Dance Moves, Global Mobilities, and *(un)*Moving Racial Hierarchies

post-colonial cultural production in the making of cosmopolitan Lisbon

ERASMUS MUNDUS MASTER COURSE IN URBAN STUDIES | 4CITIES

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SEPTEMBER 1st, 2023

"The fact is that the so-called European civilization – "Western" civilization – as it has been shaped by two centuries of bourgeois rule, is incapable of solving the two major problems to which its existence has given rise: the problem of the proletariat and the colonial problem." Césaire (2000 [1955])

ABSTRACT

As part of its neoliberal urban development strategies, Lisbon has engaged in attracting foreign capital through tourism and affluent foreign residents. In this context, the culture of post-colonial immigrant communities from Portuguese-speaking African countries and Brazil has been mobilized as key aspects of the city's cosmopolitan branding and vibrant lifestyle. While difference is instrumentalized as cultural diversity for the consumption of global elites, the population embodying this diversity – historically contending with stigmatization, social exclusion, housing, and labor precarity in the city – continues to have the guarantee of their rights neglected. The increasing inflow of well-off residents and visitors has triggered the speculation of housing and living costs, further advancing colonial patterns of exploitation and racial inequalities as Lisbon realizes its global city agenda.

Guided by the lens of racial capitalism, this study examines the post-colonial immigrant cultural production around Baile Funk, Kuduro, and Afro House. It investigates how these practices navigate inequality and commodification dynamics intrinsic to Lisbon's neoliberal urban governance, while also engaging in resistance, building alternative pathways of citizenship and visibility. Using qualitative methods, including interviews and participant observation, the study aims to understand how macrosocial processes and racialized power asymmetries part of Lisbon's global-city making are ultimately experienced and negotiated in the cultural producers' practices and everyday lives. With that, the research offers insights into the colonial-capitalist continuities in Lisbon's urban growth, underscoring the centrality of race as an organizing category in its political economy, and shedding light on everyday struggles through an interdisciplinary approach.

Keywords: racial capitalism; neoliberal urban governance; post-colonial immigration; cultural production; cultural diversity; city branding; cosmopolitanism; Lisbon.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I feel fortunate to say this master's thesis counted with the contribution of many generous people whom I would like to thank for sharing their time and knowledge with me. I would like to express my gratitude, particularly, to the informants and protagonists of this investigation, Fvbricia, Kay, Fabio, and Saint. Your works have inspired this research, which I hope lives up to their importance.

In this process of becoming a researcher, I could not ask for more supportive supervisors. Lena and René, your openness, feedback, and guidance were fundamental to the development of this investigation, and my personal academic development. I appreciate you.

I was also lucky enough to find reinforced guidance through my internship at the research project Care(4)Housing. Joana, Saila, and Carol thank you for being so welcoming, for including me in the fundamental work you do, and for teaching me so much – about Lisbon, about research, about care.

On a Lisbon note, I am grateful to all the local leaders and residents I got to know and learn from during my internship. Not to mention all the cultural producers I met during fieldwork, who agreed to speak to me, welcomed me into their practices and shared their life stories and accounts.

The 4Cities master's program has been one of the most enriching experiences in my life, even in the moments when it deserved criticism. Because of that, I am thankful to the coordinators and professors who make this program happen.

To my 4Cities friends, this journey would have been impossible without your support, advice, and laughs. To all the new friends I made in Europe, thanks for making this old and cold continent a warmer and cozy place. To my Migasss in Brazil, thanks for the countless online working sessions, and for always being there.

Keops, my partner, I admire how we have managed to push further the meaning of partnership during these two years. This thesis would have been impossible without you cheering me on, feeding my "optimism of the will" when the "pessimism of the intellect" was taking over.
I adore you.

Finally, this research would not come to be if it were not for how my parents have always believed and invested in my education. Although you won't be able to understand a word of this thesis, I promise a graduation picture that will make you proud.

Lisbon, September 1st, 2023

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the last decades, Lisbon has embraced entrepreneurial strategies of urban development aimed at attracting foreign capital through tourism and international residents. Together with facilitated visa policies and tax incentives, city branding has become a main pillar of this agenda, marketing the Portuguese capital as a sunny, safe, cheap, welcoming, and exciting place to live and visit. This program of local marketization is aligned with broader trends of inter-urban competition emblematic of neoliberal globalization (Harvey, 1989). Among the set of images created, is Cosmopolitan Lisbon, a celebratory narrative of a multicultural and conflict-free city, that aims to cater to global elites' taste for the exotic. Staged through spectacularized and uncritical accounts, Lisbon's cosmopolitanism gains colonial contours as it builds on two core ideas: of a historical cosmopolitanism enabled by the colonial "discoveries" that "presented new worlds to the World", and of a vibrant cultural diversity rooted in the cultural production of a large community of post-colonial immigrants from Brazil and Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOPs).

The arrival of more significant flows of post-colonial immigration in Lisbon started in the late 20th century, following the decolonization of the PALOPs. Since then, settling-in patterns have been marked by multiple and intertwined dimensions of precarity related to labor, documentation, stigmatization, segregation, and housing, reproducing colonial hierarchies and racialized inequality in post-colonial Lisbon (Cardoso & Guterres, 2022). The cultural productions that have been forged in these communities engage in disputing the different material and symbolic orders of marginalization they are subjected to (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020). Within the city-branding of Lisbon, however, they are included in the city's creative attractiveness through a superficial idea of cultural diversity. This inclusion is instrumental because, while difference is recognized as an asset in terms of urban branding, the communities that embody difference continue to have their rights neglected, being the most affected by social and urban inequalities (Bolzoni, 2022). Even their cultural productions, which are foundational to the neoliberal development agenda of Lisbon, rarely receive any governmental support. In that manner, Lisbon's urban economic growth is far from effectively trickling down to impoverished and racialized immigrants. On the contrary, it deepens socioeconomic disparities as the arrival of well-off foreigners engenders the speculation of housing and living costs. On the ground, this dynamic imposes additional challenges to post-colonial immigrant cultural producers including low wages and the appropriation of their practices by more influential actors, which further curbs the prosperity that could be attained by an increase in cultural diversity consumption in the city.

