives.

[92] This is not to say that there are no working class, *white* Portuguese people living in the AML, as many of them also reside in 'informal' or 'illegal' neighbourhoods as well as in so-called 'social housing' areas.

[93] I choose to write 'informal', 'improvised', 'illegal' or 'social' with quotation marks when referring to discourses with particular ideological connotations.
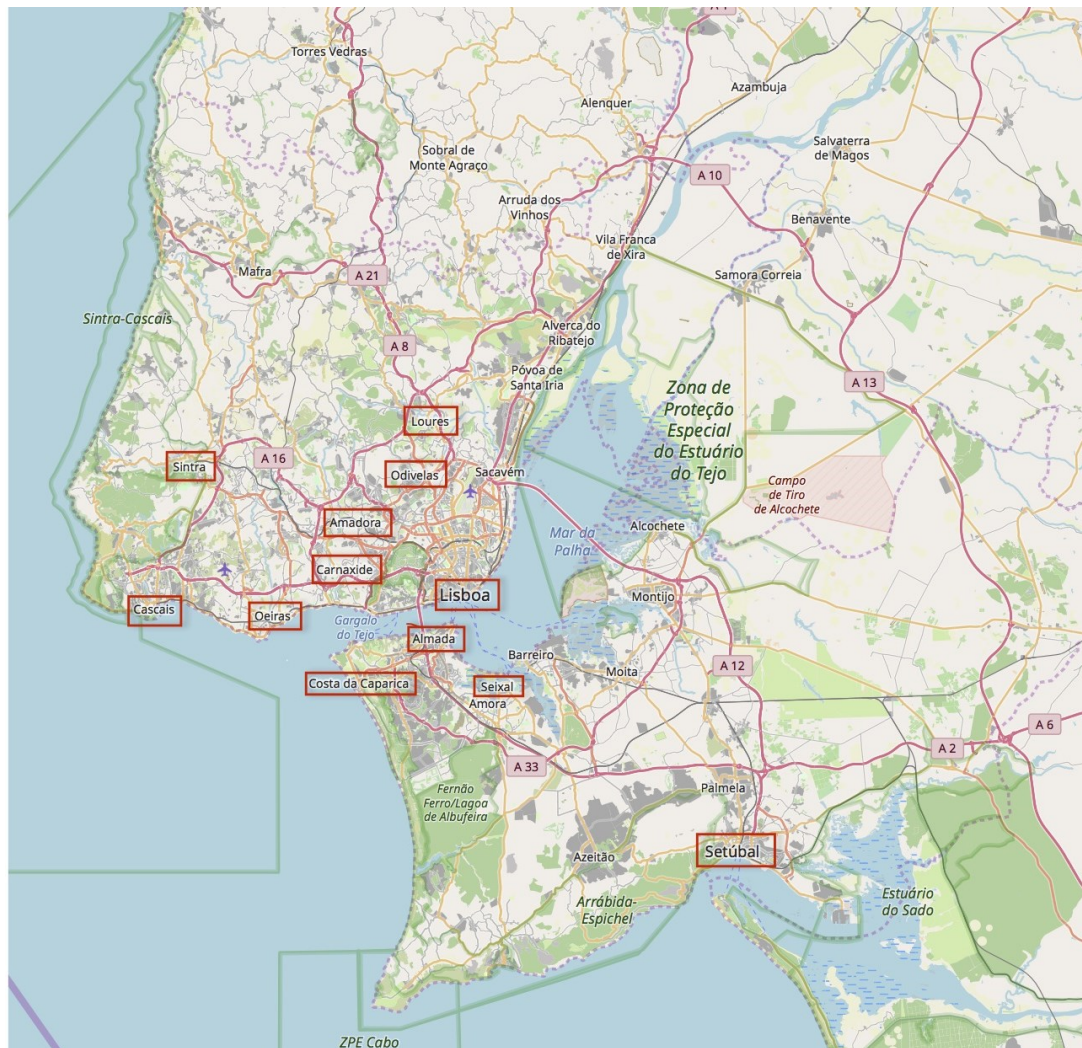
Figure 1: Map Lisbon Metropolitan Area, adapted from www.openstreetmap.org.

When considering the intersections between urban space, (racialised and classed) labour and housing in the AML, the so-called *bairros sociais* (which literally translates to 'social neighbourhoods' but denotes state-sponsored housing projects) are an important point of reference. This is not to say – as mentioned with Buhr (2017a) – that I focus my analysis solely on the structuring of 'neighbourhoods' as self-constituting places (ibid: 4). However, in order to provide the necessary contextualisation, it is imperative to pay attention to power relations that bring about conditions of marginality – often expressed through specific housing policies and residential patterns. This contextualisation needs to consider both so-called 'illegal' or 'informal' housing and *bairros sociais*.

After the Second World War, internal rural-to-urban (predominantly *white*)[94] Portuguese migrants and substantial populations from some of the then colonies (Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique) arrived in the AML (Ascensão 2010; Pardue 2013, 2014b). They "remade the Lisbon areas of Loures, Seixal, and Amadora into large residential municipalities with significant pockets of 'improvised' settlements" (Pardue 2014b: 315).[95] In the 1950s, the fascist Salazar regime commenced with a reinvestment in *bairros sociais* as part of a strategy against the rise of 'illegal' dwellings. As Derek Pardue (2014b) remarks, however, the ensuing implementation of specific property laws intensified the stigmatisation of those constructing and living in these 'illegal' areas (ibid: 315). The location of some of the 'illegal' neighbourhoods around the 'city centre' of Lisbon was partly due to the surrounding areas having become unprofitable for agricultural purposes but not yet being interesting spaces for urban planning and infrastructure investments (Ascensão 2010).[96]

Over time, some 'illegal' areas of the AML that were referred to as 'shanties' [*barracas*] were eventually legalised by the Portuguese state and hence recognised as 'formal' neighbourhoods. According to Ascensão (2015), the decision to do so and to subsequently 'improve' some areas and let others deteriorate was taken based on "[l]and tenure, class, race and the [residents'] ability to bargain with local politicians" (ibid: 39). He therefore concludes that "[urban] informality must be understood not as the object of the state regulation but rather as produced by the state itself" (Roy 2005: 149, cited in Ascensão 2015: 39). The state thus has the power to decide what is 'formal' (or 'legal') or 'informal' ('illegal'), and – by implication – which "forms of informality will thrive and which will disappear" (ibid). It is hence perhaps more appropriate to talk of processes of *informalisation* (and *illegalisation*) in order to highlight the role power relations play in productions of space.

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[94] There were also some Portuguese Roma among these migrants (Fikes 2009: 87).

[95] *Amadora* is located in the Northwest, *Loures* in the North and *Seixal* in the South (on the other side of the Tagus) of the Lisbon [*Lisboa*] municipality.

[96] As will be discussed in more depth in chapter 7, there are various literary and scholarly descriptions of what constitutes a 'centre' and a 'periphery' but it is generally understood that both negotiate questions of power (Beetz 2008: 9f). In terms of negotiations of 'culture', it was argued for a long time that the 'centre' is representative of 'cultural progress' and the 'periphery' of 'backwardness' (Hannerz 1989: 201-206), which is one of the reasons I write both 'centre' and 'periphery' in quotation marks (see also Stepanik 2019: 93).

5.3.2 Housing Policies in the AML

Over the last decade alone, there have been numerous developments in housing policies and programmes within the AML. This section offers a brief glimpse into some housing 'crises' and the 'solutions' proposed, so that the (deliberate) production of 'informality', 'illegality' and/or marginalisation becomes apparent. The rest of the chapter deals with the specific example of the Special Rehousing Programme [*Programa Especial de Realojamento*; from now on PER]. This programme, which started in 1993, had the most immediate impact on many of the Batukaderas I interviewed for this research. The early 1990s was also, generally speaking, when Lisbon housing authorities started the large-scale targeting of 'improvised' neighbourhoods for removal or transformation into what are now known as 'social neighbourhoods' [*bairros sociais*] (Pardue 2014b: 313).

The beginning of the 20th century marked the start of the first major public housing programme, in response to the housing 'crisis' of the 1910s and 1920s as well as demands from 'hygienists' to improve the living conditions of the many working poor populations of the AML. Indeed, documents verify that as early as 1889, 'hygienists' in Portugal called attention to the disparities regarding the higher rents paid by the working classes for inadequate living conditions, when compared to better-off populations (Ascensão 2013: 156). These calls continued into the early 20th century, highlighting the dilemma between (and difficulties of) either clearing neighbourhoods and rehousing populations, or upgrading and rehabilitating. It was thus argued that the most important issue was for the state to make an honest commitment to the problem; something that initially occurred with the Social Neighbourhoods [*Bairros Sociais*] Programme of 1918-1919, in which the Portuguese state made financial commitments but which was eventually abandoned due to shortcomings on its part (ibid: 157).

The steady demographic growth in the AML since the 1950s, comprised of people migrating from other Portuguese regions, those moving and returning from former African colonies after independences in 1975 and 1976, and those coming from other countries after the mid-1970s, resulted in a growing demand for housing. Between 1960 and 1990, according to Jorge Castro Ribeiro (2010), Portugal had "virtually no conditions prepared to receive tens of thousands of Cape Verdean

immigrants" (ibid: 98). The housing demand was not met by either private or public housing markets, or by housing authorities. Ultimately this resulted in a serious housing shortage and – logically, one could argue – in the emergence of illegalised, self-constructed areas in large neighbourhoods at the periphery/ies of the *Lisboa* municipality, as well as within the so-called 'city limits' (Fonseca 1999: 201f; Castro Ribeiro 2010: 99).

5.3.3   Regeneration & Investments in Infrastructure

The numerous (re)housing programmes – some merely planned, others implemented – illustrated the economic as well as social disparities within the AML. These were further highlighted – and perhaps intensified – through the realisation of numerous large-scale construction projects in the *Lisboa* municipality and surrounding areas. After the mid-1980s, several significant transportation infrastructures were built; predominantly with European Commission or European Union structural funds. These, as well as other urban planning policies, were supposed to "promote urban success, attract investment, create jobs (…)" (Fonseca 1999: 211) and "improve (…) the look of the city" (Pardue 2014b: 311), and included the Vasco da Gama Bridge (connecting the *Lisboa* municipality with the *Montijo* municipality on the southwest side of the Tagus), the railroad crossing on the April 25th Bridge (connecting *Lisboa* with *Alamada*, a municipality south of the Tagus), some beltways, and the expansion of the metropolitan subway network. However, many of them reinforced the increasing gap between the populations benefiting from these services and those that did not. Furthermore, some infrastructure projects involved the demolition of neighbourhoods and the forced removal of their long-time residents to 'social housing' projects in peripheral areas, and the reappropriation of the now-renovated areas by more affluent populations.[97] In addition, substantial investments in the most 'exquisite' and 'central' accessible areas of the AML by foreign-backed real estate (mega) projects, such as the EXPO '98 World Exhibition (located in the north-eastern parish of *Parque das Nações*), further contributed to increasing social exclusion and

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[97] The example of the demolition of *Fontainhas* and the forced relocation of its residents to *Casal da Boba* will be addressed in more detail in section 5.4.2.1.

economic, racialised and ethnicised spatial segregation of the AML (Fonseca 1999: 203f, 211f; Pardue 2014b: 311).

Generally speaking, urban planning in Portugal developed very late and without a consistent overall policy. However, as demonstrated above, various 'urban renewal' and 'redevelopment' plans impacted on the characteristics of the AML today. Failing to involve the populations they were meant to 'serve', the majority of plans resulted in so much chaos that, according to Maria Lucinda Fonseca (1999: 210), not a single urbanisation plan was approved between 1944 and 1971. Furthermore, many of the past (and, I would add, present) plans were designed under the guise of "technical efficiency and concern for people's well-being" (ibid) but primarily serve to "maintain and legitimise real estate speculation, and damage the residents' quality of life" (ibid). The question of who benefits from urbanisation plans is thus closely linked to power relations.

5.4   Housing as Spatial Categorisation

This section addresses the housing issue (policy, programmes, conditions) in the AML and frames it as a tool of racist and classist spatial categorisation. It also connects this conceptualisation with the Batukaderas' navigations of (urban) space. I focus here on one specific example of the numerous housing programmes and subsequent demolitions of entire neighbourhoods – namely the Special Rehousing Programme [*Programa Especial de Realojamento*; from now on PER] – to elucidate the argument that space and power are interrelated. Not only does current 'social housing' in Portugal have a history strongly marked by PER (do Carmo et al. 2015: 9) but it is also the programme that most affected many of the Batukaderas interviewed for this research. I will moreover provide some information on a number of 'informal' or 'social housing' neighbourhoods, connecting this to the analysis of my research data. My intention is not to romanticise or idealise the conditions and coexistence in (former) 'illegal' or 'informal' neighbourhoods but, rather, to highlight the racist and classist motives and actions of many housing programmes and the impact this has had on those who were forced to relocate and/or who are still living under very marginal and stigmatised circumstances.

5.4.1   Housing Programmes – the Case of the *Programa Especial de Realojamento*

As mentioned, the targeting of 'improvised', 'illegal' neighbourhoods by Portuguese housing authorities for removal into 'social neighbourhoods' [*bairros sociais*] increased in the early 1990s. From 1993, to be more specific, Lisbon's residential landscape for working class, racialised or ethnicised populations gradually changed from a mixture of both 'social' and 'improvised' (self-constructed) dwellings to almost exclusively 'social neighbourhoods'. As will be shown in this section of the chapter, these state-sponsored housing programmes often intruded into residents' lives as well as challenged their investment in space (Pardue 2012b: 2; 2014b: 316), and continue to do so.

The PER programme was initiated by the National Housing Institute in 1993, sponsored by both the Portuguese state and European Union agencies, and has not been completed to this day. Its initial goal was to eliminate all so-called *bairros de lata* ['shanty towns'] [98] from Portugal's major cities by the year 2000, and to 'efficiently' resettle and rehouse approximately 130,000 residents living in 'informal', 'improvised' and 'underserved' areas, to newly-built neighbourhoods with (supposedly) 'reliable' infrastructures (Pardue 2012b: 9f; 2014b: 317f; Ascensão 2016: 949). [99] According to the introduction to the decree law 163/93 from May 7th 1993, the PER aimed for "the eradication of the shanties, a wound [which is] still open in our social fabric" (do Carmo et al. 2015: 9; translation HS). The political rationale, however, tells a different story: When Portugal held the European Economic Community (EEC) presidency for the first time in 1992, Lisbon was the only European capital with 'visible' 'improvised' dwellings in central parts of the city. It was also about to be the European Capital of Culture (1994) and host the World Fair (Expo '98) in 1998 (Ascensão 2015: 40). Clearly, the implementation of the PER was also very much about Lisbon's image as a 'modern', 'developed' city – something that was not compatible with the visibility of postcolonial migrants of colour living in 'shanties'. This elucidates my main argument, namely that housing policies and demolitions were – and continue to be – both racist and classist.

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[98] *Bairro de lata* literally translates to 'neighbourhood (made) of tin / can' and can be read as a reference to the tin roofs of some self-constructed houses.

[99] As will be addressed later in this chapter as well as in chapter 8, this narrative of 'reliable' infrastructures is challenged by many Batukaderas through the practice of Batuku.

Before the illegalised accommodations in the AML could be eradicated through PER, the Portuguese state had to count them. According to Ascensão (2016), "of the 30,000 dwellings enumerated at the time, only 32% were made of wood, zinc boards or similar materials; the remaining 68% had brick walls" (ibid: 949). However, all of them were qualified as *barracas* ['shanties', 'shacks'] and not as *clandestinos*, which was the other common 'illegal' classification in Lisbon. In contrast to *barracas*, *clandestinos* were mostly single-family houses constructed on legally owned land but without planning permission. The term *barracas*[100], on the other hand, is already suggestive of the discursive images, connotations, and ascriptions of these neighbourhoods: they are 'unacceptable', 'improvised', doubly 'illegal' 'slums' as they are said to have been self-constructed on someone else's land, without planning permission. One of the reasons that all of the dwellings were categorised as *barracas* was because governmental experts assumed that they all had rudimentary and 'unsophisticated' structures: "The mindset within the technical-administrative milieu was that these settlements were regarded as pending clearance and their populations would soon be displaced to, and rehoused in, other areas" (ibid: 949). These 'experts' ignored or overlooked the fact that most dwellings were not new and that residents had – in spite of neglect by municipal and state governments over the previous decades – invested considerably in their houses; something which had incrementally tied them to the spaces they had moved into. On the following pages, I will address two connected issues; namely this investment in and identification with space, as well its stigmatisation, criminalisation, racialisation and ethnicisation. These 'illegal' areas were (and continue to be) connected to a 'slum' or 'ghetto' stigma and a 'second-class citizen status' (ibid), particularly for those residents positioned as Black (Fikes 2009).

As stated, housing shortages and the high number of cancelled or abandoned housing programmes over the years resulted in a significant growth of 'informal' dwellings in the 1980s. "The part-liberalisation of rent controls in 1985, associated with housing shortages, priced immigrants out of the rental market; and racist practices of landlords made it especially difficult" (Ascensão 2013: 163) for those positioned as 'African immigrants'. So, when the PER programme was proposed and established, even those who were initially critical – on the grounds that population

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[100] According to Ascensão (2010), the term *barraca* "entered the letter of the law in Portugal with the 1993 decree-law that established the rehousing programme for slums (PER), though it is not properly defined in the text. The discursive element of terms such as slums, shantytowns or *barracas* is common not only to the decree-law but to most of the Portuguese literature on housing and slums" (ibid: 10).

relocation to even more peripheral public housing could lead to 'poverty traps' and increased segregation – were ultimaltey pleased that it had been issued. They considered mass demolitions and relocations to be the 'lesser evil' when compared to other ways (such as the renewal and upgrading of these 'improvised' neighbourhoods), which would take longer and 'waste' time and resources. As time went on, the PER was increasingly surrounded by a language strongly resembling the afore-mentioned hygienist discourses in order to justify the programme's approach. Approximately 30,000 dwellings were built under the PER, costing at least € 1.2 billion – 600 million in credit lines from municipal authorities and 600 million in direct subsidies. The relocation process began in 1993 with surveys being conducted in each neighbourhood. The employment of census-like methodologies disregarded activist's concerns and warnings regarding the necessity of both self-surveys and the involvement of the residents in question. Instead, the applied methodologies ignored the changing realities of populated areas (people moving in and out of dwellings, a building potentially hosting several households, additions to families); thereby later becoming a tool of social injustice (ibid: 163).

In an interview, several Batukaderas from the group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral*, which is based in the *6 de Maio* neighbourhood in the parish of *Falagueira-Venda Nova* / municipality of *Amadora* (although many of its members do not live there anymore due to ongoing demolitions and evictions), reflect on the rehousing and resettlement plans using surveying methods.

> "B1: There was a first plan which, the Special Rehousing Programme. (pause) And in the 90s they started the …
> B2: Census.
> B1: … the census of the people who lived here. You know, it was done by the municipality and by (pause) …
> B2: Ah, she is saying that they started putting numbers on the door (…).
> B1: They started the census in the 90s. In order to know who lived [here], in order to then assign new houses. But between (…) the beginning of the census and the first house to be demolished, at least 10 years passed. (…) I am remembering very well. (…) Only that, the question is, imagine, they do a first census, 10 years pass, the families are not the same anymore. People grow up, people had children, they had, done. And this is one of the reasons why the neighbourhoods were still not completely demolished because, in the end, the municipality also doesn't have, or has or doesn't, still …
> B2: Conditions.
> B1: … well, to rehouse every person, and not least because they claim, at least here in the *6 de Maio* neighbourhood, that the people who weren't part of the census do not have a right to housing. (…) one also has to take into

consideration that over such a long period of time, you know, the families evolved, thus, (…) who was only husband and wife today is not just husband and wife. Probably also has grandchildren, you know. So, this is one of the reasons why this has also taken such a long time" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[101]

This quote evidences the lack of consideration on the part of governmental agencies and authorities for the living realities of the neighbourhoods and residents in question. Initially (and supposedly) deployed to solve a 'crisis', these surveys combined with the top-down approaches of the city councils instead made the lives of the affected residents increasingly difficult (Ascensão 2013: 163f; 2015: 40). This was also because – in spite of its alleged 'urgency' – the PER paid little attention to the contexts of the neighbourhoods registered in the programme and looked more at the politicised aspects of the 'illegal' territories, namely a stigmatisation linked to 'poverty'. This not only resulted in the absence of concrete studies about the living conditions and aspirations of the residents of 'informal' dwellings, but also in a political discourse on poverty; of poverty as a political motto or, in other words, of discourses on a 'culture of poverty' (do Carmo et al. 2015: 10).

The PER programme included different schemes as part of its rehousing plan. Eligible residents of informalised and illegalised neighbourhoods would either be relocated to council housing in various municipalities or be subsidised for home ownership.[102] The latter option, however, included property price limits set far below

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[101] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: Houve um primeiro plano que, o Plano Especial de Realojamento. (pausa) E na década de noventa começou a fazer-se o … / B2: Recenseamento. / B1: … o recenseamento das pessoas que aqui viviam. Não é, foi feito pela Câmara e pelo (pausa) … / B2: Ah, está a dizer que começaram a por números na porta (…). / B1: Começou-se a fazer o recenseamento nos anos noventa. Para se saber quem é que vivia [aqui], para depois se atribuir novas casas. Só que entre (…) o início do recenseamento e a primeira casa a ser demolida passaram pelo menos 10 anos. (…) Estou a lembrar muito bem. (…) Só que, a questão é que, imagina, fazem um primeiro recenseamento, passam 10 anos, as famílias já não estão iguais. As pessoas cresceram, pessoas tiveram filhos, tiveram, pronto. E essa é uma das razões pelo qual os bairros ainda não foram completamente demolidos porque, no fundo, a Câmara também não tem, ou tem ou não tem, ainda … / B2: Condições. / B1: … pronto, para realojar todas as pessoas, e até porque alegam, pelo menos aqui no bairro *6 de Maio*, que as pessoas que não fizeram parte do recenseamento, não tem direito à casa. (...) também tem que ter em atenção que durante tanto tempo, não é, as famílias evoluíram, portanto, (…) quem era só marido e mulher hoje não é só marido e mulher. Provavelmente também tem netos, não é. Portanto, isto é uma das razões pelo qual isto também tem demorado assim muito tempo".

[102] Only those individuals, who were registered in the mentioned PER survey of 1993 as living in a certain 'shack' or house, were eligible and not those who had moved to informalised and illegalised neighbourhoods at a later date. "As part of the conditions set by the national government, family members or other individuals who did not reside in the house at the surveying moment could not to be incorporated into the household later. Only under specified circumstances, under approval by the City Council and aftervalidation by IHRU [National Housing Institute or *Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana*; A/N] could unregistered spouses and underage offspring be incorporated (…)"

the market value for the respective area (Ascensão 2010: 5; 2016: 954). During the same interview, Batukaderas from the group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral* comment on these different schemes.

> "B1: … they gave some money and the person remained with the money and bought a house where they wanted. Or one really had to go to a house by the *Câmara* [council]. So the *Câmara* built several *bairros* [neighbourhoods], built the *bairro Casal da Boba*, in the *bairro de Zambujal* there are also some buildings which are of the resettlement …
> B2: *Zambujal* is already a long time, *Zambujal* …
> B3: Yes, the *bairro*, *Zambujal* was the first. Before *Boba*. Yes, *Boba*, *Casal da Mira* …
> B1: … in 1993 there was a flood and people already went there to my *bairro*. But they built the *bairro* but they [buildings; A/N] were not for the housing of people …
> B2: They were to sell.
> B1: Yes. These houses were not, they were not for us, in quotation marks, you know. It was mainly in order to accommodate the ex-soldiers, thus Portuguese who were in the colonies and who returned after independence. So, the returnees, the so-called returnees. And these houses were for these people, who basically ended up refusing. Because they also thought that the houses didn't have great conditions" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[103]

Through their reflections on the process, the Batukaderas indicate that even though people were officially given a choice to either buy houses where they wanted or move into accommodations provided by the *Câmara* [council], this did not hold true in practice. By stating that 'these houses were (…) not for us, in quotation marks' but instead for the Portuguese ex-soldiers returning from the colonies after independence, one of the Batukaderas makes explicit the racialised allocation of newly-built 'social housing'. When asked about the quality of these newly built housing complexes, the

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(Ascensão 2011: 299). Ascensão (2011; 2015), for instance, mentions numerous cases where individuals or families were non-eligible such as the case of a father, who was eligible, but his two older sons were not, because "they were over 18 years old when they arrived in 1994" (Ascensão 2015: 43).

[103] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: … davam um dinheiro e a pessoa ficava com o dinheiro e comprava casa onde queria. Ou então tinha mesmo de ir para uma casa da Câmara. Portanto, a Câmara construiu vários bairros, construiu o bairro *Casal da Boba*, o bairro de *Zambujal* também ali há alguns prédios que são de realojamento … / B2: *Zambujal* já é muito tempo, *Zambujal* … / B3: Sim, o bairro, o *Zambujal* foi primeiro. Primeiro, que a *Boba*. Sim. A *Boba*, *Casal da Mira* … / B1: … em 1993 houve uma cheia e as pessoas já foram lá para o meu bairro. Mas eles fizeram o bairro mas não eram para a habitação de pessoas… / B2: Era para vender. / B1: Sim. Estas casas não eram, não eram para nós, entre aspas, não é. Era sobretudo para acolher os ex-combatentes, portanto Portugueses que estavam nas colónias e que depois da independência, regressaram. Portanto, os retornados, os chamados retornados. E essas casas eram para essas pessoas, que no fundo acabaram por recusar. Porque achavam que as casas também não tinham grandes condições".

members of the group further reference racialised and classed housing policies and decisions.

> "B1: Aaaahhhh (sighs) Well then!
> B2: (laughs)
> B1: Some are better than others, you know. Right. How do I explain this.
> B2: (laughs)
> B1: Let's say that not all have the conditions that they should have, you know. *Casal da Mira* is a bit (pause) for example, *Casal da Mira* was a *bairro* built, it remained completely isolated from everything. So basically it's removing these people from one *bairro* to put them in another ghetto. Apart from, and now it's already better because the commercial centre was built nearby and it ended up being more (pause) on the level of transportation there is already more, on this level. For example, *Casal da Mira* I remember that at the beginning there wasn't even a pharmacy. (…) No services at all. No services at all! I remember when I first went to *Casal da Mira* there was nothing. Nothing, nothing, nothing regarding services, in the vicinity.
> B2: Neither *minipreços*, nor … (…)[104]
> B1: It was, completely! Segregation. Complete. Complete. *Casal da Boba* already wasn't, on this level it was a bit better (…) Although, and we have to acknowledge that the conditions, or the materials with which the houses were built, are not the materials you would build a house from to be sold to a normal public. They were not, you know" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[105]

I argue that this excerpt from the interview highlights several issues. One of the Batukaderas in question indicates that all newly built neighbourhoods lack certain conditions, either in terms of infrastructure or in terms of the very materials used for the construction of the actual buildings. Overall, however, by stating that 'basically it's removing these people from one *bairro* to put them in another ghetto' she comments on the marginalisation, increased peripherality, segregation and isolation of many of them by using the *bairro* of *Casal da Mira* (located approximately two

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[104] *Minipreço* is a discount supermarket chain in Portugal.
[105] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: Aaaahhhh (suspira) Ora bem! / B2: (ri) / B1: Há vários melhores do que outros, não é. Pronto. Como é que hei explicar. / B2: (ri) / B1: Digamos que nem todos têm as condições que deviam ter, não é. *Casal da Mira* é um bocado (pausa) por exemplo, o *Casal da Mira* foi um bairro construído, ficou completamente isolado de tudo. Portanto no fundo é tirar essas pessoas dum bairro para colocares num outro ghetto. Para além de, e agora já está melhor porque foi construído o centro comercial lá perto e acabou por ser mais (pausa) ao nível de transporte já haver mais, a esse nível. Por exemplo, *Casal da Mira* lembro-me que no início não havia nem uma farmácia. (…) Nenhum serviço. Nenhum serviço! Lembro-me quando fui primeiro ao *Casal da Mira* não havia nada. Nada, nada, nada de serviços, nas redondezas. / B2: Nem minipreços, nem … (…) / B1: Era, total! Segregação. Total. Total. O *Casal da Boba* já não foi, nesse nível era um bocado melhor (…) Apesar de, e temos que admitir que as condições, ou os materiais com que as casas foram feitas, não são os materiais como se faz uma casa para ser vendida a um público normal. Não eram, não é".

kilometres north of *Casal da Boba*, a neighbourhood I will focus on shortly) as an example. Ultimately, I read her assertion that 'the conditions, or the materials with which the houses were built, are not the materials you would build a house from to be sold to a normal public' as a direct reference to racist, classist housing policies and decision-making processes that distinguish between the 'normal public' and 'them', the racialised Other. This Batukadera's statement thus points to one of the main arguments I make throughout this chapter; namely that the production and structuring of diaspora space is intertwined with postcolonial power relations.

5.4.2   On the Constructedness of Housing Conditions

In the following section of the chapter, I briefly focus on three examples of neighbourhoods in the AML that are commonly referred to as either 'social', 'illegal', or 'improvised'. In doing so, I will address some of the effects that rehousing programmes such as the PER have had on spaces and people inhabiting them, including the changes (and current issues) regarding housing conditions. In all of these three neighbourhoods, a Batuku group[106] exists and I had regular contact with its members during my research (even though I did not conduct official interviews with all three of them).

5.4.2.1   'Social' or 'Illegal' – Three Residential Examples in the AML

The first neighbourhood, *Cova da Moura*, in the parish of *Buraca* / municipality of *Amadora* in the northwest of the *Lisboa* municipality, is considered the largest and most (in)famous 'improvised' neighbourhood of the AML. The second, the *Casal da Boba* neighbourhood in the *Casal de São Brás* parish / *Amadora* municipality, is a much smaller, more recent state project of the *bairros sociais* type (Pardue 2012b: 9; 2014b: 317). The third neighbourhood, *Terras da Costa*, in the touristic parish of

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[106] At the time of my research stays, the neighbourhood of *Casal da Boba* only had one Batuku group. According to the information of one of its founders (with whom I have stayed in touch afterwards), however, a second group was later established by one of the former members of her group.

Costa da Caparica[107] in the municipality of *Almada* on the southern bank of the Tagus, is a small, still rather unknown 'illegal' and 'informal' area of self-constructed dwellings.

Apart from these three neighbourhoods, I met and interviewed Batuku groups from the *6 de Maio* neighbourhood (parish of *Falagueira-Venda Nova / Amadora* municipality)[108], the *Outorela/Portela* neighbourhood (parish of *Carnaxide e Queijas / Oeiras* municipality), the *Laranjeiro* parish / *Almada* municipality, the *Gafanhotos* neighbourhood (*São Domingos de Rana* parish / *Cascais* municipality), the *Vialonga* parish / *Vila Franca de Xira* municipality, the *Cacém* area (*Cacém e São Marcos* parish / *Sintra* municipality), and the *Monte Abraão* neighbourhood (*Massamá e Monte Abraão* parish / *Sintra* municipality).[109] While not all group members (still) live in these neighbourhoods, it is clear that all groups (and the majority of their members) are connected with 'peripheral' spaces. Not only can the practice of Batuku therefore be described as a practice of the periphery/ies of the AML, but most Batukaderas also live in (though not necessarily work in, as section 5.5 will demonstrate) peripheral areas. In line with McKittrick's (2006: 92) caution, I do not consider their geographies exclusively from the point of view of 'peripherality' but, rather, highlight the Batukaderas' everyday navigations of the AML and their complex negotiations of the world around them. Throughout the thesis in general and this chapter in particular, I will reference several of the afore-mentioned neighbourhoods. The focus, however, will be on the three examples already listed.

According to accounts of residents as well as documentation by community and cultural centres, *Cova da Moura* began to be established towards the end of Portuguese colonialism in 1974 and the municipality finally recognised *Alto da Cova da Moura* (the neighbourhood's full name) as a legitimate, albeit 'improvised', neighbourhood in 1978 (Pardue 2013: 119f; 2014b: 320).[110] Between 1974 and 1978, a slow but constant arrival of day labourers – predominantly people positioned as 'African immigrants' from former colonies as well as *white* Portuguese (usually

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[107] *Costa da Caparica* is a traditional fishing area nowadays commonly known as an area with beaches for surfers and holiday homes for middle class Portuguese living in other parts of the AML (Fonseca 2013).

[108] Which at the time of my research was also undergoing demolition and consequently experienced numerous activist movements.

[109] See the map on page 94.

[110] Pardue (2014b) records that according to the scholar Anna Paula Beja Horta, the emergence of *Cova da Moura* already started in the 1940s when rural, *white* Portuguese migrants moved there in search of cultivable land (ibid: 327).

referred to as *retornados* or 'returnees'), returning to Portugal from the same colonies – searched for housing there (Pardue 2014b: 320).[111] The neighbourhood – commonly and humiliatingly referred to as a 'shantytown' – is nowadays often described as the "eleventh island of Cape Verde" (Fischer 2009: n/s). 'As public re-housing progressed, in the 1990s, this space became an object of fierce competition between urban development planners and the residents of the area' (Marques 2012: 15f). In contrast to other illegalised and informalised neighbourhoods (such as *Fontaínhas*, which will be addressed shortly), governmental and residential authorities in Lisbon did not include *Cova da Moura* in the PER demolition and rehousing plan. This was in part due to patronage as well as support both within (through activists, cultural centres, residential committees) and outside (through universities, journalists, activists) the neighbourhood. The main cultural association in the neighbourhood, the *Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude* (ACMJ) [*Moinho*], is an important institutional landmark (Pardue 2014). It had and still has "a crucial role in organising resistance against the urban development schemes" (Marques 2012: 16). *Cova da Moura* can herein be understood as a space where a significant number of residents, most of whom are (being) positioned as 'Cape Verdean', are confronting and (so far) resisting public housing policies and programmes that aim to demolish all 'improvised' dwellings and relocate residents into 'social housing' (Pardue 2014b: 310, 320). *Moinho* is also where the first and now oldest Batuku group of the AML – namely *Finka Pé* – was founded in 1989.

In the following interview excerpt, Inés – a neighbourhood activist, co-founder of *Moinho* and passionate supporter of *Finka Pé* – reflects on the history and emergence of several self-constructed neighbourhoods.

> "So there were few people here [in the AML in the 1960s; A/N]. Few men. So there was nobody to work in the construction industry. So they had to, they summoned the Cape Verdeans, to come and work in the construction industry. To build the *25 de Abril* Bridge, you know. It was the Cape Verdeans who built this. And so only men came. And then, they lived in very bad conditions, you know, because they were only used but one didn't look at them as people, but just to do the work as quickly and cheap as possible. And then, the men, later, when they had a chance, once they had collected some money, they called their wife or, well, a girlfriend who, and well often they already had children on Cape Verde, and so they first let the wife come, (…). And they started the construction of their houses. There

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[111] The category of *retornados* was already discussed in chapter 2.

were many *bairros* like this here, the *bairro 6 de Maio*, which is from the other side [of the train tracks; A/N], which are still many more wooden houses. It was, in *Algés* there was also the *bairro Pedreira dos Húngaros*[112], which was very well-known and which had many Cape Verdeans and it was also like that, a lot of wood, and very, in a very complicated situation. Then here in *Cova da Moura*, it was only in '78 that they started to build here" (Int. Inés, 08/11/2016).[113]

Past and present urban renewal policies favour(ed) partnerships with private development companies, thereby shaping the landscapes of the peripheral AML less in the form of 'improvised' neighbourhoods, such as *Cova da Moura*, and more in the form of 'social housing', such as *Casal da Boba* – located just three or four kilometres north of *Cova da Moura*. *Casal da Boba* can thus be considered a smaller, more recently developed *bairro social* ['social neighbourhood'], where many residents from the demolished 'illegal' neighbourhood of *Fontaínhas* were rehoused (Pardue 2012b: 9f; 2014b: 317, 320). *Fontaínhas* was an 'improvised' 'Cape Verdean' neighbourhood located at the *Portas de Benfica* – two former tollhouses – in the *Benfica* parish / municipality of *Lisboa*, almost 'on the doorstep' of 'central' Lisbon. It became famous due to the celebrated *Fontaínhas Trilogy* by Portuguese filmmaker Pedro Costa, and was demolished as part of the PER programme (Pardue 2014b: 317). In 2015, some residents of *Casal da Boba* founded the Batuku group *Flor da Vida*.

> "B1: The *Câmara* [council] at the time, well, took the name of everyone, (…) residents of the *bairro*. As later on the house was going to be demolished, then people will have to have a house, which was here that people went and have.
> HS: But and this was when? Many years ago or few years?
> B1: We came here in ninet…, two thousand and …

[112] The *bairro Pedreira dos Húngaros* was another self-constructed neighbourhood – generally framed as an 'African' or 'Cape Verdean shantytown' in public discourse – at the peripheries of the AML (former civil parish of *Algés* / municipality of *Oeiras*) and was later demolished as part of PER (Ascensão 2010, 2011; Weeks 2012; Pardue 2016).
[113] The original quote in Portuguese is "então tinha pouca gente aqui. Poucos homens. Então não havia gente para trabalhar na construção civil. Então tiveram que, chamaram os cabo-verdianos, para vir trabalhar na construção civil. Para fazer a ponte 25 de Abril, não é. Foram os cabo-verdianos que fizeram isto. E pois vieram só os homens. E depois, eles viviam em condições muito mal, não é, porque eram só utilizados mas não olhavam para eles como pessoas, mas só para fazer o trabalho mais rápido e mais barato possível. E depois, os homens mais tarde, quando tinham alguma possibilidade, que juntavam algum dinheiro, chamavam a mulher que tinham ou, bem, uma amiga que, e pois muitas vezes já tinham filhos lá em Cabo Verde, e pois deixavam vir primeiro a mulher, (…). E começaram a fazer a construção das suas casas. Havia assim muitos bairros aqui, o bairro *6 de Maio*, que é do outro lado, que são muito mais casas ainda de madeira. Era, em *Algés* também tinha o bairro *Pedreira dos Húngaros*, que era muito conhecido e que tinha muitos cabo-verdianos e era também assim muito em madeira e muito, em situação muito complicado. Depois aqui na *Cova da Moura*, só foi em '78 que começaram a construir aqui".

B2: Two thousand and one.
B1: Two thousand and one. Two thousand and one. (…)
HS: Okay. And before you lived?
B1: In *Fontaínhas*. (…)
B2: It is located at the foot of the *Portas de Benfica*, you see. (…) There is not this, this doesn't exist anymore. Now only the highway remained, because …
B1: The highway remained.
B2: … because they built the road there, you know. They crossed the CRIL there, that's why they sent us to this side.[114]
HS: Okay. And you lived in *Fontaínhas* for how long.
B2: For many years. We lived there twenty-odd years.
B1: Yes. Just me it was thirty-odd years. (…) Thirty-odd years.
B2: (…) All of our children were born down there" (Int. Iolanda/Isabela/Mafalda, 26/02/2017).[115]

Here, three of the Batukaderas from *Flor da Vida* outline the process of resettlement and hint at their personal investment in and identification with *Fontaínhas*: this is where they lived for 20 or 30 years and where 'all [their] children were born'. They also refer to large-scale construction and infrastructure projects already mentioned in section 5.3.3, many of which implicated the demolition of neighbourhoods and – consequently – forced removal of their long-time residents to peripheral areas.

The 'illegal' and 'informal' neighbourhood *Terras da Costa* was self-constructed more than 30 years ago. There are no precise numbers but it is estimated that approximately 500 people, 100 of them children, live there, and the majority of the residents are positioned as 'Cape Verdean'. For more than three decades, the residents of this *bairro* had to live without access to drinking water. This only changed in late 2014 with the installation of a community kitchen [*cozinha comunitária*], which was proposed by an architectural office (and later implemented by an experimental architecture collective) and included a channelled water point. Before that, people had to walk for more than 1 kilometre to a public fountain in order

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[114] CRIL stands for *Circular Regional Interior de Lisboa* [Regional Interior Ring of Lisbon] and is a perimeter highway.
[115] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: A Câmara na altura, pronto, tomou o nome de toda a gente, (…) moradores do bairro. Que mais tarde a casa ia ser demolida, depois a gente ia que ter a casa, que foi aqui que a gente foi e tem. / HS: Mas e foi quando? Muitos anos atrás ou poucos anos? / B1: Nós viemos para aqui em noven…, dois mil e … / B2: Dois mil e um. / B1: Dois mil e um. Dois mil e um. (…) / HS: Okay. E antes moravam? / B1: Nas *Fontaínhas*. (…) / B2: Fica ao pé das *Portas de Benfica*, estás a ver. (…) Não há isso, isso não existe mais. Agora ficou só autoestrada, porque … / B1: Ficou autoestrada. / B2: … porque fizeram [a] estrada para aí, não é. Passaram a CRIL por aí, por isso que mandaram a gente para esse lado. / HS: Okay. E vocês moravam nas *Fontaínhas* durante quanto tempo. / B2: Há muitos anos. A gente morou lá vinte e tal anos. / B1: Sim. Eu só era trinta e tal anos. (…) Trinta e tal anos. / B2: (…) Os nossos filhos todos nasceram lá em baixo".

to collect water (Ferreira & Dias Oliveira 2015: 24-26). Not much has been published on this neighbourhood, so the majority of the following information relies on notes taken during my research. The *cozinha comunitária* soon became a meeting point for the residents of *Terras da Costa* and inspired the formation of the Batuku group *Nós Herança*, whom I first met at a rehearsal of the previously mentioned group *Finka Pé* in October 2016 when they were still in the process of getting 'more organised' (Observation Prot. 30/10/2016). During my research, I did not conduct interviews with members of this group (none of them seemed comfortable with me recording our conversations) but visited them several times.

5.4.2.2   Effects and Housing Conditions

Housing programmes such as the PER have had different effects on racialised, ethnicised and classed populations in the AML. Some of these relate to issues of 'identity' and interpersonal relationships, others to housing conditions and distance between group members. All, however, impact upon the practice of Batuku – and the Batukaderas – as will be demonstrated through the research material on the following pages.

The members of the Batuku group *Flor da Vida* from the *Casal da Boba* neighbourhood address precarious housing conditions and resettlements in some of their songs, articulating their anger and frustration because "the *Câmara* [council] does not fix anything" (Observation Prot. 29/01/2017). In chapter 8, I will frame this critique of housing conditions as an important aspect of many Batukaderas' (self)care. Their criticism of the 'reliable' infrastructure promised by the PER also becomes apparent in the note I took after first visiting them in January 2017.

> "The staircase is semi-open, it seems unfinished. She [the founder of the group; A/N] tells me that she has already inquired at the *Câmara* numerous times for the staircase to be closed because it is very cold and wet due to the wind and the rain. She says that several people have already slipped, fallen and injured themselves. But the *Câmara* does not do anything, perhaps they will just have to fix it themselves" (Observation Prot. 29/01/2017).

Let us remember that similar issues are addressed in the interview with the Batuku group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral* on page 104 when they talk about the materials used

for the construction of different *bairros sociais*, hinting at racist (and classist) housing policies and decision-making processes. In an interview with Pedro, one of the founders of the Portuguese non-profit organisation *SOS Racismo* [SOS Racism], he too recounts resettlement processes and inadequate housing conditions in the AML.

> "(…) the constructions, people's materials, there was this, there were houses, which had leaks and it rained, (…) [in the] entrance. And which had not yet been occupied. (…) We went to accompany all of these construction processes and to see this, you know. Look. Which was (…) the new buildings, the buildings of *Quinta das Mós* (pause) people went there in 2000, 2001.[116] They were not yet occupied. And there were leaks. Do you understand" (Int. Pedro, 31/01/2017).[117]

As stated, housing conditions are inextricably linked to identifications with and investments in space, not only with regard to physical factors but also psychological ones.

The conditions of many so-called 'illegal', self-constructed housing areas showed similarities throughout the years; and those that still exist continue to do so. *Quinta da Serra*[118], for instance, did not have a water and electricity supply system until the mid-1990s and no sewage collection until 1997 (Ascensão 2010: 31; 2016: 953f). While the latter was eventually implemented after a town councillor's decision, it almost did not happen "because it was thought not to be cost effective given that the slum was to be relocated and demolished in the near future [anyway]" (Ascensão 2010: 31). Therefore, the "informal fixing of (…) [dwellings] in space" (ibid) took and takes place through collective facilities such as communal wells, individual strategies such as water deposits, and the founding of residents' associations, but also through the public administration's conscious choices not to do anything about certain living conditions. In the early 2000s, electricity was finally provided "by the semi-public company EDP although by then most houses had illegally tapped electricity, a

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[116] *Quinta das Mós* is located in the former civil parish of *Camarate* in the municipality of *Loures*.

[117] The original quote in Portuguese is "(…) as construções, os materiais de gente, havia isso, havia casas, que tinham infiltrações e que chovia, (…) [na] entrada. E ainda não tinham sido ocupadas. (…) Nós andamos acompanhar todos esses processos de construção e de ver isso, né. Repara. Que era (…) os prédios novos, os prédios da *Quinta das Mós* (pausa) as pessoas foram para lá em 2000, 2001. Ainda não estavam ocupados. E havia infiltrações. Percebes".

[118] The informalised and illegalised neighbourhood of *Quinta da Serra* was located right next to today's main airport in the parish of *Prior Velho* / municipality of *Loures*. This neighbourhood, which was slowly demolished from 2008 to 2013 and its former residents relocated or displaced (Ascensão 2016: 953f), can be understood as a case in point for the broader (historical) context of 'illegal' and 'improvised' housing in the AML.

strategy known as *puxadas*" (Ascensão 2016: 954); something that was also mentioned to me about other (former) dwellings during my visits to various neighbourhoods.

The residents of the *Terras da Costa* neighbourhood also had to fight for the building of a single communal well in close proximity of its territory and for access to electricity for many years. I first went to *Terras da Costa* in November 2016 after I met some members of the *bairro*'s Batuku group (*Nós Herança*) and was invited to visit by the group's founder. The following note from this visit highlights the conditions of this so-called 'illegal', self-constructed housing area and shows similarities to what I have discussed with Ascensão in the paragraph above.

> "The houses look 'improvised' in the sense of not being 'finished' (e.g. no plaster on the walls). Some of them have tin roofs. There is an orange motor outside which provides electricity to some of the houses. Behind the neighbourhood, one can see the hills towards *Monte da Caparica*. To the right of the houses is the *cozinha comunitária*. The Batukadera and I sit down on the *cozinha*'s patio. Soon, a few people join us there. One of them is a neighbourhood activist and member of the residents' association; he tells me a lot about the *bairro*. He says that they have fought for many years to get access to water and electricity. At the beginning, he says, *robamos electricidade* [we stole electricity], before they finally received the orange electricity provider. He asks if I want a tour of the neighbourhood. I affirm. He shows me the new electricity connection which will be activated on November 30th and which has a connection for all of the 55 houses. The cost of the connection was partly paid for by the *Câmara* and the residents had to pay the other half. He says that many people don't want to leave the *bairro*, they just want their basic human needs covered. He says that the water access at the *cozinha comunitária* helps a lot. Before, they had to walk quite far and there were people who would collect water and would be paid €1 per canister" (Observation Prot. 19/11/2016).

This excerpt illuminates the "informal fixing of (…) [dwellings] in space" (Ascensão 2010: 31) occuring through collective facilities such as communal wells and/or the founding of residents' associations. Furthermore, it details the conditions of the *bairro* as well as the different strategies residents had to come up with in order to cope with a lack of water and/or electricity.

The two examples of informalised and illegalised dwellings, *Quinta da Serra* and *Terras da Costa*, offer a picture of the housing conditions facing many residents. While the (forced) relocation to *bairros sociais* thus provided a great number of them with improvements in terms of water and electricity supply, or sanitary conditions,

this does not mean that these newly constructed, standardised housing projects were high-quality or well-planned. As the quote on page 111 indicates, many of them were erected in a short period of time and with poor quality materials (Pardue 2012b: 10). In their study on housing vulnerabilities in the AML, Renato Miguel do Carmo et al. (2015) reveal the poor quality of some housing estates and highlight that the most common problem for respondents was the difficulty in maintaining houses adequately heated, followed by leaky roofs, humidity in walls, and rotting of windows and floors. Whilst houses being cold and/or humid is an issue common to many buildings in the AML, there is no doubt that the greatest housing vulnerability is found amongst working class populations (ibid: 13f).

As these excerpts from my notes and interview transcripts show, housing vulnerabilities are usually accentuated by class-based, financial vulnerabilities in the sense that a large part of people's expenses is related to housing (rent, water consumption, gas, electricity, telephone, internet, or additional expenses related to the replacement of appliances or repairs) (ibid: 16). Therefore, both self-constructed, 'informal' neighbourhoods and standardised 'social housing' (although the former perhaps more so than the latter) have an impact on its residents; on their body (health) as well as their social image (Ascensão 2016: 958). The relation of (racialised and classed) housing conditions and health will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 8, where I frame Batuku as a practice of (self)care.

In the following interview excerpt, some Batukaderas address these financial vulnerabilities and highlight the fact that their living conditions and expenses changed after being forcefully resettled to even more peripheral areas, while their means of employment – and hence income opportunities – did not.

> "B1: I preferred *das Marianas* to where I am.[119]
> HS: The quality of the buildings or why?
> B1: No no no.
> B2: It's not quite the quality, way of life.
> B1: No, it's not because of the building. It's just …
> B2: And it's indeed because of the building, you know? Why? Because sometimes we say we are living worse now than when we lived there. And there are people who understand it like this 'ah, they want to live in *barracas* [shacks]'. No no. That's not it. We like to live in a good place, in a good quality but it's like this, in financial terms, because they told us 'ah,

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[119] The *bairro das Marianas* was a neighbourhood in the municipality of *Cascais*, which was demolished in 2006.

you will change your life. All good, you will live better, it will be good'. But the things that they charge (…). It's not possible. (…) That's why, in this respect we are living badly. Very bad, because we … money may come in but we, the kids are in the nursery, you have to pay. We have to pay transport. We have to pay light and water and gas, it's double what we paid … before" (Int. Ester/Filomena, 12/02/2017).[120]

Housing policies and programmes throughout the AML have therefore had various effects on residents. Among them, an increased sense of physical as well as mental isolation was often brought up by many Batukaderas. This feeling of increased peripherality and dispersal of people who formerly lived close to each other (and who, according to Kesha Fikes (2009: 87), used to rely on deep networks in their previous neighbourhoods) are further related to a perceived loss of 'solidarity' and 'community'; something I will take up again in chapter 8. As Maria Lucinda Fonseca (1999) points out, "(…) the architecture of the new buildings makes it more difficult to maintain sociability networks and support ties among neighbours. The result is often dissatisfaction, and sometimes rejection of the new residential area" (ibid: 204). In Ascensão's words (2015: 40), "the programme [PER; A/N] was part of a contradictory class project because, while acknowledging the need to provide decent housing for slum dwellers, (…) it further segregated them, as if trying to solve a problem by hiding it". The Batukaderas from the group *Flor da Vida* from the *Casal da Boba* neighbourhood reflect on this increase in isolation and distance as well as the loss of 'solidarity' and 'conviviality' during the interview, highlighting issues of identification with and investment (or a lack thereof) in certain spaces.

"B2: Ah, I preferred there [*Fontaínhas*; A/N]. Because it was closer to transportation, we were able to …
B1: No, here, one meets … …
B2: … thus work better, because it was much closer to transportation. Here we also have [transportation; A/N], also. But there it was closer to transport. It was more …
B1: More people more united.

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[120] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: Gostava mais das *Marianas* do que onde eu estou. / HS: A qualidade dos prédios ou porque? / B1: Não, não, não. / B2: Não é bem a qualidade, maneira de viver. / B1: Não, não é por causa do prédio. É mesmo … / B2: E é mesmo por causa do prédio, não é? Porque? Porque às vezes a gente diz nós estamos pior agora de que quando vivíamos lá. E há pessoas que entendem assim 'ah, querem viver nas barracas'. Não, não. Não é isso. Nós gostamos de viver num bom espaço, na boa qualidade mas é assim, em termos financeiros, porque eles nós disseram 'ah, vai mudar de vida. Tudo bem, vão viver melhor, vai estar bem'. Mas as coisas que eles cobram (…). Não tem possibilidade. (…) Por isso, nesse aspecto estamos a viver mal. Muito mal, porque nós … pode entrar dinheiro mas nós, os miúdos estão no infantário, tem que pagar. Temos que pagar transporte. Temos que pagar luz e água e gas, é duplo daquilo que a gente pagava … antes".

B2: … closer to the city. You see.

B1: Even people more united. Because here in the building, everybody has their door closed. (…) Knock on the door, if I want to knock on the neighbour's, I knock. If I don't knock, she doesn't see me, I don't see her either. But there in the *bairro* people's door was like this (…) open. We walk by, everybody is there, everybody gives 'good day, good afternoon', greets, (…) we need something, we will look for the neighbours. I don't have it, she has it and she doesn't have it, I have it for her, it's like that. It was another kind of coexistence. The sociability was much better than here" (Int. Iolanda/Isabela/Mafalda, 26/02/2017).[121]

This excerpt shows that resettlements to even more peripheral areas of the AML have resulted in longer distances from transportation and thus to work, among other things. As I have already pointed out, drawing on Buhr (2017b), there is a "co-existence of many cities within a city" (ibid: 8), not all of which are equally accessible or available. Buhr furthermore points out that 'navigating' cities requires one to utilise practical information regarding, for instance, public transport timetables and prices or knowing where to find particular services (Buhr 2017a: 3) and includes "learning to manage inefficient public transport when living in peripheral areas" (ibid: 11). In this regard, my analysis addresses structural inequalities to show that there "is not one public transport system (…) [in Lisbon]; there are two, one for the city centre and one for the peripheries" (ibid: 8). The importance of practical knowledge about navigating the city became clear through my own travels of the AML. In my case, this was often related to not knowing if a particular means of transport was included in my travel card. At the beginning of my stay, people had recommended that I get a *Viva Viagem Zapping Card* (which could be topped up at most stops) but it soon turned out that this system did not cover many of the more peripheral residential areas I had to visit for my research. The following note from my visit to the group *Nós Herança* in the *Terras da Costa* neighbourhood highlights this, as well as the considerably high prices for single tickets, further clarifying the peripherality of certain spaces, the time needed to get there (90 mintues one-way, in this case), as well as my own classed

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[121] The original quote in Portuguese is "B2: Ah, eu gostava mais de lá [as *Fontaínhas*; A/N]. Porque era mais perto de transporte, a gente tinha possibilidade … / B1: Não, aqui encontra-se … / B2: … assim de trabalhar melhor, porque ficava muito mais perto de transporte. Aqui a gente tem também, também. Mas lá era mais perto de transporte. Era mais … / B1: Mais pessoas mais unidas. / B2: … mais perto da cidade. Estás a ver. / B1: Até pessoas mais unidas. Porque aqui no prédio, toda a gente tem a sua porta fechada. (…) Bater a porta, se eu quiser bater na vizinha, bato. Se eu não bater, ela não me vê, eu também não lhe vejo. Mas lá no bairro a porta das pessoas era assim (…) aberta. A gente passa, está todo mundo ali, todo mundo dá 'bom dia, boa tarde', cumprimenta, (…) precisamos de alguma coisa, vamos procurar nos vizinhos. Eu não tenho, ela tem e ela não tem, eu tenho para ela, é assim. Era outra convivência. A convivência era muito melhor do que aqui".

location within the AML.