In that way, I argue the global-city making of Lisbon is articulated between a "globalization from above" and a "globalization from below" (Hall, 2021; Sassen, 1993). The former is comprised of those inflows of the powerful – particularly in financial terms –, of well-off residents and tourists, and the dynamics that unfold from their status as global consumers and free-floating global capital. Dynamics such as housing financialization and gentrification. Globalization from below, in its turn, is the influx of the powerless, of economic immigrants, generally racialized, and with their histories rooted in colonial dispossessions. They compose the everyday multiculture of the city by occupying low-paid jobs, including those that sustain the touristic and cultural circuits that

cater to globalization from above. In this context, I propose to use the lens of racial capitalism to analyze how the embrace of cultural diversity by Lisbon's neoliberal urban governance reenacts colonial patterns of exploitation that render racialized populations surplus. In other words, lives that through racialization are mobilized for profitmaking while contained in poverty entrapments. In that sense, I take post-colonial immigrant cultural production as a privileged, and understudied field to analyze the interplay between globalization from above and from below, and how they are embedded in the (re)production of colonial-capitalist continuities in the global city agenda of Lisbon.

While different cultural expressions with post-colonial immigrant identities are mobilized in the touristification, branding, and multiculture of Lisbon, my investigation will focus on Baile Funk, Kuduro, and Afro House. They are Afrodiasporic dance and music genres, respectively connected to Brazil, Angola, and the PALOP immigrant community in Lisbon, that have been gaining increased prominence in circuits of cultural production and consumption in the city. Aiming to understand how the broader dynamics of inclusion and exclusion part of Lisbon's internationalization are reflected, interrelated, and negotiated in the embodied everyday experience of cultural producers with post-colonial immigrant identities, I take a macro-micro approach. For that, I focus on three case studies: Dengo Club, a black queer party; Baile Funk dance classes; and Afro House/Kuduro dance classes. Hence, this investigation aims to answer the following research question:

How do cultural initiatives made by and centered around the identities of post-colonial immigrant communities in Lisbon navigate inequality, commodification, and resistance dynamics emblematic of the neoliberal multiculture of global cities?

More specifically, by operationalizing the framework of globalization from above and from below, organized through the analytical approach of racial capitalism, this research will aim to understand the way the studied post-colonial cultural practices and cultural producers:

- relate, if at all, to the historic and ongoing socioeconomic exclusions faced by post-colonial immigrant communities in their settling in Lisbon, especially in terms of housing precarity and peripheralization.
- experience dynamics of power inequality and gatekeeping in the cultural circuits of Lisbon, particularly concerning instrumentalization, marginalization, and racial prejudice.
- interact with the growing internationalization of the city and its implications regarding mobilized advantages and perceived disadvantages.
- articulate their work as resistance, building pathways of solidarity, empowerment, belonging, and citizenship.

This macro-micro analysis is structured in this thesis through a literature review (Chapter II), which lays out how racial capitalism is operationalized as a lens to look at multiculture and entrepreneurial urban governance, outlining the framework of globalization from above and from below. It is followed by an explanation of the research methodology (Chapter III) that details my approach, aims, case studies, and qualitative methods employed. In Chapter IV, I draw on data collected both through literature review and fieldwork to develop a contextualization of

globalization from above and from below in Lisbon, focusing on the centrality of cultural production in the interplay between cosmopolitan city branding and racialized dynamics of inequality. Chapter V delves into the practices chosen as case studies, analyzing their makings and the life trajectories of the post-colonial immigrant cultural producers responsible for them. Drawing on the data collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, online non-participant observation, and mapping, I answer my research question and sub-questions related to how they experience and act upon socioeconomic inequalities, marginalization, and power asymmetries in the cultural circuits in Lisbon. I also tackle how they interact with the growing internationalization of the city. In Chapter VI, I delve into how the studied practices can be understood as engaging in forms of resistance, thereby answering the final research sub-question. This discussion is based on and reinforces the understanding of how the cultural production of post-colonial immigrants in Lisbon is not enclosed in being responses to structural oppressions, being driven by the creative forces of immigrant communities. Finally, Chapter VII provides concluding remarks and addresses the limits of this investigation.

The relevance of this research lies, therefore, in its interdisciplinarity, as it approaches globalization beyond the dimension of economic exchange (García Canclini & Yúdice, 2014); in its focus on race, which I argue is an organizing category of inequality often downplayed in Europe institutionally and academically; and in its macro-micro approach that provides a more nuanced understanding, highlighting the agency of cultural producers with post-colonial immigrant identities. This investigation is also timely as Lisbon has reached a critical point in its housing crisis. Beyond that, its findings contribute to addressing the limitations of the framework of cultural diversity operationalized by Lisbon's neoliberal urban governance, which is rather a tool to further racial capitalist hierarchies within the city's multiculture, than to transform them.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section will provide a brief overview of the main theories that informed this investigation. Focusing on colonial-capitalist continuities in globalized neoliberalism, I take racial capitalism as a general framing to look into the political economy of global cities. I examine, particularly, how difference, framed under the aegis of cultural diversity, has been mobilized in post-Fordist urban economic restructuring to attract foreign capital. And how this process is embedded in global migration dynamics and local immigration management that reproduces racialized colonial hierarchies and patterns of exploitation.

At the end of the literature review, I explain how the concepts discussed are articulated to form the theoretical framework of this research. Aiming to contextualize the historicized approach to the macro politico-economic dynamics of globalization in Lisbon, the theoretical framework should build the ground for a macro-micro analysis later operationalized through data collection.

2.1. Racial Capitalism, a Lens into Globalization

Racial capitalism, as postulated by Cedric Robinson in his seminal work "Black Marxism" (2000), brings to the fore of political-economic discussions how capitalism intrinsically relies on the existence of social hierarchies and exploitation. Race, because of colonial-capitalist path-dependencies has been the predominant category mobilized in the definition of who is exploitable. Bledsoe and Wright (2019) assert that "While capitalism exploits all of the world's populations, it does not dominate all of them in the same way" (p. 5). Hence, there are different positions and degrees of exploitation within capitalist dynamics, and racial capitalism addresses how identities, beyond class, play a major role in setting this nuance. With that, it opens the way to repair a history of color-blind knowledge production, shedding light on how race-neutral accounts of reality produced by academia are ultimately incomplete, and welcome intersectional approaches.

Black Marxist scholars affirm that capitalism is racial capitalism because colonial racialization has organized economic and labor exploitation in such a deeply structural manner that it has been enduring throughout history and economic transitions spanning the globe. The colonial enslavement of black Africans happened through race-making, which attributed an ontological position of inferiority and sub-humanity to those populations. This means that the exploitation of black populations was held elementary to their existence, it was not a position that could be negotiated or eventually overcome. The definition of who is exploitable under capitalism, therefore, seizes upon the continued formulation, reproduction, and exploitation of racial difference.

2.1.1. **Colonial Exploitation and the Racialization of the World**

Although for centuries justified by European pseudoscientific theories like biological racism and social Darwinism, the racialization of difference was (and is) a social construct underpinned by economic agendas (Barder, 2019; Danewid, 2020; Quijano, 2000). It codifies phenotypical

repertories of skin color with culturally constructed aspects such as ethnicity, religion, nationality, custom, and values, building racialized otherness (Hall, 2021). This informs what Barder (2019) calls the "global racial imaginary", which organizes the world into a hierarchical whole. W.E.B. du Bois coins the idea of the "color line" to refer to this racial global hierarchy arguing that colonial exploitation divided the world into blocs of light and dark races, of Europeaness and non-Europeaness (Hesse, 2007), corresponding to regions of dominance and exploitation respectively (Narayan, 2017). Lisa Lowe (2015, as cited in Danewid, 2020, p. 291) adds to this angle by stating that capitalism "expands not through rendering all labor, resources, and markets across the world identical, but by precisely seizing upon colonial divisions, identifying particular regions for production and others for neglect, certain populations for exploitation and still others for disposal". These rationales gain material contours, for instance, in the widely used framework of Global North-South. This racially charged division addresses the enduring imperial disparity of "political, economic, and epistemological power and capital" (Goyes & Nariño, 2021, p. 2) between global geographies.

2.1.2. **The Colonial Birthmarks of Globalization**

Limited as any model that attempts to organize world-historical processes,[1] the North-South divide is still an important lens to analyze the global political economy, especially in the face of a persistent Eurocentric approach in different academic scholarships that downplay the legacies of coloniality (Danewid, 2020; Quijano, 2000; Virdee, 2019). Articulating it with conceptualizations such as the core-periphery helps expose how the latter largely reflects ongoing metropole-colony dichotomies in a nowadays globalized economy. Core countries are those that monopolize financial institutions, communication systems, technologies, and weapons of mass destruction. They establish global economic rules, turning the flow of profits in their favor to the detriment of peripheral countries, which are those that supply them with raw materials and cheap labor force (Goyes & Nariño, 2021).

Sassen (2014, 2018) points out how core-like processes are concentrated on the city scale, namely in the global city. In globalization, while businesses become global, functions remain fundamentally situated in space, bringing to the forefront the local scale of cities, and positioning local-global interactions at the center of urban development models. Global cities are, therefore, the command-and-control centers for the global economy, where transnational corporations and other actors make decisions that shape the distribution of wealth, power, and opportunity across the world, molding the lives of people in both the core and the periphery. In that way, racial capitalism and post-colonial theory have emphasized how the global city is less a rupture and new type of international governance than an extension and ongoing imperial terrain (Danewid, 2020). The connecting thread of this path-dependency between the 16th-century plantation

[1] As Danewid (2020) and Virdee (2019) write, although the North-South division is an insightful and helpful one, it tends to obscure the history of racism and colonial exploitation that happened within Europe against populations such as the Roma and Jewish people, besides neglecting the enduring marginal situation indigenous and black people in North America live. Calling out the risks of homogenizing, binary, and color-coded approaches, Virdee stands for the importance of articulating colonial and racial questions of the North-South lens with class, gender, national belonging, and overall the broader history of capitalist development.

system and modern-day transnational capitalism is their need for surplus population. That is, precarious and expandable lives of whom land and labor are extracted to enable capital accumulation. These lives were defined through racialization in colonial times, a pattern that is continued as core-periphery dynamics are infused by colonial hierarchies and inequalities.

The colonial structures operating in capitalism have been overtly neglected by scholars, including Marx. He relegated slave labor of black Africans and indigenous peoples in colonies to a residue of precapitalist production with no "historical and political agency in the modern world" (Robinson, 2000, p. 30). Yet, colonial interdependencies and modes of production relying on indenture and slave labor were ongoing in the 19th century (Bhambra & Narayan, 2017), as industrial profit-making could only be realized with cheap raw materials and forced labor from colonies[2]. Thus, Marx contributes to persistent Eurocentric political and economic understandings as he builds a view of industrial capitalism enclosed in Europe, instead of part of a world (and colonial) system, based on dispossession, racialized exploitation, and technological appropriation, particularly, from China, India, and Africa for machine advancements (Robinson, 2000, p. XXIX). As Robinson notes, the factories of Manchester could not operate without the slave plantations in Mississippi. Likewise, the advanced economies of the global city cannot be without the industrial and rural labor from poor countries of the South paid below-subsistence wages, neither without the adverse terms of trade managed to be obtained with these regions to realize competitive advantage. These terms include tax breaks and favorable investment regimes, much to how colonized economies were subordinated to the advantage of the imperial metropoles (Hall, 2021, p. 404).

If in the 19th century, distance allowed for this interdependency to be made invisible and unaddressed, since the late 20th, colonial legacies have made themselves evident in European soil through South-North migration. With globalization emerging in the mid-1970s, the working-class misery in Europe arising from industrial labor, as Marx wrote about, was not solved. Rather, the misery-making mode of production was outsourced to the "less developed" (or more exploited) parts of the globe, namely, the South. It added to the already precarious rural, mining, logging, and other labor markets connected to the extraction of natural materials. Historically, industrial production tended to drive the migration of labor through pulling – with urban centers experiencing intense rural-urban influx (Aernouts & Ryckewaert, 2019), as was the case of Lisbon in its late industrialization during the 60s; or as in Brussels and Amsterdam, that were starting to transition to service-based economies in the 60s, and had to recruit workers from the Global South to take arduous and low-paid positions in the urban industry sectors (Kesteloot & Cortie, 1998). With globalization, however, industry has also driven migration through pushing out or, more precisely, pushing North, as it comes to integrate a world system of "free trade between profoundly unequal partners" (Hall, 2021, p. 391).