> "It's a sunny Saturday in November. I leave the house shortly after 9am. The streets of *Chiado* – the 'central', 'historic' neighbourhood where I am renting a room – are still rather quiet. I take the green metro line to *Praça Areeiro* but have to wait for the metro for 15 minutes. After arriving at *Praça Areeiro*, I look for the bus #161 towards *Costa da Caparica*. The bus is supposed to arrive at 9:50am but only gets to the stop at 10am. My Zapping card doesn't work and I pay €3,20 for one way. I ask the driver to let me know when we are approaching the stop of the cemetery, as the Batukadera had told me to get off there. The bus rides past *Parque Monsanto/Campolide*, towards *Belém*, across the bridge *25 de Abril*. On the other side of the river *Tejo*, the surroundings get greener and greener. I can see signs that say *Costa de Caparica* and display a drawing of a sun and waves, indicating that this is an area popular for surfing and visiting the beaches. The driver lets me know that the next stop will be the cemetery. I get off at approx. 10:30am and call the Batukadera to let her know that I've arrived. She tells me to wait there, she would come in a few minutes" (Observation Prot. 19/11/2016).

The increased peripherality and dispersal has also directly impacted the practice of Batuku in the AML, as many members of groups now live further away from each other than they used to. In an interview with Amália – a well-known singer in the AML, born on the Cape Verdean island of Boa Vista, and the godmother of the Batuku group *Voz D'África* – she elaborates on the impact which resettlement programmes have had on group dynamics.

> "It's [*as Marianas*; A/N] a neighbourhood which was destroyed, because, in this physical zone, between *Carcavelos* and *Parede*, I think a (pause) condominium was planned (…). They were rehoused. Well, when the group organised itself, *as Marianas* was a neighbourhood (pause) where all of them lived. And they gathered on weekends. To play, to sing. And afterwards they dispersed, because it was, they were resettled (pause) along the *Estoril* line. In the interior of *Oeiras*, *Cascais*, in *Tires*. They practically continued in the same geographic zone but not in the same space. Before, they were in the same space. But now for them to meet and rehearse, there is this (pause) plan rehearsals, schedule rehearsals. Have availabilities, they are all very dispersed" (Int. Amália, 07/12/2016).[122]

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[122] The original quote in Portuguese is "é um bairro que foi destruído, até porque, naquela zona física, entre *Carcavelos* e *Parede*, acho que foi programado um (pausa) um condomínio (…). Elas foram realojadas. Pois é, quando o grupo se formou, *as Marianas* era um bairro (pausa) onde todas moravam. E reuniam-se ao fim de semana. Para tocarem, para cantarem. E depois dispersaram-se, porque foi, elas foram realojadas (pausa) na linha, do *Estoril*. No interior de *Oeiras*, *Cascais*, em *Tires*. Continuam praticamente na mesma zona geográfica mas não no mesmo espaço. Elas estavam antes no mesmo espaço. Mas agora para elas se reunirem e fazerem ensaios, há esta (pausa) programar ensaios, marcar ensaios. Ter disponibilidades, são todas muito dispersas".

Here, Amália brings up what many groups – not only the members of *Voz D'África* – experience after being resettled and what many Batukaderas told me in interviews and conversations. These effects not only relate to meetings and rehearsals – as indicated through Amália's quote – but also to attending and/or performing at events. Due to the relocations, many Batukaderas now live further apart and thus meet less regularly as transportation on weekends (the only time available to practice Batuku) is both more difficult and expensive than during the week: many buses and trains run on a reduced schedule and tickets may not be included in their monthly transport pass, for instance (see also Stepanik 2019: 81).

> "We have a lot of desire [to perform; A/N] and we like it immensely but sometimes there are these difficulties of transport because we don't all live together. And sometimes in order to go, it's a bit easy, you know? But at the time of returning home [it is more difficult], because sometimes it's very much at night. In, there are locations that don't even have transport. And they have to move, people have to go to their homes and they don't have means of transport and it really complicates our lives" (Int. Ester/Filomena, 12/02/2017).[123]

Here, a Batukadera from the group *Voz D'África* expresses the challenges many of them face when it comes to navigating the AML as housing programmes such as the PER have forced people to live in areas which are marginalised – as in underserved, among other things – and not accessible at certain times.

Another important effect of housing programmes and resettlement policies is the increased racialisation, criminalisation and stigmatisation of spaces. These are generally related to "stigmatizing socio-economic activities such as illegal drug trafficking and prostitution" (Pardue 2014b: 316). This criminalisation and stigmatisation is discernable in the following note from one of many visits to *Cova da Moura*; a neighbourhood which is particularly stigmatised, criminalised, and racialised in public discourse.

> "I take the train at 3:31pm because I know that the back exit of the train station – the one which is closer to the 'entrance' of *Cova da Moura* – is

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[123] The original quote in Portuguese is "temos muito desejo [de atuar; A/N] e gostamos imenso, mas às vezes há lá estas dificuldades do transporte porque nós não moramos todos juntos. E às vezes para ir, é um bocado fácil, não é? Mas à hora de regressar, porque às vezes é muito à noite. Em, há sítios que não tem mesmo transporte. E têm que deslocar, as pessoas têm que ir a sua casa e não têm meios de transporte e nós dificulta muito a vida".

locked on weekends and that I will thus have to walk longer to get to *Cova da Moura*. The train arrives at the stop, *Sta Cruz Damaia*, at 3:41pm and I get off by the front exit. I walk along the main road. After the gas station, I notice a billboard on the left side of the road. It reads *Amadora. Câmara Municipal. Segurança para todos. Olhamos por si. Video Vigilância* [*Amadora*. City Council. Security for all. We look after you. Video surveillance]. This strikes me as absurd as the billboard further depicts a *white* family with an elderly man, a middle-aged man and woman (supposedly husband and wife?), a boy and a girl, who literally look towards *Cova da Moura* on the right side of the road and 'watch over and monitor it'" (Observation Prot. 20/11/2016).

We can see here how the stigmatisation and criminalisation of the neighbourhood's residents leads not only to tangible measures being taken regarding the accessibility of public transport (in this case, locking the exit / entrance closest to *Cova da Moura*) but also by means of visually reproducing security discourses through racialised depictions of power and control.

For many residents, living in *bairros sociais* or so-called 'illegal' or 'improvised' neighbourhoods causes a mixture of pride and shame. According to Ascensão (2016), the latter "stems from both the immediate materiality of one's dwellings as well as from the social image of the neighbourhood" (ibid: 959). He further argues that the social image of so-called 'informal' housing areas was often deliberately constructed over the course of many years through "strategic negative portrayal in the media and policy which de-legitimized the urban poor's claims against clearance or 're-housing' in more peripheral locations" (ibid). Consequently, negative media representations and reports act as tools to produce a social image of certain spaces and equate them with danger, wretchedness and squalor. Neighbourhoods such as *Cova da Moura* received particularly extensive and negative – racialised – media coverage related to crime and violence. The consequent stigmatisation and marginalisation of its residents further limits their prospects, but has also engendered multiple forms of counter-strategy and protest as they create alternative ways to represent themselves and their spaces (Castro Ribeiro 2010). This manifests in the practice of Batuku, among other things, as well as the conscious and confident self-identification with and valorisation of highly racialised and criminalised spaces. Many Batuku groups express this by means of song lyrics, for example, which I will analyse in more detail in chapters 7 and 8 of the thesis.

5.5 Labour Conditions & Spatial Navigations

As mentioned in the theoretical section at the beginning of this chapter, there is not only a link between space and (racialised or classed) housing but also an intertwining between space and labour practices (McKittrick 2006). In the following section, I elaborate on this connection by looking at the labour context and conditions of many of the Batukaderas I interviewed. In line with my research focus, an intersectional perspective will be applied throughout this analysis. Referring to Franz Buhr's concept of 'urban apprenticeship' (2017a; b), this section includes references from the empirical material to, inter alia, public transport systems and daily journeys in the AML. According to Buhr, 'urban apprenticeship' involves a complex system of skills and knowledge: more than merely knowing *where* certain areas or points in the city are, it emphasises the importance of skills and knowledge about *how* to use this space. He deploys this concept in order to analyse the many ways in which people "learn (to use) city spaces" (Buhr 2017b: 1).

To this effect, the section will start with some brief background information on the labour context in the AML and continue with a more in-depth exploration of specific labour sectors and their racialised, gendered, and classed manifestations. I then focus on one of the two of the main sectors in which many Batukaderas work; namely the cleaning sector. Although none of the Batukaderas I interviewed worked in the domestic sector – the other main sector – at the time of my research, some of them had done so in the past and/or knew of other Batukaderas employed in this sector at the time. I therefore consider it important to include some information regarding this sector nonetheless.

5.5.1 The Labour Context in the AML

The Portuguese labour market underwent significant changes in the early 1980s and mid-1990s due to a substantial increase in the number of workers moving to Portugal from other countries. These changes were even greater in specific regions, such as the AML, and economic sectors, such as construction work and domestic services. A characteristic of many people constructed as 'migrant workers' is their higher

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vulnerability and exploitation in the Portuguese labour market (Baganha et al. 1999: 89f) – particularly in the building sector – when compared to workers constructed as 'Portuguese' (ibid: 118). This points to racialised and ethnicised power relations within the labour market, which I argue also applies in the cleaning sector (and domestic work) in the following pages.

The rise in infrastructure projects and construction work in the early 1990s is one factor that led to the increase in 'migrant workers', particularly from former colonies such as Cape Verde, both in the 'formal' and the 'informal' market.[124] However, the domestic services and cleaning sectors, too, experienced a significant employment increase. "(…) several private firms as well as public services decided to contract out services such as cleaning (…), [which] led to the expansion of firms active in this field" (Baganha et al. 1999: 96). Another contributing factor to this growth was the labour shortage in sectors such as construction and domestic work or industrial cleaning. According to some labour market studies, there were limited numbers of (*white*) Portuguese applicants for these jobs; partly due to the fact that many of them had migrated to other European countries with higher wage levels (ibid: 98). This reinforced the trend towards the racialisation or ethnicisation (and gendering) of specific labour sectors in the AML.

5.5.2 An Intersectional Perspective on Specific Labour Sectors

As mentioned, the labour sectors for workers positioned as 'Cape Verdean' in the AML exhibit clear gendered divisions, with the majority of men working in construction and many women in cleaning and domestic services. For several decades now, Portugal has depended on racialised and ethnicised as well as classed workers – many of whom initially moved there from Cape Verde – to supplement the already existing workforce. When more (female) workers from Eastern Europe, especially

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[124] I want to note here that many publications speak of 'unskilled' or 'low-skilled' workers (Baganha et al. 1999; Fonseca 1999; Pereira 2013). I consider this to be problematic, devaluating and classist and thus prefer to use terms such as 'low-paying'. Furthermore, with regard to the categorisation of some parts of the economy as 'formal' and others as 'informal', I want to point out the constructedness of these definitions – similar to those in terms of 'informal' neighbourhoods (see section 5.3.1). The 'informal economy' is a politically constructed condition and its very existence fundamentally depends on what a government (and some of its agencies) define as 'informal' at any given time (Baganha et al. 1999: 107).

from the Ukraine and Brazil, moved to Portugal in the 1990s, this changed the racialised hiring options and preferences of many employers. The (constructed) hierarchies between differently ethnicised or racialised working class women in the domestic and cleaning sectors emphasise (conscious or subconscious) racialised notions related to the complex colonial histories and geographies of Portugal (Pereira 2013: 1141, 1143f).

Due to Portugal's recent and current economic circumstances, demand for labour fluctuates significantly, and employment conditions are increasingly precarious. "Even when obtaining work, they [most 'Cape Verdeans'; A/N] find that many employment conditions are nonnegotiable, including their restricted eligibility for benefits from the Portuguese national social security system" (Weeks 2015: 14). Many residents positioned as 'Cape Verdean' in the AML thus continue to be concentrated in the most poorly paid sectors of the labour market, thereby being "transformed into a class of working poor, unable to gain entry into the middle classes(es), let alone the proletariat" (ibid). This group of working poor has been particularly hard hit by the post-2010 economic recession, meaning that, in the current crisis, "even the most undesirable jobs are difficult to come by" (ibid: 20) and many "people are 'willing' to join the ranks of the super-exploited because that is their only way to ensure short-term material survival" (ibid: 23).

As will be shown, the effects of gendered wage labour regimes on the use and navigation of space are such that the lives of many racialised and classed women are – generally speaking – organised around journeys to and from peripheral residential areas and their low-paid, manual jobs (Fikes 2008: 55), which are often based in more 'central' locations of the city. This is particularly interesting when we consider that 'diasporic cultural practices' are frequently seen as having to circulate 'visibly'. Yet the practices of those whose daily routines, like the Batukaderas', are circumscribed by market forces and restrictive labour laws, and whose non-working time (in the sense of remunerated work) is often spent on public transport, must not – according to Fikes (2008) – be uncoupled from our understanding of the emergence and manifestation of diasporic cultural practices (ibid: 51).

Most of the Batukaderas depend on public transport to move around the

Metropolitan Area. They are therefore not immobile, but their mobility[125] is often based on fixed work contracts that confine them to a specific employer and perhaps a residence that is far from their own. Because of the very early (or very late, depending on perspective) working hours and the time needed for public transport (taking up to 90 minutes or more), their mobility can thus be considered an 'invisible' one – based on classed, gendered and racialised experiences of abjection[126] – to wider society, as they often have to leave the house in the middle of the night or the early hours of the morning to get to work (see also Stepanik 2019: 81).

I thus argue that the Batukaderas' daily routines and gendered wage labour (both of which have changed due to the housing programmes mentioned earlier) shape the practice of Batuku in the AML. As Francisco – an aspiring musician in his late twenties, who volunteers at the cultural association *Moinho da Juventude* in *Cova da Moura* and supports the Batuku group there – articulates when I ask him about challenges of Batuku groups in the AML,

> "first, there is a lack of time. In order to come together. Because on Cape Verde it was easier, they were women of the allotments, you know. (…) And here in Lisbon, they work in houses but Lisbon is massive (laughs). It's not an island like Santiago. They have to, in order to take cars, buses and things like this. Then arrive at home, attend to the house. It's a different setting" (Int. Francisco, 22/11/2016).[127]

Here, Francisco emphasises that one of the most crucial challenges to the practice of Batuku in the AML is the Batukaderas' lack of time, due to their labour conditions, domestic responsibilities, the geographical distances they travel as well as transportation issues pertaining to this specific diasporic context. João – a professional dancer and cultural educator, who moved to the AML from *Cidade Velha* (Santiago

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[125] Glick-Schiller & Salazar (2013) call for a move beyond "the ready equation of mobility with freedom by examining not only movement as connection but also as an aspect of new confinements (…)" (ibid: 190).

[126] Imogen Tyler (2013) conceptualises 'social abjection' by focusing on what it means to be (made) abject to those affected – the 'national abjects' (ibid: 9), those who "repeatedly find (…) [themselves] the object of the other's violent objectifying disgust" (ibid: 4). According to her, the concept is about the "processes through which minoritized populations are imagined and configured as revolting and become subject to control, stigma and censure, and the practices through which individuals and groups resist, reconfigure and revolt against their abject subjectification" (ibid: 3f). Chapter 7, in particular, will deal with the notion of 'social abjection' in more detail.

[127] The original quote in Portuguese is "a primeira, todas que, há falta de tempo. Para se reunirem. Porque em Cabo Verde era mais fácil, eram mulheres das hortas, né. (…) E cá em Lisboa, elas trabalham em casas mas Lisboa é grande (ri). Não é uma ilha como Santiago. Elas tem que, para apanhar carros, autocarros e coisas assim. Depois chegar à casa, tratar da casa. É um ambiente diferente".

island) in 1998 and regularly supports Batuku groups – replies with similar comments regarding the challenges many Batukaderas face.

> "People work from morning to night, they [the rehearsals; A/N] have to be on weekends. You have to renounce certain things in order to try to have time. To rehearse, to prepare the performance. That is why it becomes much more complicated. Talking about Cape Verde, it's all easier, we have more time, so to speak. There are more people who also adhere to these kinds of initiatives, for rehearsals. It's easier. It's easier. It doesn't compare. (…) Sometimes they do this, out of goodwill, which they have. Because people, only see that which is being done onstage. People very often don't realise the effort, the sacrifice, in order for these groups to be onstage. (…) Renounce, leave work, in order to go to rehearsals (…)" (Int. João, 16/01/2017).[128]

João herein highlights the strain of trying to balance precarious labour conditions (which he indicates through his reference to long work hours) with finding time to rehearse and perform. He accentuates 'the effort, the sacrifice' that goes into maintaining a Batuku group that does not earn anything from their performances, an aspect that largely remains invisible to audiences. Yet, he argues that many continue because of their 'goodwill' – or, I would add, out of joy (which comprises part of my argument framing Batuku as (self)care in chapter 8) – expressing commitment to the practice.

5.5.2.1   The Cleaning Sector in the AML

The cleaning sector in the AML experienced significant changes in the 1980s and 1990s, during which time cleaning activities were being outsourced to private, specialised janitorial firms (Baganha et al. 1999: 96; Pereira 2013: 1147). According to the respective employers' association, this trend started in the 1980s "following the downsizing and subcontracting strategies increasingly adopted by companies in order

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[128] The original quote in Portuguese is "as pessoas trabalham de manhã até a noite, [os ensaios; A/N] têm que ser no fim de semana. Tens que abdicar dalgumas coisas para tentar ter tempo. Para ensaiar, para preparar o espectáculo. Daí torna-se muito mais complicado. Falando em Cabo Verde, é tudo mais fácil, temos mais tempos, digamos assim. Há mais pessoas que aderem também a esses tipos de iniciativa, para os ensaios. É mais fácil. É mais fácil. Não se compara. (…) Às vezes fazem isso, da boa vontade, que elas têm. Porque as pessoas, apenas veem aquilo que está feito em cima do palco. As pessoas muitas vezes não têm noção do esforço, do sacrifício, para esses grupos estarem em cima do palco. (…) Abdicar, sair do trabalho, para ir aos ensaios (...)".

to control costs" (Pereira 2013: 1147). Another trend within this sector was the steady decrease of women constructed as 'native workers', due to their migration to perform similar jobs in other – predominantly European – countries, and the simultaneous increase of people constructed as 'migrant workers'. The conditions that make this sector particularly precarious are, among other things, low wages (€580/month in 2018 (BTE 2018: 612)), low social status, and limited opportunities for promotion. On the other hand, however, contracts are predominantly formal and stable (Pereira 2013: 1147).

Sónia Pereira's research (2013) shows that the majority of workers positioned as 'migrants' in this sector are from Cape Verde. According to her, the percentage of (those constructed as) "Moldovans and Romanians in more qualified positions" (ibid: 1148) such as team supervisors has been increasing and is currently much higher than that of 'Cape Verdeans' or other postcolonial migrants – which points to the racialised hierarchies present in this sector. Racialised ascriptions are also present in employers' preferences to hire 'Cape Verdeans' or 'Eastern Europeans' compared to, for instance, 'Brazilians'. As Pereira examined through interviews,

> "(…) workers from PALOP countries[129] (particularly Cape Verdeans) have an image associated with 'commitment', 'availability' and 'humbleness', and Eastern Europeans with 'higher qualifications' and 'good performance', Brazilian workers are perceived as 'not very hard-working', with 'a lack of commitment' (…)" (ibid: 1148f).

The understanding of 'Cape Verdeans' as 'committed', 'available' and 'humble' suggests problematic colonial (racialised) images of 'obedience' and 'servitude'.

Among the Batukaderas I interacted with for this research (i.e. not only those that I interviewed officially), the overwhelming majority work in the cleaning sector and many are employed by private janitorial companies. One of them is Cristina from the Batuku group *Sul do Tejo* (based in the *Laranjeiro* parish / *Almada* municipality), who works for a private janitorial company and is allocated to a car park close to where I lived during my stay, where she cleans from Monday to Saturday. When asked about her daily routine, Cristina elucidates:

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[129] As explained in chapter 2, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe founded the organisation of Portuguese-speaking African Countries [*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*; PALOP], or – to be more correct – of 'African Countries of Portuguese Official Language' in 1992.

"HS: Normally, during the week, when do you get up?
C: Weekday?
HS: Mhm, normally. (…)
C: Half past four.
HS: Half past four?
C: In the morning. Yes.
HS: And you go to (pause) you leave at …
C: Twenty past five.
HS: Twenty past five? (…)
C: Yes. Yes. At six o'clock I'm already at the, ten past six. I mean, it depends. If I encounter the bus there on the bridge? (…) I arrive at work at five past six. But if I don't encounter it yet, I have to get off at *Alcântara*. I catch the bus to *Marquês de Pombal*" (Int. Cristina, 13/12/2016).[130]

Like many women of colour working in the cleaning sector, Cristina gets up and leaves her flat in the *Laranjeiro* parish (on the south side of the river *Tejo*) in the early hours of the morning in order to get to her job close to the *Baixa-Chiado* metro stop. Her depiction of her daily routine and her travels of the city can thus be considered in line with Fikes' analysis (2008: 55), which details that the lives of many racialised and classed women in the AML are – generally speaking – organised around journeys to and from peripheral residential areas and their low-paid, manual jobs, often based in more 'central' locations of the city. Some Batukaderas, who go through similar routines to the one Cristina describes, have two daily shifts (either in the same company or for different providers); thereby increasing the time spent on public transport. Lourdes, for instance, who is also a member of the group *Sul do Tejo* and lives in *Laranjeiros*, has been working for a private janitorial company for nine years and is allocated to a bank close to the centrally located *Rossio* Square. She works on weekends, too, and has a morning shift and then another one that starts at 5pm (Observation Prot. 16/01/2017), meaning that she leaves home early and returns late seven days a week.

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[130] The original quote in Portuguese is "HS: Normalmente, durante a semana, levantas a que horas? / C: Dia de semana? / HS: Mhm, normalmente. (…) / C: Quatro e meia. / HS: Quatro e meia? / C: De manhã. Sim. / HS: E vais para (pausa) sais às … / C: Cinco e vente. / HS: Cinco e vente? (…) / C: Sim. Sim. Às seis horas já estou na, seis e dez. Quer dizer, depende. Se encontro autocarro ali em cima da ponte? (…) chego no trabalho às seis e cinco. Mas se eu não encontrar ainda, tenho de sair em *Alcântara*. Apanho a camioneta para *Marquês de Pombal*".

5.6 Summary

At the beginning of this chapter, I argued that an understanding of labour and housing – and, relatedly, of spatially determined inequalities, power relations, and identities – is crucial in order to properly analyse negotiations of 'diaspora' within the practice of Batuku. I have then – through various theoretical considerations – posited that all spaces are constantly produced, shaped by and related to categories such as 'race', gender, and class at all times. By touching on (past and present) residential patterns and programmes, and urban renewal plans, I have suggested that the issue of housing in the AML has acted as a tool of racist and classist spatial categorisation.

One example in particular, namely the Special Rehousing Programme [*Programa Especial de Realojamento*; PER], emphasises my argument that the production and structuring of diaspora space is intertwined with postcolonial power relations. Since the early 1990s, this housing programme and the subsequent demolition of entire neighbourhoods as well the forced removal of their long-time residents to peripheral areas and 'social housing' projects, has especially affected many of the Batukaderas I interacted with for my research. My elaboration on the background and arguments behind PER underlined, again, that housing policies and demolitions in the AML were – and continue to be – both racist and classist. This was further accentuated through examples from my interviews and observations, particularly in relation to the racialised allocation of newly-built 'social housing' as well as racialised (and classed) decisions regarding housing conditions and qualities.

Subsequently, this chapter focused on the effects of past and present housing policies and programmes on many Batukaderas, including shifting investments in and identifications with certain spaces, as well as the increased stigmatisation, criminalisation and racialisation of particular residential areas, increased financial difficulties and feelings of (both physical and mental) isolation, marginalisation and a sense of loss in terms of 'solidarity' or 'community' – all of which have a bearing on the practice of Batuku and how many Batukaderas (can) structure their lives in the diaspora space of the AML. With respect to issues of increased criminalisation, stigmatisation and racialisation, I have touched on the simultaneous emergence of counter-strategies and protests, some of which manifest in the practice of Batuku and a conscious and confident self-identification with as well as valorisation of some of

these highly racialised and criminalised spaces – an aspect which will be a main focus in chapter 7 of the thesis.

As the structuring of space is not only related to the issue of housing but also to that of labour, this chapter also looked at one of the two main sectors in which many Batukaderas in the AML work: the cleaning industry. Through some empirical examples, I have underlined the argument that housing policies and programmes in the AML have resulted in longer distances from transportation – and thus to work – and that there are two public transport systems, "one for the city centre and one for the peripheries" (Buhr 2017a: 8). Most of the Batukaderas depend on public transport to move around the Metropolitan Area and that – whilst not immobile – their mobility is often based on fixed work contracts that confine them to a specific employer and perhaps residence that is generally quite far from where they live (Stepanik 2019: 81). Thus, the effects of gendered wage labour regimes on the use and navigation of space are such that the lives of many racialised and classed women – such as the Batukaderas' – are often organised around journeys between peripheral residential areas and low-paid, manual jobs, commonly based in more 'central' areas of the city (Fikes 2008). This was illustrated with the examples of the Batukaderas Cristina and Lourdes, who both work as cleaners in the 'centre' of Lisbon. Like many others who experience classed, gendered and racialised forms of abjection, their mobility can be considered 'invisible' to the wider society due to their working hours and the time needed to make the journeys. Ultimately, this further underscores the argument that spaces (or cities) are always shaped by and related to categories such as 'race', gender, or class and that in the case of the AML, this is also linked to the issue of housing as a tool of racist and classist spatial categorisation and to the colonisation, gendering (feminisation) and classing of specific labour sectors.

6 On 'Diaspora' and 'Tradition': Narratives of Batuku in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

6.1 Introduction

After starting my research, it soon became apparent that Batuku is framed as a 'Cape Verdean tradition' not only on Cape Verde itself but also in the diasporic context of the AML. In this chapter, I therefore explore diasporic notions of 'tradition' by asking how Batuku as 'tradition' has been diasporised.

During my interviews, most Batukaderas reply with similar responses when asked about how Batuku emerged or what its meaning is. The majority of replies refer to Batuku as a 'Cape Verdean tradition' or a 'tradition from our land / country' [in Kriolu: *tradison di nos téra*][131] without necessarily clarifying what this means in a diasporic context. As was already established at the beginning of this thesis, the negotiation of the diaspora space of the AML within and through Batuku can be considered the main pillar of my overall research interest. The term 'negotiation' denotes negotiations of power relations and identities, and highlights the mutability of these. Meanings of, for instance, concepts such as 'Cape Verdean diaspora', 'culture' or, in the case of this chapter, 'tradition' are continuously (re)produced, (re)constructed and hence negotiated. This chapter also shows that these meanings are intersectional – not only racialised but also gendered and classed. Another important structural category that comes into effect within these negotiations is the category of 'generation' or 'age'. As I have highlighted previously, I used the term 'negotiation' – following Avtar Brah (1996) – to argue that diaspora spaces are constituted by postcolonial power relations and by the everyday ways in which people negotiate their space in these racialised, classed, or gendered environments.

With respect to the diasporisation of Batuku as 'tradition', I am interested in the discursive framing of what 'tradition' means – both by the practitioners (the Batukaderas) themselves and by cultural elites in the AML. Based on the event-focused approach of my research, I concentrate on the (re)presentation and

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[131] *Terá* in Kriolu, or *terra* in Portuguese, has various potential meanings or associations and can be translated as 'earth', 'land', 'soil' as well as to 'country'.

performance of 'Cape Verdean tradition' at different events in the AML.[132] The following chapter thus includes an (intersectional) analysis of the events that I attended – in terms of their objectives regarding, and performances of, 'tradition' – relying primarily on observation protocols and notes taken, as well as on interview transcripts. During my research stay, various types of events that included Batuku performances took place, which I roughly categorise into (1) 'community-related'[133] and (2) 'cultural' events. The first type includes religious festivities[134], commemorations[135] and neighbourhood events, while the latter includes events celebrating *Lusofonia*, 'intercultural' events or exchanges, 'cultural' promotions as well as promotions of 'diversity'. Obviously, however, not all of the events can be neatly divided into these two categories: some were neighbourhood events as well as 'intercultural' exchanges, some were both commemorations and 'cultural' promotions. The overwhelming majority of events I attended, however, fall into the 'community' category. 'Community-related' events are especially important when it comes to performances by Batuku groups that are not (yet) widely known and/or do not have a lot of (institutional) support – which applies to the overwhelming majority of Batuku groups in the AML. In terms of organisers, it was also evident that these 'community-related' events were largely designed, planned and realised (and sometimes hosted) either by 'Cape Verdean' associations or other 'community organisations' that could be described as having a personal connection to a Batuku group, presumed 'community' or a neighbourhood (i.e. a geographic space), and/or by (civil) parishes [*freguesias*]. If events were organised by a *Junta de Freguesia* (the executive body of a *freguesia*) and a Batuku group was invited to perform, there was also always a personal relation or familiarity between one of the organisers and a member or supporter of the respective Batuku group. At most larger 'cultural' events

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[132] This research approach was influenced by Katharina Fritsch's research (2018), notably her chapters dealing with the performance and staging of 'Comorian origin' at a talent show and with diasporic representations of 'Comorian identity' at a concert.

[133] By using the term 'community-related', I am pointing at events that are organised by 'Cape Verdean' associations and/or neighbourhood organisations or institutions; and can therefore be considered to be 'by' or 'for' an alleged 'community'. This framing was inspired by Katharina Fritsch's PhD thesis (2018). In the AML, these 'community-related' events usually took place at the so-called periphery/ies.

[134] By religious festivities, I am referring to events linked to religious holidays (including Christmas and others), patrons, saints or celebrations. Religious festivities theoretically also involve celebrations such as weddings or baptisms – which often include Batuku performances – but, because I did not attend them, I am not referencing such events in this chapter.

[135] These include the commemoration of Cape Verde's Independence Day (5th of July), the Carnation Revolution (25th of April) or Women's Day, as well as inaugurations, anniversaries or birthdays.

organised by governmental institutions and/or cultural associations, Batuku groups were invited based on personal connections between organisers and group members or supporters (such as activists, godmothers/-fathers or friends) as well. This shows that Batuku in the AML can be considered a 'marginal' popular cultural practice: invitations to all kinds of events rely almost exclusively on personal contacts and/or 'brokers', and most events take place in the so-called peripheral areas of the AML.

The first part of this chapter briefly addresses theoretical considerations regarding notions of 'tradition', 'culture', and 'diaspora'. This is followed by three analytical sections: the first outlines historical issues resulting in the traditionalisation of the practice of Batuku, relying more on literary resources than on my empirical data. The second analytical section consequently focuses on how Batuku is negotiated as 'tradition/al' in the context of the AML, particularly exploring discourses of 'preservation'. The third section addresses different kinds of Batuku performances.

6.2   The Role of 'Tradition' for Diasporic Identities

The intention of the following section is to briefly recapitulate and deepen enquiry into the correlation between the concepts 'diaspora', 'culture' and 'tradition'. This will establish the basis not only for the rest of this chapter but also for the overall analysis of the thesis.

Influenced by the different approaches of 'culture' mentioned in chapter 3, I use a combined understanding throughout this thesis; namely in the sense of a manifestation of experiences – in accordance with Brah (1996) – as well as – following Gilroy (1993a) and, to a greater extent, Hall (1997, 1998) – an expressive form of ('distinct') practices of the everyday of 'social groups' (Clarke et al. 2006: 4). It is important to note here that 'culture' is a constantly changing field and that presumed social groups and their 'cultures' are located and ranked in hierarchical relations to each other: this is why these discussions must always keep the context of specific (intersectional) power relations in mind (Hall 1998: 449; Clarke et al. 2006: 5): "Discussions about culture (…) must be understood within the context of the power relations among different groups" (Brah 1996: 19).

According to Hall, "tradition is a vital element in culture; but it has little to do

with the mere persistence of old forms. It has much more to do with the way elements [of 'tradition'; A/N] have been linked together or articulated" (Hall 1998: 450). Moreover, he warns against the ahistorical reification of 'tradition' for its own sake, and against understanding (popular) cultural practices "as if they contained within themselves, from their moment of origin, *some fixed and unchanging meaning or value*" (ibid: 451, my emphasis). As will be shown over the next sections of this chapter, the practice of Batuku has throughout history either been excluded from definitions of 'Cape Verdean culture' for being too 'African', or included for the very same reason. The link between debates around 'culture' and 'tradition' becomes clear when exploring how the practice of Batuku is framed in the diasporic context of the AML. Correspondingly, I approach the representation of Batuku as a 'Cape Verdean tradition' as an ongoing negotiation process and positioning related to questions of power as well as to notions of 'origin' and 'culture'.

Batuku is nowadays generally described as a 'Cape Verdean tradition' or 'culture'.[136] I am interested in questioning this narrative in the AML by looking at intersectional power relations; particularly regarding gendered, racialised, and classed positionalities. This includes an analysis of the negotiation and (re)presentation of 'tradition' by the different Batuku groups themselves at various kinds of events. It is hence not about the analysis of Batuku as a 'tradition' or as 'traditional', but rather about the discourses regarding the two.

6.3 On the Traditionalisation of Batuku

This section provides a brief overview of how Batuku came to be framed as a 'tradition' by examining accounts of its 'origin' as well as its historical development.[137] Following Brah (1996), I am interested in asking "what is it that renders certain inherited narratives, and not others, the privileged icons of 'tradition'? Why is it that, under given circumstances, this and not that 'tradition' is invoked and valorised?" (ibid: 231). This analysis draws predominantly from literature research into the narratives surrounding Batuku's history on Cape Verde – although herstory is

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[136] In the AML, however, Batuku can be seen to hold a marginalised position; meaning that at many events where 'Cape Verdean culture' is supposed to be represented, Batuku is not (yet) present.

[137] A broader historical account of Batuku was given in chapter 1.

more accurate here, as the emergence of Batuku is deeply connected to feminised narratives – and also includes some references from interviews. In this section, I address the ongoing ascriptions of Batuku as 'tradition' in the AML, reflecting on how this is expressed in both the interviews conducted and also in the (self-)representations of Batuku groups there.

While there is not a large body of work on the emergence and current manifestations of Batuku on Cape Verde, researchers can nonetheless find a small number of publications (including several theses), predominantly from the fields of (ethno-)musicology, social anthropology, and history. Many of them are analyses on other themes, however, and only mention Batuku as a side topic. Hereafter, I also want to examine some of the titles of these publications as I consider them illustrative of the way(s) in which Batuku was and is framed. In line with Hall (1998), I am not interested in depicting accounts of (essentialised) fixed 'origins', but rather in looking at how the negotiations around 'tradition' are shaped by representations of 'origin'.

6.3.1   Gendered, Racialised and Classed Narratives

The aim of this section is not to give a detailed account of past and present manifestations of Batuku on Cape Verde, but rather to set the scene for the analytical and empirical sections of the chapter, which will focus on the negotiations of 'tradition' in the context of the AML. For the following analysis of historical references, I draw predominantly on Elisa Tavares' book *Authenticity and Identity. Tradition and Change in Cape Verde's Creole Batuku* (2016).[138] By listing some of the following book and essay titles, the equation of Batuku with 'tradition' as well as the connection of its 'origins' to feminised narratives becomes apparent.

One of the first publications directly related to Batuku was the Cape Verdean writer and anthropologist Tomé Varela da Silva's *Finasons di Ñâ Nasia Gomi* [Finasons of Lady Nasia Gomi] (1985)[139], which includes songs and a biography of the Batuku singer Nácia Gomi. According to Elisa Tavares (2016: 23), this was published by order of the Cape Verdean Ministry of Culture to celebrate the tenth

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[138] The original title in German is "Authentizität und Identität. Tradition und Wandel im kreolischen Batuku Kap Verdes".
[139] Finason as an element of Batuku is discussed in more detail in chapter 1.

anniversary of the country's Independence Day. It was also the second volume in the series *Tradisons oral di Kauberdi* [Oral Traditions of Cape Verde]. The same author further published the writings entitled *Ñа Bibiña Kabral – Bida y Óbra* [Lady Bibiña Kabral – Life and Work] (1988) and *Ñа Gida Mendi – Simenti di onti na ĉon di mañan* [Lady Gida Mendi – Seed of Yesterday in the Ground of Tomorrow] (1990), which were both dedicated to two well-known Batuku singers Bibinha Cabral and Gida Mendi, while the book *Batuko and Funana: Musical Traditions of Santiago, Republic of Cape Verde* (1997) by the ethnomusicologist Susan Hurley-Glowa contains descriptions of melodies and elements of performance based on the work of another Batuku singer, Nha Balila (Tavares 2016: 24). All of these titles not only highlight the framing of Batuku as 'tradition' but also – considering their focus of on several of the most popular Batukaderas [140] – indicate a gendered (feminised) narrative.[141] We can understand the coloniality of this framing as women of colour's gender has historically been a site of colonial debates around 'culture' and 'tradition' (Brah 1996: 12). In the case of Batuku, this feminised narrative is not only related to the practice itself but also to the transmission of knowledge and the maintenance of a 'collective memory': i.e. a 'group memory' which exists apart from an 'individual memory' and is dependent on the context or framework within which an imagined social group is situated (Halbwachs 1992 [1952]). Consequently, 'collective memory' is not a given but a socially constructed notion and is strongly linked to a group consciousness.[142]

Discourses regarding the 'origin' of the name Batuku – or 'Batuque', in most literature – generally involve emphases on its 'African roots': 'Batuque' is often considered to mean or subsume various 'African' or 'African-descended' forms of drumming, singing and/or dancing; for example in Brazil, Angola and other former Portuguese colonies. Along with Cape Verdean cultural practices such as Funana and

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[140] Ntoni Denti d'Oro is the only somewhat well-known male Batuku singer and is sometimes referred to in the literature as a 'historic figure'.

[141] As I am not interested, as previously mentioned, in 'getting to the bottom' of the various theories regarding Batuku's 'origin', I consider it irrelevant to my analysis whether or not Batuku 'actually' emerged (or continued) as a manifestation that was (or is) predominantly practiced by women (to read more on doubts regarding the historical accuracy of this theory, please see Nogueira (2011) or Tavares (2016)). What matters to the arguments presented here and throughout the rest of this thesis is that Batuku is framed (!) as a female practice.

[142] For an in-depth analysis of this, please also look at Paul Connerton's book *How Societies Remember* (1989).

Tabanka[143], Batuku is ranked among those with the 'strongest African influence' (Hurley-Glowa 2001; Nogueira 2011: 25, 30f; Castro Ribeiro 2012; Tavares 2016: 23, 29f).

This is further enhanced by past and present notions of Santiago – which is associated with the origin story of Batuku – as being the most 'African' island of the Cape Verdean archipelago (Sieber 2005: 128; Pardue 2012b: 6, 2013: 111). As a society born from unequal encounters between European colonisers and African enslaved peoples, tensions in Cape Verdean cultural politics between African and European identifications and affiliations continue until today (Carling et al. 2008: 14). The search for a 'national cultural identity' is often described in the literature as marked by (racialised) contradictions between 'Africanness' and 'Europeanness'; the former being equated with 'tradition' and the latter with 'modernity' (Sheringham & Cohen 2013: 7). In line with Hall, this can be read as an example of the "continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (Hall 2000: 706). Depending on the moment in time, different histories and cultural identities are being emphasised.

The Cape Verdean cultural and literary movement *Claridade*, for instance, which existed on the island of São Vicente from 1936-1960, devoted itself to the advocacy and promotion of a 'unique cultural identity': The *Caboverdianidade* [Cape Verdeanness]. Yet the idea of this 'Creole' or 'mixed' [*mestiço*] identity was proposed with an emphasis on the 'Portugueseness' of the country. The post-independence government of the PAICV[144], on the other hand, stressed the archipelago's 'African heritage'. This was partly done by revalorising the previously condemned and stigmatised cultural practices and 'traditions' of the *Badius*[145] –

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[143] Funana is a music/dance genre from the island of Santiago, where initially only an accordion and an iron rod (on which a piece of metal was rubbed) were used as instruments. Since its rediscovery in the 1980s, numerous electronic instruments are being used as well (Tavares 2016: 14). Tabankas, on the other hand, are "solidary networks made up of friends and neighbours, who commit to provide (material, financial or emotional) assistance to the other members in case of death, illness and other drastic events" (ibid: 28; translation HS).

[144] After (political) independence from Portugal in 1975, the African Party for Independence of Cape Verde [*Partido Africano da Independência do Cabo Verde*; PAICV] came to power and subsequently governed Cape Verde as the sole legal political party from 1980 until 1990. In 1990, the constitution was modified to admit opposition parties and a multi-party system was established (Baker 2006: 494; Carter et al. 2009: 30, 70).

[145] The attitudes with regard to who and what, respectively, is more 'African' and 'European' find their strongest expression in the differentiation between *Badiu* and *Sanpadjudu* (which are both self-ascriptions and ascriptions of others, referring to either being from Santiago or from any of the other islands). As I have mentioned in my previous work (Stepanik 2011: 93), these designations have their origins in Portuguese colonial rule and its racist system of classification. It is widely acknowledged that freed enslaved people or runaways, who had escaped into the interior mountainous regions of Santiago, were labeled as *vadios* (the Portuguese word for 'vagabonds' or 'bummers'), which later turned into

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including the practice of Batuku. *Badius* are still said to have retained a certain degree of 'African' cultural distinctiveness in their practices as well as their language, which is generally linked to derogatory connotations, 'backwardness' and racialised ascriptions (Fikes 2008: 62): "to be and / or speak *badiu* is a reference to Santiago and blackness" (Pardue 2013: 111). These two examples of 'Europeanness' or 'Africanity' can thus be read as attempts – either by the cultural elite or by the government – to define (from 'above') what the 'authentic cultural identity' of Cape Verde is (Sheringham & Cohen 2013: 7).

The poet, essayist, and analyst José Luís Hopffer Almada[146], born on the island of Santiago, who was also the vice president of the *Associação Caboverdeana* [Cape Verdean Association; from now on ACV] in Lisbon at the time of my research, summarises the cultural and political turning point with the following words:

> "Thus from a certain point in time, mainly from the 50s, the discourse thus changed its epicentre. (…) A nationalist discourse emerged, of disruption … Cape Verdean, of the fight for independence. And hence began a stronger appreciation of (pause) at times almost exclusively the component, from a theoretical point of view, the Black component, of our Creoleness and therefore a strong relationship, in terms of a political future, with Africa. This was fundamental in order to generate a cultural catharsis, of rupture with the politics of colonial assimilation. So that the Cape Verdean showed him-/herself psychologically, or psycho-culturally, ready for independence" (Int. Hopffer Almada, 14/11/2016).[147]

According to Hopffer, this turning point in Cape Verde was only possible on the basis of a rupture with previous politics, which he calls 'the politics of colonial assimilation'. He is referring here to the acculturation towards a 'Portugueseness' mentioned previously with regards to the *Claridade* movement. The rupture, in turn,

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Badius (Fikes 2007: 171; Pardue 2012b: 6, 2013: 111; Tavares 2016: 13, 19).

[146] As mentioned in chapter 4, I had decided to anonymise and use aliases for all interviews prior to my research stays. This decision was meant to safeguard people's identities. One of the interviewees, however, was adamant that he wanted to be named in order to make sure that his statements were clearly connected to his position as a representative of the Cape Verdean Association [*Associação Caboverdeana*; ACV] in the AML. This person was the poet, essayist, and analyst José Luís Hopffer Almada, who was also the vice president of the ACV at the time of my research. 'Hopffer' is the nickname he goes by, which is used throughout the thesis.

[147] The original quote in Portuguese is "Daí que a partir duma determinada altura, dos anos 50 sobretudo, portanto o discurso mudou de epicentro. (...) emergiu um discurso nacionalista de ruptura ... cabo-verdiano, da luta para a independência. E portanto começou-se a valorizar mais (pausa) por vezes quase exclusivamente a componente, do ponto de vista teórico, a componente negra, da nossa Crioulidade e, portanto, uma ligação forte, em termos de destino político, com a África. Isso foi fundamental para que se produzisse uma catarse cultural, de ruptura com as políticas da assimilação colonial. E para que o Cabo-verdiano se mostrasse psicologicamente, ou psico-culturalmente, pronto para a independência".

was based on a valorisation of the 'Black component' of the 'Creoleness' and 'therefore a strong relationship (…) with Africa'. Hopffer thus equates 'Blackness' with 'Africanness' and considers both to be part of a Cape Verdean 'Creole identity' and 'culture'. Later in the interview he refers to Baltasar Lopes da Silva, who is often regarded as the founder of *Claridade*, connecting him to the play of power and culture pertaining to Batuku.

> "Now, as regards Batuku, and Tabanka (pause) and the cultural manifestations that clearly carry a very strong African rhythmic load, they play a very strong symbolic role. (…) So if you read the texts by eminent *claridosos* such as Baltasar Lopes da Silva, for example, who talks about the divide of Africa in Cape Verde, ... (laughs) you will see that he always says that Batuku will disappear. (…) So this discourse of de-africanisation, which was dominant for a long time (...). And you, when you hear Cape Verdean music [now], you always hear (pause) Morna, Koladera, Batuku and Funana. Before, it was only Morna and Koladera, in the official discourse. Because Batuku and Funana, and Tabanka, were considered of African origin, practiced by more modest people, more marginalised. This changed completely" (Int. Hopffer Almada, 14/11/2016).[148]

Here, again, the common depiction of Batuku as of 'African origin' is evident. Furthermore, by referring to the practitioners of Batuku (as well as of other 'African' cultural manifestations) as 'modest people', their classed positionality is referenced. This quote can hence be read as an assessment of the (colonial) racialisation – related also to classed ascriptions, a link that will be addressed again shortly – of Batuku. Hopffer moreover indicates that the marginalisation of Batuku 'has changed completely' in postcolonial times. This sentiment should be treated with caution – at least in a diasporic context, where Batuku, and the majority of Batukaderas, continue to be marginalised.

In my interview with singer Amália, she also refers to the 'Africanness' of Batuku when she remembers the first time she witnessed a Batuku performance.

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[148] The original quote in Portuguese is "Agora, no referente ao Batuku, e a Tabanka (pausa) e às manifestações culturais que carregam nitidamente uma carga rítmica africana muito forte, elas desempenham um papel simbólico muito forte. (…) Portanto, se você ler os textos de eminentes claridosos como Baltasar Lopes da Silva, por exemplo, que fala da divisão de África em Cabo Verde, … (ri) vai ver que ele sempre diz que o Batuku vai desaparecer. (…) Portanto, esse discurso de desafricanização de Cabo Verde, que foi dominante durante muito tempo (…). E você, quando ouve música cabo-verdiana [agora], ouve sempre (pausa) Morna, Koladera, Batuku e Funana. Antes era só Morna e Koladera, no discurso oficial. Porque, o Batuku e o Funana, e a Tabanka, eram consideradas de origem africana, praticadas pelas pessoas mais humildes, mais marginalizadas. Isso mudou completamente".

"Personally, I have to tell you that (pause) I am Cape Verdean, born in Boa Vista, grew up in São Vicente. I only saw Batuku at the independence of Cape Verde, in 1975. (pause) I had never seen it. Nor had I heard it. I had read about it, but … It is the musical expression, very strong, of the country of Cape Verde; it is the expression closest to the African continent. (pause) And I, as Cape Verdean, had never seen it. (…) And which I think liberated me in mental terms, in relation not only to the Cape Verdean culture but also to the culture of the African continent itself. The Batuku that I saw was done in a spontaneous way. (…) It was a spontaneous demonstration because we have to remember that Batuku was one of the oppressed musical expressions, prohibited, in colonial times" (Int. Amália, 07/12/2016).[149]

It is obvious from this quote that she considers it absurd – at least looking at it from her current position – that it was only after (or precisely at the very moment of) Cape Verde's independence that she saw and heard a cultural expression that was so representative of the country's 'Africanity'. She further highlights this 'Africanity' by stating that the practice is related to 'the culture of the African continent itself'. Moreover, this quote illustrates the sudden shift of Cape Verde's identification in terms of 'cultural identity': from an emphasis on the 'Portugueseness' or 'Europeanness' of the archipelago and the rejection of practices considered 'too African' (such as Batuku), to a revalorisation and reaffirmation of these.

Today, the term *Badiu* is – in principle – applied to all inhabitants of Santiago. 'Real' *Badius*, however, are often identified as being from the interior of the island. This brings me to the third aspect I want to discuss here beyond Batuku's racialised and gendered 'origin' discourses: the related depiction of Batuku as having emerged as a 'rural tradition', in 'the interior' [*do interior*] of Santiago (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 119; Castro Ribeiro 2012: 58f, 82; Pardue 2012b: 6; Tavares 2016: 13).[150] The representation of its rural character is often linked to classed (classist) narratives, with Batukaderas frequently being referred to as 'traditionally' being from the 'lower classes' (Carter 2007: 122; Tavares 2016: 84, 111), the 'poorest communities' (Carter

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[149] The original quote in Portuguese is "Pessoalmente, devo dizer-te que (pausa) eu sou Cabo-verdiana, nascida na Boa Vista, crescida em São Vicente. Eu só vi Batuku na independência de Cabo Verde, em 1975. (pausa) Eu nunca tinha visto. Nem nunca tinha ouvido. Eu tinha lido sobre a, mas ... Ela é a expressão musical, fortíssima, do país de Cabo Verde; é a mais próxima do continente africano. (pausa) E eu, como Cabo-verdiana, nunca tinha visto isso. (...) E que eu acho que me libertei em termos mentais, em relação não só à cultura cabo-verdiana como a cultura do próprio continente africano. O Batuku que eu vi foi um Batuku feito duma forma espontânea. (…) Era uma demonstração espontânea, até porque nós temos que lembrar-nós que o Batuku foi uma das expressões musicais reprimidas, proibidas, no tempo colonial".
[150] Batuku was also, however, practiced in urban spaces such as Praia (the capital), for instance (Nogueira 2012: 331).

2007: 122) and the 'uneducated' (Tavares 2016: 210). "The batuco is essentially women's music from the Santiago countryside. (...) *Batuqueiras* (women who perform Batuco) are generally illiterate, but witty and endowed with poetic gifts (…)" (Broughton et al. 1999: 452).

Fernanda, a former hairdresser and certified hairdressing instructor, who owned a salon with several employees in the municipality of *Oeiras*, founded her own Batuku group in the AML in 2013. In the interview, she refers to her relation with Batuku during her childhood on the island of Santiago.

> "I have always liked Batuku. I liked Batuku in my childhood (pause) we were not allowed to go to this activity (...). So when we were invited to these weddings and all this, that had this type of activity, we went to take care of things but we were in the hall and this Batuku is in the yard" (Int. Fernanda, 07/11/2016).[151]

During a later, more informal conversation, Fernanda also told me that she would always watch the Batukaderas through the window and wish that she could join them. On Cape Verde, Fernanda had worked as a primary school teacher. Her account of admiring Batuku but not being allowed to participate can be read as a reference to classed ascriptions of where Batuku belonged to (the hall versus the yard) and who was associated with practicing it.

An intersectional reading of the accounts listed here shows that gendered, racialised and classed narratives coincide in both the practice of Batuku and its framing in terms of 'tradition' and 'origin'. As I have demonstrated, discourses regarding the 'origin' of Batuku generally emphasise its 'African influence' or 'African roots', racialising and linking the practice to the 'backwards culture' of the *Badius*. Through historical accounts we also see that Batuku is generally described as a 'female' (gendered) and 'rural' or 'modest' (classed) practice. This discursive embedding is developed in more recent articles or books, as the following quote on the development of Batuku demonstrates.

> "(…) originally a *women's percussive music* made from beaten rhythms on cloth, accompanied by male or female improvised singing (…). From Santiago, the archipelago's *most African* island, and *badiu* culture; (…).

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[151] The original quote in Portuguese is "Eu desde sempre gostei de Batuku. Gostei de Batuku na minha infância (pausa) não nós deixava ir a essa atividade (...). Então quando nós era convidado para estes casamentos e tudo isso que havia esse tipo de atividade, nós íamos fazer as coisas mas estávamos na sala, e esse Batuku é no quintal".

> Considered today to be the *most traditional* of Cape Verdean song genres.
> (…) Santiago was the site of the musical forms that were most proscribed as
> *primitive* during the colonial era – batuke, tabanka, and funana" (Sieber
> 2005: 128, 143f; my emphasis).

In the next section, I analyse the ways in which Batuku is (re)negotiated as a 'Cape Verdean tradition' in the postcolonial, diasporic context of the AML. This is done through maintaining an intersectional perspective and examining negotiations of notions such as 'authenticity'. Furthermore, I will enquire into the connection between framings of 'tradition' and notions of 'earth', 'nature' or 'soil'.

6.4 Negotiations of 'Tradition' in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

The negotiation of Batuku as 'tradition' presented thus far demonstrates the intersection of gendered, racialised and classed narratives in the Cape Verdean context. The following part of this chapter addresses how this framing continues and/or adapts in the postcolonial diaspora space of the AML and how the negotiation of Batuku as 'tradition' in this context is further associated with (a negotiation of) concepts of 'earth' or 'land' as well as with 'authenticity'. To do this, I analyse observation protocols regarding attended events and meetings, as well as interview transcripts. It becomes clear that the diasporic relationship of 'tradition' and 'authenticity' is strongly linked to aspirations to 'preserve', 'continue', and 'disseminate' Batuku, which will therefore also be explored in detail in this section.

6.4.1 *Tradison di nos Téra*: On Aspects of 'Tradition' & *Terra*

An interesting theme that was revealed soon after starting my research was the frequently simultaneous mentioning of 'tradition' with 'earth' or 'land': the reference to Batuku as a 'tradition' was often immediately followed by the addition of '*terra*'. I consider this to be an intriguing point for further analysis, as *terra* in Portuguese or *téra* in Kriolu have various meanings and associations: they can be translated as 'earth', 'land', 'soil' as well as 'country'. Because of these multiple meanings, I have decided to stick to the original terms throughout this thesis. Needless to say, the

interrelation between 'tradition' [*tradição*] and *terra* stems from past and present negotiations on Cape Verde; however, the following analysis will only touch on this, because my research interest lies in diasporisation processes.

When asked what Batuku means to them, most Batukaderas reply with strikingly similar comments. Batukadera Ana from the group *Strela de Bela Vista* states: "Batuku, is a lot. (…) I was born, [and] found Batuku (pause) Batuku already is a tradition of our *terra*" (Int. Ana, 30/10/2016).[152]. Similarly, some Batukaderas from the group *Flor da Vida* explain: "because … this is [the] tradition from our *terra*; the people, (…) our grandparents, our mothers did this" (Int. Iolanda/Isabela/Mafalda, 26/02/2017). [153] These excerpts disclose the already mentioned immediate sequence of 'tradition' and *terra*. In addition, the second quote clearly engages with a gendered notion of 'tradition' and a reference to the category of 'family' when the Batukaderas cite their 'grandparents' and 'mothers' having practiced this 'tradition' before them.

The observation regarding the link between *tradição* and *terra* is not new – Elisa Tavares (2016) and others (Cidra 2011; Nogueira 2011) have written about this in their references to Batuku on Cape Verde and/or in diasporic contexts.[154] Tavares (2016), for example, argues that for Cape Verdeans Batuku is an integral part of 'their culture' (ibid: 19). She reflects on her own experience of asking people on Santiago what comprises or characterises Batuku and often simply receiving the reply: *Batuku é tradison di nos téra* (Kriolu for 'Batuku is the tradition from our *terra*'). While this was very vague to her, it seemed to be a 'self-sustaining definition' to her respondents. Tavares thus considers the assertion *tradison di nos téra* as an exemplification of Batuku's significance to those who practice it. Consequently, she deems this definition to be apt as it displays that the practice of Batuku represents something very comprehensive and inclusive to them (ibid: 20).

Similar connections between *tradição* and *terra* were made during the interviews that I conducted in the AML, when I asked people about the specific meaning or background of items that are commonly used during performances, such as the *lenço* [headdress] worn by most women during events.

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[152] The original quote in Portuguese is "O Batuku, é muito. (…) Eu nasci, [e] encontrei Batuku (pausa) Batuku já é um tradição da nossa terra".
[153] The original quote in Portuguese is "Porque … isso é [a] tradição de nossa terra; a gente, (…) os nossos avós, as nossas mães faziam isto".
[154] For an in-depth analysis on the possible meanings behind these utterances, see Denise Schubert's PhD thesis (2020).