The Jamaican scholar Stuart Hall (2021) highlights the way the new globalized world order treats "the world's poor and the societies of the South as open market places, repositories of scarce

[2] More far-reaching anti-slavery measures, especially those related to the black African population, were only put in place by the end of the 19th century. Also, widespread colonial domination by European countries lasted as late as the end of the 20th century, persisting until today through non-self-governing territories and the Commonwealth of Nations.

resources and reservoirs of cheap labor" (Hall, 2021, p. 391). He continues pointing out the multiple ecological, health, social, political, and economic impacts of this global pattern of exploitation, indicating "unhumanitarian NGOs, charitable, and foreign aid programs" as much a part of the global governance that sustains this system as corporations (Hall, 2021, p. 391). Continuing colonial dynamics, globalization produces glaring imbalances in the distribution of surplus value between the North and the South, and in life chances between the world's rich and poor societies. Hence, it advances local disasters rooted in global crises, such as hunger, mass unemployment, and militarized conflict (Hall, 2021, p. 395). As a reaction to these circumstances, migration becomes a consequence of globalization.

2.1.3. **Desired and Undesired Globalizations**

Hall (2021) argues the logic of the new globalized order is that every element of growth should flow freely across states and their regulations – capital (investments and profits), commodities, elites, technologies, images, and currencies –, only a certain kind of labor is required to stay put. This labor, as racial capitalism enunciates, is constituted by a surplus population that enables the competitive advantage for transnational corporations. They, however, either legally or illegally, appropriate the routes established by globalization to flee their local disasters as refugees, asylum seekers, and economic migrants (Danewid, 2020; Hall, 2021). In that sense, migration unveils the "subterranean circuit connecting the crisis of one part of the global system with the growth rates and living standards of the other" (Hall, 2021, p. 396). Within globalization, this dynamic reflects a continuation of routes and power dynamics structured by colonization. This is especially the case for territories with late decolonization, such as the African colonies of Portugal. They won their independence in the mid-70s and, therefore had colonial ties still operating when globalization was establishing itself as the new world order. Therefore, after Europe "discovered" the world beyond its borders, in the last decades, immigrants from the Global South have "discovered" Europe. Many of these movements follow former imperial connections due to ongoing economic relations, shared language, or a sustained sense of "motherland". In that way, Caribbean, Nigerian, and Indian populations flee to England; Congolese people reach Belgium; and Brazilians, Angolans, Cape Verdeans, Santomeans, Mozambicans and Guineans arrive in Portugal in search of better living conditions.

This interrelation between how migration is emblematic of globalization reproducing colonial patterns demonstrates what the Martinican theorist Aimé Cesaire (2011, as cited in Danewid, 2020) called the "boomerang metaphor". He says the violence inflicted by colonization and kept at a safe distance from the imperial metropole would eventually "return home", to Europe. Part of this return, we can argue, are the problems of religious, social, and cultural difference characteristic of colonized territories that take over global cities, disrupting their social and political structure and challenging homogeneous senses of culture and identity, a problematic Hall calls "the postcolonial paradigm" (Hall, 2021, p. 397). On that note, while neoliberal globalization normalizes and largely trivializes the transnational mobility of people, capital, goods, services, images, and ideas (Lugosi & Allis, 2019), some movements are desired, such as those driven by tourism and the inflow of high-income workers, whereas some others are not. The immigration of low-income workers, those who are the surplus population, is allowed under

strict and instrumental terms and may be perceived as negative in multiple stances and by multiple stakeholders. These are related to the benefits that can be generated for the receiving societies, a classical example being the aforementioned guest-work contracts operationalized in many European cities. They, on one hand, try to fill the need for labor in industrial and service low-wage activities but, on the other, do not encompass the family reunion flows that follow, the generations that are born in the country and the formation of immigrant communities settled in, with no interest in "going back".

The binary of desired/undesired migration is, of course, a general and ideal lens that cannot be sensitive to the multiple integration paths of the different groups migrating into different European societies. However, and unfortunately, this binary can be observed as a general pattern across the different multicultural geographies from the North, specifically in episodes like Brexit and the studied reality of the Portuguese city of Lisbon. The contradictions between the economic need for low-paid laborers and the lack of recognition of their contribution, or the little payment and life conditions offered to attract them, not only reproduce colonial and racial hierarchies but create the conditions for engagement with illegality. This can happen through informal (and illegal) cheap housing solutions, or in the case of immigration through work agreements that are predominantly focused on male workers and, therefore, contain the latent family reunion/formation immigration, which can happen through illegal pathways. Illustrative of Arjun Appadurai's discussion of the "needed but unwelcome" (2006, as cited in Lentin & Titley, 2011), this pressure into illegality and informality contributes to the maintenance of stigmas around certain populations, facilitating their exploitation "as surplus" out in the daylight, in the land of social welfare, Europe.

Part of why this "undesired immigration" is needed is connected directly to the global city mechanisms that serve to attract the "desired immigration". Sassen (2008) calls an "economy from below" the one made of drivers, cleaners, cooks, and other low-wage workforces, who are largely composed of immigrants from poorer countries (countries of the South, reinforcing the "from below" imaginary). They are responsible for operating the everyday services in the global city, sustaining the lifestyle of wealthier populations. This includes those "desired immigrants" who are part of the corporate globalized economy and tourists. In the next section, I will tackle how, beyond operational activities, the presence and cultures of those deemed undesired are also crucial to realizing "cosmopolitan city" visions and touristic experiences grounded on cultural diversity. Pushed forward by local governments and institutions, these dynamics further advance how the social and economic processes of "desired" and "undesired" immigrants are intertwined in the global city (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020; Lugosi & Allis, 2019).

2.2. Neoliberal Urban Governance, City Marketing, and Cultural Diversity

In the context of globalization, around the 1970s, European and North American capitals face urban decline resulting from the offshoring of industrial production. As economic restructuring was imperative, local governments embrace a new agenda for growth: the attraction of free-floating global capital (Harvey, 1989). This model triggers competition between cities worldwide as they engage in promoting themselves as vantage locations in the international division of

labor and consumption. They aim to cater to, and attract, advanced businesses with command-and-control functions, synonyms of high revenues, and affluent and highly mobile global elites.

Interurban competition, Harvey (1989) explains, institutes a reorientation in the approach to urban governance. In opposition to managerial attitudes of the 60s, which were focused on the local provision of services, facilities, and benefits to urban populations, emerges entrepreneurialism. Urban entrepreneurialism is grounded on a more risk-taking posture from local governments, as they compete in the global marketplace. They invest public money in building infrastructures, funding public-private partnerships, and offering financial benefits and subsidies to attract external capital through businesses and individuals. In this last case, public investments are also put into cultural amenities, services, and landmarks to attract tourism and highly mobile well-off classes to move into the city. In that sense, state funds do not benefit local populations directly, they rely on how the attraction of foreign capital can generate employment and local economic growth that potentially benefit local inhabitants. Entrepreneurial urban governance has, therefore, a highly speculative nature that provides the private sector with direct public funding and support while broader social and economic benefits rely on indirect and uncertain trickle-down effects (Harvey, 1989). It is marked by the active (and, sometimes, instrumentalizing) role of property developers, financiers, and business elites, in comparison to previous phases, in which social movements and labor unions had more mobilizing force. Additionally, entrepreneurial urban governance also favors place-specific developments – such as flagship cultural facilities, entertainment services, or office centers – to upgrade the image of certain areas of interest to attract capital, to the detriment of investing for the amelioration of the territory as a whole. As suggested by Harvey (1989), this shift in the makings of urban governance reached the status of consensus across national, political, and ideological boundaries.

Because the entrepreneurial stance on urban development is essentially speculative and market-oriented, cities, and their places, need to be promoted. They need to be advertised, ultimately, "sold" to companies as thriving sites for business, and/or to individuals as ideal locations for living, learning, or having a good life. This is how city marketing becomes an integral part of neoliberal urban governance, moving center-stage in the formulation of urban policies and growth strategies. While urban entrepreneurial and city branding strategies to attract foreign investments unfold in many directions (Harvey, 1989), the present research specifically explores the role of culture. More precisely, it is concerned with how culture is mobilized to create urban spaces, images, and experiences that appeal to the elites of global capitalism to foster economic growth, working at the intersection between the international division of consumption and production. This examination will particularly dive into the discussion on the search for authenticity in city branding and global elites' tastes, and the interactions with cultural and ethnic diversity for this matter. A dynamic that puts the interactions between desired and undesired migrations at the core of urban governance and growth in the global city.

2.2.1. **Culture as Urban Development: City Marketing and Cultural Consumption**

The coupling of culture and urban economic development arises in the 1980s as local governments face economic restructuring (Grodach, 2017). International political agendas shed

light on the economic potential of heritage and cultural production and the benefits of promoting "cultural development in general development projects" (UNESCO, n.d.). In 1996, the "Our Creative Diversity" report, published by the United Nations, put forward a set of proposals concerning culture and socioeconomic development, also bringing up ethical issues such as the risk of commodification and the disruption of practices as they become market-oriented and cater to tourists' interests and schedules. With the consolidation of entrepreneurial urban governance in the 90s, attendant to the post-industrial transition to a globalized and service-based economy, the agenda of culture for economic development gains specific contours as it is incorporated into urban regeneration strategies.

Under this framework, culture is seen as an urban development asset through different pathways. On one side, cultural industry is taken by governments as part of the advanced businesses seen as the gateway for the transition to information capitalism. Activities such as media, design, and advertisement are incorporated as part of the cultural industry emblematic of command-and-control function as they rely on symbolic production, intellectual property, and taste-making in the context of global consumption (Grodach, 2017). On a different, but complementary approach, culture is notably used to enhance the image and attractiveness of the city and its places. The investment in arts and cultural infrastructure or the revalorization of decaying areas – as exemplified by the famous "Bilbao effect" (González, 2011) or by artist-led gentrification (Grodach, 2017) - are seen as ways to foster local and international circuits of consumption, drawing capital through tourism, leisure and lifestyle immigration (Lugosi & Allis, 2019). Cultural infrastructures, in this context, are understood as consumption facilities (international museums, starred restaurants, flagship architecture arts centers), cultural amenities (festivals, historical landmarks, public art), and cultural businesses that promote or boost urban cultural production.

Across its different approaches, culture-led urban regeneration presupposes the attraction of free-floating global capital and people as part of cultural externalities. And although the creation of jobs, social cohesion, and comprehensive local development are commonly referred to by governments and international bodies, as part of these benefits, they remain marginal and speculative. Focusing on economic outcomes, culture-led urban regeneration has a selective approach to culture, and capitalizes on the presence and work of cultural intermediaries instead of directly supporting them, fundamentally prioritizing the highly mobile elites of the globalized economy (Grodach, 2017).

By the 2000s, the concept of creativity is adopted to refer to the culture that could be used as resource for urban development. This distinction is, for example, elaborated in the "Creative Economy Report" by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development - UNCTAD (2008). The exploitation of this creativity unfolds in the definition of a creative class and an urban growth "recipe", the creative city, most notably advanced by Florida (2002). Although heavily criticized (Peck, 2005), and in many ways overcome as a paradigm of urban development for its lack of evidence, the fundaments of the creative city can still be identified in current city branding policies that aim at attracting "capital, talent and tourism" through culture (Bonakdar & Audirac, 2021, p. 9). Florida's proposition unfolds from the understanding that the new globalized economy is shaped around high-skilled services that rely on creativity, knowledge, and ideas as the source of intellectual work and innovation. He suggests that by attracting workers with high

human capital, high-profile businesses would consequently be attracted, leading to a thriving urban economy (Florida, 2002). The first step of this urban growth recipe, according to the author, is to provide an environment conducive to the lifestyles of these affluent workers, which should be open, diverse, dynamic, and cool. Thus, the "creative class" encompasses a variety of talented and educated professionals ranging from scientists and engineers to designers, musicians, lawyers, and health workers. Despite the big differences in wages, labor market dynamics, cultural practices, and positions in the creative city, Florida claims they are part of the apparatus of the creative city, sharing a common ethos.