"The *lenço* signifies our tradition from our *terra*. Because the person …
who already is not on this earth anymore, who is Nácia Gomi and Nha
Balila, we were always brought up, with their history in our heads. They
always … it is always in this way that they play. When we go to play
Batuku, we have to put [the] *lenço* and we have to wear … sometimes even
the *avental*[155]. (…) But nowadays … it already changed very much, we do
not use it anymore. But the *lenço* we have to put (…). We have to use [the]
lenço. And (pause) because it is our tradition in our *terra*" (Int. Maria,
14/01/2017).[156]

This quote from Maria, a Batukadera from the group *Strela de Bela Vista*, not only
evokes the mentioned bond between *tradição* and *terra* but also points to the
diasporic continuation of a gendering of Batuku's 'origin' and 'tradition'. Maria refers
to Nácia Gomi and Nha Balila, two of the few leading personalities of Batuku
mentioned previously, and brings up two pieces of clothing associated with women:
the *lenço* and the *avental*. As will be addressed again later on, this thus points to the
gendered but also classed narratives of Batuku. On Cape Verde, both the *lenço*
[headdress] and the *avental* [apron] are associated with 'rural' women working in
fields or selling produce at markets, while in the AML it is associated with 'African'
or 'Cape Verdean' women working as cleaners or domestic workers. Furthermore,
Maria's statement that '…Nácia Gomi and Nha Balila, we were always brought up,
with their history in our heads…' arguably indicates a 'female' narrative about who is
'passing on' (or has the responsibility to 'pass on') the 'tradition' or knowledge.
During the same interview, I asked Maria about the presence of more women than
men in most groups. This inquiry was followed by a similar explanation.

"M: We came here [to the AML; A/N] with [the] tradition of Cape Verde,
[and] it remained [the] same.
HS: So it was always this way that …
M: It was always like this. (…) Always. Woman, men have to be two or
three. There cannot, yes.
HS: And are there, why are there more women.
M: Because this is [the] tradition of [the] *terra*. (…) It has always been like

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[155] The Portuguese word *avental* literally translates to 'apron'. During Batuku sessions or
performances, one can sometimes see waist aprons as part of women's outfits.
[156] The original quote in Portuguese is "O lenço significa nossa tradição da nossa terra. Porque a pessoa
… que já agora não está nessa terra, que é Nácia Gomi e Nha Balila, sempre a gente criou, com [a]
história delas na cabeça. Sempre elas, … [é] sempre assim que elas tocam. Quando vamos batucar,
temos que pôr [o] lenço e temos que vestir … as vezes até o avental. (…) Mas agora ... já mudou
muito, já a gente não usa. Mas o lenço a gente tem que pôr (…). Temos que usar [o] lenço. E (pausa)
porque é nossa tradição na nossa terra".

this. Yes. (…) It is [the] tradition of our *terra*. In the use of Batuku it already is like this" (Int. Maria, 14/01/2017).[157]

Based on the mentioned framing of Batuku on Cape Verde as well as in the AML as *tradison di nos téra*, or *tradição da nossa terra* in Portuguese, it could thus be argued that the narratives of the 'origin' of Batuku become almost automatic (in both contexts).[158] People hear certain stories or theories and reproduce them to generate a 'common truth' and/or an answer that they expect researchers to want to hear. This repetition of a seemingly 'automatic' response can be considered alongside Judith Butler's (1990, 1993) notion of performativity. Butler asserts that various acts – including communication and speech – are performative in the sense that they can affect identities. It is thus about the *construction* of identities as they are caused by performative actions or gestures, and it is about the performativity of identity in everyday or social practices (i.e. what is being done or said). This, however, relies on repetition: it is not a singular act. Concerning Batuku, it can then be argued that its framing as 'tradition' is also a performativity of 'tradition' which relies on repeated acts (Butler 1990: xv, 45). Or, to quote Vikki Bell (1999),

> "(…) the performativity of belonging 'cites' the norms that constitute or make present the "community" or group as such. The repetition, sometimes ritualistic repetition, of these normalized codes makes material the belongings they purport to simply describe" (ibid: 3).

In the practice of Batuku itself we can also see some connections to *terra* (beyond group names, which will be discussed shortly). As mentioned in chapter 1, Batukaderas use scraps of cloth wrapped in plastic or synthetic leather bags as drums [*Txabetas*] for Batuku and gather in a circle, semi-circle or crescent known as *tereru* (or *terreiro*, in Portuguese) (Sheringham & Cohen 2013: 12; Tavares 2016: 15). *Tereru* can be translated as 'terrain' and also includes the area within the circle, semi-circle or crescent. When considering the etymology of the term – coming from the Latin *terrenum* for 'land' or 'ground'[159] – the relation of Batuku to the 'ground',

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[157] The original in Portuguese is "M: Viemos com [a] tradição de Cabo Verde para aqui, [e] ficou [a] mesma. / HS: Então sempre foi assim que … / M: Sempre foi assim. (…) Sempre. Mulher, homens tem que ser duas ou três. Não pode, sim. / HS: E tem, porque é que são mais mulheres. / M: Porque isso é [a] tradição de terra. (…) Sempre foi assim. Sim. (…) É [a] tradição da nossa terra. No uso de Batuku já é assim".

[158] Another almost 'automatic' sequence was that of Batuku and *alma* ('soul'), for instance in the frequently uttered expression of *Batuku é nha alma* ('Batuku is my soul') in Kriolu.

[159] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/terrain, [accessed 17/09/2018].

'land' or 'soil' becomes apparent. This is exemplified in the fact that the dancer in Batuku – referred to either as the Tornadera, Badjadera, or Dansadera – usually dances barefoot in the *tereru* (Tavares 2016: 16), further emphasising the direct (physical) contact of the Batukaderas to the *terra*. This can be seen as an expression of relations to the 'soil', 'land' or 'ground' by a rural class, of their 'belonging' to the *terra*.

In addition to the links between 'rurality' and class, a link between *terra* in the sense of 'soil' and gendered (feminised) ascriptions to it (notions of 'fertility', for example) also emerges. Racialised, classed and gendered narratives of *terra* are also exhibited in some garments used as part of Batuku outfits (particularly through the use of the *Panu di Téra*, a garment which we will turn to shortly).

Due to the long his- and herstories of migrations from Cape Verde (see chapter 2), the notion of *terra* in the sense of 'nation', 'homeland' or 'country of origin' has also become an important concept in diasporic settings (Cidra 2011). "The common experience of relocation (…) serves as a basis for solidarity among Cape Verdeans in different places or even different countries and this experience is evoked in informal conversations and through traditional music (…)" (Évora 2010: 7). Accordingly, "the trope of departure - of leaving *nha terra* (my homeland) - is evoked as a defining moment in the development of Cape Verdean diasporic peoplehood" (Gibau 2008: 256, original emphasis; cited in Évora 2010: 7). This strong sentiment is further reflected in the commonly used phrase of *terra longe* [faraway land] in popular culture to depict diasporic locations (Castro Ribeiro 2012: 61; Giuffrè 2017). Many songs of Batuku groups on Cape Verde deal with the topic of migration, and are therefore seen as 'relatable'. Tavares (2016: 234) argues in this regard that themes that many people can identify with end up becoming criteria for the degree of 'authenticity' and 'quality' of Batuku songs.

An analysis of the diasporic negotiation of Batuku as 'tradition' needs to take into account the ways in which Batuku groups in the AML represent themselves and thereby respond to their postcolonial, diasporic positioning. On the following pages, I focus on several manifestations of this: firstly on group names, secondly on group outfits, and thirdly on performances onstage. Concerning the latter two, section 6.5 offers a more in-depth and example-oriented analysis.

Among the Batuku groups I interacted with in the AML and interviewed for this research, the name choices of many of them offer significant insights into

different aspects of negotiation. In this part of the chapter, I merely list and analyse those that I consider exemplary for the negotiation of 'tradition' as relating to notions of 'origin', 'rootedness' and/or *terra*. [160] One of the groups that had many performances during my stay is called *Ramedi Terra* (sometimes spelled as *Ramedy Terra*). The word *ramedi* in Kriolu literally translates to 'remedy' or 'medicine'. The group was founded in 2013 by the chairwomen of the *Associação de Mulheres Cabo-verdianas na Diáspora em Portugal* [Association of Cape Verdean Women in the Diaspora in Portugal; from now on AMCDP]; a volunteer-run, not-for-profit association that was established in 2010 and aims, among other things, to "help Cape Verdean women in their integration in Portugal under the following aspects: Professional, sociocultural, familial" as well as to "organise social and cultural events with the aim of preserving and expanding Cape Verdean culture" (AMCDP 2012: n/s; translation HS). The Batuku group had approximately 16 alternating members at the time of the research, including two men, and is based in the *Outurela/Portela* neighbourhood in the parish of *Carnaxide e Queijas* / municipality of *Oeiras*. During the interviews, some group members reflect on the reason for choosing their name as well as its personal meaning to them.

> "*Ramedi Terra*? It's like this. (…) Since there are various names, we made a list of names. Then there was the vote, and *Ramedi Terra* remained … and consequently … also the colour green [of the outfit; A/N] makes perfect sense with the name of the group. Because home remedy normally is with leaves and plants. It is green and that's where this colour green comes from" (Int. Fernanda, 07/11/2016).[161]

> "So when we started the group, then [Fernanda] said to me like this '[Rolando], how are we going to do this with the Batuku group'. I was like '[Fernanda], this will be difficult now. Because there [already] is *Tradison di Téra*, there is *Rais di Téra* (…)' … She thought about it for a little bit, [and] was like 'how about [putting] *Ramedi Terra*'. I said 'well, it's very good'. (…) And it stayed! (…) *Ramedi Terra*, for example, to make a medication … in Cape Verde, for example, if you have a headache (…) Many herbal things are made. It is to alleviate headaches" (Int. Rolando, 17/02/2017).[162]

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[160] Other names of Batuku groups are more related to my framing of Batuku as (self)care and will thus be highlighted in chapter 8.

[161] The original quote in Portuguese is "*Ramedi Terra*? É assim. (…) Como há vários nomes, fizemos uma lista de nomes. Depois, foi a votação, e passou *Ramedi Terra* … e daí … também a cor verde [da farda] faz todo sentido com o nome do grupo. Porque remédio caseiro normalmente é com folhas e plantas. É verde e então daí vem essa cor verde".

[162] The original quote in Portuguese is "Então, quando começamos o grupo, depois a … [Fernanda] disse para mim assim '[Rolando], como é que vamos fazer com o grupo de Batuku'. Eu disse assim

By reflecting on the coupling of the terms *remédio* (Portuguese for 'remedy' or 'medicine') and *terra* in their name, the group members situate the framing of 'tradition' within narratives of 'earth' and '(home)land' as well as in relation to notions of '(natural) medicine' coming from the 'soil' or 'ground'. They also connect Batuku to discourses of 'healing' or therapy; a meaning ascribed to the practice by many actors and that will be dealt with in its own right in chapter 8. In addition, through his referral to already existing Batuku group names in the AML – such as *Tradison di Téra* [Tradition of the *Terra*] or *Rais di Téra* [Root of the *Terra*] – Rolando brings forth an articulation of 'origin' in the sense of 'roots', and of 'originally belonging' to a specific 'earth' or 'land'.

Another name that illustrates connections to 'tradition' is that of the group *Flor da Vida* [Flower of Life] from the *Casal da Boba* neighbourhood in the parish of *São Brás* / municipality of *Amadora*, which had approximately 10 members at the time of the interview.[163] When asked about who chose their name and why, some members reply:

> "We were the ones who registered our group name. (…) Because every group has a name … We chose [it] because we liked it, we tried … we thought it was neat … we thought that it is a lively thing, *Flor da Vida* is something … that gives life, so we thought it was neat and we put the name *Flor da Vida*" (Int. Iolanda/Isabela/Mafalda, 26/02/2017).[164]

Here, too, articulations of *terra* in the sense of 'earth', 'soil' or 'nature' become apparent, encapsulated by the choice of the word *flor* [flower]. At the same time, by describing Batuku as 'giving life' [*dá vida*] to them, the three group members reference similar conceptions of the 'healing', therapeutic effect that many practitioners ascribe to the practice of Batuku. This is also related to the association of 'soil' with a "source of life" (hooks 2009: 34) and of having a 'connection with the

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'[Fernanda], isso agora vai ser difícil. Porque, há *Tradison di Téra*, há *Rais di Téra* (...)' … Ela pensou um bocadinho, [e] disse assim 'que tal [meter] *Ramedi Terra*'. Eu disse 'olha, está muito bom'. (…) E ficou! (…) *Ramedi Terra*, por exemplo, fazer uma medicação ... por exemplo em Cabo Verde se estás com dor de cabeça (…) Muitas coisas de erva, que se faz. É para melhorar dor de cabeça".

[163] As discussed in chapters 5 and 8, *Casal da Boba* is a 'social housing' neighbourhood to which the majority of residents from the demolished *Fontaínhas* were relocated.

[164] The original quote in Portuguese is "Nós é que registamos o nosso nome do grupo. (…) Porque cada grupo tem um nome ... Escolhemos porque gostamos, tentamos … achamos giro … achamos que é uma coisa viva, *Flor da Vida* é uma coisa … que dá vida, então achamos uma coisa gira e nós pusemos o nome *Flor da Vida*".

earth' as being "life-affirming" (ibid: 36), which can in turn result in a sense of "personal (…) well-being" (ibid).

The third example I want to list here is perhaps not as clear but nonetheless contains interesting information regarding the negotiation of 'tradition' in a diasporic context. The Batuku group *Voz D'África* [Voice of Africa] was initially founded in the neighbourhood of *das Marianas* in the municipality of *Cascais* and was made up of approximately 16 members at the time of the research.[165] After this neighbourhood was demolished, the group had to disperse and was deeply affected by this rupture. Nowadays, the group members live in various neighbourhoods in municipalities spread all over the Metropolitan Area. The group itself, however, is generally associated with the *Carcavelos* parish of the *Cascais* municipality. When asked about how they came up with the name, some members of the group reply:

> '[The] name *Voz D'África* (pause) … when we formed this group, we looked for … [the] name of the group (…). It was my son and [the] grandson of this lady, who were like "it must be the name *Voz D'África*". (…) Then they were like "this group will stay [with] the name *Voz D'África*", which is a beautiful name because we are African, the name *Voz D'África* remained' (Int. Ester/Filomena, 12/02/2017).[166]

Arguably, this group's name negotiates a sense of 'belonging' and 'home(land)' through its conceptual weaving of identity and *terra* in connection to (being) Africa(n). This is in line with Nira Yuval-Davis' (2006) work, which conceptualises 'belonging' as being "about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home'" (ibid: 197). Furthermore, the way this group represents itself through its name points to articulations of '(African) origin' and 'culture'.

As previously indicated, the outfits that groups choose for performances also tie in with the (re)presentation and negotiation of Batuku as 'tradition'. It is necessary here to briefly reiterate some elements that are commonly used in the practice of Batuku, whether during rehearsals or performances. One item that is particularly representative of the role of the 'earth', 'land' or 'country' – and the intersectionality of gender and class in this regard – is the *Panu di Téra*, which literally translates as

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[165] The neighbourhood of *das Marianas* was considered 'illegal' and demolished in 2006.
[166] The original quote in Portuguese is "[O] nome *Voz D'África* (pausa) … quando a gente formava essa grupo a gente procurava … [o] nome do grupo (…). Era o meu filho com [o] neto dessa senhora, que disseram assim "tem que ficar o nome *Voz D'África*". (…) Depois eles disseram assim "esse grupo vai ficar [com] o nome de *Voz D'África*", que é um nome bonito porque nós somos africano, ficou o nome de *Voz D'África*".

'cloth of the *terra'* (the best translation of *terra* here would most likely be 'land').[167] The *Panu* is an elaborately woven cloth in black and white, and can have different shapes and designations depending on its purpose. The rather costly *Panu di Téra* – a cloth sown together from various thin woven straps – has historically been particularly popular among young women from the interior of the island of Santiago, which they allegedly wore around their hips (Castro Ribeiro 2012: 78; Tavares 2016: 50).[168] This already points to the gendered ascription of the *Panu di Téra*. Today, it is considered a vital element of any Batuku performance – be it at an official event or at rehearsals – and is not only worn by the dancers but by most members (including men, if they are present) of the respective Batuku group (Tavares 2016: 50f). The general way of wearing a *Panu di Téra* is around one's hips, but some Batukaderas also wrap it around their heads instead of the commonly used white headdress [*lenço*]. As noted, the *Panu di Téra* is just one of the many elements of the Batuku outfit that is meant to represent and correspond to the 'traditional' cultural Cape Verdean image of the rural inhabitants from Santiago: "the group of women drumming (…), dressed like the [female] peasants dressed in the past" (Nogueira 2011: 103; translation HS). This makes clear that the *Panu di Téra* is not only about gendered but also about classed ascriptions to Batuku as (a rural) 'tradition'.

The classed and gendered ascriptions also become apparent when looking at other elements of Batuku outfits. According to Tavares (2016: 117), it was the 'tradition' of Cape Verdean farmers that adult women wore calf-length dark skirts and white blouses in everyday life. She argues that this is why advocates of a 'traditional' Batuku insist on maintaining this style.[169] As will be shown in the next section of the chapter, most Batuku groups in the AML 'adhere' to this unwritten rule, with some of the more recent groups or those with younger members sometimes substituting the blouses with T-shirts and/or wearing shorter skirts. The only 'common denominator'

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[167] It is often reported that the 'first' *Txabetas* were merely pieces of cloth wrapped in plastic bags in order to circumvent the fact that Batuku was prohibited. That way, there was never a 'real' instrument present and therefore no proof of any activity related to Batuku. In several interviews, some of the Batukaderas explain that a *Panu di Téra* was and is also used as an everyday item to carry children on one's back.

[168] Most *Panus* worn during Batuku nowadays are no longer woven but printed. Furthermore, many of them are no longer the work of Cape Verdean artisans but, rather, come from industrial companies in East Asia, which is why they are now available at considerably lower prices (Tavares 2016: 51).

[169] During my research stay, I did not observe women wearing this (dark skirts and white blouses) as everyday clothes. The use of headdresses (*lenço*) on a daily basis, however, is not unusual for – primarily older – Black, working class women in the AML.

of all the groups seems to be the *Panu di Téra*; either wrapped around one's waist[170], used instead of the white headdress [*lenço*] or sewn into skirts or tops as strips or other patterns. Apart from the *Panu di Téra*, the second element considered essential is some kind of *lenço* [headdress]. As mentioned, the use of the *lenço* also points to the gendered and classed narratives of Batuku. On Cape Verde, it is associated with 'rural' women working in fields or selling produce at markets, while in the AML it is associated with 'African' or 'Cape Verdean' women working as cleaners or domestic workers. As will be shown, there is also a generational aspect linked to the use of the *lenço* in the AML as younger Batukaderas often do not wear it during performances.

In diaspora spaces such as the AML, the choice of outfits plays a crucial role for Batuku groups. Tavares (2016: 234) even registers a certain kind of 'purism' and 'conservatism' compared to groups on Cape Verde when it comes to the design and composition of outfits in diasporic contexts. Concerning the significance of *terra* for the overall framing of Batuku as 'tradition', I want to specifically address the diasporisation of this in the AML and argue that the importance of *terra* here can also be read as a claim by the Batukaderas to something tangible in the face of uncertainty. It is about a diasporic sense of (the) home(land) and of soil in order to make sense of the context that is the AML. Following Nira Yuval-Davis (2006), 'belonging' is "about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home' and (…) about feeling 'safe'" (ibid: 197). This emotional attachment can often become more central to people's constructions of themselves and their identities the less secure they feel (ibid: 202).

6.4.2 On Aspects of 'Authenticity'

At the beginning of this chapter, I addressed different efforts to regulate the 'real' or 'authentic' cultural identity of Cape Verde at various moments in time. With respect to the 'tradition' of Batuku, this was predominantly related to either negative attitudes or pride concerning its presumed 'African origins'. Below, I argue that the question of Batuku's 'authenticity' in a diasporic setting is often entwined with negotiations around 'rootedness', manifest in debates around the 'intensity' (or lack thereof) of the practice and whether or not it adapts enough or too much to the context and/or the

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[170] As will also be shown in section 6.5, if Batukaderas do not use a *Panu di Téra* to wrap it around their hips they will most likely substitute it with a white scarf called *Xális* (Tavares 2016: 234).

times. This becomes particularly apparent in discourses on the 'authenticity' of the various performatic elements of Batuku, including the dancing, drumming (rhythms), and the groups' outfits. I also argue that the search for 'authenticity' in the sense of the 'traditional' Batuku is at times related to romanticised notions of 'origin' and of the idea of "some fixed and unchanging meaning or value" (Hall 1998: 451). Throughout all of these negotiations, different intersectional structural categories come into play at different times. As noted, and in line with Brah (1996) and Hall (1990), this chapter is thus about showing how constructions of 'cultural identities' are a constant, never-ending negotiation process regarding notions of 'authenticity' and 'origin'.

In terms of clothing, it is considered 'traditional' or 'authentic' to wear all of the elements that make up a 'complete' Batuku outfit. This includes a light (usually white) short-sleeved blouse [*Mandrion*, *Maldirian*, or *Mandrião*], a dark calf-length skirt, a white underskirt [*Saiote*], a headdress [*lenço*] and a cloth wrapped around one's hips (ideally the *Panu di Téra*). Some traditionalists even plead for the necessity of being barefoot in order to be truly 'authentic' (Tavares 2016: 50). Needless to say, not all Batuku groups 'adhere' to these 'guidelines' – there are numerous debates among both Batukaderas and supporters about the shortness of skirts or tightness of tops. These discussions are addressed by Inés – an activist and avid supporter of the Batuku group *Finka Pé* from the *Cova da Moura* neighbourhood – when she talks about the difference between Batuku groups in the AML.

> "What I've heard like that from some people how it also happens in other places, there are Batuku groups which, where it's not so much an erotic dance but more, already a bit (pause) more on a sexual level. You know. And which starts to lose a bit the force because it's a lot more with short skirts and more like that, in order to challenge on the level of sexuality" (Int. Inés, 08/11/2016).[171]

This interview excerpt highlights the notion that by practicing or performing 'more with short skirts' and therefore being a bit more 'sexual', Batuku loses its 'authenticity', or – in Inés' words – its 'force'. According to the Batukadera Fernanda from the group *Ramedi Terra*, the style of the 'traditional' Batuku outfit has various

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[171] The original quote in Portuguese is "que ouvi assim de algumas pessoas como acontece também noutros sítios, há grupos de Batuku que, onde não é tanto uma dança erótica mas mais, já um bocadinho (pausa) mais ao nível de sexo. Não é. E que começa a perder um bocadinho a força porque é muito mais com saias curtas e mais assim, para desafiar ao nível de sexualidade".

reasons.

> "[The] outfit represents this very activity (pause) in its natural form. Because, for example, the skirt is wide to allow for the movement of the body. The *Panu*, is to enhance the waistline in order to be able to spin around. And the headdress is a symbol of the Cape Verdean woman, African, Cape Verdean particularly" (Int. Fernanda, 07/11/2016).[172]

By referring to the 'wide skirt' and the position of the *Panu di Téra* as representing Batuku in its 'natural form', Fernanda emphasises the previously analysed gendered framing of Batuku, while also attributing it to 'African' women and thereby indicating the racialised narratives around it.

Debates regarding other elements of Batuku, besides clothing, are also present among both practitioners and supporters in the AML. These debates primarily evolve around the preservation of an 'authentic' style of drumming [*batucar*] and dancing [*dançar*] in the diasporic context.

> "M: It's like this, groups from Cape Verde, nowadays (pause) prefer to drum like Batukaderas from here [the AML; A/N]. And Batukaderas from here it's also complicated nowadays. They also like to drum like groups on Cape Verde. They say "ah, the group from Cape Verde is more natural (…)". Not here, (…) it's not dedicated to the same raw Batuku. To the deep Batuku. It's on Cape Verde where the deep Batuku exists. Here, the majority of people, drum like this, drum sluggishly. But it's very little. Sometimes on the very, on this thing that we drum …
> HS: The *Txabeta*?
> M: Yes, many people don't know. Sometimes [with] strength, little taps, they screw up. It already becomes ugly. (…) No longer, Batuku from Cape Verde already doesn't compare with [the one] here. Here, it's already much weaker. A lot. Much weaker" (Int. Maria, 14/01/2017).[173]

When asked about differences between Batuku on Cape Verde and in the AML, the

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[172] The original quote in Portuguese is "[o] traje representa essa atividade mesmo (pausa) na sua forma natural. Porque, por exemplo, a saia é larga assim para facilitar o movimento do corpo. O *Panu*, é para aumentar a cintura para puder mexer. E o lenço é o símbolo da mulher cabo-verdiana, africana, cabo-verdiana especial".

[173] The original quote in Portuguese is "M: É assim, grupos de Cabo Verde, agora (pausa) gostam mais de batucar como Batukaderas daqui. E Batukaderas daqui também agora é complicado. Gostam também de batucar como grupos de Cabo Verde. Dizem "ah, o grupo de Cabo Verde está mais natural (…)". Aqui não, (…) não está dedicado ao mesmo Batuku cru. Ao Batuku fundo. Em Cabo Verde já é que existe o Batuku fundo. Aqui, a maioria das pessoas, batuca assim, batuca pesado. Mas é pouquinho. As vezes na mesma, naquela coisa que a gente bate … / HS: A *Txabeta*? / M: Sim, muitas pessoas não sabem. As vezes [com] força, pequenos toquinhos, estragam. Já fica feio. (…) Já não, Batuku de Cabo Verde já não compara com aqui. Aqui já é muito mais fraquinho. Muito. Muito mais fraco".

Batukadera Maria from the group *Strela de Bela Vista* begins by commenting on the prevalent perception that Batuku in the AML is less 'raw', 'deep' and 'natural' compared to how it is practiced on Cape Verde – which can also be read as a remark on it being less 'authentic' in the diasporic context. She then relates this loss of 'authenticity' to the fact that, according to her, many Batukaderas in the AML do not know how to drum the *Txabeta* properly; they drum more 'sluggishly', which results in a 'weaker' – or, as I word it, less 'intense' – expression of Batuku.

Members of the group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral*[174] from the *6 de Maio* neighbourhood (parish of *Falagueira-Venda Nova* / municipality of *Amadora*) also identify differences pertaining to the way people use the *Txabeta*.

> "B1: Traditional, traditional is like this. (Taps the *Txabeta*) Between the legs. It's not seated on top [of the *Txabeta*; A/N]. Seated with the legs open, I've already seen groups, sit like this. With open legs. (…) It's not traditional.
> B2: And others put it like this (puts the *Txabeta* on the floor).
> B3: (…) But, but it's not …
> B1: But in any case, the tradition is between the legs. The tradition is in this way since the beginning, so. Which I think is also more beautiful. Personally, I like it.
> HS: And these changes also exist on Cape Verde, that people …
> B1: No no no. On Cape Verde it continues. Traditionally it's on the legs, yes" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[175]

Here, the respective Batukaderas reflect on the way the *Txabeta* is 'traditionally' positioned and not so much, as Maria did in the quote prior, on the drumming style. This excerpt also discloses that the negotiation of 'authenticity' and 'tradition' in the context of the contemporary AML is at times related to romanticised notions of its 'origin', namely in relation to what Hall (1998) termed a (presumed) "fixed and unchanging meaning" (ibid: 451) – and continuation thereof – of Batuku on Cape Verde (a notion which several works on the 'modernisation' of Batuku on Cape Verde debunk (Tavares 2016; Schubert 2020)).

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[174] This group name translates to 'Granddaughters of Bibinha Cabral' (Bibinha Cabral being one of the few 'prominent' figures of Batuku, as mentioned in chapter 5), which is an interesting reference to the already discussed gendering of tradition.

[175] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: Tradicional, tradicional é assim. (Bate a *Txabeta*) Dentro da perna. Não é sentado por cima. Sentado com as pernas aberta, já vi grupos, sentar assim. Com pernas aberta. (…) Não é tradicional. / B2: E outros metem assim (põe a *Txabeta* no chão). / B3: (…) Mas, mas não é … / B1: Mas de toda maneira, a tradição é entre na perna. Assim que é a tradição de começo, pois. Que eu acho que também é mais bonito. Eu, para mim, gosto. / HS: E essas mudanças também existem em Cabo Verde, que as pessoas … / B1: Não não não. Em Cabo Verde continua. Tradicionalmente é na perna, sim".

During the interviews, several Batukaderas – as well as some supporters – relate this lack of intensity or 'wrong' way of practicing Batuku, as well as the difficulties surrounding maintaining the groups and organising events, to the specific realities of life in the diasporic context.

> "Difference, difference. There is. (pause) Because here already many people say 'no, I don't have time, I have to work'. (…) But on Cape Verde, when we are at our Batuku celebrations, we forget everything. Look, one even forgets the child at home" (Int. Beatriz, 24/01/2017).[176]

> "It is, it's different. It's different because on Cape Verde I think that we live the culture. Now, whoever leaves their country, in order to go abroad, if one doesn't have comfort, if one doesn't have support, in order to maintain a group, it becomes much more difficult" (Int. João, 16/01/2017).[177]

> "Nowadays you, in order to implement an event with a Batuku group, you have to go pick them up, have transportation. The trip, alimentation. They are people from various municipalities, you know. On Cape Verde everything is small, it's knocking on the door, go out, you know, go to rehearsal (…). The territorial dimension also interferes, you know. Then (…) on Cape Verde many don't work, here they all work. They have to reconcile the after-work hours" (Int. José, 02/02/2017).[178]

All three excerpts point towards different diasporic circumstances – particularly in relation to labour conditions, addressed in more detail in chapters 5, 7, and 8 – which impact on how Batuku is practiced in the AML. In the interview, the Batukadera Beatriz from the group *Olho Vivo* (parish of *Monte Abraão* / municipality of *Sintra*) shares her thoughts on the differences between Batuku on Cape Verde and in the AML by commenting on the impact that working hours in the AML have on people's motivation and ability to practice Batuku. José, who was born on the island of Santiago and was the president of the previously mentioned ACV[179] at the time of the interview, also brings up the issue of employment. While the fact that many people on

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[176] The original quote in Portuguese is "diferença, diferença. Tem. (pausa) Porque aqui já muitas pessoa dizem 'não, eu não tenho tempo, eu tenho que trabalhar'. (...) Mas em Cabo Verde, quando nós estamos na nossa festa de Batuku, esquecemos todos. Olha, esquece até de criança em casa".

[177] The original quote in Portuguese is "é, é diferente. É diferente porque em Cabo Verde penso que nós vivemos a cultura. Agora, quem sai do seu país, para ir para fora, se não tiver um conforto, se não tiver um suporte, para manter o grupo, torna-se muito mais difícil".

[178] The original quote in Portuguese is "você hoje, para fazer um evento com um grupo de Batuku, você tem que ir buscar, ter transporte. A deslocação, alimentação. São pessoas de vários concelhos, não é verdade. Em Cabo Verde é tudo pequeno, é bater na porta, sair, né, ir ao ensaio (…). A dimensão territorial, também interfere, né. Depois (…) em Cabo Verde muitas não trabalham, aqui todas trabalham. Têm que conciliar o pós-laboral".

[179] The Cape Verdean Association [*Associação Caboverdeana*; ACV].

Cape Verde 'do not work' and most in the ALM do could generally be considered positive, it is the specific, precarious labour conditions that many Batukaderas in the AML find themselves in which inhibit the ways Batuku is practiced. By using the female version of they [*todas*], he moreover indicates gendered labour experiences. José also touches on the issue of housing – specifically on the fact that most Batuku groups consist of 'people from various municipalities' – highlighting the geographic dispersal and peripherality of most residential areas where Batukaderas live. This is predominantly due to relocation programmes and policies implemented in the AML since the 1990s (see chapter 5).

Francisco – the aspiring musician who supports the Batuku group in *Cova da Moura* – also mentions perceived changes to the practice in the AML.

> "(…) for example, I've already seen women complain that (pause) 'No, one should not perform Batuku with shoes'. Or 'No, one should not perform Batuku with such a short skirt'. This kind of things that the women say. 'No! In my days' or 'on Cape Verde it's not, it's not done like this'. They try to maintain, the accuracy and so forth" (Int. Francisco, 22/11/2016).[180]

He thus emphasises two common and previously addressed areas of debate when it comes to the styling of the outfits during performances: the length of the skirts and the use (or not) of shoes onstage. By indirectly quoting comments by some Batukaderas, he makes clear that the 'traditional' way would be to perform barefoot and with long(er) skirts.[181] His references to 'women [who] complain' and the debates around a 'female' garment such as the skirt further both emphasise the general feminised understanding of who practices Batuku. Lastly, Francisco brings up the Batukaderas' efforts to 'maintain' the 'accuracy' of the practice, which can be read as a reference to the intended preservation of its 'authenticity' in the AML.

Through these interviews as well as notes taken after Batuku performances (which will be explored shortly), it also became apparent that the category of 'age' or 'generation' plays an important role when it comes to the ways in which Batuku as

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[180] The original quote in Portuguese is "(…) por exemplo, já vi mulheres a reclamarem que (pausa) 'Não, Batuku não se deve tocar com sapatos'. Ou 'Não, Batuku não se deve tocar com uma saia tão curta'. Esse tipo de coisas que as mulheres dizem. 'Não! No meu tempo' ou 'em Cabo Verde não, não é assim que se faz'. Elas tentam manter, o rigor e isso".

[181] Even though in most interviews, members of Batuku groups comment on the fact that performing barefoot was the 'traditional way', some Batukaderas also explain that they do not always adhere to this in the AML because of their health (rheumatism) and the colder climate in Portugal (Int. Maria, 14/01/2017; Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).

'tradition' is negotiated, (re)presented and performed, particularly with regard to groups' outfits.

"B1: But just older people in the *terra* don't, they never remove the *lenço* from the head. They are always with the *lenço*, always with the *lenço*.
HS: Summer, winter.
B2: Exactly. Summer, winter, they are always with the *lenço*, it's the tradition.
B1: This, but these are older people, younger ones now don't.
B2: Older ones, those people who are older. Never take it off.
HS: Not the young ones.
B1: No no.
B2: Young people don't put it on.
B1: Young people don't.
B2: They only put it on for sport, only for Batuku, to use the tradition, that's all. But, finishing with Batuku, they remove the *lenço*" (Int. Iolanda/Isabela/Mafalda, 26/02/2017).[182]

"Tsss! That way conflict always comes in, they become (pause) hey, another thinks that because we are younger, another thinks that because we wear short. Everybody thinks in their way (…) (Laughs) (claps her hands) I think it's like that here [the AML; A/N], on Cape Verde, on (laughs) every island (laughs)" (Int. Ana, 30/10/2016).[183]

In the first excerpt, some of the Batukaderas from the group *Flor da Vida* discuss the different meanings of the *lenço* [headdress] for people of different ages or generations. According to them, 'older people' on Cape Verde (which they reference through the term *terra*) never remove it as it is 'the tradition', while 'young people don't put it on' unless it is 'for sport', thereby 'using the tradition' and, arguably, not taking it seriously or honouring it appropriately. In the second excerpt, however, Batukadera Ana from the group *Strela de Bela Vista*, often considered one of the 'younger' groups in the AML based on the average age of its members, voices her disagreement with some of the criticism that arises because her group is considered less 'authentic' or 'traditional' because '[they] are younger' or 'wear short' (skirts).

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[182] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: Mas mesmo a gente mais velha na terra não, nunca tira o lenço de cabeça. Está sempre com o lenço, sempre com o lenço. / HS: Verão, inverno. / B2: Exactamente. Verão, inverno, eles estão sempre com o lenço, é a tradição. / B1: Isso, mas isso são pessoas mais antigas, mais novas agora não. / B2: Mais antigas, aquelas pessoas mais antigas. Nunca tiram. / HS: Os jovens não. / B1: Não não. / B2: Os jovens já não põem. / B1: Jovens não. / B2: A gente põe só para desporto, só para Batuku, para usar a tradição, mais nada. Mas, acabando Batuku a gente tira o lenço".

[183] The original quote in Portuguese is "Tsss! Assim entra sempre conflito, elas ficam (pausa) epa, outro acha que porque a gente são mais jovem, outro acha que porque a gente veste curto. Cada um pensa em sua maneira (…). (Ri) (bate as palmas) Acho que isso é assim aqui, em Cabo Verde, por (ri) todo ilha (ri)".

Her reaction to this is to laugh it off as these kinds of conflicts occur everywhere – 'here, on Cape Verde, on (…) every island'. Her statement thus suggests that debates between different generations of Batukaderas around 'authentic' or 'traditional' clothing are not exclusive to diasporic settings, but are also common on Cape Verde (see Tavares 2016: 50).

Reflections on the loss of 'authenticity' in the diasporic context are also made by Batuku supporters or event organisers, who can be ascribed to the 'Cape Verdean elite' in the AML. This is often linked to the perceived need to 'preserve' the 'original' or 'authentic' version of Batuku as much as possible. João, the previously mentioned professional dancer and cultural educator, has founded several groups in order to 'promote' and 'preserve' 'Cape Verdean culture'.

> "Then, at eighteen years old, I came to Portugal. Here in order to give continuity. So in Portugal I felt this necessity. That the culture was really not very expanded, it wasn't promoted a lot. Then in Portugal (pause) already in the year 2000, more or less, we created a group, which is *Nos Tradison*. Our tradition. Well, and we are promoting culture. On the level of dance, so Morna, Koladera, Batuku. And more every time. And nowadays I do workshops (…) and events, in associations. Which is to promote the culture. And Batuku is one of those oldest dances or music genres from Cape Verde, and it's our culture, let's say the mother. That's why every place we go, Batuku is always in the foreground of the workshops" (Int. João, 16/01/2017).[184]

In this interview excerpt, João underlines the necessity to 'expand' and 'promote' 'Cape Verdean culture' in the Portuguese diaspora space. Based on his background as a professional dancer, he does this primarily in relation to the cultural practice of 'traditional' dance; namely of 'Morna, Koladera, Batuku'. This once again highlights the framing of Batuku as 'Cape Verdean tradition'. Moreover, João defines Batuku as a 'mother culture' and thus makes apparent the gendered ascriptions to 'tradition' and 'origin' in this regard.

The preservation of Batuku as 'tradition' in the AML is also addressed by

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[184] The original quote in Portuguese is "depois com os meus dezoito anos, vim pá o Portugal. Aqui para dar continuidade. Então em Portugal, sentia essa necessidade. Que realmente a cultura não era muito expandida, não era muito promovida. Aí em Portugal (pausa) já no ano 2000, mais ou menos, criamos um grupo, que é *Nos Tradison*. A nossa tradição. Pronto, e estamos a promover a cultura. Ao nível da dança, assim Morna, Koladera, Batuku. E cada vez mais. E hoje faço vários workshops (...) e eventos, nas associações. Que é para promover a cultura. E Batuku é daquelas danças ou músicas mais antigas de Cabo Verde, e é a nossa tradição, digamos a mãe. Por isso, em todos sítios que nós fomos, o Batuku está sempre na linha da frente, dos workshops".

José, who – as noted – was the president of the ACV at the time of the interview.

"And it's interesting, the Batuku group (…) of which I am godfather. It's a group which still preserves the traditional line. You know. Because note, as you know, Funana nowadays, there is electronic Funana. (…) Thus [it is] a bit distorted, from the essence. So it's very important to try to arrange for the traditional line to continue. With innovations, clearly. Nowadays there's no, it's not possible to make progress without innovation. You know? (…) But when I say of a traditional line it's because there's still, in this Batuku group, a strong line of the first generation of immigrants. (…) But it's a very traditional line in which, this group managed to continue and maintain and preserve. (…) Yes yes yes yes. Today, nowadays we are already distorting Batuku a little bit. Toward the commercial part. You know. Because today already, many electronic beats, those [that] play the *Txabeta*" (Int. José, 02/02/2017).[185]

According to José, the preservation of the 'traditional line' of Batuku gains in importance due to its increased 'distortion' and 'commercialisation', which he links to it (the *Txabeta*) being played with 'electronic beats'. I read his statement of Batuku being steadily 'distorted' from its 'essence' as yet another assertion of the loss of 'authenticity' and a 'move away' from its 'origins'. Yet, he argues that there are some groups in the AML – such as the one he is associated with – that manage to 'continue and maintain and preserve' the 'traditional line' of Batuku. It becomes clear that he primarily bases this 'achievement' on the fact that members of this group are mostly of 'the first generation', thereby adding the category of 'age' or 'generation' to the never-ending negotiation process of 'tradition' and 'culture' in the diasporic context (Hall 1990; Brah 1996).

"But I think that the difference is in managing to maintain this traditional line, which won't be simple. Because, also with the succession, of the diaspora. Then this, the first generation, of immigrants, will already be of a certain age. You know. So, and this diaspora, second and third generation, with little connection to Cape Verde. And, this means, so the good thing would be, you know, and the best thing would be to make sure that the

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[185] The original quote in Portuguese is "e é interessante, o grupo de Batuku, (…) do que eu sou padrinho. É um grupo ainda que preserva a linha tradicional. Não é verdade. Porque repara, como a Hanna sabe, o Funana, hoje, há Funana electrónico. (…) Portanto [é] um pouco desvirtuado, da essência. Portanto, é muito importante tentar fazer com que a linha tradicional permaneça. Claramente, com inovações. Hoje não há, não é possível fazer avanços sem inovação. Né? (…) Mas quando digo de linha tradicional é porque ainda, nesse grupo de Batuku, está uma linha forte da primeira geração dos imigrantes. (…) Mas é uma linha muito tradicional em que se, esse grupo conseguiu permanecer e guardar e preservar. (…) Sim sim sim sim. Hoje, hoje em dia nós estamos já desvirtuar um pouco o Batuku. Para a parte comercial. Não é verdade. Porque hoje já, muitas batida electrónicas, aquelas [que] toquem a *Txabeta*".

second generation started to participate, together with this first generation, which is [here]. Drink this experience of, of the essence of Batuku. And maintain this traditional line" (Int. José, 02/02/2017).[186]

By equating 'tradition' or the 'traditional line' with the 'first generation', José makes clear who has the responsibility to 'pass on' – and thereby preserve – a certain ('traditional') knowledge in the 'diaspora'. He also emphasises that this 'first generation' possess the 'essence' of Batuku, which I read as an indirect reference to the idea that Batuku's fixed 'origins' or 'roots' lie on Cape Verde and can thus only be known – and, consequently, 'passed on' – by those born there.

Of course, there is no consensus on what exactly 'preservation' entails and what 'promotion' of Batuku should look like.

> "(…) this, for me, is a dissemination on one hand. But it's a distortion of what is the root. Because Orlando Pantera transposed the root and turned it contemporary. [187] Do you understand? (…) He brought the rhythm! He didn't bring the reality of the whole. Because Batuku, or an, the expression of Batuku, is a whole. (…) It's, it's not just the rhythm, on the guitar. Or on a *Txabeta*. It's an entirety. That's why, Lura or Mayra Andrade, to me, they don't satisfy me. [188] They are (pause) a promoter (pause) of something, which is presented, I can say, a big nonsense. (…) It's the rhythm. (pause) The rhythm! (…) While Batuku, has the representatives! (…) has the performance!" (Int. Amália, 07/12/2016).[189]

Amália, the afore-mentioned singer, expresses her disapproval with regard to the way some musicians disseminate Batuku – which, according to her, results in a 'distortion' of its 'roots'. It is thus not only about the fact that Batuku needs to be preserved and disseminated, but also – and perhaps more importantly – about the ways in which this

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[186] The original quote in Portuguese is "mas eu acho que a diferença está em conseguir manter esta linha tradicional, que não vai ser fácil. Porque, com a sucessão também, da diáspora. Depois essa, a primeira geração, dos imigrantes vão já ter uma certa idade. Né. Então, e essa diáspora, segunda e terceira geração, com pouca ligação à Cabo Verde. E, quer dizer, portanto o bom era, né, e o ótimo era de fazer com que a segunda geração começasse a participar, junto com essa primeira geração, que está. Beber essa experiência, de, da essência do Batuku. E manter essa linha tradicional".

[187] Orlando Pantera was a Cape Verdean singer and composer, who is often credited for making Batuku 'more popular'.

[188] Lura and Mayra Andrade are both 'diasporic' singers and musicians who self-identify as Cape Verdean.

[189] The original quote in Portuguese is "(…) isso para mim é uma divulgação por um lado. Mas é uma distorção do que é a raiz. Porque o Orlando Pantera transpôs a raiz e tornou-a contemporânea. Entendes? (…) Ele trouxe o ritmo! Ele não trouxe, a realidade de um todo. Porque um Batuku, ou uma, a expressão do Batuku, é um todo. (…) É, não é só o ritmo, na guitarra. Ou numa *Txabeta*. É um todo. Por isso, a Lura ou Mayra Andrade, à mim, não me satisfazem. Elas são (pausa) uma divulgadora (pausa) duma coisa, que está apresentada, posso estar a dizer uma grande asneira. (…) É o ritmo. (pausa) O ritmo! (…) Enquanto o Batuku, tem as representantes! (…) tem a performance!".

is done. Amália makes clear that, for her, one cannot disseminate or promote Batuku authentically if one does not stay true to its 'roots' or 'origins', which encompasses the practice in its 'entirety' and 'wholeness' – in the sense of including its practitioners and their performance – and not merely its rhythms. Negotiations of Batuku as 'tradition' are therein not only associated with ideas of 'authenticity' but also at times rely on notions of 'rootedness'.

This section has highlighted that the practice of Batuku in the AML involves various meanings and objectives for practitioners, their supporters, as well as event organisers. Among the many objectives are the preservation of Batuku as one's 'heritage' and the continuation of this 'tradition' in the diasporic context – both related to a sense of 'authenticity'. In this regard, the romanticisation of an 'authentic' Batuku – or a version of Batuku related to the 'past' on Cape Verde – can be understood as the maintenance of a narrative of 'tradition' that people use to make sense of themselves in the (diasporic) present; a present that is shaped by labour and housing conditions in the AML, which in turn relate to changing (gendered) practices in Batuku. It has also been demonstrated that the diasporic narrative of who passes on this 'tradition' – or who has the responsibility to – is not only gendered (Tavares 2016: 36) but also bound to the category of 'generation' or 'age'. The following section will address (re)presentations and performances of Batuku as 'tradition' onstage, including an intersectional analysis of its various elements. It can therefore be seen as elaboration of the arguments presented here, with a stronger focus on performance.

6.5   Performing Batuku as 'Tradition'

In line with conceptualisations of 'tradition' as "a vital element in culture" (Hall 1998: 450) and 'culture' as being the arena where social meanings are produced, challenged, and reconfigured (Brah 1996), I will now focus on how Batuku is performed as 'tradition' at different events throughout the AML. As discussed, these events can roughly be distinguished as (1) 'community-related' and (2) 'cultural' events. The following analysis includes both the actual performances onstage and the various activities taking place around the event, as well as asking for whom Batuku as

'tradition' is performed. To this end, I mostly refer to notes taken after the attendance of the events in question.

This chapter offers an intersectional analysis of both the objectives and the locations of Batuku events. The examination of particular objectives – in this case, of the 'preservation' and 'continuation' of Batuku as 'tradition' or 'heritage' – does not imply that there are not several other possible objectives for practitioners, their supporters, or event organisers. Batuku events can, for instance, also include more 'public' political agendas in front of larger audiences (which will be addressed in chapter 7) or more 'personal' ('private') political objectives and meanings (which will be the emphasis of chapter 8). To a certain extent, the following section relies theoretically on Butler's (1990, 1993) notion of performativity. As stated, she emphasises the *construction* of identities as they are caused by performative actions or gestures, and the performativity of identity in everyday social practices (i.e. what is being done or said). This means that "identity is the effect of performance, and not vice versa" (Bell 1999: 3). Moreover, identities are performed everyday and not just onstage. Butler's theories, however, can nonetheless be usefully applied to an analysis of actual performances onstage since they, too, are about identity formations and the construction of narratives – just not as everyday performances. Furthermore, as has been argued by others (Gregson & Rose 2000), "performance – what individual subjects do, say, 'act-out' – and performativity – the citational practices which reproduce and/or subvert discourse (…) – are intrinsically connected (…)" (ibid: 434).

As will be shown on the following pages, this 'citational' or iterative nature of identities – which is central to Butler's thought – plays an important role in the negotiation of Batuku as 'tradition' in the AML. It was already emphasised in previous sections that the equation of Batuku with 'tradition', and *terra*, happens frequently and almost automatically. This is in line with Butler's argument that the performativity of identities relies on the repetition, "sometimes ritualistic repetition" (Bell 1999: 3), of acts or codes.

6.5.1   Performances: Between 'Community' and '(Multi)Culturality'

Henceforth, I will focus my attention on Batuku performances onstage as well as the various activities taking place around different events, both 'community-related' and

'cultural'. While my initial thought was to analyse these event types separately, I later realised that it made more sense to structure this section of the chapter by comparing their various elements, partly because it is not always possible to neatly allocate a performance to one single category of event. Since this section predominantly relies on notes taken after my attendance of events and I want to give readers the best possible insight into my thought process, I will offer rather detailed and long passages of my notes below. With regard to the use of notes from participatory observations (PO), I want to refer back to the methodological chapter of the thesis and briefly reiterate that researchers must always reflect critically on their observation notes and remember that there is no 'objective truth' in them but only their personal interpretation and conception (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi 2012: 303).

In late November 2016, I was invited to a 'community' festival at the *Polidesportivo* (an open-air sports facility) in *Cova da Moura*. A member of the Batuku group *Finka Pé* had sent me an email a day earlier to let me know that they would have an afternoon performance there.

> "Many people are in evening dresses or suits, some are wearing sashes that read *Santa Catarina*. There are one or two familiar faces but, generally, I don't know anybody. I notice that two men keep looking in my direction. After I see one of the older Batukaderas and greet her, the men approach and start talking to me. They tell me that the *Festa Santa Catarina* usually happens after mass and that this one has just started. They tell me that those wearing sashes are called *juizes*[190] [judges] and are 'responsible' for the event. I ask them whether they know if Batuku will take place today. They believe so: 'where Cape Verdeans are, there is always Batuku', they reply. At approximately 5pm the Batukaderas walk onstage, together with some members from another Batuku group. The women of *Finka Pé* are wearing white blouses, black skirts, *Panu di Téra*, white *lenços* and are barefoot. They are approximately 20-25 people altogether. The chairs are arranged in two crescents, facing each other. They are introduced in Kriolu by a presenter. (…) They are repeatedly joined by members of the audience onstage. They join them in dancing or playing the *Txabeta*. (…) After their last song, Funana starts playing from a record. The children and teenagers in the audience, who had been rather quiet until then, jump up in excitement and start dancing" (Observation Prot. 20/11/2016).

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[190] The literal translation for this is 'judge' or 'referee' but they are similar to sponsors at (religious) 'community-related' events, meaning that they contribute financially to the event. Each *juiz* is nominated by someone who was a *juiz* at last year's event, and can then nominate someone else for the following year.

This excerpt from notes offers an opportunity to reflect on several themes that were mentioned in the previous sections. This event can be categorised as a 'community' event related to the Cape Verdean municipality of *Santa Catarina* located in the western part of the island of Santiago. On Cape Verde, festivals celebrating the saint *Santa Catarina* [Saint Catherine of Alexandria] are always held at the end of November and this is continued in the diasporic context of the AML. As well as the name of the event and the sashes worn by some event attendants (the *juizes*), another indicator of it being 'community-related' is the language – Kriolu – spoken onstage throughout the event, suggesting the assumption that everybody in the audience speaks or understands Kriolu. Furthermore, I read the men's response – 'where Cape Verdeans are, there is always Batuku' – as another (ethnicised) reference to 'community'.

The visual (re)presentation of Batuku as 'tradition' through the choice of outfit is also elucidated through the excerpt above. Clearly, the group *Finka Pé* consciously includes all of the elements that, as discussed, are attributed to a 'traditional' or 'authentic' Batuku: white blouses, black skirts, *Panu di Téra*, white *lenços* and no shoes (barefoot).[191] We can also remember that all of these elements are connected to the gendered and/or classed narrative of Batuku. The barefoot performance in particular points to a close physical connection of this 'tradition' to the notion of *terra*. On Cape Verde, this is especially related to the rural population from the interior [*do interior*] of Santiago. I consider the continuation of this (re)presentation in the diasporic context as an interesting reference to and performance of this 'tradition', as most Batukaderas in the AML are employed as cleaners or domestic workers. Reflecting further on the themes of 'age' or 'generation' explored in the previous section, it is clear in the excerpt above that those audience members who comprise the 'younger generation' prefer the genre of Funana to the practice of Batuku as they 'jump up in excitement and start dancing' as soon as Funana begins to play from the speakers. This is coherent with the framing of Batuku as the 'tradition' of 'older people' or the 'first generation' in the AML, as well as their perceived responsibility to 'pass on' – and thereby preserve – this 'traditional' knowledge in the diasporic context. As mentioned, Batuku is ranked among those Cape Verdean cultural

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[191] The fact that the group *Finka Pé* is accompanied onstage by members of another Batuku groups points to the diasporic continuation of the Cape Verdean practice of *djunta-mô* ('mutual help'), which is a main focus of analysis in chapter 8.

practices with the 'strongest African influence' next to others such as Funana or Tabanka (Hurley-Glowa 2001; Nogueira 2011: 25, 30f; Castro Ribeiro 2012; Tavares 2016: 23, 29f). However, as noted previously, Funana is nowadays often played electronically and is therefore considered 'modern' or 'modernised'.[192]

Another event that brings forth similar negotiations of 'tradition' took place in the *Outurela/Portela* neighbourhood in the parish of *Carnaxide e Queijas* / municipality of *Oeiras* just a few days later. I had been made aware of this celebration of yet another *Festa Santa Catarina* by members of various different Batuku groups.

> "The event takes place at the car park behind the municipal swimming pool of *Outurela/Portela*. There are not that many people here yet, perhaps between 40 and 50. I can hear many of them speaking in Kriolu. Food is being served; members of the organising team put pots of rice, *Katxupa*, *Xerém* etc. on the long tables. (…) A few people gather onstage. Many of them are dressed elegantly and seem to be *juizes*. There are now already more people at the event, perhaps around 150. Some of them are wearing sashes; some also have small badges on their chests that read *Festa Santa Catarina*. A band walks onstage and the singer greets everyone in Portuguese. She says that the first song is a Morna dedicated to all migrants, especially all Cape Verdean migrants. She sings five or six songs and speaks to the audience in Portuguese. After a break and a short interlude, it is time for *Ramedi Terra*'s performance. There are around twelve members of the group onstage, ten women and two men. One of the men addresses the audience in Kriolu. They are all wearing white tops or blouses, green skirts or trousers, *Panu di Téra*. Some of them wear shoes and some of them do not, all the women wear white *lenços*. I notice that they have very few young members in their group. Two people from the audience walk onstage and join the group by dancing or playing the *Txabeta*. Afterwards, the group *Finka Pé* has its performance. There are about fifteen of them. They all wear white blouses, black skirts, no shoes, *Panu di Téra*, and white *lenços*. One of the last songs they play is with a rapper. He greets the audience in Kriolu and starts to rap a song about the strength of immigrants. After this performance there are several performances by different Funana singers" (Observation Prot. 27/11/2016).