Although the creative city has been highly contested in relation to the promised social and economic outcomes, and, more fundamentally, for failing to grasp that, more often than not, job opportunities pull the creative class to a city and not the opposite (Martin-Brelot, 2012), the idea of attracting highly paid professionals through appealing lifestyles has been gaining new contours and relevance with the increasing number of remote workers. A reality that has grown and consolidated, particularly in the post-pandemic, the so-called digital nomads have been targeted by countries, like Portugal, as significant agents through which international capital can be attracted, with specific visa and tax benefits created for them.

Either by attracting creative workers, digital nomads, tourists, or exchange students – a category particularly relevant in the mobility of capital and people in Europe due to programs such as Erasmus (European Commission, Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture, 2022) – cultural consumption is at the core of neoliberal strategies for urban regeneration. Because of that, as Harvey puts it, the city has to "appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume in" (Harvey 1989, p. 9). In this context, "cultural diversity" is held by property developers and policymakers as one of the most valuable assets. It supports the differentiation efforts of city marketing strategies in the face of global inter-urban competition, feeding the search for "authenticity" that guides the cosmopolitan tastes of globalized urban individuals (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020; Zukin, 2008).

As discussed by scholars (Hall, 2021; Robinson, 2006; Zukin, 2008), the social changes brought about by the economic restructuring of global capitalism impact the way tastes are constructed and performed through consumption. Highly mobile elites, connected with and oriented towards the wider world, develop global tastes and lifestyles that the global city aims to fulfill in order to lure this particular population and their financial capital. For that, cities engage in touristifying efforts, organizing spectacle-like settings and branding campaigns that rely, not only on their local history and culture, but also on those of immigrant groups that make local cultural diversity, including those immigrants otherwise deemed undesired. The otherness carried by foodstuffs, music, and artwork, for example, is objectified to compose the ethnic diversity emblematic of the status of a global city, being means through which global tastes can be realized locally. Furthermore, they integrate how cities, in their search for monopoly within inter-urban competition, repurpose the cultural difference they host into attractive characteristics related to authenticity and trendiness for consumption, building their distinct image of cosmopolitanism (Harvey, 2012). Catering not only to internationals, these cosmopolitan circuits of cultural consumption are also embedded in the everyday of global cities' residents. Therefore, as Zukin (2008) proposes, they are emblematic of the local Bourgeois-Bohemian elites appreciative of exotic ethnic food stands, the low-wage college-educated workers and artists who are often

patrons and staff of trendy bars, and the middle-class gentrifiers who are fascinated by the cultural diversity of the business landscape in the low-income neighborhood where they find affordable housing.

As laid out by Saskia Sassen (1993), the global city interlaces the powerful transnational corporate spaces of finance, with the powerless immigrant communities characterized by its informality and "Third World-ness". Under the agenda of city branding and culture-led urban development, however, the idea of cosmopolitanism mobilized is not framed in the sense of the democratic exercise of living with difference, but in the logic of urban tourism. That is, offering experiential space for encountering novelty through consumption (Lugosi & Allis, 2019), which often accentuates otherness through exoticism (Diekmann & Cloquet, 2015). Guided by market logics, culture-led urban regeneration relies on a highly commercial understanding of culture, not valuing all kinds of diversity the same. The cultural diversity embraced by it, and pushed forward through city branding narratives, is reductive and uncritical, incorporating only the elements that can be controlled, romanticized, and commodified (Bolzoni, 2022). Hence, as cultural diversity is emblematic of the global city, it is forged within the inequalities global (racial) capitalism produces and relies on (Hall, 2021, p. 405).

2.3. The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly Diversity

Lentin and Titley (2011), when discussing the politics of diversity, highlight how good and bad diversity are defined based on how "economically profitable and morally harmless" (p. 175) to the neoliberal regime they are. This framework establishes the basis on which groups are held legitimate in being part of a society, which gives further nuance to one-, two-, or three-way traditional integration approaches. Governments then can stand by celebratory agendas of diversity and against discrimination while also operating exclusionary policies against those that do not qualify as the right kind of diverse subject. The authors explain that neoliberal logic is characterized by the reduction of public and individual life to economic performance, as discussed in the shift from managerial urban governance to entrepreneurialism. In that sense, market logics also dominate the realm of private life and individuals are "expected to be entrepreneurial", to have the capacity to self-care towards prosperity, "at risk of a consequent loss of rights for a life mismanaged" (Lentin & Titley, 2011, p. 163). On top of that, neoliberalism also inherits from liberalism, at least when convenient, and always following Western European principles, an emphasis on the freedom of the individual from structures and institutions such as the state, religion, and family. Hence, the neoliberal idea of "good diversity" is that represented by the citizen-subjects that are rational, autonomous, non-conflictual, and "oriented to responsibilization" (Lentin and Titley, 2011, p. 176). Opposed to that are the welfare-dependants, communitarian, religious and veiled, and, of course, "illegal" immigrants, or their descendants, who are unwilling or unable to fit the disciplined freedom offered by neoliberal societies. Racialized immigrants are the most likely to fall, or be pushed, under these circumstances of "failure to integrate", which delegitimizes their citizenship. As a consequence, those who are seen as composing the "bad diversity" are structurally stigmatized, being granted a lesser status and being treated according to it in the labor and housing market, in their portrayal in the media, and public policies and political sphere, with an emphasis to the justice system – as security is the

ultimate aspect that remains under governmental responsibility in neoliberal times. Security of some, while the treatment of those who are perceived as a threat follows the lines of necropolitics, restaging colonial patterns (Lentin & Titley, 2011; Mbembe, 2003).

Citizenship in the neoliberal multiculture has been, therefore, tied together to economic self-reliance and conformity with cultural norms. In this last case, a process that Duyvendak and Tonkens (2016) call the culturalization of citizenship. They argue about how being a citizen has come to entail not only the possession of nationality but also a symbolic recognition – which would lead to the feeling of belonging and a shared sense of co-citizens. However, in Western Europe, the general rule is that this symbolic recognition does not build on an understanding of culture as processes in the making. This implies that it does not consider that "immigration changes the cultures of both immigrant groups and receiving societies" through encounters and confrontations between and within them (Duyvendak & Tonkens, 2016, p. 15). Rather, it relies on fixed and homogenizing views of both vernacular and immigrant cultures, fueling polarization and reinforcing the assimilationist paradigm. That is, those deserving of citizenship are the ones that embrace not only the functional aspects of culture, such as language, which is central to the socioeconomic success of immigrants; but also the cultural values of the receiving society in political, religious, and even in sexuality terms (Duyvendak & Tolkens, 2016; Lentin & Titley, 2011).