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[192] Timothy Sieber (2005) notes that there is an "increasing insertion of Cape Verdeans (…) within a wider transnational African diaspora, located mostly in the Global North, that is leading younger Cape Verdeans to shift their racial identification more and more to Black, without losing affiliation to Cape Verdean ethnicity. (…) [which is] represented through changes in musical tastes toward more African-based musical forms (…) and a resurgence of Cape Verde's own less creolized, more African musical forms (such as funana, batuke, and tabanka), mostly from (…) Santiago" (ibid: 125). This quote suggests that the cultural practices of Batuku, Funana, and Tabanka have equally gained in popularity among the "wider transnational African diaspora" and "younger Cape Verdeans" (ibid). While this might be true to a certain extent, my research in the AML in 2016 and 2017 showed a relatively limited popularity of Batuku – when compared to Funana in particular – among younger populations racialised as Black or ethnicised as Cape Verdean. In the AML, it seemed that there was slightly more popularity and support of Batuku groups among young Black activists.

Similar to the previous one, this event can be considered 'community-related' – primarily aimed towards honouring both the Cape Verdean municipality of *Santa Catarina* and the celebration of the homonymic saint occurring there every November. That it is a 'community-related' event – 'by' or 'for' an alleged 'community' – is further affirmed through the food offered before the performances: Both *Katxupa* and *Xerém* are generally considered 'Cape Verdean' dishes; the first, a cooked stew, is often referred to as the 'national dish', while the latter is a corn dish popular in Portugal but considered 'traditional' to Cape Verde when made only with butter, water, and salt.

The outfits worn by both groups onstage are another important reference to the ways Batuku as 'tradition' is negotiated in the AML. While *Finka Pé* coherently retains its choice to dress in the most 'traditional' or 'authentic' way, the group *Ramedi Terra* opts for a slightly less 'traditional' and less 'coherent' outfit. While they all wear white tops, green bottoms (chosen to correspond with their group name), *Panu di Téra*, and white *lenços* (for the women), there seems to be no consistency regarding the use of shoes onstage. Yet, it can still be argued that there is a general tendency to (re)present Batuku as a 'tradition' with a strong connection to *terra* at this event.

Two more themes related to the negotiation of Batuku as 'tradition' in the AML also become apparent from the above excerpt. First, we can identify a reference to class based on the language chosen to introduce different performances to the audience. The first performance is of Morna songs, a music genre more popular on the so-called *Barlavento* [Windward] islands, which do not include the island of Santiago (where Batuku is said to have originated) (see also Stepanik 2019: 91). Morna is often compared to the Portuguese Fado and thus considered more 'European' – especially in relation to the 'Africanity' of Batuku. We can also remember from chapter 2 that those who moved to the AML from *Barlavento* islands such as São Vicente or Boa Vista in the mid-twentieth century were predominantly students and people ascribed to the middle or upper-middle class, or to the 'cultural elite'. At the event in question, I hence read the introduction of Morna in Portuguese and the introduction of Batuku in Kriolu as indirect references to the assumed class positioning not only of respective practitioners but also of those in the audience who prefer one over the other.

The second theme is around the articulation of 'age' or 'generation' already mentioned in the analysis of the previous event. We can see from the notes of both

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celebrations of *Santa Catarina* that Funana – either as a live performance or from a recording – is generally scheduled after Batuku. It also became clear from the first event, that the 'younger generation' generally prefers the more 'modern' Funana. Regarding the association of 'tradition' with 'older generations', one of the organisers of a similar event – a celebration in honour of the *Sagrada Família* – explains during a phone conversation:

> "The event *Festa Sagrada Família*[193] takes place once a year. It is derived from a Cape Verdean tradition and lasts one day. It is a religious celebration where we invite Batuku groups and groups of Cape Verdean dances like Funana. There are also groups from Portugal but the focus is on Cape Verde. Why do we have Batuku? Well, first there is a religious mass, it is mostly attended by the elderly population. And Batuku is something from their country and they like it. It is in order to have them cheerful and happy. There are many differences [between generations]. The youth prefers Funana while the seniors like Batuku better, because it is from their country. They feel happy [with it]. The elderly attend the mass and leave the event earlier to go home. That's why the Batuku performances happen earlier and Funana later" (Interview Notes Leila, 01/02/2017).[194]

Here, Leila clearly emphasises the differences between generations when it comes to personal preferences but also regarding the connection (or lack thereof) to Batuku as a 'tradition' from the 'country' [*terra*]. She explains that the 'elderly population' or the 'seniors' attend the mass and then want to see performances before going home. As Batuku makes them 'cheerful and happy' because it is 'something from their country', these performances are put on earlier by the organisers and Funana – which the 'youth prefers' – is scheduled later in the evening. This association of 'age' or 'generation' with either 'tradition' or 'modernity' also became apparent through the seating arrangements at most 'community-related' events I attended; with younger audience members generally sitting further towards the back at the beginning of events, when the more 'traditional' performances take place.

Leila's elucidation with respect to 'generation' is corroborated by the following notes taken after I attended the *Festa Sagrada Família* in January 2017. This event took place on a square in the former civil parish of *Caxias* in the municipality of

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[193] This translates as 'Feast of the Holy Family'.
[194] After receiving Leila's number, I called her to arrange a meeting for a face-to-face interview. However, she told me that it would be difficult for her to meet in person and that we could arrange a time and date to speak on the phone so that I could ask her some questions. This is why the interview notes here are from a telephone conversation and not a transcript.

Oeiras, and I had been invited to attend by members of the group *Strela de Bela Vista* as well as the group *Ramedi Terra*.

> "On the right of the square is a stage and there are large tables in the middle, where people sit and eat. Some of the organisers bring plates. They place rice, *Katxupa*, *Xerém* and *Feijão Congo* in large pots on the tables. By this time, more people have arrived. I estimate that there are now between 150 and 200 people present. The tables have been moved and chairs positioned as rows in front of the stage. A woman walks onstage and addresses the audience in Kriolu. She announces the group *Ramedi Terra* from *Portela*. There are around eight members of the group onstage. They are wearing green skirts or trousers and white blouses (some of them are decorated with green *Panu di Téra* patterns). All of the Batukaderas, except for Elisa (one of the younger ones), wear white *lenços*. They all have *Panu di Téra* and wear shoes. They sing three to four songs all together. The group *Strela de Bela Vista* starts their performance at around 5pm. There are about eight Batukaderas from the group; most of them are not wearing shoes. They are generally younger than the members of the previous group. Their outfit is not uniform; they all wear black skirts (some of them shorter and/or tighter than the previous group), red or black and white tops (all of which are slightly different). Two of them are wearing black trousers. Some of them wear *lenços* but not all of them exclusively white ones. One wears a black headdress with red dots. All of them have *Panu di Téra* or scarfs. They sing four songs. This is followed by several Funana performances" (Observation Prot. 07/01/2017).

These notes once again point to the articulation of 'age' or 'generation' – in relation to 'tradition' – at another 'community-related' event. The fact that Funana happens later in the event, and that it is played either live or from a record, further indicates its framing as 'entertainment' or 'animation' for younger people. Furthermore, both Leila's statement and these past three event notes emphasise the issue of who is responsible for 'passing on' a 'tradition'; namely (older) women from the 'first generation' (i.e. born on Cape Verde). 'Tradition', 'traditional' or 'authenticity' as connected to a certain 'age' or 'generation' is also reflected once more in the choice of outfits at the *Festa Sagrada Família*. The group *Strela de Bela Vista*, whose members are generally younger than the members of *Ramedi Terra*, does not have uniform outfits; some of the Batukaderas wear (short) black skirts while others wear black trousers, some wear shoes and some do not, and they all have different tops and different headdresses. The group *Ramedi Terra*, on the other hand, has uniform outfits although one Batukadera – 'one of the younger ones' – does not wear a *lenço*. Furthermore, they all wear shoes, which could be considered 'unauthentic' or

'untraditional' by some. These different outfit choices are related to the previously discussed conflicts or debates regarding an 'authentic' preservation or continuation of Batuku as 'tradition' in the AML. Let us remember that these debates are often associated with the length of skirts or the use of shoes versus being barefoot, and also to the 'right' (i.e. 'traditional') way of using the *Txabeta*. As already noted, the Batukaderas from *Flor da Vida* liken the use of outfits by 'younger generations' to a sport, which I read as a certain criticism of them not taking it seriously and merely appropriating it to 'perform tradition'. Furthermore, I suggest that the above-indicated 'incoherence' with respect to outfits – not all members of a group being coherently dressed and/or some not 'adhering' to what is considered 'traditional' – also points to the fact that the (re)presentation and performance of 'tradition' in the AML becomes more important in certain spaces and with certain audiences than in others, which we will turn to shortly.

Lastly, I understand both the choice of language (the audience is addressed exclusively in Kriolu) and of food at the *Festa Sagrada Família* event as indicative of its framing as 'community-related'. As well as the dishes *Katxupa* and *Xerém*, another dish that can be considered 'Cape Verdean' was served: *Feijão Congo* is a bean stew often described as 'traditional' to the archipelago.

In addition to the *Festa Santa Catarina* and the *Festa Sagrada Família*, the *Festa Santo Amaro* has a set place within religious festivities ascribed to the 'Cape Verdean community' in the AML. *Santo Amaro* [Saint Amaro] is the patron saint of the Cape Verdean municipality of *Tarrafal* (island of Santiago) and is celebrated there every January. I was invited to attend this event, which took place inside a church hall, in the parish of *Monte Abraão* (municipality of *Sintra*) by the founder of the Batuku group *Olho Vivo*.

> "There is a large stage, a few *white* guests and the representative from the Cape Verdean Embassy seated in the front row in front of it. The presenter addresses everybody in Portuguese. He welcomes the new ambassador of Cape Verde to Portugal, who also gets onto the stage and addresses the audience in Portuguese. Then, the first musician walks onstage and announces a Morna. Everybody from the audience shouts *Sodade*.[195] He

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[195] *Sodade* is a Koladera (and so technically not a Morna) song popularised by Cesária Évora in 1992. Today, it is probably among the most popular 'Cape Verdean' songs about 'diaspora' and 'migration'; with its lyrics describing nostalgic experiences and *sodade des nha téra São Nicolau* (which can be translated to 'longing/yearning/homesickness for my land/country São Nicolau'). São Nicolau is one of the Cape Verdean islands.

starts to sing and play the guitar and the whole audience sings along. White plastic chairs are then arranged onstage in a semi-circle. *Ramedi Terra* is the first Batuku group to perform. There are roughly eight members present: six women and two men. They are wearing green skirts or trousers and light-green blouses, shoes, *Panu di Téra*, and white *lenços* (except for a younger Batukadera, who is not wearing anything on her head). One of the men of the group addresses the audience in Kriolu. They sing three or four songs. The presenter asks the audience to give it up for *Ramedi Terra* and introduces the next group: *Flor da Vida*. There are about ten women from the group seated onstage and one, the singer, is standing. Five of them are wearing pink shirts that say *Flor da Vida – Batucadeiras da Boba* on the front and include a picture of a flower. Four of them – the 'older' ones – are also wearing white *lenços*. All have black skirts, wear shoes and *Panu di Téra*. They sing three or four songs altogether. After a break, a Hip Hop group performs onstage. They rap in Kriolu" (Observation Prot. 15/01/2017).

I have chosen this excerpt from the note I took after attending the *Festa Santo Amaro* in order to highlight three things in particular. First, I argue that articulations of class are once again made obvious through the languages used to introduce different performances onstage; namely Portuguese to introduce Morna – a music genre more associated with the middle classes, as already mentioned – and Kriolu to introduce Batuku, which is usually framed as a working class expression. Secondly, articulations of 'age' or 'generation' are – similar to the previously analysed events – made apparent in the order of performances (first Morna, then Batuku, then Hip Hop) but also on the basis of the use (or lack thereof) of some 'traditional' Batuku garments, such as the *lenço*, onstage. Finally, I suggest that the performance of both Batuku groups at this event with shoes is not a small, irrelevant detail but, rather, reinforces the argument posited above: that the (re)presentation and performance of Batuku as 'authentic' 'tradition' in the AML is more important in certain spaces, and with certain audiences, than in others. In other words, it is less crucial in 'community-related' contexts where it is assumed that the majority of the audience is already aware of or 'knows' the 'origins' of the practice. Following Brah (1996: 231), this argument ties in with the notion that, under the specific circumstances of the postcolonial diaspora space that is the AML, certain manifestations of 'tradition' are invoked and valorised and certain narratives become privileged icons of this 'tradition'.

These differences within the (re)presentation and performance of 'tradition' are exemplified by a two-part event which I attended during my initial and very brief

research stay in April 2016. This event, which was organised to celebrate the *Dia das Mulheres Cabo Verdianas* [Cape Verdean Women's Day], took place in the premises of the previously mentioned *Associação Caboverdiana* [Cape Verdean Association; from now on ACV] and was divided into two sections.

> "The first part of the event is organised by the *Associação de Mulheres Cabo-Verdianas na Diáspora em Portugal* ['Association of Cape Verdean Women in the Diaspora in Portugal'; AMCDP]. I pay the entry fee (€2) and walk inside; the room is still completely empty. I sit down in one of the middle rows. We are still waiting for a representative of the Cape Verdean embassy. The organisers wait until approximately 4pm and then decide to start after she arrives. We are asked to move closer together, I am invited to sit in the front row, next to the embassy representative. Throughout this part of the event, various women are invited to tell their stories. Some of them are members of the audience; one of them says that she is Angolan and another one that she is Mozambican. Many talk about troubles and difficulties regarding employment, studies, legal recognition, their children (many are single parents) or illnesses. One woman starts her speech in Kriolu and then switches to Portuguese after a reference is made in my direction.[196] There are hardly any *white* people present: Apart from myself, there are perhaps two or three others in the audience, plus two from the team of the TV station *RTP África*, who leave before the second half of the event. The speeches and stories by the women are followed by a poetry performance, in Kriolu, by a Black activist. There is a coffee break and then the Batuku performance by approximately eight to ten members of *Ramedi Terra* wearing 'everyday clothes', shoes and *Panus*" (Observation Prot. 02/04/2016).

These notes on the first part of the event suggest that it was organised by the AMCDP in order to honour 'all women' but particularly women of colour. The notion of 'community' is not only implied by the name of the event but also by the honorary guest – a representative of the Cape Verdean embassy. Additionally, the preferred language choice (Kriolu) during the part of the event that women are invited to tell their stories, can be understood as further evidence of it being 'community-related'. Many of the women sharing their stories use this moment to talk about various manifestations of marginalisation or exclusion in the context of the AML, frequently related to precarious labour or health conditions, or legal status. The invitation for me to sit in the front row next to the embassy representative can be read as a clear reference to my classed – and perhaps also racialised – positionality.

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[196] In chapter 8, I will discuss the notion of 'safe spaces' and my intrusion in them in more detail.

The performance of Batuku as a gendered (feminised) 'Cape Verdean tradition' seems a logical closing of the first part of the event. However, and as will be explored further after the following excerpt, the (re)presentation and performance of Batuku as 'tradition' does not rely on 'traditional' or 'authentic' outfits during this initial, 'community-related' section of the *Dia das Mulheres Cabo Verdianas* celebration.

> "The second half of the event consists of a dinner and performances. The entry fee is now €15. Some of the audience members of the first half of the event comment on this high amount. This second part is organised by the *Associação Caboverdeana* (ACV) itself. There are a lot more *white* people present now. I estimate that about 70 new people arrive; the majority is older than me (between 40 and 70 years old). Many of the people, who were present during the first half, leave. The composition of the audience thus changes significantly. Apart from many elderly *white* people, some tables seem to host the (predominantly male) 'Cape Verdean elite'. The ambassador of Cape Verde to Portugal is among them. They are all wearing suits. The Batuku performance starts. The Batukaderas from *Ramedi Terra* are now all wearing green outfits, the women wear *lenços* and one of them balances a bottle on her head.[197] Many guests stand up and walk to the front in order to see better and to film with their phones" (Observation Prot. 02/04/2016).

As mentioned, the first part of the overall event was organised by the AMCDP and included an open discussion with its members, as well as a Batuku performance by their associated group, *Ramedi Terra*. The second part was organised by the ACV – Lisbon's oldest 'Cape Verdean' organisation, which is closely associated with the so-called 'Cape Verdean elite' and historically has a closer connection to the more (racialised) 'European' *Barlavento* islands – itself and included a sumptuous dinner followed by Batuku and other musical performances. It can clearly be observed from the two cited excerpts how both the audience and the performance change depending on whether the context is more 'community-related' or more in the sense of a 'cultural celebration' or a more 'public' promotion of 'tradition'. While the entry fee of €2 for the first half of the event can be seen as a symbolic contribution, the fee of €15 to attend the second part is arguably a clear reference to different class positionings. This is further illustrated by the comments regarding the high entrance fee of the second half by attendees of the first half. The fact that many of them leave when the second part of the celebrations starts can therefore be attributed to class differences but also

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[197] Dancing with a full bottle (of an alcoholic drink) on one's head is common in Batuku, illustrating the dancer's skills (see, for instance, Carter 2007: 116).

to potential articulations of 'age' or 'generation' as well as to affiliations with the two different organisers. In his interview, José (as already mentioned, the president of the ACV at the time of my research) makes the classed positioning of the ACV and its objectives for organising more 'community-related' events clear by explaining that

> "the Cape Verdean Association lies in the centre of Lisbon. A privileged area. You know? With a class, with members, of the middle class, middle-upper. So we opted, in a first phase, for the promotion of Cape Verdean literature. So we said like this "right. This part is established, now we will make it so that (...) we not only reach the middle class, middle-upper, of the members, but also the community". You know. So in order to reach the community, we have a project, specifically, which is the route, in the community. Where the association goes out, with presidents of the *Câmaras* [councils], with the deputies, (...) we go to the community. To do the survey, of the problems. (...) Go to the community, and also have cultural expressions, of the community, right. (…) And, for us, in order to win over this community, it always has to be music. (pause) Everything we do, centres on music and gastronomy" (Int. José, 02/02/2017).[198]

Through this statement, José illustrates the positioning of the ACV as a middle class or upper-middle class association within the context of the AML. He then emphasises the association's attempt to 'reach the community' after it had already established a connection to the (upper) middle classes. What is interesting is that he not only implicitly equates 'the community' with the working class, but also – explicitly – with 'problems'. Furthermore, it becomes apparent that the ACV chose to organise more 'community-related' events linked to 'cultural expressions, of the community' in order to 'win [them] over', and did so by focusing on music and gastronomy. The (upper) middle class members, on the other hand, had been addressed through the promotion of literary events, indicating a classist understanding of cultural practices.

 With respect to the Batuku performances during both parts of the event, one of the most obvious changes from the first to the second half is the Batuku group's choice of outfit. While the members of *Ramedi Terra* first performed in their

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[198] The original quote in Portuguese is "a Associação Caboverdeana fica no centro de Lisboa. Uma zona privilegiada. Não é verdade? Com classe, cos sócios, da classe média, média-alta. Então optamos, numa primeira fase, para a promoção da literatura cabo-verdiana. Então, dissemos assim "pronto. Esta parte está consolidada, vamos agora fazer com que (...) atingimos não só a classe média, média-alta, dos sócios, mas também a comunidade". Não é verdade. Então, para atingimos à comunidade, temos um projecto, em concreto, que é o roteiro, na comunidade. Onde que a associação sai, com presidentes das Câmaras, com os deputados, (...) vamos à comunidade. Fazer o levantamento, dos problemas. (…) Ir à comunidade, e ter também expressões culturais, da comunidade, né. (…) E, para nós, para conquistar, esta comunidade, tem que ser sempre música. (pausa) Tudo que nós fazemos, roda à música e à gastronomia".

'everyday clothes', they changed into their 'traditional' Batuku outfits for the second performance. I argue that this points to the different weighting given to 'authenticity' in different contexts: the fact that many groups put less emphasis on the coherence or 'authenticity' of outfits (in relation to who wears *lenços* and if performances take place barefoot, among other aspects) at 'community-related' events suggests that the (re)presentation and performance of an 'authentic' 'tradition' is more important in the diasporic setting of the AML 'outside' of presumed 'community' contexts. This speaks directly to the question posed at the beginning of the chapter, namely: "what is it that renders certain inherited narratives (…) the privileged icons of 'tradition'? Why is it that, under given circumstances, this and not that 'tradition' is invoked and valorised?" (Brah 1996: 231).

The decoration of stages at such public events raises similar questions around the importance of performing 'tradition'. One of the first big Batuku events I attended during my main research stay – a 'cultural promotion' event with a predominantly *white* audience – took place at the *Museu do Oriente* [Museum of the Orient] in the *Alcântara* parish / municipality of *Lisboa* in September 2016.

> "There are a few families with small children as well. There are about 20 chairs onstage, distributed in a semicircle. The lighting is orange-y. In the front left part of the stage, there are a few props: A container with two large, wooden mashers (for corn), a large woven basket, three guitar-like instruments, and a large shell (instrument?). The presenter, a young man, presumably in his early 30s, enters the stage. He welcomes the audience in Portuguese and introduces the Batukaderas. He is wearing a white shirt and black trousers. He introduces himself as being born and raised in *Cova da Moura* to Cape Verdean parents. He then calls the Batukaderas onto the stage, introducing them as 'Cape Verdean women'. They enter and are wearing their outfits with white blouses, white *lenços*, black skirts, *Panu di Téra*, no shoes. There are mostly adult women and two girls in the group. They all sit down and start with the first song" (Observation Prot. 11/09/2016).

With this excerpt I want firstly to point out the presence of props onstage per se, before enquiring into the potential meanings of decoration. If we remember the previous notes from various 'community-related' events, the lack of any decoration onstage is a stand out feature. The props used for the above-cited Batuku performance at the *Museu do Oriente*, in contrast, arguably conform with the classed notion of Batuku generally expressed by means of the outfits used – the *lenços* and no shoes, in particular. Similarly, I understand the use of the props in this case – objects associated

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with a rural, framing lifestyle – as the performance of a classed 'tradition' and its close relation to the 'earth' [*terra*]. Following Butler (1990, 1993), this emphasies the need for repetition, "sometimes ritualistic repetition" (Bell 1999: 3), of acts or codes for the performativity of identities. Moreover, I suggest that the exhibition of tools for preparing food indicates sexist discourses of household chores as well as the gendered narrative of Batuku as a 'female' practice and the common association of 'female' with 'nature' (McDowell 2003: 44ff) or *terra*.

The role of the decoration of event locations and stages is further highlighted in the notes I took after attending the *II Encontro das Batukaderas na Diáspora* [Second Meeting of the Batukaderas in the Diaspora] at the *Pavilhão Polivalente de Odivelas* [Multipurpose Pavilion of *Odivelas*] in the parish and municipality of *Odivelas* in June 2017. The event was organised by the AMCDP and took place for the second time in the AML after it had to be cancelled the previous year.

> "The hall includes approx. eight rows of chairs, all facing the stage. Each row has about fourteen seats. The stage itself has a large ruby grand drape and the bottom of it has been decorated with a large green piece of *Panu di Téra*. Towards the right side of the stage, eight white plastic chairs have been arranged in two rows (facing the audience). There is a table in the middle, which has been decorated with a 'Cape Verdean' cloth (blue for the ocean and depicting all the Cape Verdean islands – with large letters spelling *Cabo Verde*). As part of the decoration, the organisers have taken a small rolling cart, draped it in a black skirt, and tied a white scarf around its 'hips'. They then placed a woven basket – containing bananas, garlic, *ponche/grogue* [Cape Verdean liquor], branches of barley, a bag of cookies etc. – on top of the cart, and positioned it on the floor towards the right-hand side of the stage. A framed drawing is leaning against the cart. It depicts a scene of Batuku: Ten Batukaderas are sitting in a semi-circle; five on each side. The scenery is illustrated with a low wall behind them, lined with (banana) trees. One Batukadera is pictured in the middle, a bottle on her head and a *Panu di Téra* around her hips. She has both arms lifted as if she were dancing. All of them are dressed in black skirts (with white *Saiotes* [underskirts]), white blouses, and wear white *lenços*. On the bottom of the drawing is a lettering that reads *Cabo Verde – Batuku. Mulher = Uma das Forças do Nosso Povo* [Cape Verde – Batuku. Woman = One of the Strengths of Our People]" (Observation Prot. 03/06/2017).

This excerpt includes various references and articulations that are significant to the analysis presented in this chapter. I read the diverse arrangement of props and elements of decoration as a conscious and 'ritualistically' repeated (Bell 1999: 3) performance of Batuku as 'tradition' in relation to its gendered, classed, and – to some

extent – racialised framing. First, the hung *Panu di Téra* and the decoration of the table onstage with a 'Cape Verdean' cloth (blue for the ocean and depicting all the islands, with large letters spelling *Cabo Verde*) are not only indicative of the alleged 'community' represented through the event but also accentuate a connection to 'nature' and *terra*. Secondly, the use of a small rolling cart and its 'clothing' in the style of a Batukadera represent notions of femininity, evoked through the gendered garments used in Batuku. The woven basket placed on top of the cart, and its contents, also depict an affiliation with 'nature' and 'rurality'. And lastly, the drawing positioned next to the cart arguably emphasises this affiliation in a slightly exoticised way and connects it to the category of gender or, more precisely, to 'women'. It can thus be read as a presentation of women's 'closeness' to 'nature', a notion that has been criticised by several feminist scholars (McDowell 2003; Ahmed 2014). The lettering *Cabo Verde – Batuku. Mulher = Uma das Forças do Nosso Povo* [Cape Verde – Batuku. Woman = One of the Strengths of Our People] reinforces the gendered (feminised) narrative of Batuku as a 'Cape Verdean tradition' and hints at the idea of 'resistance' omnipresent in accounts on Batuku.[199]

The second excerpt from my notes of the *II Encontro das Batukaderas na Diáspora* demonstrates the positioning and the aims of the event within the context of the AML.

> "The representative of the Cape Verdean embassy, her daughter, the vice president of the *Câmara* [council], the president of the *Junta* [civil parish] and some others are sitting in the front row to the right of the stage. Several Batukaderas from different groups have sat down in the first row on the left-hand side. After the mass, there are a few more addresses of welcome; the organisers also speak onstage again. They welcome people and thank everybody for coming but also address the fact that many Batuku groups had to cancel and unfortunately couldn't be here today. This is due to various reasons, including the lack of provided transportation and also because many Batukaderas have to work on Saturday morning and take care of the household in the afternoon – as they are mothers, aunts, grandmothers. Then, one after the other, the vice president of the *Câmara* and the president of the *Junta* are asked to address the audience onstage. They both talk about being 'proud' of 'multicultural' *Odivelas*. This is followed by a short speech by the representative from the Cape Verdean embassy. She addresses everyone in Portuguese and then says a few words in Kriolu. She says that it is impossible for her to be in a space like this, for an occasion like this, and not speak in her mother tongue. She thanks

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[199] Notions of 'resistance' and their continuation within negotiations of 'diaspora' in the AML are analysed in more detail in chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis.

various people and institutions for their support of the event; including the *Câmara* for their support of *uma coisa tão caboverdiana* [something so Cape Verdean]. This is followed by the Batuku performances; all the different groups perform three to four songs onstage. Towards the end of the event, the organisers once more express their gratitude and point out the next meeting in France in 2018. One of them emphasises that it is time for the event to end, as many have to go home now to prepare dinner" (Observation Prot. 03/06/2017).

Through the different statements and speeches onstage, it becomes clear that this event cannot be neatly categorised as either 'community-related' or 'cultural' but, rather, can be considered as both 'by' and 'for' an alleged 'community' as well as being organised to promote both a general 'Cape Verdean culture' (*uma coisa tão caboverdiana*, in the words of the embassy representative) and the 'multicultural' *Odivelas* (as the vice president of the *Câmara* and the president of the *Junta* emphasise). This latter emphasis also relates to the cultivation of a self-image of the AML as an 'open', 'diverse', 'multicultural' city, which will be explored further in chapter 7. Articulations of class at this event are implied by the obvious separation of seating arrangements; with the representative of the Cape Verdean embassy, her daughter, the vice president of the *Câmara* and the president of the *Junta* sitting to the right of the stage and the Batukaderas to the left. Finally, I suggest that the comments about the event onstage indicate the prevalent narrative of Batuku as a 'female tradition' and practice. By explaining that many Batuku groups could not be present at the event due to employment conditions and domestic obligations as 'mothers, aunts, grandmothers', gendered narratives of Batuku as well as sexist discourses of caring become apparent.[200] This is also insinuated at the end of the event when one of the organisers says that 'many' – meaning the Batukaderas – have to go home now to prepare dinner.

Overall, in this section of the chapter I have illustrated the different factors at play in the (re)presentation and performance of Batuku as 'tradition' in the AML. Through this enquiry, it becomes clear that the gendered and classed – and, to a lesser degree, racialised – ascriptions of 'tradition' and 'origin' continue in the diasporic context, albeit with some changed meanings. Furthermore, the lack of decoration or props onstage at 'community-related' events in the AML illuminates the contextual

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[200] Notions of 'care' as both challenging manifestations of 'social abjection' and as part of oppressive, sexist power structures are discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

nuances of performing Batuku as 'tradition': the performance of Batuku as 'tradition' in these contexts does not rely on this, nor do all groups deem it necessary to 'adhere' to strictly uniform, coherent and 'traditional' outfits in order to perform 'tradition' in its most – ostensibly – 'authentic' way.

6.6 Summary

This chapter has focused on the ongoing, everyday, diasporic negotiation of the meanings of 'Cape Verdean culture' and 'tradition' in relation to Batuku.

According to Hall, "tradition is a vital element in culture; but it has little to do with the mere persistence of old forms. It has much more to do with the way elements [of 'tradition'; A/N] have been linked together or articulated" (Hall 1998: 450). He warns against analysing "popular cultural forms as if they contained within themselves, from their moment of origin, *some fixed and unchanging meaning or value*" (ibid: 451, my emphasis). Throughout history the practice of Batuku has either been excluded from definitions of 'Cape Verdean culture' for being (too) 'African' or included for the very same reason. In this chapter, I have thus approached the representation of Batuku as a 'Cape Verdean tradition' as an ongoing negotiation process and positioning related to questions of power as well as to notions of 'origin' and 'culture'.

An initial intersectional reading of historical texts on Batuku shows that gendered, racialised as well as classed narratives coincide in the practice and its framing as a 'Cape Verdean tradition'. In other words, historically Batuku is often framed as an 'African', 'female' and 'rural' 'tradition' [*do interior*] (Nogueira 2011; Castro Ribeiro 2012; Tavares 2016) by (national and international) scholars as well as popular accounts. The representation of its rural character is frequently linked to classed (classist) narratives, with Batukaderas usually referred to as 'traditionally' 'uneducated' and from the 'lower classes' (Tavares 2016: 84, 111, 210). Throughout the chapter, I have argued that this framing persists in the context of the AML by drawing on some examples of how Batukaderas elaborate on the role and emergence of Batuku and how they represent themselves through their group names and outfits. I

suggest, however, that certain meanings have also shifted and adapted to position Batuku within this postcolonial, diasporic context.

One of these adaptations relates to the linking of Batuku as 'tradition' to the notion of *terra*. Through several examples, we have seen that group members situate the framing of 'tradition' within narratives of 'earth' and '(home)land'. This takes on new meanings in the diaspora space of the AML and I argue that the importance of *terra* can also be understood here as a claim by the Batukaderas to something tangible in the face of uncertainty or uprooting from their *terra*; firstly in relation to (forced) migrations from Cape Verde and, secondly, to forced relocations and resettlements in the AML. This ties in with Nira Yuval-Davis' (2006) understanding of 'belonging' as being "about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home' and (…) about feeling 'safe'" (ibid: 197).

In addition to links between 'tradition' and *terra*, I have shown that the everyday negotiation of Batuku as 'tradition' in the AML is also entwined with ideas and debates of 'authenticity'. This diasporic relationship of 'tradition' and 'authenticity' cannot be detached from aspirations to preserve, maintain, and disseminate Batuku on the part of practitioners, supporters and event organisers. In that respect, I have argued that there is a gendered narrative when it comes to the (responsibility of) 'passing on' of said 'tradition' or 'authentic' knowledge, and that this gendered narrative is further associated with the category of 'generation' or 'age'. This chapter has further highlighted that debates in the AML regarding (the loss of) 'authenticity' are often linked to romanticised notions of 'origin' and 'tradition', and generally evolve around elements such as dancing or drumming styles, or group outfits. I have also suggested that the perceived loss of 'authenticity' or lack of 'intensity' of Batuku in the diaspora space is connected to the specific living realities in the AML, and particularly the labour and housing conditions of many Batukaderas.

Finally, dedicating a separate section to the performance and (re)presentation of Batuku as 'tradition' onstage provided an opportunity to visualise these various negotiation processes, underlining the persistence of classed, gendered, and – to some extent – racialised narratives of Batuku in the diasporic context. This final section revealed, among other things, strong references to class at different events, manifest in strategic language choices regarding Portuguese or Kriolu, and through seating arrangements. It also highlighted that the performance and (re)presentation of 'authenticity' in Batuku is contextually contingent, and more important for certain

audiences than others. Through an analysis of the use of group outfits and stage decorations it becomes clear that these are less crucial in 'community-related' contexts, where it is assumed that the majority of the audience already 'knows' the 'origins' of Batuku. The performance of 'authenticity' is thus more relevant 'outside' of presumed 'community' contexts.

7 On the Negotiation of Absences and Presences[201]

7.1 Introduction

While the automatic equation of 'popular culture' with 'resistance' can be problematic (Englert 2008: 8) and involve romanticisations (Swan & Fox 2010: 576), it is nonetheless important not to ignore actual political negotiations in particular contexts because of this questionable tendency. In the case of Batuku on Cape Verde and in Lisbon, the idea of resistance is ever-present and cannot be evaded. Thinking back to chapter 1, we can remember that Batuku on Cape Verde was prohibited during colonial times, both by the Portuguese authorities and the Catholic Church (Lobban 1995; Fikes 1998; Sheringham & Cohen 2013). Yet, it continued to be practiced and is thus closely associated with the inhabitants of the Cape Verdean island of Santiago and their anti-colonial resistance (Sheringham & Cohen 2013; Tavares 2016). In the diasporic context of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area [AML], this framing of Batuku as resistance continues although it is often not made clear how or against what the practice and practitioners are resisting.

I am thus interested in how this narrative is negotiated in the diasporic, postcolonial setting of the AML and what the various manifestations of marginalisation are that Batuku – or the Batukaderas, to be more precise – is/are challenging.

I argue throughout this thesis that negotiations are an integral part of diaspora spaces such as the AML and, by implication, of postcolonial power relations. In this regard, I want to elaborate – citing Brah (1996) – that "(…) power is not always already constituted but is produced, and reiterated or challenged, through its exercise in multiple sites. (…) Power is the very means for challenging, contesting and dismantling the structures of injustice" (ibid: 239). In order to understand what the Batukaderas are challenging or contesting through their practice, it is hence essential to consider the different, everyday manifestations of 'resistance'; from more "low-level, informal (…) ways such as sabotage, irony, humour and cynicism (…)" (Swan & Fox 2010: 575), "(…) from workplace struggles, through campaigning against

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specific state policies and, importantly, through culture: music, art, literary production, cinematic practices, fashion" (Brah 1996: 173). Not only are there several forms of contestation, but there are also numerous aims and intentions. Lastly, I want to note that contestations against power relations can be individual and/or collective (Shaw 2001: 193) and do not necessarily depend on intentionality or outcomes (ibid: 195f) in order to be conceptualised as 'resistance'.

This chapter will explore and connect several such contestations of "structures of injustice" (Brah 1996: 239). In doing so, it becomes clear that postcolonial power relations persist through particular absences and presences in the city, which, in turn, express themselves visually (through (in)visibilities or (in)visibilisations), and audibly (through silences/-ing or voices/-ing).[202] Throughout the chapter, I thus demonstrate that the practice of Batuku involves various manifestations of 'resistance'; in the form of, for instance, asserting one's presence in spaces, or challenging absences during performances at large events throughout the AML. I want to emphasise here that these more 'visible' and 'audible' contestations apply to a smaller number of Batuku groups than the more 'invisible' forms of resistance to be analysed in chapter 8. This illustrates that Batukaderas can have different intentions for practicing Batuku and, therefore, different kinds of contestations or interventions can exist – even within one group.

As discussed in chapter 5, Batuku plays a crucial role as a 'community-related' practice but some groups are also increasingly involved in various areas of ('public' or 'mainstream') cultural and political life – such as performing at events or festivals to celebrate Lisbon's 'diversity' or *Lusofonia*[203] – which this chapter will focus on.

I start by outlining this chapter's theoretical framework, particularly as regards notions of absence and presence, and their different expressions. This is followed by

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[202] Some of the critique or feedback I received on earlier drafts of this chapter was that I was not quoting the Batukaderas 'enough' (note: what is 'enough'?) and that this resulted in me silencing or invisibilising them myself, in spite of criticising said 'silences' and 'invisibilities'. However, I want to make the brief argument that interviews with (and thus transcripts of) Batukaderas were one (!) aspect of the 'participatory observation' I conducted during my research stays, but often meetings (and my subsequent notes relating to these meetings) were at least as informative as the actual interviews. Moreover, if I quote an excerpt taken from an observation note written after an event, I am still 'quoting' what they said onstage and I believe that this kind of 'quote' is not 'worth' less than a direct quote from a transcript. And finally, my analysis is not just about literal utterances by the Batukaderas but also about discourses and representations (i.e. about what they 'do').
[203] As discussed in great detail in chapter 2, the concept of *Lusofonia* or the idea of a 'Lusophone world' is meant to include all the countries with Portuguese as their official language.

the main analytical sections, which first address how presence is accomplished, how this is nonetheless still connected to (audible) absences, and how the (self-)image of Lisbon contributes to the simultaneity of these absences/presences. The second analytical section will then highlight how many Batukaderas negotiate and challenge their 'being made absent' in the AML in a number of ways, particularly by (1) asserting their spatial and visual presence and (2) contesting their mentioned audible absences at some big events and festivals.

7.2   Theories of Absence & Presence

The main argument of this chapter is that various dimensions of abjection in the AML are linked to absences and presences, which manifest themselves visually or spatially (expressed through (in)visibilities or (in)visibilisations), as well as audibly (expressed through silences/-ing or voices/-ing). I therefore firstly briefly elaborate on the notion of 'social abjection' (Tyler 2013) and then relate this to the negotiation of absences/presences through Batuku in the diaspora space of the AML. In line with the 'messiness' (Alexander 2004; James 2016) and 'uncertainty' (James 2012) of all research (mentioned in chapter 4), it is worth noting that the theory of 'social abjection' as well as the theories of absence/presence only emerged as essential to this thesis after all my empirical data had been coded and analysed.

7.2.1   Social Abjection

In order to constitute itself, any state power depends on the production of abject subjects. In *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain* (2013), Imogen Tyler conceptualises 'social abjection' by focusing on what it means to be (made) abject to those affected – the 'national abjects' (ibid: 9), those who "repeatedly find (…) [themselves] the object of the other's violent objectifying disgust" (ibid: 4). Accordingly, she considers the effects of being (made) abject and develops the notion of 'social abjection' to reflect upon "states of exclusion from multiple perspectives" (ibid) and on how these abjectifying logics are being resisted or, in her terminology, 'revolted' against.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, 'abjection' not only describes the actions of those who 'cast down' or 'degrade' others but also the conditions and experiences of those who are being 'brought low' or 'humiliated', that is the state of 'being abject' (Tyler 2013: 20). Consequently, the concept of abjection allows us to consider various degrees of violence and social exclusion from diverse perspectives. It is about the "processes through which minoritized populations are imagined and configured as revolting and become subject to control, stigma and censure, and the practices through which individuals and groups resist, reconfigure and revolt against their abject subjectification" (Tyler 2013: 3f).[204]

This understanding is crucial not only for this chapter but for the overall thesis: in order to conceptualise how states of abjection can generate instances of resistance, it is important to pay attention to the effects of 'being made abject' in specific social, historical, and political contexts. According to Tyler (2013), it is only through a focus "on the lives of those *constituted as abject* [that we] can (…) consider the forms of political agency available to those at the sharp edge of subjugation within prevailing systems of power" (ibid: 38, original emphasis). I focus here on the lives of those constituted as abject in the postcolonial setting of the AML – which includes many of the Batukaderas – whilst also engaging with the forces and actions which abjectify them. This is precisely why the concept of social abjection is so useful to my analysis – it highlights both sides; that is, those who abject and those who are made abject.

7.2.2   On Being Absent and/or Present

In accordance with these conceptualisations, I ask what the main forms of postcolonial abjection in the diasporic context of the AML are, and how they are challenged by those who are being made abject. I argue that social abjection can have multiple manifestations and often expresses itself through absences, exclusions, erasures or omissions; or, as Katherine McKittrick (2006) poignantly conceptualises in her chapter on Black Canada, as *absence and elsewhere*. I concur with her understanding of 'elsewhere' in the sense of 'displacements' or 'relocations', and add

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[204] This quote points to individual as well as collective dimensions of resistance, which I will analyse in chapter 8.

that these can also be regarded as a certain kind of 'presence': a presence that is precisely 'elsewhere' and out of sight.

I will then demonstrate how absences can unfold either visually or spatially, and/or audibly, or, as Paul Gilroy (1993b) describes, as "silenced and invisible presences" (ibid: 70). Regarding the notion of an 'invisible presence', I want to emphasise that my understanding of this does not imply that people are "*really* not active or present" (McRobbie & Garber 2006: 177, original emphasis) but, rather, that "something (…) has (…) rendered them invisible" (ibid). This is also in line with McKittrick's (2006) argument that Black geographies should not be considered exclusively from the point of view of 'peripherality' or 'invisibility'.

This conception can also be applied to absences in the sense of 'silences': Silence does not imply that people are "*really* not active or present" (ibid) either but, rather, that something has rendered them 'silent' or 'inaudible', or has, in other words, silenced them. It is thus more about an 'absence of voice' and not an 'inability to speak' per se.

In her essay *Beyond Miranda's Meanings: Un/Silencing the 'Demonic Ground' of Caliban's 'Woman'* (1990), Sylvia Wynter refers to the "absented presence of black womanhood" (McKittrick 2006: xxv), which points to the necessity of intersectionality. McKittrick, too, uses the notion of 'absented presence' to analyse

> "the active production of black spaces in Canada [which] is necessarily bound up with a contradiction: black Canada is simultaneously invisible and visibly non-Canadian. (…) *if* blackness *is* in fact here—visual, Canadian, historic—it is also criminal and problematically black, or visually un-Canadian" (McKittrick 2006: 99, 101; original emphasis).

She therein highlights the tension between being at once absent and hypervisual – an emphasis that informs one of the main arguments of this chapter. In relation to the postcolonial power relations prevalent in the diaspora space of the AML, I argue that (visual and/or audible) absences often go hand in hand with what I refer to as 'problematic' presences; that is, being present at events or in public discourse only on the basis of romanticisations or, conversely, of disapproval.

In terms of visual or spatial notions of absence/presence, I draw on theoretical work around 'space' and 'place' from an intersectional, postcolonial, feminist perspective. Nirmal Puwar's (2004) concepts of 'space invaders' and being 'out of

place' are particularly important regarding the role of absence/presence, as they highlight "what has been able to pass as the invisible, unmarked and undeclared somatic norm" (ibid: 8)[205] in certain spaces. Following her and Claire Alexander (2011), I understand space not in homogeneous, definite and fixed terms, but as being internally heterogeneous, porous and processual, and therefore constantly (re)made through "everyday encounters and practices of people" (ibid: 207). I am interested in spaces both in the physical and geographical sense as well as in discourses around space.[206]

With (in)visibilities being one manifestation of "absence and elsewhere" (McKittrick 2006), I pay more attention to potential manifestations of these in order to demonstrate the simultaneity of absence/presence. Referring to the (post)colonial context of the AML, Eduardo Ascensão (2011) points to the various manifestations as well as possible advantages and disadvantages of visibility and invisibility, respectively. His research in a peripheral neighbourhood in the AML, which was later demolished, shows the various shifts inhabitants[207] experienced and – at times – consciously made: a certain invisibility allowed them to settle and construct houses there in the first place, while some sort of visibility was later desired or needed to acquire documents to work or apply for different levels of citizenship. Therefore, while an initial spatial or visual absence was crucial during the early periods of settlement, it became problematic once this turned into an administrative and political absence. In addition, this visual absence on the one hand was also accompanied by an

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[205] (In)visibilities regarding 'race' work in different ways and depend on how people are positioned in dominant discourses and power relations. As many scholars (Dyer 1997; Candelario 2000; Puwar 2004; Tate 2005, 2009) have argued, *whiteness* maintains its power via its invisibility; although this can depend on the standpoint of dominance (Byrne 2000: 5). The naturalised invisibility and racial neutrality of *whiteness* (Candelario 2000) ensures its persistent position of privilege and power. Being 'unmarked' and seen as the 'norm' is connected to being 'unchallenged' and, as a consequence thereof, *white* people are 'visible' as individuals (ibid: 6; Sagmeister 2014: 3). Or, as Nirmal Puwar (2003) analyses, "they are able to evade being raced precisely because whiteness is invisible as a racially marked position. Hence they occupy a normative position, which contains the privilege of being able to speak about anything, from a position of nowhere" (ibid: 269).

[206] Debates regarding 'space' and 'place' are often related to contestations around the assumed dichotomy of 'private' and 'public' (see for example Marshall & Anderson 1994; Gal 2002; McDowell 2003; Gerson 2004; Jackson 2011; García-Del Moral & Dersnah 2014), as the former is assumed 'invisible' and the latter 'visible'. In relation to this, it is important to note that Feminist Studies, in particular, have strategically challenged the gendered politics of the public-private divide for some time now, arguing that this divide has functioned as a gendered mechanism of exclusion (that intersects with other axes of 'difference') to prevent women from becoming full subjects of human rights and hence calling for a politicisation of the 'private sphere' (García-Del Moral & Dersnah 2014: 661f).

[207] In 2010, "around 50% are Cape Verdean or of Cape-Verdean descent; 30% to 35% are from Guinea-Bissau, around 10% from Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe, and the few White Portuguese and [Romanies] still living there make up 5%" (Ascensão 2011: 20).

intense (negative and stigmatising, and therefore 'problematic') presence of certain populations in the media (ibid: 63, 155). This hints at the simultaneity of both absence and presence that can often occur for the same group of people; an absence in terms of historiography or positions of power, for instance, and a simultaneous (problematic) presence – as a result of racialised power relations – in terms of criminalisation or exoticisation (Sagmeister 2014: 3). It is thus fundamental to emphasise that absence and presence are interrelated.

Regarding one of her studies, Claire Alexander (2002) refers to two forms of (visual or spatial) absence: First, having one's cultural identities "seen as distinct from wider national cultures and (…) therefore not represented within it, or (…) positioned as an alien threat to it" and, secondly, not being "presented in any complex way, appearing only as stereotypes or ideal types (…)" (ibid: 564), which again points to a 'problematic presence' by means of either romanticisation or disapproval. As I will demonstrate in the empirical sections of this chapter, many Batukaderas contest their absences as well as their problematic presences through the practice of Batuku.

As previously indicated, we must keep in mind that absences and presences – and their consequences – are intersectional. According to Maria Sagmeister (2014), who bases her arguments on Judith Butler, visuality – which includes both the visible (visual images) and the sayable or utterable (verbal images) – plays a crucial role in the negotiation and creation of what is conceivable, which is why many groups strive towards a visual presence. It is often argued that only those who are visible in a society can participate in discourses that are taking place (ibid: 2). While it might hence be tempting to associate a visual (and audible) presence with positive, empowering effects and characteristics, and thus equate it with 'resistance', it is important to be cautious of essentialisms here: not all forms of being or becoming visible or audible are 'empowering' or politically relevant (Tyler 2013; Sagmeister 2014; Mutch 2017). In her analysis of Zanzibari girls' and women's use of digital media, for example, Thembi Mutch (2017), shows that there are notions of agency that do not require 'public' visibility for their existence (ibid: 237). I would go even further and argue that there are some practices that require a certain invisibility in order to (be able to) resist. In other words, invisibility can also create 'room for manoeuvre' for some marginalised groups, and thus be a necessary condition for political strategies (Sagmeister 2014: 3). Or, as Tyler (2013) remarks, "'becoming imperceptible' (…) [can be] the most effective tool that marginal populations can

employ to oppose prevailing forms of geopolitical power" (ibid: 11). While this chapter deals with challenging absences and problematic presences through claims to be 'seen' and 'heard', chapter 8 will therefore focus on the more 'invisible' or 'inaudible' strategies through which many Batukaderas contest their abjection.

Throughout this chapter, I refer to various manifestations of absence and presence. Regarding the above-mentioned theoretical considerations, I want to sum up that absences can be expressed audibly (being silent or silenced) or visually (being invisible or invisibilised). A presence, too, can manifest itself audibly (being heard) or visually (being visible or seen). For my analysis, however, I also refer to 'problematic presences', by which I mean the presence of someone or something solely by means of either romanticisations or disapprovals. With McKittrick (2006), we can understand the simultaneity of absence and problematic presence as an inherent contradiction in the "active production of black spaces" (ibid: 99).

7.3   Different Means of Being Absent/Present

Regarding notions of absence or presence – in the form of (in)visibilities and (in)audibilities –, there can be different manifestations, effects, and ascriptions. These are all linked to questions of intersectionality. In the AML, marginalised populations can experience different forms of absence. Some scholars (Almeida 2006) claim, however, that there is one area where populations marked by histories of migration are 'present' and have a 'positive visibility', namely that of cultural production: "anything that goes from mass media consumer products like Brazilian telenovelas to apparent expressions of rebellion like Hip Hop, and everything in/between: Lusophone African literature, *Cape Verdean music*" (ibid: 27, my emphasis). Yet, as discussed earlier, not all forms of presence can be automatically and exclusively considered 'positive' for all involved. In the case of Batuku (and more than likely with other popular cultural practices too), being present – 'seen' and 'heard' – can carry a certain danger regarding romanticisations, exoticisations or fetishisations.

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7.3.1 (Self)Image of Lisbon

As previously mentioned, Batuku is sometimes included in events or festivals that celebrate 'diversity', 'multiculturalism' or *Lusofonia*. In competition with other cities for a visible place in the market of global culture, the AML has promoted and framed itself as the centre of a unique musical 'mixture' [*mistura*] within the so-called 'Portuguese-speaking world' (De La Barre & Vanspauwen 2013: 119). Or, as De La Barre (2010) puts it, Lisbon's ever-present self-image and self-definition as an 'inclusive' and 'multicultural' city is articulated through the desire to connect (or re-connect) with the presumed 'lusophone world'.

> "Besides companies reinventing themselves through the practice of cultural promotion, the city also reinvents itself through the promotion, the inclusion of the Other: it is the idea of the 'imagination of the center' (…), an increasingly assertive attempt to include diversity as a source of cultural richness. In this process, *Lusofonia* eventually becomes an instrument for the promotion of Lisbon as an open, multicultural city" (ibid: 145, original emphasis).

There is, therefore, a (perceived) need for the AML (similar to other capitals) to make itself 'visible' to the 'outside world'. This is partly achieved through touristic promotion, for example, in order to gain appeal on a global cultural map. Diasporic practices play an important role as they increase the potential for visibility in this regard. This process aims to project the idea of a post-national society open to circulation, where 'tolerance' is the keyword. The need to promote and (visibly!) 'valorise' the Other is part of this; yet "by promoting the Other, [we] are also promoting ourselves" (De La Barre 2010: 151). This is not to say that these events or festivals are all inherently and exclusively problematic as they can include many moments of resistance by different actors – some of which will be addressed subsequently – but, rather, to highlight the ambivalences and ambiguities surrounding them.

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7.3.1.1   A Celebration of Absence

This striving for 'openness' and 'diversity' can manifest in the desire to promote 'authenticity', which in turn relates to musical expressions that are not (yet) present – neither 'seen' nor 'heard' on a larger scale (De La Barre 2010: 151). In this quest, new forms and styles (musical and other) may become increasingly present – even more so when they are perceived as peripheral and marginal (and thus 'invisible' and/or 'unheard'). This becomes evident when looking at some event titles (and thus the ways in which the AML represents itself), for instance: *Lisboa Invisível* [Invisible Lisbon], *Outras Lisboas* [Other Lisbons], *Lisboa Mistura* [Mixed Lisbon] or *Festa da Diversidade* [Diversity Festival].[208] Such narratives provide interesting insight into how people are managed through social or cultural policy in the city – this kind of coding or naming of events indicates a simultaneous occurrence of social abjection (told here in the sense of 'the Other' being 'invisible' and 'different') and celebration. The Other, 'invisible', 'different' and 'mixed', is simultaneously celebrated. Otherness, in this case, is therefore related to both a problematic presence (romanticisations or fetishisations, i.e. celebrations of Otherness) and an (visual) absence.

This problematic presence in the sense of a romanticisation of 'Otherness' and 'authenticity' also becomes clear from my interview with Leonardo, who used to work in cultural programming and consultancy, and organised cultural events for the *Gulbenkian* Foundation – some of which included Batuku performances at the *Gulbenkian* Museum. When talking about changes in the AML, he laments the increase of mass tourism and how drastic touristic developments have resulted in a 'loss of character'.

> "And let's say that the neighbourhoods are becoming characterless, you know. They are transformed into a kind of theatre scene, which has an offer of various services, of restaurants etcetera. But let's say that they don't have [their] own life, you know. (…) On the contrary to what happens (laughs) in the neighbourhoods that you are studying, they in fact have an own life. (…)

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[208] These events all had different organisers. *Lisboa Invisível* was a theatre performance at the Teatro Meridional at the *Ciclo Outras Lisboas* [Other Lisbons Cycle] organised by the Teatro São Luiz in 2008. Lisboa Mistura is described as an 'intercultural festival', which was started in 2006 and is organised by the *Associação Sons da Lusofonia* [Association Sounds of Lusofonia], a member of the Europe Jazz Network. And the annual *Festa da Diversidade* has been organised by *SOS Racismo* (a self-defined anti-racism NGO) since 1999.

this means, if the neighbourhoods have [their] own life, and have groups that are very strong, even culturally, this will potentially benefit, if you want, as a counterbalance, as an opposition (…) to what I call a terrible manipulation, of the values that come via televisions, media etcetera" (Int. Leonardo, 15/12/2016).[209]

Here, Leonardo critiques the tourist boom that affects some – 'central' – neighbourhoods in the AML and their consequent lack of character. This can be read as a simultaneous romanticisation of certain *bairros* [neighbourhoods] – and here, by referring to my 'research focus', he implies that he is talking about those with predominantly Black populations – where life is still 'authentic' and not 'manipulated' by media influences.

I want to stress that my analytic engagement with events or festivals that celebrate 'diversity', 'multiculturalism' or *Lusofonia* and mentioning of specific event titles should not be read as an all-encompassing criticism. I was not present at most events cited above and thus cannot comment on their content, motivation or objectives of the sponsors or organisers, or the way performances were staged. I know from conversations with friends and acquaintances in the AML that many of these events were and are critical interventions and/or collaborations.[210] What I want to argue, however, is that we need to differentiate between the *intention* behind organising an event and its *reception* or *effect*. Furthermore, the very idea of an 'invisible Lisbon' can disclose a certain romanticism (and a danger of exoticisation, fetishisation and folklorisation), emphasising a different, stylised Other who is both 'authentic' and 'exotic'. This 'invisible Lisbon' can be read as the condemned, yet desired, counterpart of a 'visible' one (De La Barre 2010: 148-153), which is being 'consumed' in a 'safe' encounter (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009: 148). Or, in the words of Stuart Hall (1993), "that what replaces invisibility is a kind of carefully regulated, segregated visibility" (ibid: 107), corroborating the idea of absences and problematic presences. Batuku in the AML is generally not negotiated as World Music or 'popular

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[209] The original quote in Portuguese is "E digamos que os bairros estão a ficar descaracterizados, não é. São transformados numa espécie de cenários de teatro, que tem uma oferta de vários serviços, de restaurantes etc. Mas digamos não tem vida própria, não é. (…) Ao contrário daquilo que acontece (ri) nos bairros que está a estudar, têm de facto uma vida própria. (…) quer dizer, se os bairros têm vida própria, e têm grupos que são muito fortes, até culturalmente, isso acaba por servir, se quiser, de, contraponto, de oposição (…) à aquilo que eu chamo manipulação tremenda, dos valores que vêm através das televisões, dos media etc".
[210] The *Festa da Diversidade*, for example, was established by *SOS Racismo* (a self-defined anti-racism NGO) and was initially conceptualised as an event with anti-racist objectives.

music' but as 'tradition', aligning with this desire for 'authenticity'.[211] In some instances, such obsessions with 'authentic' art forms lead to (re)discoveries of 'cultural identities' and 'ethnicity' as a commodity with an economic value (Nyamnjoh 2013: 654), i.e. an 'identity economy' or "ethno-preneurialism" (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009: 151).[212]

Furthermore, as will be argued throughout this chapter, a mere 'visual' presence of people at large events or festivals can potentially be used in tokenistic ways and as cultural capital for sponsors and event organisers – "look, we have many cultures and marginalised groups present here" (Swan & Fox 2010: 580) – without these sponsors or organisers actually challenging political systems or power relations. What is deemed 'absent' is thus not only made present through romanticisations but made (audibly) absent at the same time, highlighting the simultaneity of absence/presence: the perceived Other is silenced in so many ways (and thus made absent) – politically, economically, socially – but its music, rhythms, dances, instruments and so forth are persistently (re)constructed (and thus made present) as 'so authentic' (De La Barre 2010: 148, 153).

From conversations with some Batuku groups, it became apparent that they reject some invitations to big events or festivals if they feel like their performance will not be adequately valued and valorised (not just monetarily).

> "Louisa tells the others that their group has received an invitation by the civil parish of *Telheiras*[213] to perform at an event on *Africanos em Portugal* [Africans in Portugal] on March 11th. She had initially confirmed but uncertainties arose soon after. The organisers had mentioned a Batuku group from *Cidade Velha*[214] and then confused them with their group. Additionally, they had offered neither a fee, nor food or transportation – not even after Louisa had asked and told them about their conditions. This is why she then declined. (…) A visitor asks how the issue of fees usually works. Louisa tells her about a request by another civil parish to perform at an event on slavery, yet they didn't offer any fee, transportation or food in return. Inés talks about another, very fancy event at the Ritz Hotel, where they didn't offer any fee either and the group would have had to pay for their own transport" (Observation Prot. 22/01/2017).

The conversations in this quote (which is an excerpt from notes taken after I attended

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[211] The connection between 'tradition' and 'authenticity' was dealt with in more detail in chapter 6.
[212] See chapter 2 for more detailed information increased commodification of *Lusofonia*, on the one hand, and 'African Lisbon', on the other.
[213] *Telheiras* is a neighbourhood in the North of the municipality of *Lisboa*.
[214] *Cidade Velha* is a small town on the Cape Verdean island of Santiago.

a meeting and rehearsal by *Finka Pé*, the Batuku group from Cova *da Moura*) hint at the fact that merely performing at big events in order to be 'present' in the sense of 'visible' is not necessarily satisfactory to many Batukaderas. Louisa, a member of the group and younger Batukadera, as well as Inés, an avid supporter of the group, both recount several instances where the Batukaderas were invited to perform but declined because their work and time would not have been valorised or compensated in any way. On the contrary, they would even have had to spend their own money on transport and board at one of the events. Furthermore, the excerpt highlights some of the events that Batuku groups in the AML are invited to. As well as the common themes of 'diversity', 'multiculturalism' or *Lusofonia*, there are also ascriptions such as 'Africans in Portugal' (and, hence, moments of racialisation and ethnicisation) and connections to 'slavery', where patterns of exploitation are being reproduced.

7.3.2 Simultaneities of Absence & Presence

In many of the events around 'multiculturalism' and 'diversity' – as well as in 'mainstream' public (media) discourses and political decision-making – the mentioned absences go hand in hand with (problematic) presences. The absence of historical facts or commentary and the simultaneous presence (or romanticisation) of *Lusofonia* is one of the main manifestations of this, and becomes apparent from the following note I took after attending a festival in the municipality of *Oeiras* (west of the *Lisboa* municipality), which was organised by a theatre company. This festival, which included a performance by a Batuku group, was meant to celebrate *Lusofonia* and, according to one of its organisers, to "promote, diffuse, and disseminate the Portuguese language (…) [as well as] the artistic expressions of Portuguese-speaking countries" (Int. Mário 06/12/2016).[215]

> "As I enter the park, it quickly becomes apparent that the audience is mainly *white*, fairly young, many families with children. It doesn't seem like a touristy audience but mostly 'local'. There is no entrance fee … There are various stages, programmes for children, booths that sell food or clothes or books. Some of the booths could be considered to sell "Cape Verdean" food or goods. There are other booths from former colonies. There are also

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[215] The original quote in Portuguese is "promove, difunde, e divulga a língua portuguesa (…), [e] as expressões artística, dos países de língua portuguesa".

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banners, attached to trees, along the main avenue. The banners give information on Portugal and all of the former colonies (including, for example, the typical cuisine of each country). The banner on Mozambique, for instance, talks about its 'discovery' and 'conquest' and mentions the country's national textile. The banner on Cape Verde also talks about its 'discovery' and how it was the first 'city' that the Portuguese 'had' in Africa, as part of the 'adventure of discoveries'. It also mentions that almost one million Cape Verdeans live outside of their country and many of them in Portugal. The banner on Angola refers to the country's richness in diamonds, petroleum and iron ore" (Observation Prot. 10/09/2016).

As is obvious from the excerpt above, this celebration of 'diversity' and *Lusofonia* relies on reconstructions of narratives glorifying Portugal's colonial past, focussing on items such as food, arts and crafts as well as (re)framing and romanticising the country's colonial history with (supposedly 'neutral' but, in fact, loaded) terms such as 'discovery' or 'conquest'. In this case, the problematic presence that is a romanticisation and celebration of *Lusofonia* goes hand in hand with an absence of Portugal's history of imperialism, colonialism or slavery. In a recent interview, the Portuguese artist, writer and theorist Grada Kilomba comments on this romanticisation and its automatic absences or omissions by stating that

> "(…) the words always evolve around discovering, discover, the discoveries, return to discover etc. We have an obsession (…) with the colonial history, which is a perverse obsession because we don't make the association between colonisation and genocide, colonisation and dehumanisation, colonialism and pain, exclusion, anguish" (Arquivo Teatro Maria Matos 2017; translation HS).

These absences or omissions are important, as the reconstruction of certain narratives has been a crucial colonial strategy throughout history.

> "So, at the height of colonialism, how was this theft [of personal agencies and identities; A/N] carried out? It was quite simply but devastatingly executed by *repeatedly telling* the colonial subject that they had no history, identity or independent (pre-colonial) worldview of any value. Using state apparatus, such as education, history books propagandised *distorted historical narratives* of colonial nations and their colonised subjects" (Clennon 2016: n/s, my emphasis).

The romanticisation of Portugal's colonial history and its concomitant silencing of colonial violence and its legacies are not accidental or unintentional incidents. Rather, as Tyler (2013) remarks based on Ann Laura Stoler's work, this disavowal can be

referred to as "'aphasia', (…) a form of 'active forgetting' which works to dismember historical memories and lived experiences of racialized violence (…). (…) forgetting is not a passive condition. (…) It is an achieved state" (ibid: 33). This is achieved at many of the aforementioned events in the AML through the use of terms such as 'discovery', 'conquest', or 'adventure' to depict the allegedly glorious past and present of a country that (as illustrated in chapter 2 with regards to Portugal's 'weak' positioning compared to its European neighbours) still struggles with the 'loss' of its former 'possessions'.

The following two sections will offer additional examples illustrating that problematic presences and absences go hand in hand in various contexts throughout the postcolonial diaspora space of the AML, and that this simultaneity is often related to a presence of *Lusofonia* (or *Lusotropicalismo*) and a related absence of historical and political discourse around colonialism, slavery, or racism.

7.3.2.1 The Absence/Presence of Language(s)

The romanticising idea of *Lusofonia* can be seen in the following excerpts from my interview with Mário, one of the principal organisers of the above-cited event in celebration of *Lusofonia*, which focussed on the promotion, diffusion and dissemination of the Portuguese language.

> "But on Saturday the challenge ... was for it not to be a concert of music, it was to be an encounter, of musicians, which passes through this axis Brazil, Portugal and Africa. So it was a concert designed for seven musicians. A Guinean, Brazilian, Portuguese, Cape Verdean, Mozambican. There were various ethnicities there. And they played together … The same language but with different accents and afterwards [they] left and another entered … it was a mixture that I wanted, it was this, to show [that] we speak the same language but everyone has their own characteristic. Linguistics and culture" (Int. Mário 06/12/2016).[216]

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[216] The original quote in Portuguese is "Mas no sábado o desafio ... foi não ser um concerto de música, é ser um encontro, de músicos, que passasse por esse eixo Brasil, Portugal, e África. Então foi um concerto concebido por sete músicos. Um guineense, brasileiro, português, cabo-verdiano, moçambicano. Eram várias as etnias, que ali estavam. E que eles tocavam junto ... A mesma língua mas com sotaques diferentes e depois saia e entrava um outro ... era uma mistura que eu desejar era essa, era mostrar, falamos a mesma língua, mas que tem cada um a sua própria característica. Linguística e cultura".

"[The festival] is the dust of the Portuguese language. This brand (pause), you know, of *Lusophony*, of the Portuguese language. It is the natural DNA of our structure. Because I, as Brazilian, Portuguese, and the Africans, well, it is where we pass through (...)" (ibid).[217]

"Now, now I remember, the keyword itself, of [the festival], from the beginning (pause) for me, was 'celebration'. (…) It was, the celebration of the Portuguese language. It was, the fact of celebrating" (ibid).[218]

These quotes underline the close dependence of the notion of *Lusofonia* on the idea of a 'common language' that is 'shared' among the (alleged) 'Portuguese world'. As discussed, the continued existence of the 'lusophone project' strongly relies on the construction of the Portuguese language as a 'common cultural heritage' and 'bond'. The means that Portugal uses in order to maintain this narrative are more cultural-political and less economic. In this regard, a particular role is ascribed to the Portuguese language as a 'unifying factor': as a means to strengthen notions of both a Portuguese 'national identity' and a feeling of Lusophony, in which the former colonies are supposed to (re)discover themselves as part of the *mundo português* [Portuguese world] (Gomes 2001: 29f). I suggest that this is yet another example of the simultaneous problematic presences and absences occurring at these 'multicultural' or 'diversity' events and festivals in the AML. In this case, we can observe a pride in the 'shared language' without mentioning linguistic discrimination or prohibitions; both past and present.[219]

7.3.2.2   A Presence of 'Tolerance' - an Absence of Racism?

Simultaneous absences and problematic presences are also implicated in 'mainstream' public (media) discourses, as well as many events. Portugal's high score on the MIPEX[220] is frequently pointed out (i.e. made present) as 'proof' of the country's

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[217] The original quote in Portuguese is "[O festival] é poeiras da língua portuguesa. Essa marca (pausa) não é, da Lusofonia, da língua portuguesa. É o DNA natural da nossa estrutura. Porque eu como Brasileiro, Português, e os Africanos, então, é onde a gente transita (…)".

[218] The original quote in Portuguese is "Agora, agora me lembrei, a palavra chave mesmo, do [festival], desde o começo (pausa) para mim, era 'celebração'. (…) Era, a celebração da língua portuguesa. Era, o facto de celebrar".

[219] For more information on present linguistic discrimination of Kriolu and its past prohibitions, please see Gomes (2001), Carter & Aulette (2009), or Pardue (2012a).

[220] According to the *Migrant Integration Policy Index* (MIPEX), created by the *Barcelona Centre for International Affairs* (CIDOB) and the *Migration Policy Group* (MPG), Portugal ranks among the

'tolerance', while there is a general absence of discussions around exploitations of labour, racism [221] or cases of police brutality in the AML. [222] A public acknowledgement of racism, in particular, would contradict the narrative of *Lusotropicalismo* (in the sense of the Portuguese being more 'benign', 'humane' and 'open' towards "socio-cultural intermingling and racial intermixing" (Vala et al. 2008: 289; Arenas 2015: 358) and the resulting alleged lack of racism, which was discussed in-depth in chapter 2. According to Kesha Fikes (2009), for instance, the racist and violent activities of skinhead groups tied to the *Movimento de Acção Nacional* [Movement for National Action] in the 1990s were either ignored by public officials or commented on in dismissive ways. The state secretary for youth in 1993, for example, reacted with the headline *em Portugal não há perigo da xenofobia* [xenophobia poses no threat in Portugal] (ibid: 49f).[223] As will be demonstrated in section 7.4 of this chapter, I understand the presence of Batuku at some of the large events and festivals in the AML as a contestation of and intervention in some of these absences.[224]

'MIPEX Top Ten' (out of 52 countries) when it comes to the 'integration of migrants' (http://www.mipex.eu/portugal, accessed: 05/01/2021). The most recent rating for 2019 was released in 2020.

[221] A recent article, for instance, discusses how Portugal is one of the countries in Europe where racism is manifested the most. A cited survey shows that 52.9 % of the population believe that 'biological races' exist in the sense of "races or ethnic groups who are born less intelligent and/or less hardworking" (https://www.publico.pt/2017/09/02/sociedade/noticia/portugal-e-dos-paises-da-europa-que-mais-manifesta-racismo-1783934, accessed: 15/09/2017).

[222] For more information and media coverage about this, see: http://racismoambiental.net.br/2016/06/19/racismo-em-portugues-o-lado-esquecido-do-colonialismo/, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-portugal-police-racism/whole-portuguese-police-station-charged-with-racially-motivated-crimes-idUSKBN19W22D, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/03/portuguese-denied-citizenship-country-170302084810644.html, http://elmmagazine.eu/articles/black-students-in-portugal-struggle-with-institutional-racism/, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-32419952 [all accessed: 15.09.2017]. On the increase of racist violence and the rise of the far right in Portugal, please see https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/sep/28/portugal-sees-surge-in-racist-violence-as-far-right-rises [accessed: 29/09/2020].

[223] These public dismissals by the media as well as political officials were challenged in 1995 with one of the most 'visible' cases of racist violence, when a young Black Portuguese was brutally murdered by a group of skinheads in the *Bairro Alto* neighbourhood (a very touristy, 'central' neighbourhood in the Lisbon municipality) (Fikes 2009: 50).

[224] This reading should not be misinterpreted as a general argument that all Batuku groups or Batukaderas are 'consciously' using large events or festivals as moments of resistance as some simply like to perform (or have other motivations) and do not say much onstage.

7.3.3 Complexities & Ambivalences

By arguing that absences and problematic presences go hand in hand, I do not mean to say that event organisers are unaware of the history of Batuku, are wilfully ignoring it and using the practice for their own benefit, or that they do not care about the experiences of abjection of many Batukaderas. Not at all. In fact, many of the organisers I interviewed were conscious of the history of Batuku's prohibition and the current discrimination and marginalisation of Black residents and populations of colour in the Portuguese context. And many planned the events and Batuku performances with this in mind, and designed them as collaborations and opportunities of intervention, which could thus also be seen as a form of resistance on their part. Yet far from negating the aforementioned discursive absences and presences, this merely accentuates the complexities and dichotomies inherent in negotiations and the positioning of power. The following excerpt from my interview with Mário – one of the organisers of the festival in celebration of *Lusofonia* – further highlights these ambivalences.

> "From the beginning ... we knew that the Batukaderas ... from Cape Verde would have to mark their presence there. Through this side that is not musical, does not only come from its musical part, it comes from the entire piece, you know, from this history and … this very strong tradition. Because it is a lament from Cape Verdean women, it is a war cry by Cape Verdean women. It is a way of expressing. So we wanted the Batukaderas to be there, with other African manifestations … So this is very much the historic-cultural character, they do it out of joy. They do this really as a cry for liberation. A point of escape, from reality … What we wanted to do, and which wasn't done … due to lack of time. It was … it was not … to simply introduce the Batukaderas. We wanted … to set up a conversation one hour before the presentation of the Batukaderas, a public workshop with the Batukaderas. With the representatives of the Batukaderas, and that there would be an introduction, an initiation, for the audience, what is the origin of this tradition. How did it emerge … And afterwards say 'Now yes, let's see the presentation of the Batukaderas. Let's see what is the result of this' … An initiation so that the audience understands 'Okay, they are not women drumming'. They are not merely women drumming and shaking their hips … So and I think that the more the Portuguese, who don't have this proximity with … will understand how it originated. [And] will identify him_herself more ..." (Int. Mário 06/12/2016).[225]

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[225] The original quote in Portuguese is "Desde o começo … sabíamos que as Batukaderas … de Cabo Verde teriam que marcar a presença lá. Pela essa vertente que não é musical, não vem só pela sua parte musical, vem pela parte toda, não é, dessa história e … dessa tradição muito forte. Porque é um lamento das mulheres cabo-verdianas, é um grito de guerra das mulheres cabo-verdianas. É uma forma

It becomes clear here that the event organiser is aware that there is a greater meaning to Batuku (by referring to the intended 'realisation' by the audience that the Batukaderas are 'not merely women drumming and shaking their hips'), and had initially planned the group's performance as part of a broader informative and educational intention to 'promoting inter-cultural understanding' ('…the Portuguese, who don't have proximity with … will identify more'). This desire for 'pedagogical messages' and the intention of 'inter-cultural understanding' was also expressed by Sofia, one of the heads of a non-profit organisation in the *Sintra* municipality, which organises several 'migrant' or 'inter-cultural' events and gatherings each year – many of which also include Batuku performances.

> "And usually for the Christmas party, we have Batuku, we have Rap, Hip Hop. We have the traditional music from the countries which correspond to the, for every Christmas, we bring a group which will animate, that night, and which has to do with, the exchange of cultures. (...) In this interculturality, we have also come a long way. And at the moment we already have some experience organising Intercultural Days. Where we seek to bring together, the different cultures, including the Portuguese one. And to do, this exchange, in a way for people to approach each other. They learn through curiosity, they learn to get to know other people. Gastronomy, for example, is one of the elements that we also use with great frequency" (Int. Sofia, 08/06/2017).[226] [227]

Both examples from interviews, particularly Mário's, show that Batuku performances

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de expressar. Então queríamos que as Batukaderas lá estivessem, com outras manifestações africanas ... Então, isso é muito de carácter mesmo histórico-cultural, elas fazem aquilo por prazer. Elas fazem aquilo, realmente como um grito de libertação. Um ponto de fuga, da realidade ... O que nós queríamos fazer, e não foi feito ... por falta de tempo. Era ... não era ... só apresentar às Batukaderas. Nós queríamos ... criar uma hora antes da apresentação das Batukaderas, uma conversa, uma oficina do público com as Batukaderas. Com os representantes das Batukaderas, e que houvesse uma apresentação, uma iniciação, ao público, o qual é a origem dessa tradição. Como é que surgiu ... E depois dizer 'Então sim, vamos ver a apresentação das Batukaderas. Vamos ver o resultado disso' ... Uma iniciação, para que o público perceba 'Okay, não são mulheres batucando'. Não são puramente mulheres batucando e mexendo a anca ... Então, e penso que quanto mais o português, que não tem essa proximidade com ... entenda como foi a origem disso. Vai-se identificar mais ...".

[226] The original quote in Portuguese is "E normalmente na festa de Natal, temos o Batuku, temos o Rap, o Hip Hop. Temos a música tradicional dos países, que conforme aos, em cada Natal, trazemos um grupo que vai animar, essa noite, e que tem a ver com, a partilha de culturas. (…) Nesta interculturalidade, temos feito também um caminho grande. E neste momento estamos já com alguma experiência, a organizar dias interculturais. Em que procuramos juntar, as diferentes culturas, incluindo a portuguesa. E fazer, essa partilha, de maneira que as pessoas se aproximem. Aprendam com a curiosidade, aprendam a conhecer, outros povos. A gastronomia, por exemplo, é um dos elementos, que nós utilizamos também com muita frequência".

[227] By including its performance as part of an event with 'traditional music', Sofia hints at the framing of Batuku as 'tradition' as analysed in chapter 6.

at events are often conceptualised as an opportunity for intervention by the organisers themselves, which makes clear that ascriptions are not always clear-cut: the intended (but not implemented) staging in Mário's case, for instance, included a challenge by the organisers to dominant – sexualised and racialised – ascriptions by the (*white*) Portuguese majority society. The sexualisation or fetishisation of Batuku and the Batukaderas is alluded to in Mário's reference to the 'shaking of hips', therein also indicating the inherent risk of reinforcing this perception by including a Batuku performance at a festival (i.e. having it 'present' in the sense of 'visible') without a simultaneous (audibly present) challenge to hegemonic narratives. Furthermore, his characterisation of Batuku as an 'African manifestation' also points to the double movement of inclusion/exclusion (Jelen 2005: 101) or – as I argue – absence/presence; that is, making them part but not *really* part of the AML.

In the following paragraphs, I briefly address this inherent risk of reinforcing racialised, sexualised, fetishised and/or exoticised perceptions at large-scale events. In the interview, José Luís Hopffer Almada[228], who was the vice president of the *Associação Caboverdeana* [ACV] in the AML at the time of my research, hints at this risk when he states that

> "of course, it's obvious that if in a space of high level, if you take a poorly structured group, as a result the negative effects are … are more than the positive effects. Because who had prejudices, [will] consolidate [them]. This is why I also feel that one has to be cautious with things, you see" (Int. Hopffer Almada, 14/11/2016).[229]

He thus relates the danger of reinforcing the audiences' prejudices to a Batuku group's 'lack of structure', thereby putting the responsibility more on the Batukaderas themselves and less on the organisers and how they might plan and implement the course of an event.

Interestingly, it was precisely a performance of a 'well-structured' Batuku

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[228] As mentioned in chapter 4, I had decided to anonymise and use aliases for all interviews prior to my research stays. This decision was meant to safeguard people's identities. One of the interviewees, however, was adamant that he wanted to be named in order to make sure that his statements were clearly connected to his position as a representative of the Cape Verdean Association [*Associação Caboverdeana*; ACV] in the AML. This person was the poet, essayist, and analyst José Luís Hopffer Almada, who was also the vice president of the ACV at the time of my research. 'Hopffer' is the nickname he goes by, which is used throughout the thesis.

[229] The original quote in Portuguese is "Claro, é evidentemente que se num espaço de grande nível, se leva um grupo pouco estruturado, portanto, os efeitos negativos são … são mais do que os efeitos positivos. Porque quem tinha preconceitos, consolida. Por isso é que sinto também tem que ter muito cuidado de coisa, você vê".

group that I found particularly problematic in terms of reproducing or reinforcing racialised and exoticising narratives. This performance took place at an event which was part of the *Santos Populares* (Feast Days of the Popular Saints, which happen annually across the AML throughout the month of June), organised by the civil parish of *Massamá e Monte Abraão*. It occurred at a food market in *Massamá* / municipality of *Sintra*, and I was invited to attend by members of the AMCDP.[230]

> "The members of the first Batuku group have changed into their outfits. There are only approximately six of them present. At approximately 11am, the group is introduced on a small stage in front of the market hall. A member of the AMCDP hands me her phone and tells me to film them and take pictures. The group plays a couple of songs. After the performance, a *white* man from the *Junta de Freguesia* [civil parish] is invited to come onstage. He is asked to sit down next to the group and receives a *Txabeta,* the drumming instrument used in Batuku. He is asked to try to play the *Txabeta* and sing. He starts drumming and singing 'Baba Baba Lala Lala' into the microphone. People in the audience are laughing. Then he says *Bom. Chega* [Alright. That's enough]. He then adds: *Porque eu estou a fazer algumas figuras ridículas, né* [Because I am making a ridiculous impression, aren't I], that he has embarrassed himself more than enough. Besides, he says, 'they' (he points at the Batukaderas) are able to endure the sun better than him [*aguentam melhor*] and are more used to it – he has to be more careful with his skin. He then says that he knows the *senhoras* [ladies] well and has heard them play a couple of times. He talks about how there are many diverse communities living 'here', in *Massamá* and *Monte Abraão*" (Observation Prot. 10/06/2017).

What becomes apparent from my note from the event is an instance of embarrassment and a moment of ridicule. While the employee of the civil parish is claiming to embarrass himself ('I am making a ridiculous impression'), arguably he is in fact ridiculing the Batukaderas and their performance. Moreover, by adding that he has to be more careful about his skin in the sun and that 'they' (the Batukaderas) are able to endure the sun better because 'they are more used to it', he reproduces racialised narratives about certain 'natural' characteristics of people constructed and positioned as Other.

> "I walk back into the market hall to the table where the AMCDP is selling some food. I am startled by what has just occurred and tell the AMCDP member, who had given me her phone to record the performance, about it.

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[230] AMCDP stands for *Associação de Mulheres Cabo-verdianas na Diáspora em Portugal* (Association of Cape Verdean Women in the Diaspora in Portugal), which is a volunteer-run, not-for-profit association mentioned in chapter 6.

She shakes her head and says that many people working for different *Juntas* [civil parishes] say racist things. She adds that she also cannot stand it when they always talk about the 'communities' – 'what is this supposed to be?', she says" (Observation Prot. 10/06/2017).

In this excerpt, we can not only see the criticism of racist statements and racialised perceptions by a member of a 'Cape Verdean' association, but can also assume that this happens regularly as she states that 'many people from civil parishes say racist things' and many events – which include Batuku performances – in the AML are (co-)organised by civil parishes. In addition, she critiques the 'community' discourse present at many 'intercultural' events and festivals.

The previous paragraphs have demonstrated that there are always inherent risks of fetishisation and exoticisation at events, but also always possibilities for resistance, and that some marginalised groups may consciously decide to "brand their otherness" (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009: 24), thereby 'joining' the game of the global market. Another aspect to bear in mind here are the institutions, organisations or associations involved in the organisation of events, as their role is crucial in providing space and equipment to perform on a larger scale in the first place. This not only allows for the presence of certain music genres but also for marginalised groups to perform in particular locations, which would be almost impossible without institutional affiliation or support (Clealand 2011).

In summary, this section of the chapter has argued that at many of the events around 'multiculturalism' and 'diversity' – as well as 'mainstream' public (media) discourses and political decision-making – absences go hand in hand with problematic presences in the AML. Relatedly, I have also suggested that there are various forms of being 'present' and that not all can be automatically and exclusively considered 'positive' or 'empowering'. In the case of Batuku in the AML, I have shown that being present in the sense of 'seen' and 'heard' can carry risks around romanticisation, exoticisation or fetishisation. However, these moments can still be used for contestation and intervention through the practice of Batuku – or by the Batukaderas, more precisely – to which we turn now.

7.4 Contesting Absences/Presences

As I have shown thus far, being (visibly or audibly) present is a complex notion and is not always necessarily 'affirmative' or 'empowering'. This is because it can have various motives, effects and layers, which vary based on the context and positionalities of the people in question. Having said this, I will argue below that many Batukaderas negotiate their absences and problematic presences in a number of ways. In doing so, they display a conscious "form of *engagement* with broader social processes and societal structures" (Alexander 2011: 204, original emphasis). In this section of the chapter, I argue that many of them challenge said absences and problematic presences by (1) negotiating and asserting their presence in certain spaces (that is, challenging their spatial and visual absences) and (2) contesting their (audible) absences.

While it should be pointed out that female 'Cape Verdean' performers and musicians from diasporic contexts are increasingly present – 'seen' and 'heard' – in the AML and internationally – e.g. Lura, Sara Tavares, Mayra Andrade and Nancy Vieira – these artists are usually ascribed to 'traditional' musical styles such as Morna or Koladera,[231] or to the World Music genre (Cidra 2011: 304), and not Batuku. As mentioned, Batuku can be considered a 'community-related' practice and predominantly takes place in the so-called 'periphery/ies' of the AML, which is why it is often argued that it does not have "an active or visible social space" (Fikes 2008: 50). In interviews, some Batukaderas equate 'visibility' with performing 'outside' of 'community contexts': "(…) the rest, we perform, it is among us, in the community, well, which sometimes (…) does not stand out a lot, you know. (…) No. In some places like this it does not attract attention, you know" (Int. Iolanda/Isabela/Mafalda, 26/02/2017).[232] In this respect, gendered configurations of labour also play a role; as many Batukaderas tend to work long hours, they are largely excluded from participation in (visible) projects that are conventionally described as diasporic (Fikes 2008: 50f).

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[231] Both of them are music genres that are more popular on the so-called *Barlavento* ('Windward') islands, which do not include the island of Santiago (where Batuku is said to have originated).

[232] The original quote in Portuguese is "(…) do resto a gente faz atuação, é entre nós, na comunidade assim, que as vezes nem (…) não dá muita nas vistas, estás a ver. (…) Não. Nalguns sítios assim não dá muito nas vistas, não é".

Again, this highlights the need to apply an intersectional approach when discussing and analysing social abjection, i.e. asking "how and in what ways is a group inserted within the social relations of class, gender, racism, sexuality, or other axes of differentiation in the country to which it migrates?" (Brah 1996: 179). Based on the analysis by the anthropologist Max Ruben Ramos, I argue that Batukaderas, and thus the practice of Batuku, in the AML display a threefold exclusion or absence (based on classed, gendered and racialised or ethnicised experiences).[233]

7.4.1 Asserting (Spatial) Presence

Many working class women positioned as 'Cape Verdean' in the AML – including many Batukaderas – used to work as fishmongers [*peixeiras*]. When *Docapesca*, the main fish market, closed in 2003 and was moved to the outskirts of the *Lisboa* municipality, they stopped selling fish in public, hence "disappearing all together from public view. Thereafter, their visibility to the general public would be primarily restricted to their legitimate labouring capacity" (Fikes 2008: 49). This change pushed many of these women into waged domestic labour. Today, as outlined in detail in chapter 5, the majority of Batukaderas are employed as domestic workers or cleaners in private janitorial companies that have contracts with universities, car parks, banks, or large office buildings (Fikes 1998, 2005, 2008).[234] The effects of their marginalised living situations are thus compounded by gendered, racialised and classed work regimes.

Neighbourhoods with a high percentage of residents of colour and Black populations – particularly those with a sizeable 'Cape Verdean communities', such as *Cova da Moura*, *6 de Maio*, *Portela* or *Casal da Boba* – are generally linked to images of 'poverty', 'insecurity' and 'threat' and thus criminalised and stigmatised in

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[233] This argument is based on a talk given by Max Ruben Ramos in a small activist space in *Cova da Moura* in March 2016. In this presentation, he addressed his rough analysis of Batuku on Cape Verde as experiencing a – in his words – 'double exclusion' (based on racism and sexism). I have subsequently applied this approach to the diasporic, postcolonial context of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and expanded it to include classed experiences.

[234] Working class 'Cape Verdean' men, on the other hand, generally work in construction and carpentry jobs. "They too were isolated within their work sites but it seemed that there were more opportunities for establishing social connections across diverse social lines because of the social character of construction work, such as shared lunch and break periods" (Fikes 2008: 54f).

public discourse.[235] Such framings employ and reproduce equations of ethnicised communities (the Other) with 'ghettos' and 'slums' (Castro Ribeiro 2012: 75): "ethnically marked, anachronistic, bounded spaces inseparable from ideas of cultural difference and social decay" (Alexander 2011: 203f). Or, as Luís Batalha puts it, "it is these immigrants that the white mainstream society has in mind when it comes to the social image of the 'Cape Verdean community'. In the eyes of the white mainstream they are 'Cape Verdean', 'black', or 'African', but never 'Portuguese'" (Batalha 2004: 131). Being 'coded' as 'problematic' therein constructs visibility through disapproval (Alexander 2011: 206; Knowles 2013: 660; Sagmeister 2014: 3); which I refer to as a 'problematic presence' in public discourse. However, contestations and renegotiations of positions, spaces and the meanings ascribed to populations of colour are not only possible but integral to postcolonial, intersectional contexts (Jackson 2011: 57, 66). In this section, I conceptualise Batuku as resisting visual and spatial absences by asserting presence in certain spaces and, in doing so, renegotiating spatialised power relations.

As mentioned before, my understanding of space as internally heterogeneous, porous and processual (as opposed to homogeneous, fixed and static) is influenced by Nirmal Puwar (2004) and Claire Alexander (2011). Spaces matter because they are part of broader power relations and systems of representation. The idea of resistance, too, is central to the analysis of power relations. In the context of large festivals and events, I argue that Batuku performances can be read as spaces of resistance.[236] As will be shown, by asserting their presence in certain spaces, Batukaderas create (visual and audible) 'counter-narratives', thereby challenging their absences through spatial allocations as well as problematic presences by means of dominant discourses of representation (Alexander 2011: 206). The first issue (contesting spatially allocated absences) will be analysed in this section, while the latter ('counter-narratives' that contest dominant forms of representation) is discussed in section 7.4.2.

Not only are particular spaces of the AML racialised, classed, stigmatised, and criminalised in public discourse, and consequently 'present' or 'included' through 'abjection' (Tyler 2013), but spaces – and their histories – are excluded and erased at the same time. This is further evidence of the simultaneity of absence/presence.

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[235] While older generations were generally depicted as 'poor but honest' or 'good workers', younger generations are often stigmatised as 'victims of educational failure' or 'juvenile delinquents' (see, for instance, Batalha 2008: 28).

[236] For a more in-depth analysis on *spaces* and *diasporisation*, see Fritsch (2018).

Let us remember from chapter 5 that residential patterns, programmes and 'urban renewal' plans in the AML can be understood as tools of racist and classist spatial categorisation. Discourses around 'informality' and 'illegality' have resulted – and continue to do so – in forced evictions, relocations and ever-increasing peripheralisations of housing areas inhabited by, predominantly, Black populations and residents of colour (including many of the Batukaderas I interacted with during my research). Making use of Katherine McKittrick's (2006) conceptualisation, again, allows us to understand these processes in the sense of an 'absence and elsewhere'. As she illustrates throughout her analysis of Black Canada, particularly by listing numerous examples of demolitions, relocations as well as renaming of (Black) spaces,

> "Concealment is accomplished at least in part by carefully landscaping blackness out of the nation. (…) When considered alongside other practices of discrimination, economic injustices, and racial-sexual oppressions, landscaping blackness out of the nation coincides with intentions to put blackness *out of sight*" (ibid: 96, my emphasis).

This quote speaks to the fact that social abjection can have multiple manifestations and often expresses itself through absences, exclusions, erasures or omissions.

Over the past twenty plus years (since Batuku presumably started in the AML), different Batuku groups have performed in places such as the *Gulbenkian Foundation*, the *Cultural Centre of Belém*, the *National Museum of Ethnology*, the *São Luiz Theatre*, the *Expo '98*, *São Jorge Castle*, the *Jerónimos Monastery*, or the *Praça do Comércio* [Commerce Square], all of which are located in areas commonly referred to as touristic or cultural 'centres' of Lisbon. None of these spaces are neutral – they are all, rather, riddled with meanings and attributions, and in all of them the presence of the Batukaderas is 'out of place' (Puwar 2004) based on their racialised, classed and gendered positionalities. They are 'space invaders' because their presence makes clear "what has been able to pass as the invisible, unmarked and undeclared somatic norm" (ibid: 8)[237]; because there is an "unequal distribution of power that enables some bodies to move freely while other bodies (…) are marked and held in place by past histories and geographies" (Nayak 2016: 292). These moments of

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[237] As mentioned, (in)visibilities regarding 'race' work in different ways and depend on how people are positioned in dominant discourses and power relations. As many scholars (Dyer 1997; Candelario 2000; Puwar 2004; Tate 2005, 2009) have argued, *whiteness* maintains its power through invisibility: the naturalised invisibility and neutrality of *whiteness* (Candelario 2000) ensures its persistent position of privilege and power. Being 'unmarked' and seen as the 'norm' is connected to being 'unchallenged' and, as a consequence thereof, *white* people are 'visible' as individuals (ibid: 6; Sagmeister 2014: 3).

'invasion' by the Batukaderas are potential contestations, as the "unease generated by the position and posture of a black [female, working class; A/N] figure [or body; A/N] in a privileged public space invokes the constitutive boundaries of the imagination of the nation" (Puwar 2004: 5). Amália – a well-known singer mentioned earlier in the thesis – explains her reasoning for having a Batuku group present at one of her concerts.

> "It [the concert; A/N] opened (thumps the table) with Batuku and (thumps the table) it closed with Batuku. Because I felt that there was a necessity for me to bring Batuku to a space, so dignified, so noble, so … cathedral of music, as the *São Luiz* is. In Lisbon' (Int. Amália, 07/12/2016).[238]

This quote highlights her personal feelings regarding the need to have Batukaderas present in certain spaces. By using descriptions such as 'dignified' and 'noble', she further hints at the kind of space she is referring to and therein makes clear which kind of spaces Batukaderas are normally (not) ascribed to and which spaces they are 'invading' based on their racialised, classed and gendered positionalities.

With regard to some of the aforementioned 'central' locations, I will draw on examples of events that took place in such 'privileged public spaces' (as Puwar refers to them). The *Jerónimos Monastery*, for instance, is located in the parish of *Belém / Lisboa* municipality, right at the shore of the river Tagus [*Tejo*]. Many of Portugal's historical buildings and landmarks are located in *Belém*, making it one of the main tourist attractions. In September 2016, I attended a meeting by *Finka Pé*, the Batuku group from *Cova da Moura*, where an upcoming performance at the *Jerónimos Monastery* was discussed. This performance was to occur as part of the *Jornadas Europeias do Património* [European Heritage Travels], which are organised annually by the General Committee of Cultural Heritage of Portugal and include a vast range of cultural events throughout the AML.

> "Inés asks the Batukaderas if they have heard of the program *Patrimónios* of which they will be part of next Friday at 11:00am with a performance at the Monastery in *Belém*. She explains that those who want to can meet in *Cova da Moura* at 09:15am and the rest should meet in *Belém*; the performance

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[238] The original quote in Portuguese is "Abriu (bate na mesa) com o Batuku e (bate na mesa) fechou com Batuku. Porque eu senti que havia necessidade de eu levar o Batuku à um espaço, tão digno, tão nobre, tão … catedral da música, como é o *São Luiz*. Em Lisboa". This quote also highlights how Amália bangs her fist on the table as she gets a bit angry retelling how much opposition she has faced from concert venues regarding the inclusion of Batuku.

will take place at 11:00am and not at 11:01am. She adds that this performance is very important because it will give them great visibility because of the location: the great, touristy Monastery where tourists stand in line to get in" (Observation Prot. 18/09/2016).

By emphasising that the importance of this performance is primarily related to the location, Inés – a passionate supporter of the group and activist in the *Cova da Moura* neighbourhood – accentuates the role a visual presence plays.

Another event that I want to consider is *Tributo Aos Ancestrais* [Tribute to the Ancestors], which happened at the *Praça do Comércio* [Commerce Square] by the *Tejo* river in April 2017. The location of this event is particularly telling as the square's centrality suggests its crucial importance for Portuguese slave ships. On the event's Facebook page, the following description is used:

> "Organised by the *Comissão Memória Ancestral* [Ancestral Memory Commission], the first tribute to the African ancestors, at the *Terreiro do Paço* (*Praça do Comércio*), is a celebration in honour of our African ancestors, women, men and children, victims of the tragic African Holocaust, called slave trade or transatlantic slave trade, which had its beginning in Portugal in 1444, and extended until the end of the 1800s.
> In order to simply give honour and respect to our ancestors, we ask you to bring:
> THE FAMILY, WHITE OR AFRICAN CLOTHES, FLOWERS, ART, POETRY, INSTRUMENTS, DANCE, SONGS AND A LOT OF POSITIVE ENERGY!" (Ntu & Eu Produções 2017; translation HS).

This event, which I did not attend, included a Batuku performance by *Flor da Vida*, the group from the *Casal da Boba* neighbourhood, who sang their song paying tribute to Cape Verde's anti-colonial leader and revolutionary Amílcar Cabral, with lyrics referring to *Nos herói é na memoria tudu tempu* [Our hero is always in our memory]. The event itself and their performance can thus be read not only as an assertion of the Batukaderas' presence in a space from which they are generally excluded, but also as a contestation of the (problematic) presences and (audible) absences (in the sense of a romanticised account of *Lusofonia* and an absence of historical aspects such as colonialism or slavery); something that will be addressed again in more detail in the next section of this chapter. One Facebook comment on this performance, in particular, highlights the connection between the racialised (visual) absence of the Batukaderas – and of Batuku – and the relevance of 'invading' spaces: "Tribute to the African ancestors in a Black invisibilised Lisbon" (Raposo 2017: n/s; translation HS).

Apart from physical or geographical borders, there are other – mostly invisible – boundaries that ascribe people to certain spaces or identities (Jackson 2011: 57). As mentioned, Batuku can generally be understood as a practice of the 'periphery/ies'. The Batukaderas' 'invasion' of spaces that are considered the 'centre' therefore also points to another form of negotiation: With reference to the periphery/ies of the AML, I want to argue that spatial categories such as 'centre' and 'periphery' should be interrogated while keeping in mind that one person's periphery can be another person's centre (and vice versa).[239] What is often referred to as the *centre* of Lisbon is in fact the touristic or business centre and does not represent the actual centre in many people's lives. When we speak of diasporic activities or 'Cape Verdean' cultural practices, specifically Batuku, the centre shifts to municipalities outside of *Lisboa* (Lisbon municipality). Accordingly, I argue that we can understand Batuku as opposing established concepts of cultural centrality.[240] And by challenging this dichotomy of 'centre' versus 'periphery', Batukaderas are simultaneously resisting imposed absences.[241]

At a workshop organised as part of the *Jornadas Europeias do Património* [European Heritage Travels] with the Batukaderas of *Finka Pé* from *Cova da Moura* on the premises of the *Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude*, one of the

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[239] There are various literary and scholarly descriptions of what constitutes a 'centre' and a 'periphery' but it is generally understood that they negotiate questions of power (Beetz 2008: 9f). In terms of negotiations of 'culture', it was argued for a long time that the 'centre' is representative of 'cultural progress' and the 'periphery' of 'backwardness', which is why the latter should learn from the achievements of the former (Hannerz 1989: 201-206). Many theories, including the Wallersteinian *world system theory*, tended to be predominantly focused on the 'centre' and – as Sherry Ortner (1984) argues – this lead to the tendency of depicting "history as something that arrives in the societies of the periphery (…) from the outside. We get the history of the impact of the center on the periphery, rather than the history of the periphery itself" (Hannerz 1989: 207). My arguments above follow Ortner's theorisation.

[240] This framing was inspired by and builds on Katharina Fritsch's argument in her PhD thesis (2018), where she emphasises a reading of the music genre *Twarab* in Marseille as a community-based cultural market and as resisting dominant perceptions of cultural centers. She further analyses the role of *Twarab* as cultural work and not merely as a 'community contribution'. As part of this framing, she worked on a feature documentary film (together with the film maker Andrés Carvajal and the artist Mounir Hamada Hamza) entitled *Histoires de Twarab à Marseille* [Twarab Stories from Marseilles], which further pursues the question of Twarab as 'cultural work' by tracing the history and the development of this music genre from its so-called 'origins' on the Comoros to Marseilles, from the perspectives and musical trajectories of the artists themselves (https://www.facebook.com/histoirestwarab/).

[241] Many Black activist groups in the AML organise cultural events in neighbourhoods at the 'periphery/ies' and frame this as cultural resistance. The event *Cultura na Boba* [Culture in Boba], for instance, which took place in the neighbourhood of *Casal da Boba* / municipality of *Amadora* in December 2017, included performances of Rap Kriolu as well as by two Batuku groups, poetry slams, and a play by the theatre group *Peles Negras Máscaras Negras* [Black Skins Black Masks], which addressed the conditions of Black, female domestic workers in the AML.

volunteers of the cultural association initiated the event.

> "She welcomes everyone on behalf of *Moinho* and explains that this event is part of the *Jornadas Europeias do Património*. She states that it is very important to participate in this so that *Cova da Moura* is put and made visible on the map of Lisbon. Furthermore, it is important to make visible the immense *riqueza cultural* [cultural wealth] that this neighbourhood has to offer; to make visible the positive aspects of the neighbourhood and not to let the negative stereotypes get the upper hand" (Observation Prot. 23/09/2016).

This welcoming statement is yet another reference to the framing of not only Batuku and the Batukaderas, but of entire neighbourhoods as 'invisible' (i.e. absent), or 'elsewhere' and 'out of sight' (McKittrick 2006). At the same time, I suggest that we can understand her refererence to the 'cultural wealth' of *Cova da Moura* as a contestation of the predominant 'negative stereotypes' – or 'problematic presences', i.e. being present by means of disapproval – as well as an act of self-valorisation.[242]

As mentioned, discourses around 'inclusion' and 'diversity' at large events can potentially entail the risk of 'tokenistic visibility'; a mere numeric inclusion of 'different' people and practices. Puwar (2004) argues that the tendency to equate this inclusion with actual 'social change' is problematic because it assumes that "women [or ethnicised communities; A/N] are a homogeneous grouping that can generate a mimetic politics from their shared experiences" (ibid: 149). A mere statistical inclusion by event organisers does not inherently challenge or explore how power relations and oppressive systems work on an institutional level, which is precisely the argument I have tried to make with the 'absence/presence' concept. Although I continue to adhere to this conceptualisation, I have also suggested that researchers should be wary of creating rigid dichotomies. The assertion of one's presence in certain spaces through Batuku can be a political act in and of itself from the perspective of the Batukaderas, independent of what is then performed or spoken at these large events or festivals, or what the content of the songs is.

While this section has primarily addressed spatial and visual absences and their contestations, I want to argue that the (physical) 'invasion' of spaces is a precondition to the challenging of (audible) absences, which will be analysed in the following section. However, I also suggest that these two forms of contesting one's

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[242] Batuku as a means of self-valorisation will be discussed in detail in chapter 8.

abjection do not have to happen together or in succession in order to be read as moments of negotiation.

7.4.2   Contesting Absences

Conceptualising Batuku as negotiating absences and problematic presences, I argue in this section that Batukaderas are not simply 'out of place' (Puwar 2004). We can also read their disruption of spaces as a public (re)appropriation of their disavowal in the national public sphere and a contestation of dominant (racialised, gendered, classed) representations. By asserting their presence in certain spaces (as analysed above), they expose and contest their abjection through exclusion and "the norms of *visibility* and *audibility* through which the nation constitutes itself" (Butler & Athanasiou 2013: 141, my emphasis). Batuku can thus also be a contestation of the absences at many big festivals and events as well as in 'mainstream' public discourse. This section will focus on how many Batukaderas use the assertion of their spatial presence to intervene in and challenge these (audible) absences.

As pointed out, many events celebrating 'multiculturalism', 'diversity' and/or *Lusofonia* deploy numerous romanticising narratives about Portugal's past and its current 'tolerance', while simultaneously absenting traces of slavery, colonialism and their racist legacies still present and palpable for many populations in Portuguese society today. As I will analyse below, several Batuku groups use these spaces and events to highlight their struggles, on the one hand, but also to create 'counter-narratives' or "counter-memories that challenge normative narratives" (Wilson & Darling 2016: 6, cited in Rishbeth & Rogaly 2017: 11); that is, these groups oppose the presence of stereotypical, stigmatising or victimising representations, as well as the absence or the 'active forgetting' of his- and herstories. Borrowing from Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's famous TED talk from 2009, this could also be described as contesting the 'dangers of a single story'.[243]

Many Batukaderas intervene in and challenge various forms of abjection, for instance, by choosing songs that talk about stigmatisations, forced relocations, or the

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[243]   https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story,   [accessed: 20/07/2018].

strains of their working conditions.[244]

> "Towards the end, one of the Batukaderas steps forward and explains that all the lyrics are in Kriolu. She asks if anyone understood anything and explains some of the lyrics a little bit: One song, for example, was about the fact that they are often portrayed as dangerous and seen as a problem but they stay 'above it'" (Observation Prot. 18/09/2016).

> "Between the songs, one Batukadera takes the microphone to welcome the audience and to explain the lyrics. She says that she assumes that most people in the audience don't speak Kriolu. (…) She explains that the first song was about work, the second about themselves as competent women (…) [another] song was about 'their flag'[245], meaning both the Cape Verdean and the Portuguese one" (Observation Prot. 10/09/2016).

The first excerpt from a note I took after a Batuku performance in *Cova da Moura* is an example of Batuku lyrics contesting the stigmatisations suffered by many practitioners. The second excerpt not only illustrates the explanation of the lyrics in between the songs but can also be understood as a self-confident reclaiming of the diaspora space that is the AML and of a diasporic positionality, respectively, by the Batukaderas. As illustrated in chapter 2, public discourses in the AML predominantly evolve around the presence of – a homogenised group of – 'immigrants', 'foreigners', 'Africans' (Reiter 2005; Arenas 2015), or – more specifically – 'Cape Verdeans' but not, for instance, around 'Black Portuguese'.[246] Bernd Reiter (2005) even argues that "the concept of 'black Portuguese' (…) [is] virtually unknown" (ibid: 87). Portugal has thus failed to recognise the existence of Black Portuguese populations within its borders. By referring to 'their flag' and explaining that they mean both the Cape Verdean and the Portuguese one, the Batukaderas in question challenge the dominant discourse that always frames them as 'Cape Verdean' or 'African' but never as Portuguese.

This homogenising, racist narrative is also challenged through some Batuku groups' use of physical flags from both Cape Verde and Portugal during performances

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[244] All songs are sung in Kriolu (the native language of practically all Cape Verdeans) but many performances include short breaks between the songs, where the respective content is described to the audience in Portuguese.

[245] In Portuguese, she referred to *nossa bandeira.*

[246] In relation to notions of 'culture' and 'diaspora', as highlighted in chapter 3, Paul Gilroy challenges the dominant ways in which the meaning of 'English culture' has been negotiated in a racialised sense where "blackness and Englishness appeared suddenly to be mutually exclusive attributes and where the conspicuous antagonism between them proceeded on the terrain of culture [in the sense of cultural values and 'national identity'; A/N], not that of politics" (1993a: 10).

at cultural as well as – but a lot less – 'community-related' events. One such instance becomes apparent in the following notes I took after attending a small Batuku festival in the municipality of *Odivelas* (northwest of the *Lisboa* municipality).

> "The stage has a large ruby grand drape and the bottom of it has been decorated with a large green piece of *Panu*.[247] (…) Fernanda, the founder of a Batuku group, initiates the event. Father Michael holds the microphone for her. Then Marisa, a student, says a few words onstage. She is accompanied by a young woman, who is carrying the Cape Verdean flag, and another one, who is carrying the Portuguese flag. Members of a choir and a few Batukaderas have walked onstage as well" (Observation Prot. 03/06/2017).

These confident self-positionings also relate to what Avtar Brah (1996) calls 'home-grown discourses', which redraw the 'cartographies of diaspora' (of 'British Asian-ness', in the case of her study): "They lay claim to the localities in which they live as their 'home'. And, however much they may be constructed as 'outsiders', they contest these psychological and geographical spaces from the position of 'insiders'" (ibid: 46).

In making their stories "known as part of the city, becoming part of knowledge about the city" (Knowles 2013: 656), Batukaderas assert their (visual and audible) presence in order to question power relations and to call attention to 'different' narratives. As the Batukadera Ana phrases it in an interview, explaining why she enjoys performing in front of other people: "they have to know what my life is" (Int. Ana 30/10/2016).[248] These 'counter-narratives', then, contest both the absence and the problematic presence of not being "presented in any complex way, appearing only as stereotypes or ideal types (…)" (Alexander 2002: 564).

In addition to choosing songs with lyrics that highlight and criticise their abjection, Batuku groups sometimes have an introduction by a member or somebody associated to their group.

> "We are from the neighbourhood *Cova da Moura*. Batuku is one of the most representative genres of the musical patrimony of Cape Verde. We

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[247] As mentioned, the *Panu* (*di Téra*) is an elaborately woven, costly piece of black and white cloth and is said to have previously been one of the most popular possessions of young, female Cape Verdeans of the interior of Santiago. By wearing it tied around her hips, the owner was allegedly considered of a higher social status. The *Panu* thus stood for a certain respectability, which could be why many consider it an integral part of a Batuku performance (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 186f; Castro Ribeiro 2012: 78; Tavares 2016: 50). It is considered a crucial element of the 'full attire' during Batuku, and is generally wrapped around the dancer's hips.
[248] The original quote in Portuguese is "Eles tem que saber o que é que é minha vida".

are from the island of Santiago. Batuku was oppressed but survived thanks to the resistance and constant transition (…) from generation to generation" (Recording Louisa, 11/06/2017).[249]

Here, Louisa, a younger member of the group of *Finka Pé* introduces the group before a performance at a large annual book fair in the *Eduardo II* Park / *Marquês de Pombal* Square (located about 2km north of the main Commerce Square). With her introduction, she highlights Batuku's history of oppression as well as of the resistance(s) against this oppression. This can be read as a 'counter-narrative' to prevalent romanticising notions of *Lusotropicalismo* and *Lusofonia* and their negation of Portugal's colonial past.

> "Inés introduces the women. She says that they are women with strength … who play a tradition, a cultural expression, which was forbidden until the 25th of April[250] because it was considered quite erotic, critical, and rather African. It transfers values from one generation to another. She explains that it is also used to celebrate baptisms, weddings, new life. The women would like to show their art. She says that these are women who work, they clean in hotels, hospitals, shops etc. Some of the group members could not be here today because they also have to work on Saturdays and Sundays. She finishes the introduction by explaining that they are from *Cova da Moura* and that they have a lot of pride in their neighbourhood, because there is a lot of *djunta-mô*[251] there" (Observation Prot. 10/09/2016).

This second example illustrates the intervention of Inés, co-founder of the *Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude*, who details the emergence of Batuku, making the history of colonialism and oppression visible. Here, Inés is introducing *Finka Pé* at the aforementioned *Lusofonia* festival. Through the presentation of 'counter-narratives', she challenges dominant discourses of *Lusofonia* and *Lusotropicalismo*; which can also be read as a contestation of "official versions of historical continuity" (Bosch 2017: 229). According to Tanja Bosch, who analyses counter-memories or counter-discourses in the case of the South African *#RhodesMustFall* movement, "the recovery of these other voices allows one to make visible the relationship of

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[249] The original quote in Portuguese is "Nós somos do bairro da *Cova da Moura*. O Batuku é um dos géneros mais representativos do património musical de Cabo Verde. Nós somos da ilha de Santiago. O Batuku foi reprimido mas sobreviveu gracas à resistencia e a constante passagem (…) de geração e geração".

[250] She was referring to April 25th, 1974, the day that marks the *Carnation Revolution* in Portugal, which overthrew the fascist, authoritarian regime of the *Estado Novo*. For more information regarding this, please see chapter 2.

[251] This Cape Verdean practice can be translated to *juntar as mãos* in Portuguese, which literally means 'join hands' but can be translated as 'working together'.

domination" (ibid). She emphasises the importance of being visibly and audibly present to negotiations and contestations of abjections: "Through providing alternative narratives to challenge dominant discourses, (…) [they] challenged the hegemony of existing constructions of the past, (…) turning memory into a process of negotiation" (ibid).

Inés' introductory statement above not only exemplifies the contestation of *Lusofonia* and *Lusotropicalismo* but also highlights the past politics of oppression and condemnation that were connected to Batuku's 'Africanness' and 'eroticism'. These aspects of the practice are still used to racialise and sexualise Batukaderas, not only by the *white* Portuguese majority society but also (at times) by the 'Cape Verdean elite'. Furthermore, this example highlights the Batukaderas' multi-dimensional invisibilities (Knowles 2013: 659) by also addressing their classed positionality (Inés stressing that "…these are women who work, they clean in hotels, hospitals, shops etc. Some of the [them] could not be here today because they also have to work on Saturdays and Sundays").

Additionally, there is a conscious reference to the neighbourhood *Cova da Moura* in both Louisa's and Inés' introductions, and hence a valorisation of a space, which is extremely stigmatised – and thus present through disapproval – in public discourse. The reference to the neighbourhood *Cova da Moura* is also evident in the following note I took about lyrics after attending *Finka Pé*'s performance at the book fair in the *Eduardo II* Park / *Marquês de Pombal* Square.