When looking at global cities that rely on cosmopolitan city branding for economic development, a different mechanism related to how culture is mobilized in the struggle for citizenship can also be noticed: the commodification of citizenship through culture. It is partly opposed to the culturalization of citizenship, partly complementary, and fully connected to the already mentioned instrumentalization of difference in the formulation of products and services that create the "authentically global" aura to attract tourists and foreign workers. In this perspective, the symbolic recognition of immigrant culture comes before or even despite the assurance of civic, political, and social rights. In that sense, it is not a full recognition, because it is instrumental, and therefore is an inclusion on the basis of othering.

In this research, I demonstrate this is the case of Lisbon and how particular cultural practices from African immigrants were incorporated as integral to the local cultural identity, culminating in tropes such as "Lisboa Criola" (Creole Lisbon) or "Afro Lisboa"[3]. It is not difficult to find references to this "creolization" in the curatorship of events and venues in the city, in songs by famous artists, and literary productions such as the book "Também os Brancos Sabem Dançar" (Whites Can Dance Too) written by Kalaf Epalanga (2018) who asserts "Kuduro", originally an Angolan rhythm, as Lisbon's sound. This recognition is permeated with disputes and contradictions, including the way the municipality does not officially address this branding in policy documents but funds big events that push this narrative while neglecting the activities of bottom-up young collectives. The reality is that, although the culture from the post-colonial African diaspora in Portugal is an unnegotiable part of Lisbon's culture and identity, not to

[3] Both terms were coined by or related to the Lisbon Afrocentric music scene. "Afro Lisboa" is a term commonly used by the media and will be further discussed in this thesis in the chapter about the context of Lisbon. "Lisboa Crioula", an event curated by Dino D'Santiago one of the main artists of African descent in Portugal, celebrates sociocultural mix in the city, putting the spotlight on racialized artists based in Lisbon. The event echoes the narrative of Dino's new album that prophesizes a conflict-free multicultural Lisbon. More information about the project can be found on social media: https://www.instagram.com/lisboa.criola/

mention a platform that put the city on the map regarding musical production, the communities from which these cultures emerge continue to struggle with getting their papers, with housing precarity, discrimination, among other layers of (racialized) social exclusion. In that sense, the selective recognition of the culture from immigrant groups, not accompanied by the guarantee of social rights, is another frame of incomplete citizenship.

The exclusionary patterns of cosmopolitan branding and diversity narratives stem from the way they argue for a conciliatory discourse while remaining essentially uncritical. The matter of diversity has been appropriated by democracies as an inclusive and tolerant agenda that, according to Yudhishthir Raj Isar, supports the "right to be different" concerning social and cultural norms, hence encompassing "disabled people, gays and lesbians, women, as well as the poor and the elderly" (2006: 373 in Lentin & Titley, 2006, p. 180). However, in practice, diversity is often reduced to racial and ethnic difference. As the successor of multiculturalism, the hardly consensual agenda that, to a higher or lesser extent, incorporated a framework of relativism and communitarianism, diversity also turns to culture as a way to redirect "action against racism away from an analysis of structures of domination and exclusion grounded in capitalism and imperialism" (Lentin & Titley, 2011, p. 183). Instead of the critical, politicized, and redistributive tool required by the globalized multicultural reality, diversity is operationalized in terms of superficial cultural recognition, integration governance, and marketizing togetherness (Malik, 2007). Downplaying the relevance of race, diversity puts to the side patterns of material, political, and symbolic differences structured in racialized inequalities and power relations. Alternatively, it curates cultural signifiers of difference elaborating an abstract idea of unity, of homogeneity in diversity through tolerance. As Lentin and Titley explain, diversity articulates a "positive energy of being for diversity" that is opposed to the divisiveness and "negativism of being against racism" (Lentin & Titley, 2011, p. 183). This optimistic and simplified narrative is coherent with globalized consumerism explaining how "diversity" becomes a central element of urban marketization through aesthetic cosmopolitanism. Diversity is thus a "productive" framing for difference, as it enhances economic advantage in global information capitalism.

The cohesive, yet plural, idea of diversity pushed by governments, comes to define the terrain of belonging to a society, of citizenship. It establishes the diverse and tolerant "us", implying the existence of those not diverse, not tolerant, who are the other. With this well-crafted and controlled idea of diversity, governments can put it to managerial use to discipline patterns of settling in and acceptance of immigrants. Once again, the paradigm of good and bad diversity comes into play. Diversity is adopted by governments as an openness emblem and a "civic model of integration" that acknowledges the acceptable limits of difference. Managerial diversity aims at cohesion and takes "bridging capital" as the silver bullet to reconcile the intrinsic destabilizing nature of living with difference (Lentin & Titley, 2011). Enthusiastically embraced by policy-makers eager for optimistic quick fixes, Putnam's work (2000) on bridging capital develops from the layout of physical, human, and social capital. Physical capital concerns objects, while human capital refers to individual competencies, and social capital, to social networks and connections. The author argues for the potential of social capital as a means to achieve better human and physical outcomes. Namely, that relations of reciprocity, trust, and support would lead to higher educational levels, and economic advancement, therefore, contributing to lower crime figures (the main social concern of the neoliberal state). For that, the social capital needs to be worked

by way of bridging, and not bonding. The latter belongs to the multiculturalist paradigm and represents those ties within cultural groups taken as parochial, segregating, and limited in their "niche" benefits. Bridging, however, argues that it is the development of connections between different communities that can facilitate acquiring other forms of capital (Leonard, 2004). Based on that, governments center their diversity strategies on the importance of cross-community interactions to the accomplishment of a shared and cohesive future. But the challenge of social cohesion is located in communities with immigrant background, racializing the matter. Public policies emphasize the need for these groups to be open and less insular, investing in community cohesion so they can develop bridging social capital.