> "The first song starts with just hand clapping, which turns into the drumming of the *Txabetas* after a few seconds. A Batukadera starts singing (without a microphone): '*Finka Pé, undi ki é nhos morada? Finka Pé, undi ki é nhos morada? Nha morada la na Kova M, (...)*', which is answered by the group with '*Finka Pé, na undi ki é nos morada (…)*'" (Observation Prot. 11/06/2017).

By singing "*Finke Pé*, where do you live? *Finka Pé*, where do you live? We live in *Kova M*, (…)"[252], the Batukaderas put forward a conscious and confident self-identification and valorisation of *Cova da Moura*, challenging its problematic, stigmatised presence in public discourse. Or, borrowing from Derek Pardue's analysis

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[252] *Kova M* is the Kriolu name and spelling for the *Cova da Moura* neighbourhood, which can also be seen as resisting external ascriptions and a 'luso' spelling. "The letter 'k' does not officially exist in the Portuguese language. (…) the 'k' refers to a difference from 'tuga' and Portugal. It is not 'crioulo' it is Kriolu. It is not Cova da Moura but Kova M" (Pardue 2014b: 322).

of Kriolu Rap, "they sing the improvised neighbourhoods and housing projects of Lisbon into existence" (Pardue 2012a: E43). This is therefore a negotiation of the politics of belonging: i.e. the "boundaries of the political community of belonging, the boundaries that separate the world population into 'us' and 'them'" (Yuval-Davis 2006: 204). This is in line with Nira Yuval-Davis (2006) understanding of 'belonging' as not just being "about social locations and constructions of individual and collective identities and attachments but also about the ways these are valued and judged" (ibid: 203).

The conscious reference to and self-identification with such spaces exists among other Batuku groups too. The group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral* from the *6 de Maio* neighbourhood, for instance, also has a song which includes the lyrics '*grupo di Damaia / bairro 6 di Maio*' [group from *Damaia / 6 de Maio* neighbourhood].[253] As McKittrick (2006) phrases it,

> "by defining and constructing the world they inhabit, black subjects challenge how we know and understand geography; by seriously addressing space and place in the everyday (…) they also confront sociospatial objectification by offering a different sense of how geography is and might be lived" (ibid: 92).

As was discussed in chapter 5 with regard to spatial inequalities, power relations and identities, "dominant social structures (…) [produce] classed, gendered and racialised geographies of the city" (James 2015: 52) and marginalised populations often challenge these discourses and demarcations by "turning their racially criminalised territories into positive affiliations" (ibid). The words spoken in both of the above examples create a 'counter-narrative' to dominant (racialised, classed, gendered) discourses of 'criminality, 'insecurity', 'unemployment' or 'laziness'. Last but not least, I suggest that Inés' introduction of Batuku as 'art' on page 212 frames the Batukaderas as 'artists', which valorises them and their practice. We will explore these aspects of (self)appreciation and (self)valorisation further in chapter 8.

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[253] *Damaia* refers to the name of the parish in the municipality of *Amadora*, where the *6 de Maio* neighbourhood is located.

7.5 Summary

As I have shown above, notions of absence and presence are complex, processual, multi-layered and interrelated phenomena that can shift depending on the context and positionalities of the people in question.

Throughout this chapter, I have enquired into various manifestations of absence and presence. I have argued that both can be expressed audibly (being silent/silenced, or being heard) or visually (being (in)visible/-ised or seen). I have also discussed the 'problematic presence' of someone or something solely through the lenses of either romanticisation or disapproval. For this, I drew on Katherine McKittrick's analysis of the Canadian context, where

> "the active production of black spaces (…) is necessarily bound up with a contradiction: black Canada is simultaneously invisible and visibly non-Canadian. (…) *if* blackness *is* in fact here—visual, Canadian, historic—it is also criminal and problematically black, or visually un-Canadian" (McKittrick 2006: 99, 101; original emphasis).

She thus highlights the tension between being at once absent and hypervisual, which is conceptually significant for an analysis of Batuku.

Not all forms of agency or resistance require or desire a visual or audible presence (Tyler 2013; Sagmeister 2014; Mutch 2017). In accordance with Caroline Knowles (2013), however, I have emphasised that being (visually and audibly) present matters in the context of Batuku and the lives of many Batukaderas in the AML. When we talk about absences and presences, we need to consider their various dimensions and apply an intersectional approach. In the case of the Batukaderas, this includes particularly their classed, racialised and gendered experiences. The events discussed in this chapter have shown how Batuku as a popular cultural practice is an important tool for challenging and renegotiating postcolonial power relations connected with absences and problematic presences, both of which have spatial/visual and audible manifestations. Batuku can thus be understood as a form of disruption into hegemonic public discourses and (media) representations. Batukaderas assert their presence in certain spaces (becoming 'space invaders' (Puwar 2004)), contest their marginalisation and offer counter-narratives to omnipresent problematic presence and (audible) absences, which persist at many of the events where they

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perform as well as in broader society. They do so by choosing songs that include lyrics about stigmatisation, forced relocation, the strains of their working conditions, and/or by claiming their diasporic positionality as both 'Cape Verdeans' and 'Portuguese'. Additionally, Batuku groups often explain the practice's history of prohibition as well as its historic connection to colonialism and slavery as part of their introduction before or during a performance.

8   *Batuku é nha vida* – On Batuku as (Self)Care

8.1   Introduction

With respect to the general focus of this research, I want to recapitulate that the negotiation of 'diaspora' through Batuku is related to (1) the negotiation of spaces, identities, positionalities, and narratives and (2) the negotiation of (their respective) values and meanings. In this analysis, values and meanings – for instance those regarding notions of 'Cape Verdean diaspora' or 'culture' – are continuously (re)produced and (re)constructed through specific interactions and in specific spaces. Timothy Sieber (2005), for example, interrogates 'Cape Verdean' cultural practices as "a powerful medium for representing, contesting, and negotiating changing cultural identities within shifting global diasporas" (ibid: 123).

Drawing on Brah (1996), I use the term 'negotiation' to argue that diaspora spaces are constituted by postcolonial power relations and by the everyday ways in which people negotiate their space in these racialised, classed, or gendered environments. The term 'negotiation' is not only related to negotiations of power relations or identities but also points to the mutability of these. In this regard, (diasporic) popular cultural practices are often framed as manifestations of resistance to, or contestations of, power relations. As addressed in chapters 3 and 7, this framing also applies to the practice of Batuku in Lisbon and constitutes a principal thematic strand of this thesis.

While chapter 7 analysed more 'visible' and 'audible' manifestations of resistance, this chapter will focus on more 'subtle' or 'covert' ways of challenging 'social abjections' (Tyler 2013).[254] It will therefore address some of the themes above by relating Batuku to notions of 'resistance' and thereby framing it as (self)care. In line with the 'messiness' (Alexander 2004; James 2016) and 'uncertainty' (James 2012) of any research mentioned in chapter 4, I want to note that the

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[254] As explained in more detail in chapter 7, Imogen Tyler (2013) conceptualises 'social abjection' by focusing on what it means to be (made) abject to those affected – the "national abjects" (ibid: 9), those who "repeatedly find (…) [themselves] the object of the other's violent objectifying disgust" (ibid: 4). According to her, the concept is about the "processes through which minoritized populations are imagined and configured as revolting and become subject to control, stigma and censure, and the practices through which individuals and groups resist, reconfigure and revolt against their abject subjectification" (ibid: 3f).

conceptualisation of Batuku as (self)care only developed after the coding process and was not part of my initial theoretical framework. By conceptualising (self)care as a form of resistance, I ask what the Batukaderas are challenging or contesting through their practice in the postcolonial context of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area [AML]. I question this from an intersectional perspective in order to show that meanings and contestations – in the case of Batuku – are gendered, classed, and/or racialised (although other structural categories also come into play at times).

Enquiry into the negotiation of meanings and identities in this chapter is operationalised by looking at why people practice or support Batuku, what they and others connected to the practice like about it, and what their objectives are. In short, it is about the meanings and values ascribed to the practice by the Batukaderas themselves but also by people connected to the practice in various other ways. The chapter predominantly relies on information gathered from interview transcripts, but also draws on themes from song lyrics, notes from Batuku rehearsals or events, as well as some connected narratives in the promotion of Batuku events through social media platforms. When assessing the *in vivo* codes, it became evident that questions about Batuku's meanings and values were generally answered by framing it as a means of (self)valorisation and appreciation, as a kind of solidarity network, as a way of 'doing something that I like', a reason for 'getting' or 'being together', a way of 'unwinding' and 'distracting' oneself from various hardships, or as a moment of 'uplift'. As will become clear throughout the next sections, I understand these various meanings as different aspects of (self)care.

When I speak of the values and meanings of Batuku I use the plural, as Batuku has different values and meanings to everyone involved and I do not mean to imply that there is *one* type or *one* meaning of Batuku.[255] For the 'Cape Verdean elite', for instance, the practice means something very different than for the Batukaderas themselves. Furthermore, Batukaderas themselves have different motivations for practicing Batuku, and these are not static but may change over time. Therefore, there are different values and meanings linked with the practice as well as its spaces.

While chapter 6 distinguished two types of events, namely (1) 'community-related' and (2) 'cultural' ones, this chapter also deals with more 'informal' events, i.e. Batuku meetings or rehearsals. This will show that Batuku involves different

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[255] The plurality of meanings (and objectives) was already highlighted in chapters 6 and 7 too.

aspects of care depending on the kind of event it takes place at. While performances are perhaps more about valorising one's positionalities, rehearsals can be seen as more important for aspects of 'conviviality', 'togetherness', or feelings of 'belonging'. The frequency of rehearsals depends on each group; some have rehearsals every week or biweekly, while others find it more difficult – for various reasons, such as spatial distance between members, or health/work-related absences – to meet regularly. Those that do have fairly frequent meetings or rehearsals, however, also depend on support from third parties to offer a rehearsal room. Most of the groups I interviewed predominantly rehearsed in rooms provided free of charge by social or neighbourhood organisations at the time of the research. Even though I argued in chapter 7 that notions of 'visibility' and 'audibility' matter for understanding Batuku as resisting abjection in certain contexts, this chapter will show that not all acts of 'resistance' rely on the 'visibility' and/or 'audibility' of its actors in order to be framed as such.

8.1.1 Framing of Batuku as 'Therapy'

As mentioned in the State of the Art (chapter 3.2), not much has been published on Batuku in the AML in general. In some of the very few publications, Batuku is framed as 'therapy' when it comes to the meanings and values (or benefits) of the practice to its practitioners. This framing seems to be rather recent and is often proposed by people with backgrounds in psychology, psychotherapy, ethnomusicology or music therapy.

A student group from the Department of Music Therapy at the University Lusíada in Lisbon, for instance, published a seminar paper entitled *"Nos Batuco, Nos Identidadi". The body during an absolute emotional experience* (2012).[256] This paper interprets Batuku as a (music-/dance-)therapy based on research conducted with the group *Finka Pé*, founded and based at the cultural association *Moinho da Juventude* (ACMJ) – *Moinho*, in short.[257] *Moinho* also organised a two-day colloquium entitled *The culture and unconscious collective of colonised peoples* in the AML in April

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[256] The original title of the paper is "'*Nos Batuco, Nos Identidadi*'. O Corpo enquanto vivência absoluta de emoções". The Kriolu '*nos Batuco, nos identidadi*' translates to 'our Batuku, our identity'.
[257] The foundation and role of the *Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude* was briefly addressed in chapter 4.4.2.1.

2016 and self-published a book based on this in October 2017.[258] It is important to note here that one of the co-founders of and activists at *Moinho* has a background in psychology and has been very influential in the framing of Batuku as 'therapy'. When asked about the meaning and importance of Batuku, Inés – introduced earlier in the thesis – explains that

> "it was with the help of Greet Wielemans, who is a psychotherapist, that we managed to frame a little bit that this, what they [the Batukaderas; A/N] do, that it's also therapy. And so we looked at all the elements of therapy that are within Batuku itself, you know. (…) And that also have this therapeutic effect. And then because of the two rhythms, that they make, the *Ban-Ban* and *Rapika*[259], which produce a third rhythm, which is therapeutic. That there is a therapeutic organisation in America, which does therapy only with this, with this fact that, and earns a lot of money with this. And a, it only works with this fact, of having two rhythms which produce a third rhythm, which is therapeutic. And they [the Batukaderas; A/N] have been doing this for centuries, without earning for themselves (…). And then, it's also that they drum … do this with the left and right hand (drums on the table), you know. And this will also stimulate the brain. And which the EMDR, which is also a therapy, the Eye Movement … which also works with this, that we can see that (…) it is used for much more sophisticated therapies, which they, the Batukaderas, have already been doing for centuries" (Int. Inés, 08/11/2016).[260]

This interview excerpt not only underlines how the framing of Batuku as therapy developed at *Moinho* but also that the supporters of the Batuku group link this, among other things, to the musical and rhythmic aspects of the practice. As I will explore, Inés also relates the meaning of Batuku to other 'therapeutic' aspects such as talking about personal problems and (mental) health issues, which informs my analysis of

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[258] The original title of the colloquium in Portuguese was "A cultura e o inconsciente coletivo de povos que foram colonizados".

[259] The two main rhythms, which together produce the unified third pattern (the *Txabeta*), are called *Pan-Pan* (also: *Pam-Pam*, *Ban-Ban*, or *Bam-Bam*) and *Rapikada* (also: *Rapica,* or *Rapika*) (Hurley-Glowa 1997: 120, 125; Tavares 2016: 50). Please see chapter 1.1 for more information on the different elements of Batuku.

[260] The original quote in Portuguese is "foi com o apoio da Greet Wielemans, que é psicoterapeuta, que conseguimos construir um bocadinho que isto, o que elas [as Batukaderas; A/N] fazem, que é também terapia. E pois fomos vendo todos os elementos de terapia que há dentro do próprio Batuku, não é. (…) E que têm também este efeito terapêutico. E depois pelo facto dos dois ritmos, que elas fazem, o *Ban-Ban* e *Rapika*, que faz um terceiro ritmo, que é terapêutico. Que há uma organização terapêutica na América que faz só terapia com isto, com este facto que, e que ganha muito dinheiro com isto. E um, só trabalha com este facto, de ter dois ritmos que fazem um terceiro ritmo, que é terapêutico. E elas [as Batukaderas; A/N] fazem isto há séculos, sem ganhar para elas (…). E depois, é também que elas batem … fazem com a mão esquerda e direita (bate na mesa), não é. E isto vai estimular também o cérebro. E que o EMDR, que é também uma terapia, o Eye Movement … que também trabalha com isto, que a gente vê que (…) é utilizado para as terapias muito sofisticadas, que elas, as Batukaderas, fazem já há séculos".

Batuku as (self)care. The role of *Moinho* in defining Batuku as 'therapy' highlights the need for researchers to question who ascribes what: while some Batukaderas did use the term 'therapy' in interviews, they also often referred to *Moinho*'s role in this regard. It is not clear if they would have used the same term had an influential association like *Moinho* not been as instrumental in developing this narrative.

The ethnomusicologist Jorge Castro Ribeiro conducted research on two Batuku groups in the AML in the 1990s and early 2000s. In his article *Migration, sodade and conciliation: Cape Verdean batuque practice in Portugal* (2010), he addresses Batuku as a source of comfort, as an articulation of feelings of nostalgia [*sodadi*] and as a strategy of conciliation with Portuguese society. This illustrates, as indicated above, the different uses and purposes of Batuku for, and ascribed to, various actors. Castro Ribeiro also addresses the role of music as a 'therapeutic possibility', both on an individual and a collective level, particularly in contexts of migration (ibid: 105). What he refers to as 'comfort' will be taken up in this chapter as part of a wider concept of care, particularly in sections 8.3.2.1 and 8.3.3. In 2012, Castro Ribeiro finished his dissertation entitled *Inquietude, memory and assertion in batuque: Cape Verdean music and dance in Portugal*[261], which explores the role and importance of Batuku as a diasporic practice from a historical, etymological and musical point of view by looking at two Batuku groups in the municipality of *Amadora*. In this work, Castro Ribeiro interprets Batuku as a 'mechanism of social affirmation' and integration, focusing on the dissemination and 'public visibility' of the practice. Here, he also refers to Batuku as a 'therapeutic activity' (ibid: 158). In the following analysis, his understanding of Batuku as 'affirmation', too, resonates with my conceptualisation of Batuku as care, especially in section 8.4.

In spite of the existent framing of Batuku as 'therapy', I do not rely on this concept for my analysis of its values and meanings. In order to make sense of what people were telling me, I use the lens of *care* to conceptualise the various above-mentioned values and meanings of Batuku and its spaces of activity, as I consider it to be a broader, more comprehensive concept than 'therapy'. In addition, I am more interested in feminist, postcolonial, and political approaches than in 'classical' psychological debates (a field that I do not feel qualified to write about). I demonstrate below that notions of togetherness, sociability, solidarity, mutual help,

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[261] The original title in Portuguese is "Inquietação, memória e afirmação no *batuque*: música e dança cabo-verdiana em Portugal".

(self)valorisation and appreciation, uplift, unwinding and pleasure can all be gathered into the concept of (self)care, and linked to notions of 'resistance' or 'agency'. I argue that all of these involve care, both in the sense of caring for each other, as well as self-care.

The term 'self-care' has become a bit of a buzzword in recent years (Mirk 2016; Mahdawi 2017). As Arwa Mahdawi (2017) points out, Google searches for 'self-care' peaked immediately after the election of Donald Trump in November 2016. As with other 'zeitgeisty phrases', this popularity can result in a certain vagueness: "Self-care seems to mean anything and everything: if an activity (or inactivity) makes you feel better, in body or mind, then it's self-care. It could be yoga or cooking or simply turning off the news" (ibid: n/s). This is why I will start this chapter by conceptualising the notions of 'care' and 'self-care' and their various manifestations, and position them as contestations of social abjection. Subsequently, I examine how Batuku can be considered a practice of (self)care in the postcolonial context of the AML, and what the Batukaderas are negotiating and/or contesting through it. This is done in two separate analytical sections and summarised with some concluding remarks. Throughout, I aim to take care not to victimise people's experiences of marginalisation nor romanticise their (counter)strategies or contestations. In line with Samuel Week's (2012a: 9) concluding remarks in his article on 'Cape Verdean' mutual-help practices in the AML, I intend to bring together both aspects by paying attention to postcolonial processes of abjection on the one hand, while emphasising manifestations of resilience, creativity, and agency, on the other.

8.2 On Notions of 'Care' and 'Self-Care'

The following section will address different conceptions of 'care' and 'self-care' and explain why many – including myself – connect these to ideas of 'resistance'. From a sociological or political viewpoint, both concepts are related to analyses of power. This is why many recent studies start with Michel Foucault's theory on the care for the self (Ball & Olmedo 2013; Gallo 2016; Mahdawi 2017; Al-Lawati 2018). According to Foucault's theorisation of the 'Platonic moment', one must "take care of

the self in order to be able to take care of others, and govern others" (Gallo 2016: 6). The subject is thus governed by others and is at the same time governor of her- or himself. This framing is useful for conceptualising Batuku as care, particularly in terms of connecting care for others with care for the self, and hence understanding self-care as a subcategory of care.

Since this chapter focuses on the meanings of (practicing) Batuku, particularly for people experiencing social abjection in the AML, I find Foucault's observations regarding the history and importance of self-care helpful, but only to a certain extent, as he does not explicitly address gendered, classed or racialised power relations. More recent work on the notions of care tries to bring together the analysis of (self)care with an intersectional approach. In line with Joan Tronto's broad definition, I hence understand care as a form of

> "activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment [and that of others; A/N], all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web" (Tronto 1998: 15, cited in Rishbeth & Rogaly 2017: 2).

I argue that this includes both care in the sense of caring for and looking after each other, as well as self-care. Moreover, I understand care as a form of agency or resistance that takes social relations of hegemony into account.[262]

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[262] A framing of care as resistance then depends, of course, on one's definition of the latter. Although an in-depth discussion of my theoretical understanding of the concept of 'resistance' can be found in chapter 3, I want to offer a recap thereof at this point. Foucault argued that the notion of resistance is an inherent aspect of power relations. And, in Avtar Brah's words, "power is (…) at the heart of cultural creativity, of pleasure and desire, of subversion and resistance" (Brah 1996: 239). With Holmer-Nadesan (1996), I also comprehend resistance as the "capacities to draw upon alternative discourses that subvert the privileged position of the dominant system (…)" (ibid: 57). And as Clarke et al. (2006) outline, "the subordinate (…) brings to this 'theatre of struggle' a repertoire of strategies of responses – ways of *coping* as well as of *resisting*" (ibid: 34, my emphasis). As was also shown in the previous chapter, a challenge of or resistance to (intersectional) relationships of power can take various forms; from "sabotage, irony, humour" (Swan & Fox 2010: 575), strikes or demonstrations, to cultural practices, such as "music, art, literary production, cinematic practices, fashion" (Brah 1996: 173). Furthermore, I consider resistance to be both individual and/or collective (Shaw 2001: 193), and not necessarily dependent on intentionality or outcomes (ibid: 195f). Concerning the question of 'in front of whom is this resistance taking place', I want to additionally clarify that I do not understand the potential of popular cultural practices as 'resistance' as being inherently contingent on an 'audience'. Rather, I want to argue that what is special about popular cultural practices such as Batuku (which encompasses not just a musical aspect and which is generally not practiced for monetary reasons), compared to other forms of 'resistance' or 'protest', is precisely its significance as (self)care in the sense of a more 'subtle' or 'covert' challenge (almost like a 'relief mechanism') to systems of social abjection. Many of the just cited more 'subtle' aspects of the conceptualisation of 'resistance' – such as 'coping' through 'irony' or 'humour' – will reappear in my ensuing analysis of Batuku as (self)care as resistance.

Following Nalinie Mooten (2015), I locate my framing of care in a postcolonial, feminist conceptualisation, wherein care can be understood as being grounded "in those practices of human life that are reflective of our dependence on each other" (ibid: 4). Furthermore, she argues that the practice of care includes "values such as listening, patience, trust and being attentive to other's needs (…) compassion, (…), nurturance, responsibility, responsiveness (…)" (ibid: 9). Central to an understanding of care for each other, then, is an "effective listening rather than speaking" (ibid: 10), in terms of "not just hearing the words that are spoken, but being attentive to and understanding the concerns, needs and aims of others in dialogue" (Robinson 2011: 847). Care is thus about care-giving and care-taking in the 'classical' sense (i.e. nursing homes, hospices, community centres, or nurseries) but also includes the myriad of everyday practices through which it is performed (Raghuram et al. 2009). All of this points to several manifestations of (collective) care, which will be highlighted and analysed throughout this chapter with reference to the practice of Batuku, what it means to the Batukaderas, and how this is related to challenges of social abjections.

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, there has been a recent resurgence in the popularity of the notion of 'self-care' – notably right after the US-presidential elections in November 2016 (Jackson 2017; Mahdawi 2017) but also in relation to broader states and feelings of increased competition and overwhelm (Al-Lawati 2018). That self-care is in vogue has led to its growing commodification and it is increasingly criticised that the concept has "become co-opted by market forces and consumerized. You can now buy self-care nail decals and cute self-care kits" (Mahdawi 2017: n/s). Others argue that by using online platforms,

> "self-care is increasingly being presented in distorted ways: as a luxury of sorts (bubble baths, scented candles, (…)), as overindulgence in TV shows or junk food, or as a mentality of self-rewarding hedonism. (…) [but it] should be achievable and accessible, without a trip to the nearest Ikea" (Al-Lawati 2018: n/s).

The self-care trend, however, is also resonating with and being taken up by many social movements and activists, particularly among women of colour.[263] While it is

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[263] For more information in this regard, please consult the following blogs or websites (amongst many others) by Shanesha Brooks-Tatum (2012) - http://thefeministwire.com/2012/11/subversive-self-care-centering-black-womens-wellness/, Evette Dionne (2015) - https://ravishly.com/2015/03/06/radical-

thus important to be aware that "acts of self-care are often simply acts of privilege" (Mahdawi 2017: n/s) and presented "as a luxury of sorts" (Al-Lawati 2018: n/s) or a commodity, I argue that context is important and that in the case of Batuku and many Batukaderas in the AML, self-care is not related to self-indulgence but matters as a political act: it relates to and challenges the ways power is achieved, maintained, and used. This section is therefore concerned with the theorisation of 'care' and 'self-care', how this can be related to notions of 'resistance', and how to conceptualise the connection between the two.

8.2.1   Ideas of (Self)Care as Political

In 1988, Audre Lorde wrote her essay collection *A Burst of Light* in order to highlight the struggle for survival as both a(n intersectional) life struggle and a(n intersectional) political struggle, while she herself was fighting breast cancer. "Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare" (Lorde 1988, cited in Ahmed 2014: n/s) is perhaps the most famous and most cited quote from the book, and points to the larger political significance of self-care. On her blog *feministkilljoys*, Sara Ahmed invokes Lorde's writing to argue that the notion of self-care as a revolutionary act stems from theories of oppression that assert that the societies we live in do not encourage the survival or thriving of certain lives. With Ahmed (2014), we can understand that Lorde was talking about the importance of her personal self-care in a world that not only undermined or denied her sense of self-worth but also tried to erase her selfhood, which encapsulates the fundamentality of the self and what the practice of self-care means. Lorde therein argued against the existent conception that self-care is merely self-indulgence – a criticism that, as mentioned, is still present today (Mahdawi 2017; Al-Lawati 2018).

So how is self-care a radical or resistant action? As Ahmed (2014: n/s) poignantly analyses,

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act-self-care-black-women-feminism, Fatimah Jackson-Best (2016) - https://redforgender.wordpress.com/2016/08/23/radical-self-care-as-resistance-blackfeminisms/, Crystal Walker (2016) - http://www.thehoya.com/self-care-as-an-act-of-resistance/, Reagan Jackson (2017) - http://www.seattleglobalist.com/2017/07/31/documenting-self-care-reagan-jackson/67337 and http://www.seattleglobalist.com/2017/07/18/necessity-black-joy/67335, Lara Witt (2017) - https://wearyourvoicemag.com/more/lifestyle/decolonizing-self-care-resistance.

> "to have some body, to be a member of some group (…) can be a death sentence. When you are not supposed to live, as you are, where you are, with whom you are with, then survival is a radical action (…). Sometimes: to survive in a system is to survive a system".

She thus makes clear that self-care is a form of resistance against systems of social abjection, which I expand on below regarding the case of many Batukaderas. In further illustration, Ahmed states that

> "when a whole world is organised to promote your survival, from health to education, from the walls designed to keep your residence safe, from the paths that ease your travel, you do not have [to] become so inventive to survive. You do not have to be seen as the recipient of welfare because the world has promoted your welfare. (…) Racial capitalism is a health system: a drastically unequal distribution of bodily vulnerabilities. (…) Being poor, being black, puts your life at risk" (ibid).

What can be gathered here is that (self)care can be seen as (self)support in systems of abjection, predominantly those related to racialised, classed, and gendered exclusions. With Ahmed's framing, we can observe that these systems of social abjection take shape in healthcare, education, transport, or housing – applicable to the experiences of many Batukaderas in the AML. By likening her own experience of battling with cancer to her experience of battling against racism, Lorde makes an effective comparison between one's personal health and effects of racism. In doing so, she highlighted

> "how racism can be an attack on the cells of the body, an attack on the body's immune system; the way in which your own body experiences itself as killing itself, death from the outside in. (…) To care for oneself: how to live for, to be for, one's body when you are under attack" (Ahmed 2014: n/s).

Lorde was not the only one to do so as it is now recognised among many – particularly among writers and activists of colour – that "navigating a racist, sexist, homophobic, and classist world is harmful for Black women" (Dionne 2015: n/s). In the United States, for instance, women still reported higher stress levels than men in 2017 (American Psychological Association 2017: n/s)[264] and people of colour report

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[264] I am assuming that this statistic most likely relates to cis-women and cis-men, and that the numbers for trans-women or trans-men might look different.

higher rates of stress than *white* people, which can result in an increased risk of (stress-related) health problems such as heart disease, high blood pressure, diabetes, and strokes (Brody et al. 2014; see also Mirk 2016). The stress of racism, police violence[265] and other forms of structural and socioeconomic oppression – including housing, education, employment and a lack of access to healthcare services – are among the main factors listed for this (Brody et al. 2014; American Psychological Association 2017; see also Mirk 2016). As will be explored, many Batukaderas in the AML refer to their own mental and physical health conditions and their relation to experiences of racism, housing discrimination and employment conditions when reflecting on the meaning of Batuku for them.

Following Audre Lorde and Sara Ahmed, I want to emphasise the importance of intersectionality when discussing notions of (self)care and/or resistance. In the 1995 documentary *A Litany for Survival: The Life and Work of Audre Lorde*, Lorde reflected on her positionality by stating that

> "let me tell you first about what it was like being a Black woman poet in the '60s (…). It meant being invisible. It meant being really invisible. It meant being doubly invisible as a Black feminist woman and it meant being triply indivisible [sic] as a Black lesbian and feminist" (BOMB Magazine 1996: n/s).

Here, Lorde refers to her triple invisibility as a Black lesbian woman. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, I argue that many Batukaderas in the postcolonial context of the AML also experience a triple 'invisibility', exclusion or absence, as discussed in the last chapter, primarily based on their racialised, classed, and gendered experiences as Black, working class women. This chapter therefore analyses how and why the notion of (self)care matters in the case of my research. To do so, I offer an analysis of care in its various forms and expressions; including strategies of 'coping' and 'managing', 'unwinding' and 'switching off', ideas of 'togetherness', 'belonging' and 'community', (self)support and solidarity, and/or self-valorisation and appreciation. This analysis enquires into both collective and individual forms of care, and is informed by the empirical information provided through my research: as indicated in the introduction of this chapter, questions about the meanings and values of Batuku were generally answered by referring to it as a means of (self)valorisation and

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[265] According to a 2017 research, stress over police violence among Black populations in the United States increased from 68% in 2016 to 71% in 2017 (American Psychological Association 2017: n/s).

appreciation, as a kind of solidarity network, as a way of 'doing something that I like', as a reason for 'getting' or 'being together', as a way of 'unwinding' and 'distracting' oneself from various hardships, or as a moment of 'uplift'.

8.2.1.1 Care as Togetherness, Solidarity, Belonging

When it comes to negotiations of 'diaspora', Avtar Brah's (1996) work reminds us that

> "people's sense of belonging in diasporic contexts is forever in the making, and emerges in constant interplay with 'host' cultures (…). (…) [this], therefore, is not just a matter of conviviality and tolerance; it is also one of friction and exclusion" (Sigona et al. 2015: xx).

It is often argued that the idea of (diasporic) 'belonging' is related to a "desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places, or modes of being (…)" (Nelson & Hiemstra 2008: 322). This is also in line with Nira Yuval-Davis' (2006) work, which conceptualises 'belonging' as being "about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home' and (…) about feeling 'safe'" (ibid: 197). As mentioned in chapter 3, negotiations about who 'belongs' to a 'community' are further shaped by intersectional power relations.

As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the coding process revealed references to Batuku as a means of 'getting' or 'being together' by many Batukaderas as well as by supporters of Batuku groups. These references were made through the Portuguese terms *conviver* [being together, living together] or *juntar-se* [getting together]. For my research, I thus refer to Batuku as a form of (self)care connected to a kind of 'conviviality' – a network of solidarity and (self)support, as well as a space of 'togetherness' related to socialising and generating feelings of friendship and/or 'belonging' to a 'community'. These various spaces of care as 'togetherness' also tie in with the idea of 'safe spaces', which I will address in more detail in section 8.3.3.1.

'Conviviality' or 'sociability' in the sense of 'togetherness' are related both to notions of care and self-care. There is thus an understanding of individuality as well as collectivity involved in this conception. Care in the collective sense (i.e. care for each other) can challenge romanticisations of individualism by emphasising the idea

of solidarity or support. Yet, this is not an either/or question because self-care is generally seen as a vital condition of the care for others.[266] Notions of resistance come into play when we consider the conceptualisation of (self)care as (self)preservation in contexts of social abjection by Audre Lorde. 'Convivial encounters' are frequently framed as "congenial; developing familiarity, reciprocity, warmth, friendship and trust" (Nayak 2016: 291), which gains importance – as I will show in the case of many Batukaderas – in experiences of social abjection that affect one's mental and physical health (which, as mentioned, has everything to do with the Batukaderas' racialised, gendered, and classed positionalities).

8.2.1.2   Care & Self-appreciation

Leisure practices are often considered part of (popular) cultural practices (Shaw 1994). In this chapter, I understand leisure practices or – in the case of my research – popular cultural practices as spaces in which care happens. According to Susan Shaw (2001), who has done a lot of research on leisure and gender, "through such activities as sports, social activities and celebrations, as well as media activities, (…) leisure practice is seen to reproduce, but also sometimes to *resist, dominant ideologies*" (ibid: 189, my emphasis). The idea of the connection between popular cultural practices and resistance is hence also based on the premise that they are linked to (intersectional) power relations and further addresses their potential political significance.

Consequently, Shaw's conceptualisation implies that popular cultural practices have the potential to challenge (ascribed) narratives, categorisations, or spaces. While much of the research on leisure and its potential effects on society addresses the potential risks of reproducing "unequal access to power and resources" (ibid: 188) or reinforcing existing ideologies (Du 2008: 179), there is an increasing amount of work on leisure and popular culture as a source of self-expression, identity and self-esteem (ibid: 180; Shaw 2001: 191). Related to this, I understand Batuku as a space of (self)care and argue that this is connected to aspects such as self-valorisation, self-confidence, self-esteem, self-worth, or self-affirmation. These manifestations will be highlighted for the case of Batuku and addressed in section 8.4.

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[266] The ambivalence of the – gendered, racialised, classed – (expectation and ascription for the) care for others and the idea of care for the self will also be (critically) addressed in sections 8.3.2 and 8.4.

8.3   Care in the AML

Following Audre Lorde's notion of self-care, and Sara Ahmed's reflections on it, I argue that Batuku in the postcolonial context of the AML is an inventive action by the Batukaderas against a system that is not organised to promote their welfare. In this kind of system of social abjection, resistance is not always about contestations in terms of an "exercise of public political activity" (Ball & Olmedo 2013: 85), but also about more "mundane" (ibid) or "ordinary ways of coping with injustices" (Ahmed 2014: n/s). Ahmed argues that this requires resourcefulness, and that "when you have less resources you might have to become more resourceful. Of course: the requirement to become more resourceful is part of the (…) injustice of a system that distributes resources unequally" (ibid). As I will argue with Ahmed (2014) for the case of many Batukaderas, sometimes this resourcefulness takes the form of 'getting by', 'managing' or 'coping with' (ibid: n/s) and within a system of social abjection. While this is occasionally criticised as not actually "attending to structural inequalities" (Ahmed 2014: n/s) or even as acts of privilege or self-indulgence (Mahdawi 2017; Al-Lawati 2018), I agree with Ahmed (2014: n/s) when she writes that "of course: becoming resourceful is not system changing even if it can be life changing (although maybe, just maybe, a collective refusal not to not exist can be system changing)". This points to the fact that care can be considered both an individual and a collective form of resistance.

As well as analysing (self)care in the form of (1) 'managing' or 'coping' (Ahmed 2014), I also argue in this section of the chapter that – in the case of many Batukaderas – this is expressed through what I refer to (2) as 'unwinding' or 'switching off' as well as through (3) acts of (self)support and solidarity. While these manifestations of (self)care will be separated for the sake of analysis, I hope to demonstrate throughout the chapter that they are, in fact, often interrelated and occur simultaneously.

8.3.1   Care as 'Coping' or 'Managing'

In accordance with Alida Payson (2018) and her exploration of Sianne Ngai's work

(2007), I argue that Batuku as (self)care in terms of 'coping' and 'managing' is also related to expressing and processing 'ugly feelings', i.e. feelings of being upset or agitated. As mentioned, analysing the practice of Batuku reveals that this is generally done by 'being together' [*conviver*] and sharing stories, either via talk or by singing certain lyrics. This indicates the important role togetherness and storytelling play when it comes to understanding Batuku as a form of 'coping' or 'managing' and, accordingly, of (self)care.

> "Basically, the songs of Batuku, it's exactly that, you know. It's, basically, [to] deal with everyday topics, of the life of each of the women. Family questions, also political questions. Ultimately, it is a way of expressing (pause) that which, which are our concerns. Yes" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[267]

In this excerpt from my interview with the Batuku group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral* from the *6 de Maio* neighbourhood (parish of *Falagueira-Venda Nova* / municipality of *Amadora*) – which is currently being demolished – the importance of togetherness and storytelling for 'coping' or 'managing' becomes apparent. This is expressed, among other things, through some of the song lyrics. The group *Strela de Bela Vista*, which is based in the parish of *Cacém* in the municipality of *Sintra*, for example, has a song entitled *Pretu Ku Cigano*.[268] The song deals with precarious labour conditions, the lack of documents and *sodadi di nha téra* [longing for my country].[269] One of its verses includes the lines *o povo d'Africa, nhos nomi dja da jornal, notisia tristi kontra pretu ku cigano, ami ma nada n ka odja diferensa kor di pele, si korta um bokadinho tudo sangue são igual* [African people, your name made the news, sad news against *pretos* and *ciganos*, I didn't see any difference in skin colour, if you cut a little bit all blood is the same].[270] When asked about topics they sing about, one of the members of the group refers to this very song and explains that

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[267] The original quote in Portuguese is "No fundo, as músicas do Batuku, é isso mesmo, não é. É, no fundo, tratar temas do cotidiano, da vida de cada uma das senhoras. As questões familiares, questões políticas também. No fundo é uma forma de expressar (pausa) aquilo que, que são nossas preocupações. Sim".

[268] In Kriolu (the native language on Cape Verde), the former literally translates to 'Black' – although the term *preto* in Portuguese is generally used in a derogatory way – and the letter is the Portuguese term generally applied to Romani people, although the literal translation is often used in derogatory ways as well and shall thus not be reproduced here.

[269] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGWFKVrt5X4

[270] I have decided to leave both *cigano* and *preto* untranslated here as both have derogatory meanings – and are often used as racist slurs – in English, which I do not want to reproduce.

> "There are lyrics. Topics. Like that song that I was singing (…). That is a racism thing. Person that is racist. You meet a person, they say 'ah she is *preto*'. (…) That's indeed racism. We already (pause) see many things like this happen. Those people that I said '*cigano*', do you already know *cigano*, what is a *cigano*? They are the same, as Cape Verdeans. You know they live like this, walk like this. Many people say 'ah it seems like a person that is a *cigano*, seems like [a] person that is *preto*', and so on" (Int. Maria, 14/01/2017).[271]

Maria refers to experiences of racism that people of colour, in this case Cape Verdeans and Romani, face in the context of the AML. In the course of the interview, she told me that she and her sister decided to write this song in order to convey these shared experiences or 'ugly feelings' (Ngai 2007). This example thus not only illustrates moments of solidarity between different marginalised groups but also highlights the importance of self-care through Batuku as a way of 'coping with' or 'managing' experiences of racism through storytelling.

In another example, I was invited to a rehearsal of the Batuku group *Flor da Vida* in January 2017, which took place at the small clubhouse of a neighbourhood association in *Casal da Boba*, the neighbourhood in the parish of *São Brás* / municipality of *Amadora* where the group was founded in 2015.

> "They discuss the lyrics of another one of their songs to the *Presidenti di Amadora*. From what I understand (they are mostly speaking Kriolu) they are talking about the choice of words. The nephew of one of the group's founders, a neighbourhood activist, explains to me that they all used to live in *Fontaínhas* and that their homes were demolished and they were relocated to this neighbourhood, where they have to live 'like in a ghetto'. The *Câmara* [council] does not (take) care for/of anything here. This song is dedicated to the president of the council of *Amadora*, he's the one who has sent them here to live like 'animals' and they want him to listen to them. They are discussing whether or not the use of the word 'animals' in the song is too harsh. The nephew and neighbourhood activist advocates for the wording. He argues that Batuku is an intervention, a protest, a report and an account of their problems and the truth about their lives here" (Observation Prot. 29/01/2017).

As discussed in previous chapters, neoliberal urbanisation projects, which mainly

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[271] The original quote in Portuguese is "Tem letras. Temas. Como aquela música que eu estava a cantar (…). Aquele é coisa de racismo. Pessoa que é racista. Encontras com uma pessoa, diz 'ah ela é preta'. (…) É racismo mesmo. Já a gente (pausa) vê muita coisa assim a acontecer. Aquelas pessoas que eu disse 'cigano', já conheces o cigano, o que é que é cigano? Cigano é igual, como o Cabo-verdiano. Sabes que mora assim, anda assim. Muitas pessoas dizem 'ah parece como um pessoa que é cigano, parece como [uma] pessoa que é preta', isso mais aquilo".

started in the early 1990s, represented a major incursion into the lives of mostly migrant communities of colour; entire neighbourhoods were torn down in the name of 'health measures' and 'modernisation' and their residents relocated to so-called *bairros sociais* [social neighbourhoods] (Pardue 2012b: 3). Among the many neighbourhoods that were demolished was *Fontaínhas,* which gained prominence through the Portuguese filmmaker Pedro Costa's acclaimed film trilogy. This 'improvised', predominantly 'Cape Verdean' neighbourhood was located at the *Portas de Benfica* – two former tollhouses – in the *Benfica* parish / municipality of *Lisboa*, almost 'at the doors' of 'central' Lisbon. Most of its residents were relocated to today's – more marginal – *Casal da Boba* neighbourhood. The demolition of *Fontaínhas* was part of PER, the *Programa Especial de Realojamento* [Special Rehousing Programme], "a project initiated in 1993 sponsored by the Portuguese state and European Union agencies to eradicate the 'tin can "hoods"' (*bairro de lata*) from Portugal's main cities (…) by the year 2000" (Pardue 2014b: 317, original emphasis). It is claimed that the main goal of PER was and is to "efficiently relocate approximately 130,000 people living in unregulated, non-standard, poorly serviced communities to places with stable infrastructure" (ibid: 317f).[272]

The above note that I took after attending the Batuku rehearsal illuminates several things. It becomes clear that the Batukaderas of the group *Flor da Vida* are articulating their frustration and anger – their 'ugly feelings' (Ngai 2007) – about the injustices imposed on them, including forced resettlements, increased marginalisation, lack of infrastructure and precarious housing conditions (expressed through comparisons made to living in a 'ghetto' and like 'animals'). Later that day, I was invited to the house of one of the founders of the same group, who had initially also invited me to come to the rehearsal. After dinner, she and one of her colleagues talked about Batuku and did a short, spontaneous demonstration of a few more songs. They drummed the rhythm on the dining table and stopped now and again to explain the topics.

> "They tell me that in the first song they sing *liberdade ... já não aguentamos mais* ('liberty … we cannot bear it anymore'). They tell me that it deals with children who don't have Portuguese citizenship and how those who have money will always get it. The second song talks about *refugiados pequenos ... chegam na fronteira e os governos não deixam entrar* ('small refugees …

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[272] Please see chapter 5 for more in-depth information on PER.

they arrive at the border and the governments won't let them enter')"
(Observation Prot. 29/01/2017).

The Batukaderas of *Flor da Vida* thus disclose other hurtful histories, in this case related to racist and classist citizenship and border regimes. The first song, called *Recebem documentos só quem tem dinheiro* [Only those who have money receive documents], was also performed at an event organised by the neighbourhood association of *Casal da Boba* (where the Batukaderas usually rehearse) as part of the ongoing campaign *Outra Lei da Nacionalidade* [Another Nationality Law], which is predominantly headed and organised by Black activists throughout the AML.[273]

In our conversation after their rehearsal, the Batukaderas from *Flor da Vida* also critique their relocation to – according to PER – "places with stable infrastructure" (Pardue 2014b: 317f) and their resultant increased marginality, peripherality and sense of isolation.

> "They say that they are not happy with the conditions here, the *Câmara* [council] does not fix anything. *Fontaínhas* was close to *Benfica* and therefore closer to Lisbon. They also talk about how the rent here is very expensive and that all the bills for light, electricity etc. are not included. They have the bus services but they are much further away from work than before. They also talk about the fact that they feel more isolated here, everybody always has their doors closed. But in *Fontaínhas*, everybody had their doors open and the *convivência* [coexistence] was much better. (…) After dinner, Iolanda says that she will accompany me to the bus stop. The staircase is semi-open, it seems unfinished. She tells me that she has already inquired at the *Câmara* numerous times for the staircase to be closed because it is very cold and wet due to the wind and the rain. She says that several people have already slipped, fallen and injured themselves. But the *Câmara* does not do anything, perhaps they will just have to fix it themselves" (Observation Prot. 29/01/2017).

In line with Ahmed (2014), the above examples clearly show that

> "talking about personal feelings is not necessarily about deflecting attention from structures. If anything, (…) [it is] the opposite: not addressing certain histories that hurt, histories that get to the bone, how we are affected by

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[273] As explained in more detail in section 2.3.1, the Portuguese National Assembly passed a new Nationality Law in 1981, which implemented a shift from the previous principle of *ius solis* [right of the soil] to *ius sanguinis* [right of the blood]. In early 2017, a group of young, predominantly Black activists started a campaign and petition against this Nationality Law: https://www.facebook.com/pg/Campanha-por-outra-Lei-da-Nacionalidade-718352675008921 [accessed: 09/08/2020]. For more information, please see: https://www.publico.pt/2017/02/09/sociedade/noticia/dezassete-grupos-pedem-nacionalidade-para-quem-nasce-em-portugal-1761187 [accessed: 09/08/2020].

what we come up against, is one way of deflecting attention from structures (…). Not the only way, but one way" (ibid: n/s).

The two above-cited excerpts speak to the notion that (self)care is not always or necessarily related to 'positive' feelings, and that "a concern with histories that hurt is not (…) a backward orientation: to move on, you must make this return" (Ahmed 2007/2008: 135). (Self)care in the sense of 'coping' or 'managing' is hence, inter alia, related to the sharing of, talking (or singing) about and therein processing of feelings, concerns or experiences – some of which include 'ugly feelings' (Ngai 2007) – in communal spaces. Therefore, (self)care in contexts of social abjection becomes about the care for a broader 'self' in the sense of 'belonging' and 'community'. Following Yuval-Davis' (2006), I have argued that 'belonging' is "about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home' and (…) about feeling 'safe'" (ibid: 197). As addressed in the conceptualisation of (self)care of the previous section, togetherness is related to notions of care (for others) as well as of self-care. I argue that this includes ideas of solidarity and (self)support, which will be highlighted in more detail on the following pages.

When, during our interview, the singer Amália reflects on the objectives of the Batukaderas for founding a group, she explains that

> "the women created the group, because they wanted to meet. Because it [Batuku; A/N] is a way of exorcising the bad things that happen day by day. People are together, and (pause) and play, and sing. And Batuku being this motivation. It is a way of exorcising, you got up at 5 in the morning and (pause)…" (Int. Amália, 07/12/2016).[274]

This quote makes apparent the importance of Batuku as a space to meet ('togetherness') and as a means of 'unwinding' as well as 'exorcising' the 'ugly feelings' related to labour conditions (hinted at by Amália's reference to 'getting up at 5 in the morning').

The acknowledgement of and 'coping' with 'ugly feelings' as (self)care through Batuku appears with many different groups and is expressed through a variety of themes. This ranges from moments of grief related to the death of family members

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[274] The original quote in Portuguese is "As mulheres criaram o grupo, porque elas queriam encontrar-se. Porque é uma forma de exorcizar as coisas más que acontecem no dia-a-dia. As pessoas estarem juntas, e (pausa) e tocarem, e cantarem. E ser o Batuku, essa motivação. É uma forma de exorcizar, levantaste às 5 de manhã e (pausa)…".

or worrying about one's children, to the frustrations and strains cited above resulting from racist, sexist, and classist systems of social abjection (taking shape through racist incidents, housing discrimination, or employment conditions). In our interviews, many Batukaderas volunteer understandings of the positive value of Batuku for their own mental wellbeing. In this regard, many of them refer to (mental) health conditions and how Batuku has helped them 'survive', 'cope with' or 'manage'.

> "Once I had a profound depression (…). At the time I always stayed at home, I was always sad. I woke up nervous, shaking. It was with Batuku that I healed myself. I also took medicine, which helped, but Batuku was the big medication because it made me leave the house and my sadness" (Nha Ida, in Finka Pé 2016: 41).[275]

By openly talking about her depression and how Batuku has helped her, the Batukadera links the benefit of practicing Batuku with people's mental health conditions, highlighting it as a means of (self)care and (self)healing. According to Jane Du (2008), spaces of leisure – such as popular cultural practices – can be beneficial and contribute to "people's ability to cope with the stress of negative life events" (ibid: 180).

After their rehearsal, when asked about what Batuku means to them, various members of the already mentioned group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral* also respond by volunteering their understanding of the positive value of Batuku for their own mental wellbeing.

> "B1: I, Batuku for me (pause) apart from my children (pause) Batuku is in the first place. Because I had [a] depression, I believe that [what] cured me was Batuku. (pause) That's why I and Batuku, as long as I am alive (pause) I am not thinking about giving up. Because there is, while I was depressed, I took so much medication, so much medication, (…) that at night (pause) I went to bed, instead of sleeping, I was (…) flying. (…) I had a godfather, who is my younger daughter's godfather, and it was him who brought me here. (…) I don't intend on leaving so quickly.
> B2: Batuku is a therapy that helps many people with psychological problems, because it already healed many people. [She] is not the first one. I also have a cousin, she was ill. Ill so that she didn't (…) didn't do anything,

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[275] The original quote in Portuguese is "Uma vez tive uma grande depressão (...). Nessa altura ficava sempre em casa, estava sempre triste. Acordava nervosa, a tremer. Foi com o batuque que me curei. Também tomei remédios, que ajudaram, mas o batuque foi grande medicamento porque me fazia sair de casa e da minha tristeza".

stayed in bed. Batuku healed her. (pause) Batuku healed her" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[276]

Here again, the Batukaderas frame Batuku as a practice of (self)care and (self)healing in cases of mental health problems, specifically depression. This excerpt also points to the connection between mechanisms of 'coping' or 'managing' and finding ways to 'unwind' or 'switch off', which I will turn to in the following section of the chapter.

As well as the song lyrics, the notions of 'giving life' and 'healing' – and thereby the connection of Batuku to (self)care – also came to the fore when looking at the names that some Batuku groups have chosen in order to (re)present themselves and what they do. From all of the Batuku groups I interacted with in the AML and interviewed for this research, I will now list and analyse those that I consider revealing for an understanding of Batuku as (self)care. Other group names were listed and analysed in chapter 6.

One of the groups that had many performances during my stay is called *Ramedi Terra* (sometimes spelled as *Ramedy Terra*). The word *ramedi* in Kriolu literally translates to 'remedy' or 'medicine'. The group was founded in 2013 by the chairwomen of the AMCDP, the *Associação de Mulheres Cabo-verdianas na Diáspora em Portugal* [Association of Cape Verdean Women in the Diaspora in Portugal], a volunteer-run, non-profit association, and is based in the *Outurela/Portela* neighbourhood in the parish of *Carnaxide e Queijas* / municipality of *Oeiras*.

By pairing the terms *remédio* (Portuguese for 'remedy' or 'medicine') and *terra* ('earth', 'land', 'soil' or 'country') in their name, the group references notions of '(natural) medicine' coming from the 'soil' or 'ground'. Arguably, they thus situate Batuku within discourses of 'healing' or 'therapy' and point to its importance for their own (mental) health and wellbeing.

Another group name that illustrates similar negotiations is that of the already

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[276] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: Eu, o Batuku para mim (pausa) tirando os meus filhos (pausa) o Batuku está em primeiro lugar. Porque eu tive [uma] depressão, eu acho que [o que] me curou foi o Batuku. (pausa) Por isso e o Batuku, enquanto estou viva (pausa) não penso em desistir. Porque tem, enquanto eu tinha depressão, tomei tantos medicamentos, tantos medicamentos, (…) que eu à noite (pausa) eu ia para cama, em vez de dormir, eu ficava (…) a voar. (…) Tive um compadre meu, que é o padrinho da minha filha mais nova, e foi ele que me trouxe para aqui. (…) Não tenho ideia de sair tão rápido. / B2: Batuku é uma terapia, que ajuda muitas pessoas com problemas psicológicos, porque já curou muitas pessoas. [Ela] já não é a primeira. Eu tenho uma prima também, estava doente. Doente que ela não (…) não fazia nada, ficava na cama. Batuku curou ela. (pausa) Batuku curou ela".

mentioned group *Flor da Vida* [Flower of Life]. When asked about who chose their name and why, some members reply that

> "We were the ones who registered our group name. (…) Because every group has a name … We chose [it] because we liked it, we tried … we thought it was neat … we thought that it is a lively thing, *Flor da Vida* is something … that gives life, so we thought it was neat and we put the name *Flor da Vida*" (Int. Iolanda/Isabela/Mafalda, 26/02/2017).[277]

Here, too, articulations of *terra* in the sense of 'earth', 'soil' or 'nature' become apparent, as represented by the choice of the word *flor* [flower]. By describing Batuku as 'giving life' [*dá vida*] to them, the three group members articulate similar notions of life, earth, nature and sustenance as *Ramedi Terra*. I read these ascriptions as yet another indication of the 'healing' and 'uplifting' effect of Batuku, and hence the health benefits that many practitioners ascribe to the practice. As mentioned in chapter 6, this is also related to bell hooks' (2009) association of 'soil' with a "source of life" (ibid: 34) and of having a 'connection with the earth' as being "life-affirming" (ibid: 36), which can in turn result in a sense of "personal (…) well-being" (ibid). I argue that this is therefore an additional reference to the framing of Batuku as (self)care.

8.3.2   Care as 'Unwinding' or 'Switching Off'

> "F: I think that Batuku, in the diaspora, is very important for women. Because (pause) Batuku was important for women on Cape Verde at the time Batuku was born, (…). Because it is a way of unwinding, of (pause) how shall I say? Because it is normally the women who take care of the house, they go to the stream to wash clothes, they go to fetch water, these things. So they will release their feelings (…) through music. (…) And in the diaspora I think that this is very, very important, because (pause) here, the women immigrate, they limit [themselves], only this daily routine. Work, home, visit, mass. Like this. But there are still women who, who like it, they want to, but they can't go because (pause) there are those who still condemn Batuku, that it is a profane activity, and I don't know what, and many things like this, because Batuku was prohibited in the past, as you must already know. (…) So, and there are still people with the mind that this

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[277] The original quote in Portuguese is "Nós é que registamos o nosso nome do grupo. (…) Porque cada grupo tem um nome ... Escolhemos porque gostamos, tentamos … achamos giro … achamos que é uma coisa viva, *Flor da Vida* é uma coisa … que dá vida, então achamos uma coisa gira e nós pusemos o nome *Flor da Vida*".

practice is a practice (laughing) that must not be, that I don't know what. Even on the part of religion, especially.

HS: Here … in Portugal as well.

F: Yes. Yes. On the part of the church, there are priests that (pause) reject … this practice.[278] (…) Now, and from all of this, there is a resistance. Because we want to continue (pause) and give more emphasis to our culture, that's why, still, yes" (Int. Fernanda, 07/11/2016).[279]

When asked about what Batuku means to her, Fernanda – a Batukadera who founded her own group – affirms the importance of the practice as a means to 'unwind'; both on Cape Verde and in a diasporic context. This quote contains numerous references to self-care. It becomes clear in Fernanda's statement that there is a connection between articulations of gender, employment and domestic work as well as care for others when she refers to women 'normally taking care of the house, washing clothes, fetching water'. She then links this to the value of Batuku as a means to 'unwind', 'relax', or 'switch off' from this 'daily routine' of 'work, home, visits, mass', therein framing it as a practice of self-care. Finally, she comments on the fact that some Batukaderas continue to face obstacles nowadays because Batuku is still considered 'profane' by many. By denouncing this and practicing Batuku anyway, its practitioners are thus resisting this condemnation by valorising and 'emphasising their culture'.

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[278] The role and importance of religion and the church in many Batukaderas lives is quite ambiguous. All Batukaderas I interacted with were religious, yet many were also aware of the history of prohibition during colonialism and the continuation of some condemning attitudes nowadays. A further exploration of this topic, however, is not at the core of my research interest and would also go beyond the scope of this thesis.

[279] The original quote in Portuguese is "F: Eu acho Batuku, na diáspora, é muito importante para as mulheres. Porque (pausa) Batuku foi importante para as mulheres em Cabo Verde na altura que nasceu o Batuku, (…). Porque é uma forma de desanuviar, de (pausa) como é que eu digo? Porque, as mulheres normalmente é que tomam conta da casa, vão à ribeira lavar a roupa, vão buscar água, essas coisas. Então vão soltando os sentimentos (…) através da música. (…) E na diáspora eu acho muito, muito importante, é isso, porque (pausa) aqui, as mulheres imigram, limitam, só aquela rotina diária. Trabalho, casa, visita, missa. Assim. Mas ainda há mulheres que, que gostam, querem, mas não podem ir porque (pausa) há quem ainda condena o Batuku, que é uma atividade profana, não sei que, não sei que, e muita coisa, assim, porque Batuku já deve saber que, antigamente foi proibida. (…) Então, e ainda há pessoas com o mente que essa prática é uma prática (ri) que não pode ser, que não sei que, não sei que. Até sobre tudo da parte religiosa. / HS: Aqui … em Portugal também. / F: Sim. Sim. Da parte da igreja, há padres que (pausa) repudiam … essa prática. (…) Agora, e de tudo isso, há uma resistência. Porque queremos continuar (pausa) e dar mais ênfase à nossa cultura por isso que, ainda, sim".

As mentioned, Batuku in the AML is often also framed as 'therapy'. This is made clear from the following note taken after I attended a performance by *Finka Pé* at the *Museu do Oriente* [Museum of the Orient].[280]

"The presenter comes onstage again and tells the audience about the different Batuku events that are happening. He talks about the colloquium that took place at the *Museu de Etnologia* [Ethnology Museum] in April. There were, among others, two psychologists present, who declared that Batuku is an important tool for the women's wellbeing, against depressions and loneliness. It is important for their mind and physical health. Because they often meet not only to practice Batuku but also to talk about different things. It is thus a form of music therapy. He states that these are the women who get up at 5am every day to work as housekeepers or who clean offices. They come home at around 9pm and then clean at home, cook, take care of their children and/or grandchildren" (Observation Prot. 11/09/2016).

This excerpt makes explicit the negotiation of Batuku as 'therapy' from a psychological perspective. Onstage, the presenter makes reference to the Batukaderas' gendered and classed positionalities and comments on the strain that the related ascriptions of labour and care for others have on them. In doing so, he addresses similar issues to Fernanda in the previous interview excerpt. By talking about the risk of depression and isolation and framing Batuku as 'important for the women's wellbeing, their mind and physical health', he emphasises its role as (self)care in the sense of 'unwinding'. These two examples highlight some of the aspects of (self)care and resistance that will be addressed subsequently.

At this point, I want to briefly address some contradictions found in caring practices. As hinted at through several of the cited examples above, care in a collective sense can be considered both part of oppressive, gendered power structures and a form of contestation. There is an ambivalent and contradictory undertone to the gendered framing of housework or domestic work as care for others, which is mentioned both by Fernanda (page 238f) and the presenter who introduces *Finka Pé* in the excerpt above, and which will mentioned in more depth in section 8.4 of this chapter.

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[280] Thinking back to the introduction of this chapter, we can remember that the supporters of the group as well as the association where *Finka Pé* was founded (*Moinho da Juventude*) were influential in framing Batuku as 'therapy' in the AML.

In our interview, Maria from the group *Strela de Bela Vista* talks about another member of her group and how Batuku plays a role in 'giving life' or 'uplifting' in moments of difficulties.

> "M: And the oldest person still has the most soul for Batuku. Didn't you see this lady called [Nanda]. (pause) Didn't you see that she doesn't stop. She always keeps dancing. (…) She doesn't stop. She has soul for Batuku.
> HS: Yes. And the younger ones sometimes…
> M: More low, more calm. But not her, she likes Batuku. (…) she says 'look, the week that I don't go to rehearsal, that I won't drum, I become ill'. She always says this. So her son says 'mum, sing, dance, do what you like'. If she likes it, she has to do it" (Int. Maria, 14/01/2017).[281]

Here, Maria relates notions of Batuku as (self)care to the practitioners' (mental) health conditions and, in addition, brings up the generational aspect when it comes to the importance of Batuku. Other Batukaderas explain the meaning of Batuku to them in similar ways. Some members of the group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral* phrase it as "B1: Batuku is conviviality, it's good soul, it's good. / B2: It is. Batuku is for me (pause) it's everything of life" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[282] This quote also points to the interconnectedness of togetherness ('conviviality') and moments of 'uplift' as well as 'life' within Batuku. Ana and Maria (from the group *Strela de Bela Vista*), similarly, say that "in my opinion, Batuku is my life. (…) Batuku is my, it is my world. (pause) Batuku inspires me, takes away sadness, I feel happy, feel happy. I can be sad, sad, sad, sad. But when I am with Batuku, I forget everything" (Int. Ana, 30/10/2016)[283], or that

> "Batuku to me is everything. Everything, everything. Batuku is, it moves my soul. (…) Already if I stay at home for a long time, I don't go to Batuku, I become sad. But, Batuku moves me, moves my soul. I like it, I really like it. I adore Batuku. Batuku to me is everything" (Int. Maria, 14/01/2017).[284]

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[281] The original quote in Portuguese is "e a pessoa mais velha ainda tem mais alma pelo Batuku. Não viste aquela senhora que chama [Nanda]. (pausa) Não viste que ela não para. Ela fica sempre a dançar. (…) Ela não para. Ela tem alma pelo Batuku. / HS: Sim. E as mais novas as vezes… / M: Mais baixinho, mais calminho. Mas ela não, ela gosta de Batuku. (...) ela diz 'olha na semana que eu não vou ao ensaio, que não vou batucar, eu fico doente'. Ela diz assim sempre. Então, o filho dela diz 'mãe, canta, dança, faz o que quer'. Se gosta, tem que fazer".

[282] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: Batuku é convívio, é boa alma, é bom. / B2: É. Batuku é para mim (pausa) é tudo da vida".

[283] The original quote in Portuguese is "Na minha opinião Batuku é minha vida. (…) Batuku é minha, é o meu mundo. (pausa) Batuku me inspira, me tira tristeza, eu sinto alegre, sinto alegre. Eu posso estar triste, triste, triste, triste, triste. Mas quando estou na Batuku, eu esqueço tudo".

[284] The original quote in Portuguese is "Batuku para mim é tudo. Tudo, tudo. Batuku é, mexe com a minha alma. (...) Já quando tenho muito tempo em casa, não vou batucar, fico triste. Mas, Batuku mexe

By equating the practice of Batuku with 'life', 'world' and 'everything', Ana and Maria illustrate the value it has to them. Furthermore, their references to Batuku as taking or keeping away sadness and bringing happiness, and helping to 'forget everything', are indications of (mental) health conditions – possibly connected to experiences of social abjection – and the importance of Batuku as (self)care in the sense of 'unwinding', 'distracting' and 'switching off'. As Ahmed (2014) – following Audre Lorde – elaborates, 'coping' and 'managing', and – as I argue – finding ways of 'unwinding' and 'uplifting' oneself in a world that is not organised for one's survival, a world where "racial capitalism is a health system" (ibid: n/s), becomes a 'radical action' and, accordingly, a way of resisting and challenging (postcolonial) forms of abjection.

When asked about the significance of Batuku to them, many Batukaderas respond in similar ways. Below, I want to offer just a few of the numerous examples, which speak to the connectedness of the various manifestations of (self)care.

"Unity, we stay united, we enjoy ourselves, we distract ourselves. (…) Which is something that gives life to people, you know. It is a joy, (…) it is like this, you don't remain in solitude. It's as if, people leave their shells, then go there, then encounter the others, we get together. (…) We go [to Batuku; A/N] because we like it. We like to get together and, well, it soon takes away many thoughts from our heads, the sadness, if someone is ill. (…) And well, it is (pause) it brings another life, another life to individuals. I think that it is, it is another life" (Int. Iolanda/Isabela/Mafalda, 26/02/2017).[285]

"B1: We can sometimes be sad and have bad thoughts in our head and we are here together, doing Batuku and singing and I don't know what, (…) I already forgot the past …
B2: We arrive at home a little lighter (laughs)
B1: … from the sadness that we have on our minds here. That's already a good thing" (ibid).[286]

"At the moment when I go to Batuku it seems like the head becomes lighter. It is a relief because since I work in a house, I take care of small children, I hardly ever go outside and Batuku is a good moment. Because I am with my colleagues and when we are there it seems as if the problems have left. And when we return home we arrive comforted" (Nha Ida, in Finka Pé 2016: 41).[287]

"Batuku is important for me. When I am stressed, Batuku helps me to unwind. I like to dance the *torno*.[288] I feel an enormous happiness, I don't even know how to explain it. I like to challenge people to dance with me. It provides a lot of happiness to dance in dialogue" (Tchuca, in Finka Pé 2016: 85).[289]

"(…) it [Batuku; A/N] is also the way to ease the stress a little bit, forget the problems behind while we are here collectively, being together, we don't remember the problems of life, of (pause) it's like that" (Int. Ester/Filomena, 12/02/2017).[290]

In these excerpts, the Batukaderas all elucidate several aspects of Batuku as (self)care, emphasising the interconnection between these. Utterances such as 'unity', 'united', 'escaping solitude', 'getting together', 'encountering others', 'being with colleagues', 'in dialogue' or 'collectively' all indicate the significance of 'togetherness'. Additionally, by associating these aspects of 'togetherness' with 'enjoying', 'distracting', 'taking away thoughts', 'forgetting the past' or 'problems', 'feeling more light' and 'comforted' or 'easing stress', the Batukaderas point out the meaning of Batuku as a way of 'unwinding' or 'switching off' as well as of 'uplifting' or cheering themselves up; the latter aspects being linked to feelings of happiness and joy that Batuku brings to them. Furthermore, some of them make explicit their experiences of marginalisation in the AML – linked to employment conditions, in this case ("since I work in a house, I take care of small children, I hardly ever go outside") – while others phrase situations of social abjection in more general terms (although

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[287] The original quote in Portuguese is "No momento em que vou para o batuque parece que a cabeça fica mais leve. É um alívio porque como eu trabalho em casa, toma conta de meninos pequeninos, quase nunca saio e o batuque é um momento bom. Porque estou com as minhas colegas e quando estamos lá parece que os problemas se foram embora. E quando voltamos para casa vimos consoladas".
[288] As mentioned in chapter 1.1, Batuku includes a characteristic dance (the *Tornu*, sometimes also spelled *Torno*).
[289] The original quote in Portuguese is "O batuque é importante para mim. Quando estou stressada, o batuque ajuda-me a descontrair. Gosto de dançar o torno. Sinto uma alegria enorme, nem sei explicar. Gosto de desafiar pessoas para dançar comigo. Dá muita alegria estar a dançar em diálogo".
[290] The original quote in Portuguese is "(…) é [Batuku; A/N] a maneira também de aliviar um bocadinho stress, esquecer os problemas para atrás enquanto estamos em grupo a conviver-nós não nós lembramos de problemas da vida, de (pausa) é assim".

many relate them to their (mental) health). Lastly, by using the female word for 'colleagues' (*as minhas colegas*), one of the Batukaderas speaks to the general narrative of Batuku as a female space and practice of (self)care.

8.3.2.1   Moments of 'Uplift'

In this section, I explore the feelings of 'unwinding', 'switching off' and 'uplifting' that many Batukaderas mention, which they often relate to laughter, humour, and notions of 'happiness', 'pleasure' or 'amusement'.

In framing Batuku as a moment of uplift related to, among other things, happiness, Audre Lorde's and Sara Ahmed's reflections on happiness are illuminating. According to Lorde, discourses around (self)care and happiness function almost like a diversionary tactic in order to place the responsibility or duty of one's own happiness – and thereby of caring for one's self – on the individual. As a result, she suggests, systems of oppression are being obscured: "Let us seek 'joy' rather than real food and clean air and a saner future on a liveable earth! As if happiness alone can protect is [sic] from the results of profit-madness" (Lorde 1997: 76, cited in Ahmed 2014: n/s). According to Ahmed, Lorde hence argues that this understanding of (self)care can lead people away from engaging in political struggles while at the same time advocating for (self)care as a necessary means for (self)preservation, and as an "act of political warfare" (Ahmed 2014: n/s). Yet, in doing so, Lorde does not conceive of (self)care as being about one's own happiness but, rather, "about finding ways to exist in a world that is diminishing" (ibid). For her, (self)care is thus about a survival – not just of one's physical body but also of one's identity – and not about values such as happiness.

While I consider Lorde's criticism about happiness to be relevant, I nonetheless contend that for many Batukaderas, feeling 'uplifted' or 'happy' are important characteristics of Batuku as a means to 'unwind' and 'switch off'. These are, in turn, crucial conditions for 'managing' or 'coping' with and within systems of social abjection. Feelings of happiness are also generally related to improving one's (mental) health (Rishbeth & Rogaly 2017: 8). Humour and laughter can be seen as ways of 'bonding' and creating interpersonal, emotion-based relationality, offering a

crucial means of "sharing common concerns, differences and problems within a 'safe' context" (Green 1998: 181), emphasising the significance of togetherness and feelings of safety (or 'safe spaces'). Shared laughter and humour can therefore result in positive sentiments – in spite of the contexts of social abjection in which they often take place – which can be situated within what I refer to as moments of 'uplift'.

Equations of Batuku with 'pleasure', 'zest', 'amusement' or 'happiness' were commonly pointed out by Batukaderas during conversations or interviews. Below, I will give a few examples of this.

> "When I leave for Batuku I feel a great happiness. I'm not even sure how to explain it. I feel as if I will do something important, something that is an important reason to leave the house. (…) Lightness, happiness, the overflow of freedom…when we do something that we like, this frees us from the problems we deal with day by day in life" (Nha Ida, in Finka Pé 2016: 41).[291]

> "I, when I'm in Batuku it seems like I forget everything bad that happens. When I'm in Batuku it's, I only feel happiness … always excessive, excessive, excessive, excessive zest. And I forget everything that is happening, of everything, if I'm upset, I already leave happy. Batuku to me is an enormous happiness" (Int. Vítor, 22/01/2017).[292]

> "B1: Batuku to me, it's a joy. It is (pause) when we do Batuku it seems that we forget everything that exists around us. (…) We forget everything, we are communicating happiness, peace, harmony. (…)
> B2: It's everything, it's peace, it's happiness, joy. It's tradition. It's everything. (pause) It's being in peace, quiet, removing things from the mind. It's everything. Batuku. (…)
> B3: Happiness, it's as if it were a remedy. We feel well with ourselves. And convey [this] to others" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[293]

Here, descriptions such as 'lightness', 'overflow of freedom', 'excessive zest', 'peace', 'harmony', 'quiet' or 'joy', as well as expressions such as 'forgetting

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[291] The original quote in Portuguese is "Quando saio para o batuque sinto uma grande alegria. Nem sei bem explicar como é. Sinto que vou fazer uma coisa importante, uma coisa que é um motivo importante para sair de casa. (…) Leveza, alegria, o transbordar de liberdade…quando fazemos algo que gostamos, isso nos liberta dos problemas que encaramos dia a dia na vida".
[292] The original quote in Portuguese is "Eu, quando eu estou no Batuku parece que esqueço-me de tudo que acontece de mal. Quando estou no Batuku é, só sinto alegria, … sempre vontade demais, demais, demais, demais. E esqueço de tudo que está a acontecer, de tudo, se estou chateado, sai daqui contente já. Batuku para mim é uma alegria muito grande".
[293] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: Batuku para mim, é uma alegria. É (pausa) quando estamos a batucar parece que nós esquecemos tudo que existe à nossa volta. (…) Esquecemos tudo, estamos a transmitir alegria, paz, harmonia. (…) / B2: É tudo, é a paz, é alegria, felicidade. É tradição. É tudo. (pausa) É estar em paz, sossego, tirar as coisas da cabeça. É tudo. O Batuku. (…) / B3: Alegria, é como fosse um remédio. A gente sentir-se bem conosco mesmo. E transmitimos aos outros".

everything' or 'removing things from the mind', emphasise Batuku's capacity to generate happiness and moments of uplift in spite of social abjection. In addition, we can detect references to Batuku's importance as (self)care and 'remedy' for mental health conditions in several of the above-cited examples. Finally, assertions of 'feeling well with ourselves' through Batuku and 'conveying this to others' from the last excerpt point to aspects of (self)valorisation and (self)appreciation – which I also frame as manifestations of (self)care in section 8.4 of this chapter.

8.3.3   Acts of (Self)Support & Solidarity

Over the course of my research, attending Batuku meetings and rehearsals and conducting interviews, it quickly became apparent that most Batukaderas – as well as their supporters – affirm the importance of *conviver* or *juntar-se*. The former can be translated as 'living' or 'being together' and the latter as 'getting', 'coming' or 'gathering together'. Both notions, in one way or another, revolve around the idea of 'togetherness' and therein a collective form of care. Additionally, I argue that spaces of 'togetherness' and 'socialising' are also related to spaces of solidarity and feelings of 'belonging' and 'community'.

The idea of 'community' in this research is understood as a feeling or sense of 'living' or 'being together' or – in Avtar Brah's (1996) words – "the interweaving of shared collective narratives within feelings of community" (ibid: 117), similar to the previously outlined conceptualisation of 'conviviality'. In my research, this feeling can also be described as a sense of (diasporic) 'belonging'. According to Brah (1996), "diaspora space is the point at which boundaries of *inclusion* and exclusion, of *belonging* and otherness, of 'us' and 'them', are contested" (ibid: 205, my emphasis). Diaspora spaces thus constantly, and inherently, (re)negotiate questions of 'belonging' in the sense of 'belonging to' (being included) or 'not belonging to' (being excluded) a certain space or 'community'. I do not mean here to reproduce a problematic understanding of 'community', which often seems to be applied in diasporic contexts. The notion of a 'Cape Verdean community' in the AML, for instance, frequently implies ethnicised, fixed categorisations and essentialising, homogenising ascriptions. This points to the many contestations that surround this

very concept. Similar to the theorisation of 'diaspora' by Brah discussed in-depth in chapter 3, 'community' also needs to be conceived of as a process and not as a fixed, given or static object. Following Brah (1996), I acknowledge that

> "'diasporic community' is differently imagined under different historical circumstances. By this I mean that the identity of the diasporic imagined community is far from fixed or pre-given. It is constituted within the crucible of the materiality of everyday life; in the everyday stories we tell ourselves individually and collectively" (ibid: 180).

Batuku, therefore, can be understood as a process or space of community-building in a diasporic context. Related to this is the conceptualisation of Batuku as an important practice of (self)care, which indicates that notions of 'community' – whether imagined, as Benedict Anderson posited in 1983, or practiced – are relevant.

With Audre Lorde, we must remember that (self)care is not automatically self-indulgence but, rather – in some contexts – self-preservation. "Some have to *look after themselves* because their [sic] are not looked after: their being is not cared for, *supported*, protected" (Ahmed 2014: n/s, my emphasis). With Sara Ahmed, we can conclude that "social privilege (…) [is] a support system" (ibid) and that those who are 'being made abject' (Tyler 2013) through lack of privilege are faced with looking after and supporting themselves. Consequently, I read (self)care as a means of (self)support within systems of social abjection. As Jorge Castro Ribeiro (2010) highlights, sharing common feelings – be they 'good' or 'bad' – through the popular cultural practice of Batuku in the AML can strengthen "the sense of *solidarity* and *group belonging* and contributes to the resistance against hostility. Moreover, for the social actors involved, practicing batuque is also a pretext of *socialisation*, (…) new opportunities for *conviviality*, leisure, (…)" (ibid: 111, my emphasis). I have noted previously that talking about feelings matters and that storytelling through Batuku can thus be considered one manifestation of (self)care. When asked about the motivation for most Batukaderas, Inés, a supporter of the Batuku group *Finka Pé*, sums it up with the following words.

> "(…) they feel that 'okay, we go to work, we have children, but there is one thing that has to do with myself'. You know. 'Everything that I receive, then, and through Batuku I manage to express what lives inside me, what is around me, and how I am part of this'. And talking about, which they do, the Batuku songs, about the things that happen to them or that create problems or happiness or doubts, you know, about the children who don't

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have documents, about the men that beat [them], (…) about the importance of life (…). That are about the most important things for them, and so they will sing about this. And they do this as a group. Which is, this is what's important. And they do this in a circle, which is the second point that is important to see, and in a group in a circle, you know, they manage to face each other in order to talk honestly about the things that worry them, that give them joy, that move them as individuals" (Int. Inés, 08/11/2016).[294]

Here, Inés raises several issues that I want to highlight in more detail as I consider them integral to my framing of Batuku as self-care, care for others and the connection between these. First, she refers to the significance of the Batukaderas having something that is not work or taking care of their children but 'for themselves'. This points to the fact that Batuku means self-care and taking time-out from 'daily routines' and the strains of employment. The gendered narrative of who practices Batuku also becomes clear from her use of *elas* (the female pronoun for 'they' in Portuguese) whenever she addresses its practitioners. Secondly, Inés stresses the aspect of talk and sharing joy, pain and worries 'as a group', affirming the significance of ('female') 'togetherness'. This collective processing of problems or other incidents entails a therapeutic element. Thirdly, she emphasises that this aspect is reinforced by the way most Batuku meetings and rehearsals are set up; namely by sitting in a circle and therefore being able to 'face each other' and 'talk honestly'.[295] This is, as mentioned in the theoretical section of this chapter, related to Mooten's elaborations according to which care includes "values such as listening, patience, trust and being attentive to other's needs (…) compassion, (…), nurturance, responsibility, responsiveness (…)" (Mooten 2015: 9) and "being attentive to and understanding the concerns, needs and aims of others in dialogue" (Robinson 2011: 847). Storytelling as well as 'effective listening' are herein important aspects of (self)care and manifest themselves in Batuku sessions through talking or singing about issues such as citizenship or domestic violence – as indicated in the interview with Inés – or forced

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[294] The original quote in Portuguese is "(…) elas sentem que 'bom, a gente vai trabalhar, temos filhos, mas há uma coisa que tem a ver comigo próprio'. Não é. 'Todas as coisas que eu recebo, então, e através do Batuku consigo exprimir o que vive dentro de mim e, o que é à volta de mim, e como é que eu estou dentro disto'. E falando sobre, que elas fazem, as canções do Batuku, sobre as coisas que lhes acontecem ou que lhes dão problemas ou alegrias ou dúvidas, não é, sobre os filhos que não tem documentos, sobre os homens que batem, (…) sobre a importância da vida (...). Que são sobre as coisas mais importantes para elas, e pois elas vão cantar sobre isto. E fazem isto em grupo. Que é, isto que é importante. E fazem isto no círculo, que é o segundo ponto que é muito importante ver, e em grupo no círculo, não é, que conseguem enfrentar um ao outro para falar honestamente sobre as coisas que lhes preocupem, que lhes dão alegria, que mexem com elas como pessoas".

[295] In contrast to Batuku meetings and rehearsals, Batukaderas are usually seated in a semi-circle (facing the audience) at Batuku performances.

resettlements and demolitions – as previously referred to in *Flor da Vida*'s rehearsal on page 232. These topics exemplify Batuku as (self)care in the form of contestating various systems of abjection, including racism, sexism and classism, and their consequences on housing and health inequalities, working conditions, and societal ascriptions and categorisations.

The importance of 'being' or 'getting together' through Batuku in contexts of social abjection is further highlighted by Maria from the group *Strela de Bela Vista* when she states that

> "because Batuku is something, now we are here, I don't have light, I don't have anything, this is not a problem. If we want to get together, we get together. Because Batuku doesn't need light anymore, doesn't need anything. It only needs people. (…) for us to get together. Because, that's why I think that Batuku never dies" (Int. Maria, 14/01/2017).[296]

By stating that Batuku 'doesn't need anything' except for people, she emphasises her conviction that it will always – in spite of marginalisation, poverty, or abjection in the AML – continue.

In this regard, I want to argue again that togetherness as an aspect of care is related to health, which, in turn, is often linked to processes of marginalisation and isolation. When asked about the name of her group, Beatriz – a Batukadera in her 60s, who founded the group *Olho Vivo* in the parish of *Queluz* but eventually moved to the parish of *Monte Abraão*, both in the municipality of *Sintra* – replies with the following explanation.

> "It [the group; A/N] is called *Olho Vivo* because, so I was at home, my children all went to school, I stayed at home alone. With television, so I felt bored. So I went out, walked around. I went to *Olho Vivo*. Because there is an immigrant association that is called *Olho Vivo*" (Int. Beatriz, 24/01/2017).[297]

Beatriz named her group after the association *Olho Vivo* in the parish of *Queluz*, where she initially attended literacy courses and later also founded the Batuku group.

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[296] The original quote in Portuguese is "Porque Batuku é uma coisa, agora estamos aqui, não tenho luz não tenho nada, isso não é problema. Se a gente quiser conviver, convivemos. Porque Batuku já não precisa de luz, não precisa de nada. Precisa só de pessoas. (...) para convivemos. Porque, é por isso que eu acho que o Batuku nunca morre".

[297] The original quote in Portuguese is "Chama Olho Vivo porque assim eu estava em casa, meus filhos foram todos para a escola, eu ficava em casa sozinha. Com televisão, assim, eu fiquei aborrecida. Então eu saía, andava. Eu fui para Olho Vivo. Porque tem uma associação de imigrante que chama Olho Vivo".

Due to health reasons, she could not work for a couple of years and felt lonely and bored at home. In her case, togetherness in the sense of socialising was a way of dealing with health-related feelings of isolation. As previously mentioned, (self)care can be conceptualised as activities that people do to improve (or maintain) their mental and physical health and wellbeing.

Moreover, notions of 'togetherness', 'solidarity' and 'belonging' can also be related to a sense of friendship. The significance of friendship within spaces of care is often emphasised in connection with 'sociability', 'solidarities' and 'communal belonging' (Bowlby 2011: 605), and seen as a "source of care and support in many people's everyday lives" (ibid: 606). This is further linked to an understanding of care as 'caring <u>for</u>' as well as 'caring <u>about</u>' others, the latter referring to an emotional investment and interest in another person's concerns and challenges. "Caring can [thus] involve both practical and emotional care, often simultaneously" (ibid). The care within or through friendships can be categorised as 'informal', meaning that it is not institutionally organised and is generally offered without (an expectation of) payment. It is a voluntary relationship and, while it includes other aspects such as 'having fun' or doing activities together, it can, as stated, be an important source of care and support, both in terms of everyday occurrences and major live challenges (ibid: 608).

These relations and sentiments become apparent from the following quote by a Batukadera from *Finka Pé*: "I feel well with Batuku; Batuku does well. We walk, get together, we care about each other" (Fáfá, in Finka Pé 2016: 45).[298] When talking about the meaning of Batuku, a member of the group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral* expresses it in similar ways.

> "We listen to one another. We share (pause) if the person shares with me, the sadness, or I share with her. And I will see any word that comforts me. That helps me. And she, also the same thing. This helps a lot. It can come today, it can come tomorrow … in the end (…) the sadness already went away. Never comes back. And it will help us, to know how to cope with problems (…)" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[299]

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[298] The original quote in Portuguese is "Sinto-me bem com o batuque; o batuque faz bem. A gente passeia, convive, preocupamo-nos umas com as outras".

[299] The original quote in Portuguese is "Nós ouvimos uma a outra. Partilhamos (pausa) se a pessoa partilha comigo, a tristeza ou partilho com ela. E eu vou ver uma qualquer palavra que me reconforta. Que me ajuda. E ela também a mesma coisa. Isso ajuda bastante. Pode vir hoje, pode vir amanhã ... afinal (...) a tristeza já foi embora. Nunca mais volta. E vão-nós ajudar, saber lidar com problemas (…)".

This is yet another example of the importance of togetherness and solidarity – in order to 'comfort' each other and/or 'cope' with problems – within Batuku. Furthermore, the Batukadera in question highlights the significance of 'listening' and 'sharing', situating the practice of Batuku within notions of care (Mooten 2015). Through the usage of female pronouns in both examples, the various Batukaderas implicitly reference the importance of Batuku as a feminised space of (self)care and togetherness.[300]

8.3.3.1 Notions of 'Safe Space'

During the interviews as well as the process of transcription and analysis, it became clear that many Batukaderas as well as some event organisers relate the notion of 'community' and feelings of (diasporic) 'belonging' to what I read as feelings of 'safety' and 'comfort'; in other words, as "security derived from a sense of belonging to a community" (Brah 1996: 42f). When asked which kind of performances she likes best, Elisa – a young Batukadera, who had only started practicing two years before my research stay (when her group *Ramedi Terra* was founded) – replies that

> "E: Ah, for me in the *bairros* [neighbourhoods; A/N], I prefer in the *bairros*.
> For example, I would love to perform in a disco. (…) Ana, Ana's group.
> Had a birthday and she invited us to go and do Batuku at the disco. (…)
> There, on the other side of the river. It went beautifully. For example, there
> you know that you have that audience, sort of, it's more than captivating.
> Coincidentally, I loved it. (…) The majority of the children of the women in
> our group went. My sisters went. (…) My cousins went, it was, look,
> everybody went, to help there, sort of. Imagine, there were many groups
> there, right, (…) we were three. There was Ana's group, ours and that from
> *Damaia*. (…) from the *6 de Maio* neighbourhood. (…) They were the first to
> perform. There wasn't that audience, we had our audience there (…). (…)

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[300] As mentioned previously, this framing does not imply that there were or are no male members in Batuku groups. While most of the groups I interacted with in the AML during my research were all-female, some also included male practitioners (although their presence hardly ever exceeded numbers of two or three out of a total ten or more). And while some Batukaderas – when asked specifically about the presence (or lack thereof) of men in their group – respond that the composition of groups does not matter to them, some make it very explicit that they consider Batuku to be a 'female space'. As one Batukadera from *Finka Pé* stated in this regard after I gave a presentation about my work, "for our group yes, it really is something that is really female only. It is. It's a moment for ourselves" (Recording, 19/02/2017). The original quote in Portuguese is "para o nosso grupo sim, é mesmo algo que é só mesmo feminino. É. É um momento nosso".

everybody got up to dance and I don't know what, drum, look it went beautifully.

HS: But who was in the audience?

E: Our audience, us. Ours were the people from *Portela*.[301] Almost all of them were there. Look, even if we had performed pretty badly, they were all screaming. It was really, (…) wonderful, look I liked it" (Int. Elisa, 13/01/2017).[302]

By referring to 'the neighbourhoods' [*bairros*] and 'our audience', Elisa defines particular spaces and the people present there. Through her statement, she asserts her preference for 'community-related' events and performances for people who already know Batuku and who will appreciate and support them as a group accordingly, even if they 'had performed pretty badly'. After asking her about different events and different audiences, Maria – a Batukadera from the group *Strela de Bela Vista* – depicts a similar preference.

"Like, for example, in *Caxias*[303], there were more Cape Verdeans. Already we were more at ease, there are not, there are no problems with singing. There are no problems with shouting. (…) But if in other locations, where there are already more Portuguese, we have to have more respect. More civility, more education (…) even if we will sing, which is our tradition, but we have to take a lot of care, not to have vexation there. Because you know that this always happens. The person who sings suffers, suffers a lot. (…) we sing because we like it, but we suffer sometimes. Gain, there are many people who like us but at the same time we suffer with this" (Int. Maria, 14/01/2017).[304]

From this excerpt of the interview with Maria, we can identify various themes. Not

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[301] *Outurela / Portela* is a neighbourhood in the parish of *Carnaxide*, municipality of *Oeiras*.

[302] The original quote in Portuguese is "E: Ah, para mim nos bairros, prefiro nos bairros. Por exemplo, adorei atuar numa discoteca. (…) A Ana, o grupo da Ana. Fez anos e ela convidou-nós para íamos lá batucar, na discoteca. (…) Lá noutro lado do rio. Correu lindamente. Por exemplo ali sabes que tens aquele público, tipo é uma coisa mais que cativante. Por acaso, adorei. (…) A maioria dos filhos das mulheres do nosso grupo foram. As minhas irmãs foram. (…) Foram os meus primas, foi, olha, foram todas, tipo para apoiar ali. Imagina, estavam lá muitos grupos, né, (…) éramos três. Era o da Ana, o nosso e o da Damaia. (…) [do] bairro de 6 de Maio. (…) Primeiro a atuar foram elas. Não havia aquele público, nós tínhamos o nosso público ali (...). (…) cá tive toda a gente a levantar-se para dançar e não sei que, batucar, olha correu lindamente. / HS: Mas quem foi no público? / E: O nosso público, nós. O nosso foi as pessoas da Portela. Estavam quase todos lá. Olha, mesmo que fizéssemos uma linda porcaria ali, dançavam, estavam todos a gritar. Mesmo foi, (…) lindo, olha eu gostei".

[303] *Caxias* is a former parish in the municipality of *Oeiras*.

[304] The original quote in Portuguese is "como, por exemplo, em *Caxias*, estavam lá mais Cabo-verdianos. Já a gente estava mais à vontade, não tem, não há problema com cantar. Não há problema com gritar. (…) Mas se noutros sítios já que havia mais portugueses, a gente tem que ter mais respeito. Mais civismo, mais educação (…) mesmo que a gente vai cantar, que é [a] nossa tradição, mas a gente tem que cuidar muito, para não haver vexame ali. Porque sabes que isso sempre acontece. A pessoa que canta sofre, sofre muito. (…) A gente canta porque a gente gosta, mas as vezes sofre. Ganha, tem muitos povos que gosta da gente mas a gente no mesmo tempo sofre com isso".

only does she assert feeling 'freer' and more 'at ease', 'comfortable', 'safe' or 'at home' when performing in front of 'Cape Verdean' audiences, but she highlights potential experiences of racialisation in certain spaces (indicated by ascriptions of a lack of 'civility' and 'education' to 'Cape Verdeans'), which can lead to the Batukaderas being met with anger, aggravation or resentment ('vexation') when performing in front of (*white*?) 'Portuguese' audiences. Overall, I suggest that this points to her (and others') sense of 'not belonging' to certain spaces.

All of the above-cited excerpts from interviews are in line with conceptualisations of popular cultural practices as 'safe spaces' or 'spaces of comfort'. As Castro Ribeiro (2010) observes for one of the Batuku groups in the AML, practicing Batuku "takes up the form of a source of *personal comfort* and an antidote to the experience of hostility felt by the Cape Verdean immigrants in the Portuguese society" (ibid: 111, my emphasis). This is evident in Maria's quote above, where she discusses the sense of 'ease' in certain spaces as well as the difficulties ('suffering') when performing in others, which I read as a reference to 'safe spaces'. I thus argue that 'safe spaces' are a crucial element of the practice of (self)care.[305]

There is no commonly accepted definition of what constitutes a 'safe space' and what its benefits are. According to Atkinson et al. (2011), safe spaces of care can take the form of drop-in centres, day-care centres for the homeless, counselling sessions, spaces of leisure and retreat, or care through the internet (ibid: 566). bell hooks (1990) conceptualises 'safe spaces' or 'sanctuaries' around the idea of 'homeplace' (ibid: 41ff). And drawing on Shirley Tate (2005), we can understand 'home' as a sense of 'community' and/or 'a site of belonging' (ibid: 146). According to hooks, these kinds of spaces create feelings of safety and protection and allow for healing, renewal and/or political education. For her, such sanctuaries have historically been linked with Black women and how they "have resisted white supremacist domination" (hooks 1990: 44). She further emphasises "the importance of homeplace in the midst of oppression and domination, of homeplace as a site of resistance and liberation struggle" (ibid: 43).[306] While she thus connects the idea of 'sanctuaries' or

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[305] For more information and arguments concerning the general importance of 'safe spaces' for self-care, please see https://medium.com/@zacharygabrielgreen/safe-space-and-safe-place-self-care-and-compassion-in-a-time-of-crisis-98d9e2afba45, https://www.healthline.com/health/mental-health/safe-spaces-college#1, or https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/MHRJ-06-2017-0021/full/html [all accessed 29/09/2020].

[306] hooks, too, highlights the ambivalences inherent in caring practices, when she writes that "since sexism delegates to females the task of creating and sustaining a home environment, it has been

'safe spaces' to 'homeplace', this does not mean that they are limited or fixed to the concept of 'home' in a 'classical' sense (i.e. an apartment, house, or other kind of residence).

In addition to hook's reflections, I concur with the notes taken and published by members of the London student group AGRUPA after a workshop on 'safe spaces for women of colour'. According to them, a 'safe space' is

> "a place where anyone can relax and be able to fully express, without fear of being made to feel uncomfortable, unwelcome, or unsafe on account of biological sex, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, cultural background, religious affiliation, age or physical or mental ability" (Diversity Matters 2016: n/s).

They also recapitulate that 'safe spaces' matter because they can create a "sense of belonging" (ibid).

As mentioned in this chapter's introduction, the term 'self-care' has become a bit of a buzzword in recent years (Mirk 2016; Mahdawi 2017). Approximately 30 years after the publication of Audre Lorde's essay collection *A Burst of Light*, her arguments about self-care are finding more and more resonance in popular culture. The US-American singer Solange, for instance, has a song entitled *Borderline (An Ode to Self Care)* on her album *A Seat at the Table* (2016), which includes the lyrics "Baby, you know you're tired / Know I'm tired / Let's take it off tonight / Break it off tonight / Baby, it's war outside these walls / (…) A safe place tonight / Let's play it safe tonight". In an interview, she later elaborated that

> "even in the midst of this last week with the multiple murders of young black men that occurred, I chose this time not to watch. Just for the sake of being able to exist in that day, to exist without rage, and exist without heartbreak (…) I sometimes have to choose to not look. (…) Sometimes throughout that, [self-care] becomes a mission within itself. That song was an ode to how our home becomes a safe space, where we can just love and not deal with some of the intensities that go along with existing in these spaces" (Gevinson 2016: n/s).

This makes clear that 'safe spaces' are particularly important for 'self-care' in contexts of intersectional social abjection, where experiences of 'not belonging' in or

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primarily the responsibility of black women to construct domestic households as spaces of care and nurturance in the face of the brutal harsh reality of racist oppression, and sexist domination" (hooks 1990: 42).

to certain places (in the form of structural injustices, daily assaults or micro-aggressions) are common among populations of colour in particular (Jackson-Best 2016). Solange's quote further highlights the relation of 'safe spaces' to my framing of Batuku as a way of 'coping' and 'managing' and as a space to 'unwind' and 'switch off' (as indicated through references to 'being able to exist in that day' and 'not dealing with some of the intensities' that are part of living or being in certain spaces).

Going back to the values and meanings ascribed to Batuku, conceptualisations of 'safe space' gain in importance, particularly when we consider the connection to one's (mental) health – which, as we saw, is brought up by many Batukaderas in interviews. For instance, a member of the group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral* expounds on the significance of Batuku in the following terms.

> "(…) because essentially, imagine a woman who lives depressed (…) or has a very difficult situation at home, at least here is a space where she can succeed to release, you know. Where she can externalise her problems, without any kind of condemnation or any kind of, of repression. This, (…) only by being able to talk openly, about a concern, maybe she isn't able to do so at home, this ends up being a therapy, you know. So this is, and a psychologist, when we go to a psychologist, the psychologist is there, seated, or, we pay, you know. What is more, listening to our problems. Here (pause) it's the same thing, you know. Except we don't pay anything, it's free and we go away much happier" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[307]

This excerpt makes explicit the feelings of comfort, freedom, liberation and ease that come with the practice and 'safe' space of Batuku. It also points to the importance of talk or storytelling as well as solidarity (being able to talk 'without any kind of condemnation or repression') in order to care for the self and to feel liberated. It is thus about aspects of both care and self-care. The Batukadera in question repeats the narrative of Batuku as 'therapy' and a way of dealing with mental health conditions. By stating that Batuku as (self)care is free of charge – 'we don't pay anything' –

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[307] The original quote in Portuguese is "porque no fundo, imagina uma senhora que vive deprimida (…) ou tem uma situação muito difícil lá em casa, pelo menos aqui há um sítio onde se consegue libertar, não é. Onde se consegue exteriorizar os seus problemas, sem qualquer tipo de condenação ou qualquer tipo de, de repressão. Isso, (...) só por puder falar abertamente, sobre uma preocupação, se calhar não consegue fazer em casa, isso acaba por ser uma terapia, não é. Então isto, e um psicólogo, nós quando vamos à um psicólogo, tá lá o psicólogo, sentado, ou, nós a pagarmos, não é. Ainda por cima, a ouvir os nossos problemas. Aqui (pausa) é a mesma coisa, não é. Exceto não pagamos nada, é gratuito e saímos daqui muito mais felizes".

whereas they would have to pay to see a psychologist, I suggest that she makes an implicit comment on structural inequalities in access to healthcare.

As stated previously, 'managing' or 'coping' with and within systems of abjection through the practice of (self)care relies, among other things, on 'togetherness' and feelings of 'belonging' to a 'community' that has experienced similar forms of violence. [308] This can include sharing stories or "strategies for survival" (Ahmed 2014: n/s) through talking or singing in different spaces. Or, as Ahmed (2014) accurately summarises,

> "self-care is about the creation of community, fragile communities, assembled out of the experiences of being shattered. We reassemble ourselves through the ordinary, everyday and often painstaking work of looking after ourselves; looking after each other" (ibid: n/s).

Batuku as (self)care, as a means of supporting one's own and others' wellbeing, and generating health benefits in contexts of postcolonial power relations, can then also be considered as a way to 'self-build' one's own 'safe haven' (Rishbeth & Rogaly 2017: 7), binding together notions of (self)care and togetherness.

Father Michael, the chaplain of the *Capelania das Comunidades Africanas em Lisboa* [Chaplaincy of the African Communities in Lisbon] at the time of the research, organises regular (religious) events for the 'African community' in the AML. During my research stay, I attended one of the main annual events, the *Festa Kriola* [Creole Festival], which included Batuku performances and took place in the church of *Buraca* (municipality of *Amadora*) for the 23rd time in 2017. In the interview, Father Michael reflects on the motivation for organising this particular event.

> "The idea was, a people abroad, and there is a necessity to unite. At least once a year. For a joint activity, which has a similarity in each country. (…) it's *Festa Kriola*, that's why it's not *Festa de Cabo Verde* [Cape Verdean Festival]. It's not *Festa de Angola* [Angolan Festival]. (…) In order to belong to the PALOP community.[309] (…) Thus everybody can feel at ease. And everybody also speaks Kriolu. And this language is different between the countries. But the name is almost the same, Kriolu. (…) Which is

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[308] In the face of the many mentioned demolitions and forced resettlements, the creation of these spaces was (and continues to be) disrupted and made difficult. As hooks writes, "it is no accident that this homeplace (…) is always subject to violation and destruction" (hooks 1990: 47).

[309] As explained in chapter 2, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe founded the organisation of Portuguese-speaking African Countries [*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*; PALOP], or – to be more correct – of 'African Countries of Portuguese Official Language' in 1992.

enough to understand that we, really, are abroad. But we want to present our culture. The wealth that we have. It's not only work. But a moment of coexistence, moment to show that we also pertain to a people, and this people has a culture. (…) What this means is (pause) we feel the presence of Africa in the mass. With the dances. (…) And all of this takes into account, because we are a people, from one country to another. Or a country which isn't ours. So we want to act in our way. (…) That's why we make these festivals" (Int. Father Michael, 12/06/2017).[310]

Through statements about 'feeling at ease' and 'acting in our way', Father Michael is, arguably, conceptualising a 'safe space' and a space of 'solidarity' for and between what he describes as 'African communities' in the 'diaspora'. Moreover, by stating that the event is organised to 'present our culture' and 'the wealth that we have', he indicates the importance of (self)valorisation and (self)appreciation of '(African) cultures' (within which Batuku is being situated). These are aspects of (self)care that I will analyse in more detail in section 8.4 of this chapter.

Finally, when thinking about notions of 'safe spaces', I consider it important to address my occasional sense of disrupting or intruding upon them during my research. As mentioned in chapter 6, there were some smaller 'community-related' events, for instance, where it seemed that people were asked by the organisers to switch from Kriolu to Portuguese because of my presence. While I always tried to stress that they should not feel obliged to be considerate of my negligible Kriolu language skills and to speak in whichever language was most comfortable to them, I nonetheless often felt as if I was 'intruding' or at the very least changing the nature of the event through my presence. I was also frequently invited to more informal meetings such as rehearsals during my research stay. As addressed repeatedly throughout this chapter, these also often serve as 'safe spaces' for many Batukaderas to share and deal with personal issues or 'ugly feelings' (grief, frustration, depression and so forth). My presence – as well as that of other potential guests or researchers –

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[310] The original quote in Portuguese is "A ideia era, um povo no estrangeiro, e há uma necessidade de unir. Pelo menos uma vez por ano. Para uma atividade comum, que tem semelhança em cada país. (…) é *Festa Kriola*, por isso não é *Festa de Cabo Verde*. Não é *Festa da Angola*. (…) Para pertencer, à comunidade do PALOP. (…) Assim cada um pode sentir à vontade. E cada um também fala Kriolu. E esta língua é diferente entre os países. Mas o nome é quase o mesmo, Kriolu. (…) Que dá para entender que nós, realmente, estamos fora. Mas queremos apresentar nossa cultura. A riqueza que temos. Não é só trabalhar. Mas um momento de convívio, momento de mostrar que nós também pertencemos a um povo, e este povo tem uma cultura. (…) O que é que significa isso é (pausa) sentimos a presença da África na missa. Com as danças. (…) E tudo isso toma em conta, porque nós somos um povo, dum país para outro. Ou um país que não é nosso. Pois queremos atuar na nossa maneira. (…) Por isso fazemos essas festas".

at particularly intense moments of grief or sadness, for instance, felt especially invasive, as if I were 'gazing' or 'gawking at' their pain. This is yet another example of the feelings of 'discomfort', 'uneasiness', 'guilt' and 'bad conscience' inherent and unresolved in research contexts such as mine, which was characterised by postcolonial power relations.[311]

8.3.3.2 Networks of Solidarity

In this section of the chapter, I explore the notion of 'solidarity' – and thus a collective manifestations of care – within the practice of Batuku. This is done through a discussion of the 'Cape Verdean' mutual-help practice of *djunta-mô*[312] and analysing its continuation within the practice of Batuku in the AML. As mentioned, *djunta-mô* in Kriolu can be translated to *juntar as mãos* in Portuguese, which literally means to 'join hands' but can also be translated as 'working together'. In order to analyse this, I offer a short summary of the role of this practice on Cape Verde, but mainly focus on how it is applied in the diasporic context of the AML through various kinds of 'solidarity networks'. I argue that the practice of Batuku can be understood as one such network.

On Cape Verde, there are a number of mutual-help practices in order to alleviate potential insecurities that rural and working class populations, in particular, face. These include *ajuda mútua* [mutual help], *entreajuda* [mutual help], *djunta-mô* [working together] – which can be considered the most common manifestation on Cape Verde – or *laja kaza* [add concrete to one's house]. Samuel Weeks (2012b) describes *djunta-mô* as "a loosely planned, non-monetized system of allocating labor at peak intervals during the islands' notoriously unpredictable growing season" (ibid: 1). *Djunta-mô* itself is not exclusively practiced in rural areas but also in peripheral zones of the Cape Verdean capital of Praia, which still points to it being predominantly a practice of marginalised, working class populations (ibid: 2). All of the above-listed mutual-help practices travel with populations and can therefore also be found in diasporic contexts.

In the AML, most of the different manifestations can be found, albeit less

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[311] For an in-depth discussion of these research issues, see chapter 4.
[312] Also sometimes spelled *Djunta Mon*.

frequently (Weeks 2012a) and in slightly reinterpreted ways. As Weeks (2012b) highlights through his research in the AML, it was through the practice of *djunta-mô* or *laja kaza*, for instance, that the neighbourhood of *Cova da Moura* (amongst others) was able to be constructed and grow as rapidly as it did. As some of the Batukaderas from the group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral* express during our interview,

> "B1: People brought together a group, the men, friends, godfathers, neighbours, joined. Today (pause) he builds a house, sometimes at night. Because the police, the next day, abuses [them].
> B2: Yes, the police comes …
> B1: Only at night. Build a house today, and tomorrow everything is covered. It's covered and [s_he] is living inside … another weekend they were building another house" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[313]

Mutual-help practices among parents also allow many families throughout the AML to manage childcare responsibilities, and finding work in cleaning or construction sectors is often facilitated by mutual-help networks and loyalties. To sum up, practices such as *djunta-mô* have not disappeared in the AML but – instead of helping each other during growing seasons – are now more about helping each other to build houses, find employment, or manage childcare (Weeks 2012b; Pardue 2013). A change in attitude and a related decrease of such practices in the diasporic context can, however, also be observed and is most likely due to neoliberal notions of 'self-accountability' and individual 'achievement' expounded by the media and dominant economic discourses (Weeks 2012a).

The need for 'solidarity' or *djunta-mô* among and between those who are being made abject in the context of the AML are manifold. In the decades between 1960 and 1990, in particular, when the majority of 'Cape Verdean' migrants moved to the AML, there were hardly any social, labour or housing conditions in place for them. In response to the precarious labour market as well as the abuses and hostilities encountered, many resorted to formal and informal solidarity or mutual-help networks, which also included spaces for conviviality or sociability (Castro Ribeiro 2010: 99).

In the case of Batuku in the AML, *djunta-mô* can take many forms. One of the

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[313] The original quote in Portuguese is "B1: As pessoas juntavam um grupo, os homens, amigos, compadres, vizinhos, juntavam. Hoje (pausa) constrói uma casa, as vezes de noite. Porque a policia, noutro dia, está a abusar. / B2: Sim, a policia chegar … / B1: Só de noite. Faz uma casa hoje, e amanhã está tudo coberto. Está coberto e está a morar lá dentro … outro fim de semana construíam outra casa".

manifestations I frequently observed during my research stay was that of supporting each other or helping out onstage – for instance in the case of one group not having many members present during a performance.[314]

> "The groups can even be rivals, but if [one] is onstage, you see that there's a member missing, the *Txabeta* [315] is decreasing, these things, you go immediately, this is not (pause) there is always this … mutual help, of *djunta-mô*" (Int. Fernanda, 07/11/2016).[316]

Here, Fernanda from the group *Ramedi Terra* explains that while there might be a sense of competition between some Batuku groups, the notion of *djunta-mô* will usually outweigh any rivalries at performances. It is important to point out here that the challenge of lacking group members for a performance occurred regularly in the AML during my research stay, and was generally connected to different manifestations of social abjection: members were unable to attend events due to either health issues, the cost of transportation or the distance of the location, their workload, or a lack of funding or institutional support.[317]

In addition to helping out onstage, Batuku groups throughout the AML also support each other in the manufacture and production of outfits and *Txabetas*, as well as by sharing their knowledge with newly-founded groups. In the interviews, several Batukaderas also affirm their willingness to perform at no cost if they know that an event is being organised by a charity or social organisation. These can also be interpreted as acts of solidarity or *djunta-mô*.

> "And also they needed help from some groups to perform for them, they were doing a festival for disadvantaged children there in *Mira Sintra*. And we went. (...) We perform, we help. We already did [it] for [a] prison, we already went, we did this for children, those that are in a (pause) situation

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[314] It became clear during the interviews that not all Batukaderas want this form of support, solidarity or *djunta-mô* as a few feel like the quality of their performance will then not be 'satisfactory' as those other Batukaderas will most likely not know the lyrics and will also not 'feel responsible' for the quality of the performance.

[315] As mentioned previously, *Txabeta* is the name of the percussion instrument used in Batuku.

[316] The original quote in Portuguese is "Pode até os grupos são rivais, mas se está no palco, vê que falta um elemento, está a enfraquecer a *Txabeta*, essas coisas, vai logo, isso não há (pausa) há sempre essa … inter-ajuda, de *djunta-mô*".

[317] According to some informal conversations with event organisers and supporters of Batuku groups, not having enough group members present to perform was one of the main reasons that some larger venues found it difficult to host 'traditional' Batuku performances.

like that. Yes. At the Red Cross, we already did this" (Int. Ana, 30/10/2016).[318]

"B: (…) But they themselves to pay, they don't have [it].
HS: For the performance.
B: Yes. I said 'Sofia, there's no problem for me. If you have an invitation (pause) you can say it. Whoever is available will go, whoever is not available won't go'. Because I already know this thing is for an immigrant association, to help" (Int. Beatriz, 24/01/2017).[319]

The importance of togetherness, solidarity, community, and 'belonging' in Batuku also appears in the names that some of the groups chose to represent themselves and their practice. One particular group name is exemplary: the group *Unidos de Vialonga* [(The) United from *Vialonga*] from the parish of *Vialonga* / *Vila Franca de Xira* municipality. Unfortunately, although I met with members of this group a number of times and attended several performances, no official interview took place and I therefore did not have a chance to ask them about the motivation for choosing this name. While any analysis of their name will thus be mere speculation, the combination of 'united'[320] and *Vialonga* nonetheless would seem to emphasise not only a sense of 'belonging' to a particular space or locality, but also the notions of 'solidarity' and 'togetherness'.

To close this section, I want to cite one of the Batukaderas from the group *Netas di Bibinha Cabral*, as she outlines and brings together most of the manifestations of (self)care addressed here.

"We forget everything, we are transmitting happiness, peace, harmony. (…) We can have, in Batuku, we can criticise, we can appreciate, we can sing ourselves. And praise people. Batuku is a sensational thing. If we analysed (…) Batuku, Batuku does good. For me, I like it, I adore it. (…) Batuku is a joy, it's a life. It is. It's everything. It touches people, to feel (pause) alive, we feel united, we sit, we talk, we like it, we have problems, we talk and help each other. And then it's what, because it's ours. It's our life here, of the women. [One] can have problems, arrive here [the AML; A/N] 'Ah, I am very sad, and so on'. But, we talk, then we sing, we drum, we dance.

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[318] The original quote in Portuguese is "E também eles precisavam de apoio de alguns grupos para atuar para eles, eles estavam a fazer uma festa para crianças carenciadas lá na *Mira Sintra*. E a gente foi. (…) A gente atua, ajudamos. A gente já fez para prisão, já fomos, fizemos isso para crianças, aqueles que estão na (pausa) situação assim. Ya. Na Cruz Vermelha, já fizemos".
[319] The original quote in Portuguese is "B: (…) Mas eles mesmo para pagar, não tem. / HS: Para a atuação. / B: Sim. Eu disse 'Sofia, para mim não tem problema. Quando tiver um convite (pausa) pode dizer. Quem está disponível vai, quem que não está disponível não vai'. Porque eu já sei essa coisa é para uma associação de imigrante, para ajudar".
[320] *Unidos* in Portuguese is the plural of 'united', denoting a group of people who are united.

Everything passes" (Int. Anabela/Domingas, 11/06/2017).[321]

Here, feelings of happiness, moments of uplift, 'unwinding' and 'switching off' – and, therein, 'coping' and 'managing' with and within contexts of social abjection – are all weaved into this conception of Batuku, not only through references to 'peace', 'harmony', and 'joy', but also through references to dealing with 'ugly feelings' ('we can criticise' and 'talk about problems') and the capacity to 'forget everything' or let 'everything pass'. By conceptualising Batuku as 'life' and 'feeling alive', the Batukadera in question underscores the meaning of 'giving life' in particular contexts within which some people's lives are not appropriately valued – specifically the AML. Moreover, by referring to feelings of unity, of helping and listening to each other, she highlights the significance of togetherness, solidarity and (self)support within Batuku. Her referral to Batuku as being 'ours (…) of the women' can also be taken as an indication of the general framing and importance of it as a female or feminised practice. Additionally, her statement makes clear that Batuku is an all-encompassing popular cultural practice that not only involves music in the sense of singing and drumming, but also dancing and talk. I understand this quote as a reference to Batuku's importance as a means of (self)appreciation and (self)valorisation ('we can appreciate (…) [and] praise people'); which will be the focus of the following section of the chapter.

8.4   (Re)Valorisation of Trajectories & Positions

As we have seen, care can be both an individual and a collective way of contesting one's social abjection. In the case of the Batukaderas, I contend that this is expressed as 'trying not to be brought down' or, in other words: (1) as 'managing' or 'coping' (Ahmed 2014), (2) as 'unwinding' or 'switching off', (3) through networks of solidarity and (self)support, as well as (4) as self-valorisation/-appreciation in a

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[321] The original quote in Portuguese is "Esquecemos tudo, estamos a transmitir alegria, paz, harmonia. (…) A gente poder ter, no Batuku, podemos criticar, podemos agradecer, podemos cantar nós próprios. E elogiar as pessoas. Batuku é uma coisa sensacional. Se a gente analisar (...) o Batuku, o Batuku faz muito bem. Eu para mim, eu gosto, eu adoro. (…) O Batuku é uma alegria, é uma vida. É. É tudo. Toca a gente, para sentir (pausa) viva, sentirmos unidos, sentamos, falamos, gostamos, temos problemas, nós falamos e ajudamos uns aos outros. E depois é o que, porque é o nosso. É a nossa vida aqui, das mulheres. Pode ter problemas, chegar aqui 'Ah, eu estou muito triste, e isso'. Mas, nós falamos, depois cantamos, batucamos, dançamos. Passa tudo".

system of marginalisation and oppression, which will be the focus of the following section.

In the pages that follow, I explore Batuku's role in re-valorising and re-appreciating people's (intersectional) positionalities in contexts of social abjection, and the relation to (self)care therein. I argue that this is related to the generation of good feelings – as opposed to the sharing of 'ugly feelings' (Ngai 2007) – such as pride in terms of language practices or spaces[322], and is expressed in various ways (including through song lyrics, group names, and outfits for performances). By dedicating a separate section to this analysis, I am not implying that these different manifestations of (self)care are distinct from each other. On the contrary, I hope to show that notions of 'togetherness', 'belonging' or 'solidarity' are more often than not shaped by practices of self-valorisation or -appreciation, and vice versa.

As part of this exploration, I continue to relate the concept of (self)care to notions of 'resistance' by arguing – in line with Lorde (1988) and Ahmed (2014) – that a sense of self-preservation, self-confidence and self-esteem is not only important but a 'radical act' in a world that does not value, care for or support certain lives. In the case of many Batukaderas, cultivating these qualities is a form of contestation, particularly against their gendered, racialised, and classed ascriptions and categorisations. This includes the notion of self-preservation as challenging 'traditional' gender roles and resisting ascribed (gendered, racialised, classed) roles in relation to motherhood or the 'caring for others', for instance. This inevitably brings forth some contradictions and ambivalences inherent in caring practices: on the one hand, Batuku and the 'care for others' it involves is framed here as a form of contesting social abjection. On the other, I also acknowledge the gendered practice of 'caring for others' as part and parcel of oppressive power structures.

8.4.1 Preservation of the Self

In this section, I build on Audre Lorde's (1988) famous quote that "*caring* for myself is not self-indulgence, it is *self-preservation* (…)" (Lorde 1988, cited in Ahmed 2014: n/s, my emphasis), focusing on the meaning of Batuku as a preservation of the self. I

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[322] The re-valorisation of positions and spaces in terms of public announcements of pride in one's neighbourhood, for instance, was discussed in more detail in chapter 7.

understand Batuku as a constitutive part of the Batukaderas' preservation of themselves as humans and individuals, and not merely of their 'tradition' or '(cultural) heritage'. In other words, their choice to practice Batuku in the postcolonial, diasporic context of the AML is not only related to feelings of responsibility to 'preserve' a '(cultural) identity' but also – and perhaps more importantly – to a necessity of caring for and preserving their sense of selfhood in the face of racialised, gendered, and classed abjections. With Lorde, we can remember that ensuring one's survival in a world where one is not cared for or supported – "a world that is constantly trying to erase your *selfhood* and deny your *self-worth*" (Mahdawi 2017: n/s, my emphasis) – is a radical act, and that this does not merely refer to the survival of one's physical body but to one's 'identity' (Ahmed 2014) and, I argue, one's sense of self. Moreover, this includes the claim to define oneself according to one's own judgements and therein resist stigmatising and essentialising narratives.[323]

My understanding of (self)care in contexts of social abjection is thus related to the preservation of the self in the sense of selfhood, and also of self-worth. In our interview, the activist and Batuku supporter Inés refers to a Batuku event and relates what one Batukaderas said about why she practices in the AML.

> "And I think that [Rita], when she spoke at the colloquium, you know, that she said when she started practicing Batuku, that she found herself fully. Well. That's the most beautiful and most (laughs) important thing that one can say, you know, that she found herself through Batuku" (Int. Inés, 08/11/2016).[324]

This quote highlights Batuku as a means of preserving – or (re)discovering – one's sense of self. Furthermore, I contend that this preservation (or discovery) of the self can at times be related to a contestation of 'traditional' gender roles and ascribed (gendered, racialised, classed) roles in relation to motherhood and/or 'care for others'. Or, as Susan Shaw (2001) puts it, women can challenge societal ascriptions by

> "adopt[ing] behaviors or express[ing] themselves through activities which provide personal empowerment and which, at the same time, reflect a

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[323] The resistance to stigmatising narratives and images was also dealt with in chapter 7.
[324] The original quote in Portuguese is "E penso que a [Rita], quando ela falou no colóquio, não é, que ela disse quando ela começou a fazer Batuku, que ela se encontrou inteiro. Bom. É a coisa mais bonita e mais (ri) importante que se pode dizer, não é, que ela se encontrou assim próprio através do Batuku".

challenge to dominant, restrictive or constraining views of femininity, sexuality, or motherhood" (ibid: 191).

In line with this and the above statement by Inés, we can thus understand the practice of Batuku as a source of strength and (self)support as well as a tool of expression that offers space for the self, a valorisation of the Batukaderas themselves as complex individuals, and therein a space (and time) away from purely 'traditional' gender roles as wives, mothers or grandmothers (Bialeschki & Michener 1994; Shaw 2001). Granted, these roles are often proudly emphasised at Batuku events by presenters, supporters, and the Batukaderas themselves – and should thus not be interpreted as being contested through Batuku per se. Nonetheless, the Batukaderas' practice can be understood as an act of (self)care removed from the more 'traditional' ascription of caring for others. As has been shown in other contexts (Bialeschki & Michener 1994; Green 1998; Shaw 2001; Du 2008), this can result in an "enhanced sense of self, the development of new self-affirming identities, and increased feelings of self-worth" (Shaw 2001: 195).

It became clear in the previous section of this chapter that many Batukaderas describe the importance of Batuku for them as a space for themselves ('for me'), where they can 'switch off' and 'cope with' the strains of daily routines in the sense of employment conditions but also of problems and responsibilities at home. I therefore read Batuku as both a space of 'care for others' and a contestation of the duties of caring ascribed to many Batukaderas as (grand)mothers and wives, but also as domestic workers. This is indicative of the ambivalences and contradictions within the practice.

bell hooks (1990) reminds us that notions of 'care' have a specific historical relation to Black women. In her analysis of the US-American context, she writes that

"[t]hey were black women who for the most part worked outside the home serving white folks, cleaning their houses, washing their clothes, tending their children - black women who worked in the fields or in the streets, whatever they could do to make ends meet, whatever was necessary. Then they returned to their homes to make life happen there. This tension between service outside one's home, family, and kin network, service provided to white folks which took time and energy, and the effort of black women to conserve enough of themselves to provide service (care and nurturance) within their own families and communities is one of the many factors that has historically distinguished the lot of black women in patriarchal white supremacist society from that of black men. Contemporary black struggle

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must honor this history of service just as it must critique the sexist definition
of service as women's 'natural' role" (ibid: 42).

This excerpt from hook's chapter *Homeplace. A Site of Resistance* (1990) references several themes that are important to my analysis, particularly the ambivalence and complexity of dealing with the gendered practice of 'caring for others' as part of oppressive power structures and at the same time conserving (or, as termed here, preserving) 'enough of themselves'. At the same time, however, caring and mothering should not solely be understood as part of oppressive, sexist power structures. Several Black theorists, including Patricia Hill Collins and Joan Anim-Addo, also frame the act of caring and mothering[325] in contexts of violence (such as transatlantic slavery) as collective, political acts. According to Anim-Addo (2014), "the personal – mothering our children – is the political, affording a nurturing of alterity through a politics of care" (ibid: 44). She further explains that such practices offer "invaluable support while undermining and resisting a system that waged war on Black kinship or family life" (ibid). I suggest that these realities are also present in the context of the social abjections, which characterise the AML.

As Nalinie Mooten (2015) argues, the global economy of care is "intrinsically neo-colonial: in addition to being feminized, it is racialized and classed" (ibid: 3). The experiences of women of colour in the context of care or domestic service is deeply linked to the history of colonisation. As bell hooks affirmed, Black women have a historical connection to caring tasks as they often had (and have) to work outside the home to care for others. "In so doing, domestic service is what linked them to the perpetuation of the colonial labor system, in which similar work was performed for very little, or no, compensation in an (informal) extension of institutionalized slavery" (Mooten 2015: 14). With Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez (2011), we should also recognise that this kind of labour was and is valued as 'lesser'.

> "The value assigned to this labor is compounded by gendered colonial legacies, expressed in a hierarchical epistemological system that favours rationality and discredits corporeal, emotional and sustainable qualities. The value of domestic work is pre-set by a cultural system of meaning production based on historical and socio-political systems of gender differences and racialized hierarchies. This correlates with its feminized

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[325] Anim-Addo (2014) also refers to her concept of '(other)mothering', which refers to women who mended families ripped apart by transatlantic slavery and often helped to care for children who were not their 'bloodchildren' (ibid: 53).

labor force, particularly that of the racialized, feminized subaltern" (ibid: n/s).

Because the labour of many Batukaderas as domestic workers or cleaners is not valued, their self-valorisation and appreciation – which I frame as part of their (self)care – becomes even more important. "It's subversive to take care of ourselves because for centuries black women worldwide have been taking care of others, from the children of slave masters to those of business executives (…)" (Brooks-Tatum 2012: n/s).

8.4.2 Self-worth and -esteem

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Jorge Castro Ribeiro (2010) interprets Batuku as a "mechanism of social affirmation" (ibid: 158), positing its role as a means of generating self-esteem. This framing of Batuku as (self)affirmation resonates with my conceptualisation of Batuku as (self)care in the sense of self-appreciation, self-valorisation, and/or self-preservation. All of these manifestations of (self)care can also be connected to a preservation of the self or a sense of selfhood and feelings of self-worth, self-esteem, self-confidence, or self-respect.[326]

As already indicated, I suggest that in the case of Batuku in the AML this is connected to good feelings such as taking pride in the language practices, spaces and locations of Batuku. This is expressed through song lyrics, group names, and outfits for performances, among other things. In situations of social abjection and its racist, sexist, and classist consequences, this becomes an important tool not only of survival but also of counteraction. Or, as Tracy Robinson and Janie Victoria Ward (1991) put it,

> "the ability to move beyond the internalization of racial denigration to an internalization of racial pride involves a process of confronting and rejecting oppressive negating evaluations of blackness and femaleness, adopting instead a *sense of self that is self-affirming and self-valuing*" (ibid: 91, my emphasis).

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[326] That popular cultural practices can be beneficial to the building of one's self-confidence or self-esteem is not a new finding and has been addressed and shown in several studies (Du 2008).

Establishing a positive, affirmative sense of self through the practice of Batuku can thus serve as a form of (self)protection against abjecting forces which threaten to lower one's self-esteem and contribute to feelings of self-abnegation (Robinson & Ward 1991: 92).

I suggest that Batuku in the AML is not only about valorisation but also about the re-valorisation of the positionalities of those who practice it. This is connected to the fact that the practice was prohibited and sanctioned in the past (as outlined in chapter 1), predominantly because it was constructed as 'too African' (racialised) and 'too sexual' (gendered). We can thus understand the (re)valorisation of Batuku as a confident and proud reclamation of the notions of 'femininity' and 'Africanity' by the Batukaderas. This becomes apparent through some of the groups' outfits for performances.[327] When asked about the meaning of the different elements that make up their Batuku outfit, Ana from the group *Strela de Bela Vista* explains that "the headdress, for example, how do I explain it. Like, in Batuku it's an African garment. Which they have used since the beginning of Batuku on Cape Verde. It's always been used" (Int. Ana, 30/10/2016).[328] Or, as Fernanda from the group *Ramedi Terra* states during our interview,

> "the outfit represents this very activity (pause) in its natural form. Because, for example, the skirt is large like that in order to allow for the movement of the body. The *Panu*, is to enhance the waistline in order to be able to spin around. And the headdress is a symbol of the Cape Verdean woman, African, Cape Verdean especially" (Int. Fernanda, 07/11/2016).[329]

In this excerpt, Fernanda emphasises the concepts of 'Africanity' and 'Cape Verdeanness', as well as notions of 'femininity' through the different elements of Batuku outfits.

We can also remember from previous chapters that language policies played an important role – and continue to do so – both on Cape Verde and in Portugal, and that Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) or Kriolu is still not recognised as an official

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[327] The different elements of Batuku outfits and their meanings were dealt with in more detail in chapter 6 of this thesis.
[328] The original quote in Portuguese is "o lenço, por exemplo, como é que vou dizer isso. Tipo, no Batuku é um traje africano. Que eles usam desde o começo de Batuku em Cabo Verde. Sempre usava".
[329] The original quote in Portuguese is "O traje representa essa atividade mesmo (pausa) na sua forma natural. Porque, por exemplo, a saia é larga, assim para facilitar o movimento do corpo. O *Panu*, é para aumentar a cintura para poder mexer. E o lenço é o símbolo da mulher cabo-verdiana, africana, cabo-verdiana especialmente".

language in either country. As Derek Pardue (2012a, b; 2014a, b) has shown in his work on Kriolu Rap in the AML, the choice to write lyrics and perform in Kriolu can be understood as a conscious reclaiming of space, an affirmation of pride, and a rejection of past and present narratives of stigma and denigration. The Kriolu Rap scene in the AML deliberately identifies itself as different from 'Portuguese' Rap [in Kriolu: *rap tuga*] or 'Cape Verdean' Rap [in Kriolu: *rap kaubverdianu*] as it hinges on the rappers' identification with the diaspora space. While I do not want to imply that the negotiation of 'diaspora' through Batuku in the AML follows the exact same logic, I nonetheless see similarities between the two practices.

The vast majority – if not all – of the Batuku song repertoire in the AML includes lyrics in Kriolu. While I personally did not come across a single Batuku song in Portuguese during my research stay, some people spoke of possibly having heard some, though they could not remember the specific details. The fact that Batuku songs are sung in Kriolu is not a coincidence or arbitrary decision but a conscious choice. I read this conscious choice as entwined with the Batukaderas' intentional, confident and proud assertion of their value and dignity in a space where many still regard Kriolu as a *português mal falado* [badly spoken Portuguese].

As well as the chosen language, the themes of many Batuku songs offer further examples of self-valorisation and -appreciation. As elaborated on in chapter 7, Batuku performances for larger or non-Kriolu-speaking audiences often include an explanation of the lyrics in between the songs, either by a Batukadera herself, by a supporter of the performing group, or by an organiser of the respective event. It was also analysed in section 7.4.2 that songs by several Batuku groups in the AML include proud, conscious references to their neighbourhoods and are thus public valorisations of often highly racialised, criminalised and stigmatised spaces. As McKittrick (2006) eloquently phrases it, "the naming of place (…) is also a process of *self-assertion* and humanization, a naming of inevitable black geographic presence. To put it another way, naming place is also an act of *naming the self and self-histories*" (ibid: xxii, my emphasis). She understands an expressed reference to a space as a form of self-assertion as well as a naming, which I have framed as a preservation of the self in this chapter.

As well as this self-valorisation, -appreciation and pride in language practices and spaces, proclamations of self-worth or self-confidence are also present in the name choice of some Batuku groups. The most evident one, in my opinion, is that of

the group *Finka Pé* from *Cova da Moura*. In Portuguese, *fincar o pé* can be translated to 'dig one's heels in' or to 'stand one's ground'. During our interview, when asked about the group's name, Inés shared her interpretation, stating "it's very beautiful, you know, with women like that, standing up. 'We, we are here, mhm'" (Int. Inés, 08/11/2016).[330] Disclosed through the name *Finka Pé* as well as Inés' statement is the self-valorisation of the Batukaderas and their positionalities; their self-assertion as women who 'dig their heels in' and 'stand their ground', in spite of persistent social abjection, stigmatisation and victimisation. The name choice of another group, *Voz D'África* [Voice of Africa] – engaged with in chapter 6 – offers a further example of self-affirmation, not only in relation to the re-valorisation of concepts of 'Africanity', but also in terms of 'having' or 'being a voice'.

As we have seen, having a sense of self-worth and valorising one's positionality gains in importance in contexts of social abjection, where certain lives are not valued. In the case of Batuku, this is also related to a lack of valorisation of the practice by many event organisers.

> "F: (…) sometimes it is for lack of valorisation on the part of other people. For example these activities like that, cultural, traditional festivals of the saints, which you will attend in *Outurela*[331], the *Santa Catarina* festival. Look, the responsible organisers, they invite artists, they give a remuneration to everyone but they don't give remuneration to the Batukaderas. Because the Batukaderas have to (pause) have to …
> HS: But, but it is also a (pause) a performance like …
> F: It is a performance like the others but they don't give remuneration" (Int. Fernanda, 07/11/2016).[332]

As becomes apparent through this excerpt from the interview with Fernanda from the Batuku group *Ramedi Terra*, there appears to be an unequal valorisation of different performances at some events. As already mentioned, not a single Batukadera listed financial aspects as a motivation for practicing Batuku during my research stay. However, there were several statements about feeling treated unfairly or unequally

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[330] The original quote in Portuguese is "é muito bonito, não é, com mulheres assim, de fincar. 'Nós, estamos aqui, mhm'".

[331] *Outurela* is a neighbourhood in the parish of *Carnaxide*, municipality of *Oeiras*.

[332] The original quote in Portuguese is "F: (…) as vezes é por falta de valorização da parte doutras pessoas. Por exemplo aquelas atividades assim, cultural, festa tradicional de santos, que vais assistir ali na *Outurela*, Santa Catarina. Olha, os responsável organizadores, convidam artistas, todos dão cachê mas às Batukaderas não dão cachê. Porque Batukaderas têm que (pausa) têm que … / HS: Mas, mas também é um (pausa) uma atuação como … / F: É uma atuação como todas mas não dão cachê".

when compared to other – more 'popular' or 'professional' – popular cultural practices.

I have thus far argued that in the postcolonial, diasporic setting of the AML, where many Batukaderas are made abject based on their racialised, gendered, and classed experiences, acts of self-valorisation and -appreciation can be understood as manifestations of (self)care and as political. At this point, let us recall what Father Michael (the then chaplain of the 'Chaplaincy of the African Communities in Lisbon') says about one of the annual events he organises for the 'community'.

> "The idea was, a people abroad, and there is a necessity to unite. At least once a year. (…) Thus everybody can feel at ease. And (…) we want to present our culture. The wealth that we have. It's not only work. But a moment of coexistence, moment to show that we also pertain to a people, and this people has a culture" (Int. Father Michael, 12/06/2017).[333]

As previously argued, by stating that this event is organised in order to 'present our culture' and 'the wealth that we have', Father Michael indicates the importance of a (self)valorisation and (self)appreciation of '(African) cultures' (within which Batuku is being situated); and thus points to the aspects of (self)care analysed here. The significance of pride in one's culture is also expressed by some Batukaderas when asked about the meaning of Batuku for them.

> "With the help (…) of Batuku I learned a lot from the women of the group. I vent with them and they also give me advice. They tell me stories from Cape Verde. With them I even learned typically African songs and dishes. They treat me like a daughter. (…) This makes me feel, happy, light, valuable and heiress of a very beautiful and very vast culture and tradition, which I am proud of. And I say: I am 'Pretoguesa'[334], I am [the] daughter of Cape Verdeans, I am [a] Batukadera (…)" (Ângela, in Finka Pé 2016: 78).[335]

Here, the generational importance of Batuku becomes apparent, particularly in

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[333] The original quote in Portuguese is "A ideia era, um povo no estrangeiro, e há uma necessidade de unir. Pelo menos uma vez por ano. (…) Assim cada um pode sentir à vontade. E (…) queremos apresentar nossa cultura. A riqueza que temos. Não é só trabalhar. Mas um momento de convívio, momento de mostrar que nós também pertencemos a um povo, e este povo tem uma cultura'.

[334] This is a term comprised of the Portuguese words *preto* (a derogatory term for Black people) and *Portuguesa* (Portuguese).

[335] The original quote in Portuguese is "Com a ajuda (…) do batuque aprendi muito com as mulheres do grupo. Desabafo com elas e também me dão conselhos. Contam-me histórias de Cabo Verde. Com elas ainda aprendi músicas e pratos tipicamente africanos. Tratam-me como uma filha. (…) Isso faz me sentir, feliz, leve, útil e herdeira de uma cultura e tradição muito bonita e muito ampla da qual me orgulho. E digo: sou 'Pretoguesa', sou filha de caboverdianos, sou batucadeira (…)".

relation to feelings of pride about oneself and one's 'culture', 'tradition' or 'heritage'.

8.5 Summary

Throughout this thesis, I have illustrated that many Batukaderas in the AML experience various forms of social abjection related to intersectional categories of inequality (primarily those of gender, 'race', and class). The main focus of this chapter was to enquire into what practicing Batuku means to those experiencing social abjection, and therein how they negotiate and (re)define their space in the racialised, classed, and gendered environment of the postcolonial diaspora space that is the AML.

Throughout this chapter, we have seen that the practice of Batuku is often associated with the Batukaderas' mental wellbeing. Consequently, it can be seen as an important space for care – for others and the self – and, ultimately, as a political act which inherently contests the mechanisms through which power is achieved, maintained, and used. This has been demonstrated by exploring examples of Batuku as a communal means of 'surviving', 'coping' or 'managing' with and within systems of postcolonial oppression, as well as a space where one can 'unwind', 'relax' or 'switch off' from the strains of precarious and marginalised employment conditions, for instance. I have also argued that Batuku plays an important role as a form of self-valorisation, self-confidence, self-esteem, self-worth, or self-affirmation in a setting where certain lives are valued more than others.

These different manifestations revealed that there are both individual and collective forms of (self)care (Shaw 2001: 193f) and that the framing of (self)care as a political act of contestation does not rely on particular – 'successful' or 'unsuccessful' – outcomes (ibid: 196). I have also stressed that the practice of Batuku has diverse meanings, not all of which can be applied to all practitioners throughout the AML. Every Batukadera ascribes different meanings and values to Batuku. However, based on the *in vivo* codes from interview transcripts and observation notes, it became evident that many referred to common themes, for instance of 'doing something that I like', 'getting' or 'being together', 'unwinding' and 'distracting' oneself from various hardships, or as a moment of 'uplift' or 'pride' stemming from the practice and

performance of Batuku. I have consequently engaged with all of these as manifestations of (self)care.

9 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to analyse how Batuku contributes to the negotiation of the diaspora space that is the Lisbon Metropolitan Area [AML]; or, formulated differently, how this postcolonial diaspora space is negotiated within, or through, the practice of Batuku. In the ensuing analysis, I focused on negotiations in the sense of the everyday ways in which people negotiate their space in relation to racialised, classed, and gendered environments constituted by postcolonial power relations (Brah 1996). So as not to reproduce the essentialist, ethnicising ascription of the category 'diaspora' to an allegedly homogeneous, bounded group of people, this study involved not only the Batukaderas themselves but also those who support Batuku groups or organise events at which Batuku performances take place. This focus was also informed by Brah's (1996) theorisation of 'diaspora space', which posits that processes of diasporisation not only include so called 'diasporic subjects' but also those who are – problematically – constructed as 'natives' (ibid: 16, 178, 205, 238).

Following Brah (1996), Gilroy (1993a, b) and Hall (1990, 1997, 1998), I have elaborated on the relation between diaspora space and '(popular) culture' by illustrating that popular cultural expressions can play an important role for the construction of diasporic identities and that 'culture' is one of the many ways "of negotiating and/or combating hierarchies of power" (Brah 1996: 82). In my analysis of everyday negotiations of the AML within/through Batuku, I have particularly emphasised the importance of notions of identity, resistance, and intersectionality.

To conclude the thesis, I will outline these various negotiations by (1) presenting the main findings of my analysis but simultaneously drawing connections between them in order to reflect the context in which they take place, (2) illustrating how and why the story/-ies presented here matter for broader theoretical and political debates.

9.1 Findings & Reflections

Throughout this thesis, I have analysed negotiations of the AML as a diaspora space by focusing on the practice of Batuku as one everyday way through which this

happens. In order to do so, I interviewed those practicing it, those supporting it, and those organising it. My analysis also included notes from participatory observations at various events, as well as from conversations and reflections during my research stays, and a vast number of event advertisements on social media.[336] All of this resulted in four analytical chapters dealing with everyday navigations of the AML (including housing and labour issues), notions of Batuku as 'tradition', and Batuku as a means of contesting postcolonial absences/presences as well as a practice of (self)care.

In chapter 5, I analysed housing and labour issues in the AML in order to apprehend how they structure the Batukaderas' lives. While this chapter did not have 'negotiations' at the forefront, I nonetheless argued that an understanding of labour and housing was crucial to an understanding of 'negotiations' as they were at the very core of people's everyday experiences. Cities are shaped by and around categories of 'race', gender, or class. In the case of the AML, this is linked to the issue of housing as a tool of racist and classist spatial categorisation and to the colonisation, gendering (feminisation) and classing of specific labour sectors. Consequently, this chapter highlighted the importance of an intersectional analysis and illustrated that many Batukaderas in the AML have been (and continue to be) affected by housing policies, which have – in turn – changed their daily routines and labour conditions. Ultimately, all of this has shaped the ways Batuku can be practiced in the AML. The intention of my analysis in chapter 5 was to establish a basis for all ensuing chapters in terms of understanding the Batukaderas as active and invested in space, and as inhabiting and negotiating the world around them in complex ways.

In analysing discourses of Batuku as 'tradition' (chapter 6) and their diasporic manifestations, I focused on historical narratives as well as on Batuku events throughout the AML and suggested that group names, outfits and performances (i.e. the staging of Batuku) are all related to gendered, classed and racialised notions of 'origin', 'culture', and 'authenticity'. In other words, Batuku is generally framed as an 'African', 'female', and 'working class' popular cultural practice. I argued that in the postcolonial, diasporic context of the AML, notions of 'origin' are not only romanticised but also frequently related to ideas of *terra* [(home)land, soil]. With this in mind, I asserted (1) that notions of *terra* gain in importance in the AML in order to

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[336] On Facebook, in particular.

make sense of this diaspora space and can thus be read as a claim by the Batukaderas to something tangible in the face of uncertainty/ies and uprooting (be it in terms of (forced) migrations or resettlements), and (2) that romanticised notions of 'origin' are intensified in the AML as debates around the potential loss of an 'authentic' Batuku are generated by the specific lived realities (i.e. labour and housing conditions, which make it difficult to maintain groups, meet for rehearsals, or organise events) of many Batukaderas. Chapter 6 also showed that the negotiation of Batuku as 'tradition' in the AML relies on performative actions and gestures (Butler 1990, 1993) and that the staging or performing of an 'authentic' 'tradition' (via the outfits of a group or the props used onstage) is more important in the AML 'outside' of presumed 'community' contexts. In line with Brah (1996), this demonstrated that "certain inherited narratives (…) [become] the privileged icons of 'tradition'" and that "under given circumstances, this and not that 'tradition' is invoked and valorised" (ibid: 231).

Based on the frequent connotation of 'popular culture' with 'resistance', chapters 7 and 8 focussed on different means of challenging and contesting "structures of injustice" (Brah 1996: 239) or 'social abjections' (Tyler 2013). In chapter 7, I argued that postcolonial power relations in the AML persist through particular absences and presences, expressed visually (through (in)visibilities or (in)visibilisations), and audibly (through silences/-ing or voices/-ing). By examining the various dimensions of abjection in the AML, I demonstrated – following McKittrick (2006) – that the simultaneity of absence and 'problematic presence' (i.e. presence only by way of romanticisations/fetishisations or, conversely, disapproval) is an inherent contradiction in the "active production of black spaces" (ibid: 99). Through different examples, the chapter highlighted how many Batukaderas negotiate and contest their 'being made absent' in the AML in a number of ways, particularly by asserting their spatial and visual presence in spaces where they are frequently categorised as 'out of place' or 'space invaders' (Puwar 2004) based on their racialised, classed, and gendered positionalities. Asserting this presence is a precondition for another means by which many Batukaderas challenge and negotiate absences and (problematic) presences, namely by creating (visual and audible) 'counter-narratives' – particularly to the omnipresent romanticising narratives of *Lusofonia* and *Lusotropicalismo* – at some of the big events and festivals. In short, the chapter argued that many Batukaderas contest their absences as well as problematic presences through the practice of Batuku.

In contrast, chapter 8 focused on more 'mundane', 'subtle' or 'covert' ways of challenging social abjections by framing the various meanings Batuku holds for its practitioners (but also, in parts, for people connected to the practice in other ways) as different manifestations of (self)care. The chapter hence addressed both collective and individual forms of care. Despite current criticisms of self-care practices, the chapter drew on Audre Lorde (1988) and Sara Ahmed (2014) in order to argue that in the case of Batuku and the Batukaderas, (self)care matters as a political act in the sense that it challenges the ways power is achieved, maintained, and used. This was demonstrated by analysing the various values and meanings of Batuku as a way of (1) 'coping' or 'managing' with and within a system of social abjection (often by putting to use and processing 'ugly feelings' (Ngai 2007)); of (2) 'unwinding' or 'switching off' (closely linked to Batuku being understood as a moment of 'uplift'), of (3) providing networks and 'safe spaces' of (self)support and solidarity; and (4) as a tool for (re)valorising one's positionalities, preserving a sense of self, and creating increased feelings of self-worth and self-esteem. I posited that all of these manifestations of (self)care are interconnected and, moreover, that the sharing of 'positive' feelings – such as togetherness and solidarity – as well as 'ugly feelings' (Ngai 2007) – such as fear, pain and upset fomented by persistent, pervasive abjection – in safe spaces is crucial for challenging one's social abjection. Thinking in line with Lorde (1988) and Ahmed (2014), revalorising one's positionalities and preserving a sense of self can be considered a 'radical' and 'political' act in the postcolonial context of the AML where certain lives are not valued, cared for or supported.

Therein, my framing of Batuku as (self)care included its analysis as a form of resistance against or contestation of various postcolonial and intersectional forms of social abjection (including racism, sexism and classism) as well as their relation to housing inequalities, working conditions, and societal ascriptions and categorisations, and their consequent effects on people's (mental) health and wellbeing. In line with the intersectional framework of the thesis, this analysis included a focus on the gendered, racialised, and classed positionalities of the Batukaderas and highlighted the contradictions, ambivalences and complexities inherent in caring practices.

So, returning to the main research question of this study, how does (the popular cultural practice of) Batuku contribute to the negotiation of the diaspora space that is the AML? Or, how is the diaspora space of the AML negotiated within Batuku?

I hope that my analysis has shown that racist and classist housing policies and the gendering, classing, and racialisation of labour sectors are among the two main factors structuring the everyday experiences of the Batukaderas in the AML – and, by implication, the ways in which they can practice, organise, or perform Batuku. Racist, sexist, and classist labour and housing issues are thus also crucial when we consider how Batuku as a 'Cape Verdean' 'tradition' continues in or adapts itself to the diasporic context of the AML (chapter 6), how the Batukaderas are simultaneously made absent and present (chapter 7), and how their (mental) health is affected (chapter 8).

My analysis has shown that the gendered, racialised, and classed framing of Batuku as a 'Cape Verdean' 'tradition' is maintained in the AML, albeit with some adapted meanings. This adaptation is entwined with the postcolonial specifities of the AML (chapter 2) and an increased emphasis on *terra* as something tangible in the face of the uncertainty/ies and/or uprooting which typify the everyday experiences of many Batukaderas in the city (chapter 5). This is also why the staging or performance of an 'authentic' version of Batuku is deemed more importan 'outside' of presumed 'community' contexts in the AML.

Furthermore, my analysis has shown that the AML is a context of social abjection (Tyler 2013) and that various manifestations of this abjection are negotiated by the Batukaderas in various ways, from the more 'public' or 'visible' contestations explored in chapter 7 to the more 'mundane', 'ordinary' or 'subtle' ones explored in chapter 8. Both are equally important to my framing of Batuku as a form of resistance against intersectional and multi-layered power relations. This thesis thus suggests rethinking and reframing enquiry into what counts as resistance to include and more fully reflect on the everyday.

9.2   Contributions & Broader Relevance

Based on the above discussion of my findings, I will now consider the contribution of analysing a 'Cape Verdean' popular cultural practice in the diaspora space of the AML with regard to the broader field of study as well as to theoretical approaches.

Finally, this section will reflect on the 'big picture' and why the story and stories of this thesis are still pressing, for the context of the AML and beyond.

The understanding of 'culture' (and its connection to diasporic spaces) put forward throughout this thesis has a broader significance. As discussed in chapter 3, an idea of cultural nationalism and thus the essentialist notion that culture is 'absolute', 'pure' and 'immutable' is common, not only among many scholars but also in many political and societal discourses. In this regard, I referenced Paul Gilroy (1993a) and his contestation of the dominant ways in which the meaning of 'English culture' has been negotiated in a racialised sense, where

> "blackness and Englishness appeared suddenly to be mutually exclusive attributes and where the conspicuous antagonism between them proceeded on the terrain of culture [in the sense of cultural values and 'national identity'; A/N], not that of politics" (ibid: 10)

in order to demonstrate that 'culture' needs to be conceived of as a constantly changing field without an inherent link to territory (or nation/nationality). In short, my work has addressed diasporic cultures, rather than essentialist notions of 'culture', and I have continuously argued for an understanding of positionalities and identities as fluid rather than fixed. This is extremely relevant when one considers current political debates on borders, the nation, immigration, and identity in the European context, including Portugal.

One of the ways in which the Batukaderas negotiate the diaspora space of the AML within Batuku – and thereby contest an essentialist and fixed notion of 'Portuguese identity' or 'culture' – is by challenging their absences and (problematic) presences through it (chapter 7). Through song lyrics or by performing with the physical flags of both Cape Verde and Portugal, for example, I argued that they self-confidently reclaim the diaspora space that is the AML and their diasporic positionality, respectively. In doing so, they challenge public discourses which predominantly evolve around the presence of – a homogenised group of – 'immigrants', 'foreigners', 'Africans' (Reiter 2005; Arenas 2015), or – more specifically – 'Cape Verdeans' but not, for instance, around 'Black Portuguese'.

As announced in the State of the Art (chapter 3.2), most literature on 'Cape Verdean' popular cultural practices in the AML focuses on genres such as Kriolu Rap or – to a lesser extent – Cabo-zouk / Cabo-love. This academic work thus generally

addresses 'popular' performances with larger audiences and more recent, 'modern' musical styles. There has been little research on Batuku in general and particularly in the context of Portugal or the AML. It is also notable that most of these publications are from an (ethno)musicological, sociological, or cultural anthropological perspective and that they generally refer to the existence of a 'Cape Verdean diaspora', a 'Cape Verdean community', or to 'Cape Verdeans [in Lisbon or Portugal]' or '[people of] Cape Verdean descent'.

I therefore hope that the thesis has filled some of these gaps – especially due to its intersectional approach and critique of essentialising notions of 'diaspora' – on a very modest level and contributed to a broader understanding of Batuku in the AML as a diasporic processes in ongoing relation with intersectional, postcolonial power relations.

From a methodological perspective, I applied a multi-layered approach for my analysis, which I hope has a broader contribution beyond this thesis. Firstly, including a focus on events allowed me to generate data on how the AML as a diaspora space is negotiated, without reproducing essentialist notions of 'community' and/or 'diaspora' as given, fixed entities. [337] Secondly, complementing this analysis of events by interviewing several actors – from Batukaderas to group supporters, activists, or event organisers – reflected my interest in analysing discourses, emphasising a process-oriented perspective and focusing on the various negotiation processes inherent in processes of diasporisation. This was in line with Avtar Brah's (1996) notion of 'diaspora space', which not only includes so called 'diasporic subjects' (i.e. those who have migrated and their descendants), but also those who are – problematically – constructed as 'natives' or 'indigenous' (ibid: 16, 178, 205, 238).

Reflecting on the broader contributions of this thesis is also accompanied by ongoing critical and self-reflexive evaluation of my work, intersectional positionality and privileges. While I stated above that my methodological approach enabled me to limit the reproduction of essentialist notions of 'community' and/or 'diaspora' as given, fixed entities, this is not entirely the case; throughout the research I frequently encountered the risk of reproducing those categories I had intended to deconstruct. This predominantly started to crystallise during the process of writing protocols –

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[337] This partial focus on events was influenced by Katharina Fritsch's research (2018), notably her chapters dealing with the performance and staging of 'Comorian origin' at a talent show and with diasporic representations of 'Comorian identity' at a concert.

where I ended up ascribing categories to people and actions – and then again when I began to draft my chapters. While the explanation in this thesis about writing 'Cape Verdean' with quotation marks to highlight discourses, or about referring to people 'positioned as' or 'constructed as' a certain group, enabled me to criticise notions of a homogenised 'community', it did not sufficiently destabilise these discourses.

In terms of the broader implications of my research, while I make assertions and offer fragmentary descriptions about some of the everyday ways in which people negotiate their racialised, classed, and gendered positionalities in the AML, my intention is not to make any general claims about what Black, working class women do or how they think or feel. In line with Alida Payson's (2018) final reflections, what I hope my analysis has conveyed to a certain, humble degree is that the stories presented here should not be seen as a 'bit of the Other' (hooks 1992) that adds some flavour to the hegemonic histories of the West (Hall 2005) but, instead, as constitutive of it (Naidoo 2016).

As I write these concluding remarks and reflections in the summer of 2020, two issues are ubiquitous in the international news: the Covid-19 pandemic and the Black Lives Matter (BLM) Movement. Prima facie, it might not seem like they have a lot in common. I want to argue, however, that several issues addressed in this thesis tie them together and, in doing so, demonstrate how and why the analyses presented here are still pressing and relevant.

While the data for countries such as the United Kingdom or the United States of America is still incomplete at this point in time, it is indisputable that people of colour – and Black people in particular – are at a disproportionate risk of contracting and/or dying from the coronavirus. Because Portugal does not gather data on 'race', there are no official or unofficial numbers to compare to the US or UK, but the fact that the number of cases in the AML is increasing, with an especially high occurrence in municipalities north and south of the *Lisboa* municipality (Faria Moreira 2020), points to a comparable situation.

As soon as the news about the higher rates and greater risk among Black people came out, observers and commentators in both the UK and US were quick to attribute this to pre-existing conditions, such as high rates of hypertension, diabetes, cardiovascular disease, or obesity (Chotiner 2020; Sowemimo 2020), or because "they just don't take care of themselves" (Chotiner 2020: n/s). In other words, people

offered (racist) 'cultural' or even biological / genetic explanations for these numbers. So instead of looking at how social and economic determinants are the primary cause of health inequalities (Khan 2020) – that is, examining the social conditions that produce higher rates of hypertension, diabetes, cardiovascular disease or obesity, and which seem to increase vulnerability to the virus (Chotiner 2020) – people reproduced racist narratives of Black bodies as innately different or Black people's 'bad' behaviour as responsible for their higher vulnerability to the virus. This shows a clear lack of understanding of how racism is a structural and institutional issue. Again, while most reports and responses have been published from and about the UK or the US, there are many reasons to presume that this situation also applies to Portugal, particularly due to the persistent omnipresence of the lusoptropicalist notion that racism does not exist in Portugal and is a problem of other European nations (chapters 2 and 7).

"Racism is a matter of life and death" (Khan 2020: n/s), not just since the Covid-19 crisis. "Even before (…), racial inequalities in health, education, housing and employment have shaped the lives" (ibid) of Black people and people of colour. The current pandemic is merely bringing this into sharp relief, which is why some argue that "race should be viewed as a 'social determinant of health'" (ibid). My analyses presented in chapters 5, 7 and 8 showed that (racialised, classed, and gendered) housing and labour conditions are at the core of the Batukaderas' everyday experiences in the diaspora space of the AML. As was also discussed, housing and labour conditions are decisive factors of physical and mental health. The patterns emerging concerning Covid-19 cases are not random but follow the designs of entrenched, systemic inequalities in public health (Khan 2020). In terms of labour conditions, racialised and ethnicised minorities are more likely to work in low-paid, precarious positions. At the same time, they represent a greater percentage in so-called 'social housing' areas with higher population densities (Chotiner 2020, The Guardian Editorial 2020). "In other words, their employment and housing circumstances mean they are more likely to be in contact with more people, and so are more at risk of getting Covid-19" (Khan 2020: n/s). We can also remember from chapter 5 that the effects of gendered wage labour regimes on the use and navigation of space in the AML are such that the lives of many racialised and classed women – including many Batukaderas – are, generally speaking, organised around journeys to and from peripheral residential areas and their low-paid, manual jobs (Fikes 2008:

55), which are often based in more 'central' locations of the city. While there are very few reports on the reasons for the increase in Covid-19 cases in municipalities north and south of the 'central' *Lisboa* municipality, it can be assumed that this is related to the considerable movement that exists between municipalities and the high number of journeys on public transportation (Faria Moreira 2020).

In line with my analysis throughout this thesis, I want to argue that the call for 'race' to be viewed as a "social determinant of health" (Khan 2020) should not negate the intersectional aspects of health inequalities. As Vanessa Thompson (Frankfurter Arbeitskreis 2020) argues by referencing the case of Kayla Williams, who died in her home in London a day after calling 999 and being told that she was not a priority[338], the racialised, gendered but also classed dimensions of the triage – in other words, decisions about who receives medical assistance and who does not, in times of limited medical resources – should not be ignored. While Covid-19 numbers in Portugal are lower than in other European countries, most of the recent infections have been in marginalised neighbourhoods of the AML (Almeida 2020), indicating that classed and racialised power relations are also at work in the Portuguese context. The initially proclaimed narrative that the virus does not discriminate (The Guardian Editorial 2020) is hence deeply flawed. The Covid-19 pandemic, which is accompanied by several other crises, affects all of us but it does not affect us equally. As a theoretical framework, an intersectional perspective thus increases our awareness that the virus – which is contagious beyond national or social borders – does not make us more equal but instead consolidates historically extant societal and global inequalities. Intersectionality makes it possible to examine this culmination of crises and the amplification of social abjection due to the Covid-19 pandemic (Frankfurter Arbeitskreis 2020).

All of the above has increased the need for care in the sense of solidarity (networks) and mutual help practices in the AML. As explained in chapter 8, my understanding of (self)care includes care in terms of caring for and looking after each other, and self-care as a subcategory. While the economic implications of lockdown regulations have affected the employment or unemployment of many people, it is indisputable that those in precarious working conditions have been hit most severely – both in terms of being laid off and in terms of being more exposed to the virus due to

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[338] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/25/london-woman-36-dies-of-suspected-covid-19-after-being-told-she-is-not-priority

the kind of jobs they do. The sharp increase in unemployment has shed light on the importance of mutual help networks – of *djunta-mô* – in many of the neighbourhoods where the majority of Batukaderas live. Self-organised solidarity movements such as *Nu Sta Djunto* [Kriolu for *We are Together*] have existed long before the current pandemic; however, they are now faced with a much higher demand – particularly in the distribution of basic foodstuffs (Nunes 2020). The cultural association *Moinho da Juventude* in *Cova da Moura*, mentioned numerous times throughout the thesis, has been running a *cantina social* [social canteen] for many years but is currently faced with scarce resources due to the greater demand for the free meals it offers (it is presently serving five times more than usual), which the pandemic has triggered (Gorjão Henriques 2020; Nunes 2020).

"Racism is a matter of life and death" (Khan 2020: n/s), not just since and not only related to the Covid-19 crisis. As discussed in-depth throughout the thesis, people's personal (mental and physical) health is strongly linked to the effects of racism. "Public health (…) is undermined by the marginalisation, [and] stress (…) that often come with racial discrimination" (The Guardian Editorial 2020: n/s). Scientific studies have shown that people of colour report higher rates of stress than *white* people – increasing the risk of health problems such as heart disease, high blood pressure, diabetes, and strokes (Brody et al. 2014; see also Mirk 2016) – and that the stress of racism and police violence[339] or lack of access to (healthcare) services are among the main factors listed for this (Brody et al. 2014; American Psychological Association 2017; see also Mirk 2016). Audre Lorde highlighted in her essay collection *A Burst of Light* (1988) that "racism can be an attack on the cells of the body, an attack on the body's immune system; the way in which your own body experiences itself as killing itself, death from the outside in" (Ahmed 2014: n/s).

So when the Black Lives Matter protests intensified after the killing of George Floyd in May 2020 and concerns were raised about the increased risk of spreading the coronavirus, dozens of public health professionals and infectious disease experts responded by signing an open letter in support of the demonstrations, stating that racism also posed a devastating health threat and that "white supremacy is a lethal public health issue that predates and contributes to COVID-19" (Chappell 2020:

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[339] According to a 2017 research, stress over police violence among Black populations in the United States increased from 68% in 2016 to 71% in 2017 (American Psychological Association 2017: n/s).

n/s)[340]. In other words, systemic racism is one of the reasons for higher infection and death rates from Covid-19 in Black populations, and it is also why a disproportionately high number of Black people in the US (and many other countries) are being killed by the police. As Dr. Elaine Nsoesie, an assistant professor of global health at Boston University, articulates, "these crises [shouldn't be weighed] separately" as racism is a "social determinant of health (…) [and] affects the physical and mental health" (Chappell 2020: n/s) of Black people.

The mission of the Black Lives Matter Movement is to "build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities (…)" (Black Lives Matter n.d.) and to "work for a world where Black lives are no longer *systematically targeted for demise*" (ibid, my emphasis). Through this mission statement, we are once more reminded that "racism is a matter of life and death" (Khan 2020: n/s). And, as was discussed and analysed with Audre Lorde (1988) and Sara Ahmed (2014), "(…) racial capitalism is a health system: a drastically unequal distribution of bodily vulnerabilities. (…) Being poor, being black, puts your life at risk" (Ahmed 2014: n/s). In light of both the Covid-19 pandemic and the BLM Movement, this statement is increasingly salient and highlights the broader significance of some of the analyses presented throughout this thesis. Living in postcolonial diaspora spaces such as London or Lisbon – albeit being specific contexts with various differences – as a Black person requires ways of 'coping with' or 'managing' those spaces. In other words, the everyday ways in which people negotiate their space in these environments are crucial. I have argued that these negotiations are political and resistant, since resistance can range from more "low-level, informal (…) ways" (Swan & Fox 2010: 575) to more "formal, collective practices such as strikes" (ibid) or demonstrations (Sheringham & Cohen 2013: 5). This is also in line with Ahmed's poignant analysis that "to have some body, to be a member of some group (…) can be a death sentence. When you are not supposed to live, as you are (…) then *survival is a radical action*" (Ahmed 2014: n/s, my emphasis). This survival has been a radical action for a long time, but is perhaps now – in the face of seemingly 'more global' crises – being revealed to a wider range of people. And while the current exposure of a racialised, classed and gendered healthcare system is bound up with the Covid-19 pandemic, it

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[340] The original letter can be found here:
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Jyfn4Wd2i6bRi12ePghMHtX3ys1b7K1A/view [accessed: 18/07/2020].

will most likely surface again with other future crises, be they viral or not.

10 Empirical material

10.1 Protocols

Observation Protocol, *Dia das Mulheres Cabo Verdianas*, 02 April 2016, *Associação Caboverdeana*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Poeiras Festival*, 10 September 2016, *Parque dos Poetas*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Batuku concert*, 11 September 2016, *Museu do Oriente*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Batuku performance*, 18 September 2016, *Moinho da Juventude*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Batuku event and workshop*, 23 September 2016, *Moinho da Juventude*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Personal Note, 28 September 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, M*eeting with the Batuku group Sul do Tejo*, 01 October 2016, *Casa Amarela*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Personal Note, 07 October 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Meeting with members of the Batuku group Strela de Bela Vista*, 22 October 2016, *Café Cacém*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Meeting of the Batuku groups Finka Pé and Nós Herança*, 30 October 2016, *Moinho da Juventude*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Personal Note, 15 November 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Meeting with Batuku group Nós Herança,* 19 November 2016, *Terras da Costa*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Festa Santa Catarina*, 20 November 2016, *Polidesportivo Cova da Moura*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Festa Santa Catarina*, 27 November 2016, *Outurela / Portela-Carnaxide*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Telephone conversation with a member of the Batuku group Voz D'África*, 28 November 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Telephone conversation with a member of the Batuku group Voz D'África,* 14 December 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Festa Sagrada Família*, 07 January 2017, *Caxias*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Festa Santo Amaro*, 15 January 2017, *Monte Abraão*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Interview with Lourdes*, 16 January 2017, *Rossio*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Meeting with a member of the Batuku group Sul do Tejo*, 17 January 2017, *Baixa-Chiado*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Reunion and rehearsal by the Batuku group Finka Pé*, 22 January 2017, *Moinho da Juventude*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Rehearsal by and meeting with the Batuku group Flor da Vida*, 29/01/2017, *Casal da Boba*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Telephone conversation with a member of the Batuku group Strela de Bela Vista,* 03 February 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Telephone conversation with a member of the Batuku group Sul do Tejo,* 10 February 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Meeting with a member of the Batuku group Sul do Tejo,* 14 February 2017, *Baixa-Chiado*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Telephone conversation with a member of the Batuku group Strela de Bela Vista,* 23 February 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *II Encontro das Batukaderas na Diáspora*, 03 June 2017, *Pavilhão Polivalente de Odivelas*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Festa Santos Populares*, 10 June 2017, *Food market Massamá / Sintra*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Observation Protocol, *Feira dos Livros*, 11 June 2017, *Parque Eduardo VII / Marquês de Pombal*, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

10.2 Interviews

Interview Alcides, 27 October 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Ana, 30 October 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Fernanda, 07 November 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Inés, 08 November 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview José Luís Hopffer Almada, 14 November 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Francisco, 22 November 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Mário, 06 December 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Amália, 07 December 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Cristina, 13 December 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Leonardo, 15 December 2016, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Elisa, 13 January 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Maria, 14 January 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview João, 16 January 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Lourdes, 16 January 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Vítor, 22 January 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Beatriz, 24 January 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Pedro, 31 January 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Telephone interview Leila, 01 February 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview José, 02 February 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Ester & Filomena, 12 February 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Rolando, 17 February 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Catarina, 24 February 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Iolanda, Isabela & Mafalda, 26 February 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Sofia, 08 June 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Anabela & Domingas, 11 June 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Interview Father Michael, 12 June 2017, Lisbon Metropolitan Area

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Figures

Figure 1: Map Lisbon Metropolitan Area, adapted from www.openstreetmap.org [accessed: 06/10/2020].

Abstracts

'Batuku moves me': On Postcolonial Negotiations of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

My dissertation examines how the postcolonial diaspora space that is the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (AML) is negotiated within, or through, the 'Cape Verdean' popular cultural practice of Batuku. Since colonial times, Portugal – and the AML in particular – has been a central destination of migration from the Cape Verde islands. Batuku is generally considered the oldest popular cultural practice on the Cape Verde islands. In its 'original' form, it is a combination of drumming, dancing, and singing and is primarily practiced by working-class women (Batukaderas).

I argue that diaspora spaces are constituted by postcolonial power relations (Brah 1996) and by the everyday ways in which people negotiate their space in these racialised, classed, or gendered environments. In order to operationalise my research interest in these everyday negotiations, I look at how Batuku is practiced and organised in the context of the AML. The 'protagonists' in this thesis are thus not only the Batukaderas but also those who support Batuku groups or organise events where Batuku performances take place.

I apply an intersectional approach and analyse Batuku as a means of challenging and contesting 'structures of injustice' (Brah 1996) or 'social abjections' (Tyler 2013). I *firstly* focus on how racist and classist housing policies as well as gendered, classed and racialised labour conditions structure people's everyday experiences of the city. *Secondly*, I examine how the framing of Batuku as a racialised, classed, and feminised 'tradition' is continued in and/or adapted to the postcolonial diaspora space of the AML. *Thirdly*, I argue that postcolonial power relations continue through absences and presences in the city and that many Batukaderas assert their presence, and contest specific absences, through Batuku. And *finally*, I show that Batuku can be seen as an important space for (self)care and, ultimately, be read as a political act.

'Batuku bewegt mich': Über postkoloniale Verhandlungen der Metropolregion Lissabons

In dieser Dissertation analysiere ich wie der postkoloniale, diasporische Raum der Metropolregion Lissabons (AML) innerhalb bzw. durch die „kapverdianische" populärkulturelle Praktik namens Batuku verhandelt wird. Seit der Kolonialzeit stellt Portugal – und insbesondere die AML – eine zentrale Destination für Migrationen von den Kapverdischen Inseln dar. Batuku wird generell als älteste populärkulturelle Praktik der Kapverden angesehen. „Ursprünglich" handelt es sich dabei um eine Kombination aus Perkussion, Tanz und Gesang, und er wird generell von Frauen der Arbeiter*innenklasse (Batukaderas) praktiziert.

Ich argumentiere, dass 'diaspora spaces' (Brah 1996) durch postkoloniale Machtverhältnisse sowie durch die alltägliche Art und Weise, wie Menschen ihren Platz in diesem rassialisierten, vergeschlechtlichten, und klassenbasierten Umfeld verhandeln, konstituiert werden. Um mein Forschungsinteresse an diesen alltäglichen Verhandlungen zu operationalisieren, untersuche ich wie Batuku im Kontext der AML praktiziert und organisiert wird. Die „Protagonist*innen" dieser Dissertation sind daher nicht nur die Batukaderas selbst sondern auch jene Personen, die Batukugruppen unterstützen oder Events organisieren, bei denen Batukudarbietungen stattfinden.

Ich wende durchgehend einen intersektionellen Ansatz an und analysiere Batuku als Mittel um „Strukturen der Ungerechtigkeit" (Brah 1996) oder „soziale Erniedrigungen" (Tyler 2013) infrage zu stellen und anzufechten. Dabei untersuche ich *erstens* wie eine rassistische und klassistische Wohnungspolitik sowie vergeschlechtlichte, klassenbasierte und rassialisierte Arbeitsbedingungen das alltägliche Erleben der Stadt gestalten. *Zweitens* beleuchte ich wie sich das Framing von Batuku als rassialisierte, klassenbasierte und feminisierte „Tradition" im postkolonialen, diasporischen Raum der AML fortsetzt bzw. adaptiert. *Drittens* argumentiere ich, dass sich postkoloniale Machtverhältnisse mittels Abwesenheiten und Präsenzen in der Stadt fortsetzen und dass viele Batukaderas durch Batuku ihre Präsenz geltend machen bzw. spezifische Abwesenheiten anfechten. Und *abschließend* zeige ich in dieser Dissertation, dass Batuku als wichtiger Raum für (Selbst)Fürsorge angesehen – und daher als politischer Akt gelesen – werden kann.