What Putnam misses in his optimistic conceptualization is the power dynamics at play in interactions. Not remotely looking like a two-way bridge, the bridging capital framework adopted by diversity agendas of multicultural European societies might operate more top-down and unidirectionally. As diversity is a unifying project, immigrants and ethnic minority groups are not supposed to be insular and, therefore, engage in bridging social capital with the indigenous populations, that is, to integrate. As studies about London and Paris have demonstrated (Lentin & Titley, 2006), these interactions work for the cohesiveness aimed by diversity if they happen under the confines of local values, and, of course, if they help immigrants achieve financial capital and not being burdensome to social security. Hence, diversity derives from an assimilationist approach since bridging efforts are incomparably heavier on the immigrant/ethnic-minority side. They are also limited in their transformative intents since cross-community ties can be forged under strong hierarchical social structures. For example, the widespread reality is that immigrants and native ethnic minorities work together with white indigenous Europeans. The former, however, take low-paid and servant-like jobs, such as in cleaning, cooking, or in the construction sector, while the latter occupy higher positions with higher wages. Both sides possibly have fleeting interactions daily but the conditions under which these happen do not translate into a meaningful encounter with impact on systemic oppressions. On the contrary, they might reinforce (racialized) subalternation and unequal positions. Similar drawbacks are noticed in public strategies that take culture as a resource to build social capital targeting "community cohesion" through sociopolitical and economic development (Yúdice, 2003).

Bourdieu (1986), proposes an alternative reading of the relations between the different kinds of capital, giving primacy to economic capital. He argues it is the economic privilege of having financial resources that can fund access to cultural and social capital rather than the other way around (Leonard, 2004). In other words, financial capital gives individuals a disproportional power to act in their reality in comparison to other forms of symbolic or material resources. Yet another perspective is proposed by the field of political science which sees the development of social capital through civic engagement as a path to integration in the sense of trust and participation in political institutions (Leonard, 2004). However, as far as the non-conflictual propositions of diversity are concerned, when it comes to difference, there is little interest in dealing with its political dimension and fostering democratic participation. Conversely, diversity takes culture as the center proxy of integration, offering an optimistic and inclusive narrative to counter problems of segregation and "parallel lives" in the everyday multiculture.

In Lisbon, as this thesis demonstrates, because power structures remain untouched, the commodification of (selected, non-conflictual) foreign cultures in festive commercial settings can

facilitate the acquisition of financial capital by immigrant communities but with certain limitations. These occasions can reinforce exoticism, which is more problematic especially for native-born ethnic minorities, demonstrating the limits of integration through diversity, which reinforces a persistent cultural other while not tackling political and economic differences. Furthermore, as these immigrant cultural practices gain popularity, they are coopted by white European producers who, in general, have more social and financial capital, taking up space in the market/cultural economy that curbs the conversion of social capital into financial capital for ethnic minorities. This dynamic, it will be discussed, illustrates how racialized inequality, part of colonial legacies, is perpetuated in different capitalist activities, including those related to cultural production and consumption. With that, the exploitation of racialized populations as surplus is continued, even when disguised as acknowledgment and valorization, in the global city.

2.4. Globalization from Above and Globalization from Below, a Theoretical Framework

Hall (2021) coins the term "globalization from below" to name the subaltern transnational mobilities of the world's poor that, as laid out by Sassen (1993), compose third-world formations in the global city. He also uses the term to refer to the cultural dimension of these geographies and communities, which "interact at every level with mainstream social life [in the host society]" (Parekh 2000, p. 27, as cited in Hall 2021, p. 403), negotiating practices with their immigrant backgrounds. A process that creates "[…] syncretic forms of Black and Asian urban culture […] integrated into informal and largely invisible city-to-city global cultural 'flows' in music, fashion and street-style" (Hall, 2021, p. 403).

Building on Hall's reasoning, I want to propose the framework of globalization from below and globalization from above as a way to articulate the different, but interrelated, dynamics discussed in this literature review, which assert the colonial-capitalist continuations inherent to the neoliberal global city. I call globalization from above the global mobilities performed by those wealthy and powerful, on the winning side of an unequal world system historically shaped by imperialism. Those who are mobile because they can, not because they need to, and who are the target audiences of policies to attract foreign capital through lifestyle migration and tourism. Globalization from above encompasses the mobility patterns and social dynamics engendered by the people understood as global consumers and, this investigation focuses on its cultural consumption dimension.

Conversely, the globalization from below, as mentioned, is connected to the immigration flows of the powerless, who come from peripheral geographies where life and land have been treated with exploitation and neglect since imperialism (Danewid, 2020). They are those racialized workers who were not supposed to access "developed" territories unless under strict terms and exploitative work agreements. Conditions that reproduce colonial patterns of exploitation that feed into poverty and illegality, advancing marginalization entrapments characteristic of the condition of surplus population. In that way, globalization from below is made of the undesired, but generally needed, immigration, who work in poorly paid jobs, including those that support the lifestyles and consumption circuits that cater to the globalization from above. While globalization from below shapes the global city's diversity, its presence is deemed good or bad

depending on a thin balance between profitability and moral threat. On that note, the focus of this investigation lies on how their cultural practices are mechanisms of resistance to the exclusions they face, at the same time that are instrumentalized through city branding as part of "Diversity Lisbon".

My research, therefore, analyzes how globalization from above and from below interplay in circuits of cultural production and consumption in Lisbon, reenacting racialized and colonial asymmetries within neoliberal urban governance. Proposing a macro-micro analysis, this thesis is concerned with how macrosocial processes connected to racial capitalism are ultimately experienced at the micro-level of everyday life, tackling the dialectic relationship between both scales (Sautu et al., 2005). For that, I understand cultural practices centered around post-colonial immigrant identities in Lisbon as situated lived experiences that embody the historical paths, political disputes, and socioeconomic dynamics tied to global-city making. Relying on the racial capitalism lens, I aim to unearth how colonial pasts influence mobility, settling in patterns and struggles in the specific multicultural reality of Lisbon, analyzing lived experiences and cultural practices from the "viewpoints of power, difference, and human agency" (Flick, 2014, p. 247). With that, I radically contextualize post-colonial immigrant cultural practices (Grossberg, 2010 in Flick, 2014, p. 247), unraveling how the social structures through which they come to be are also challenged and (re)produced by them.

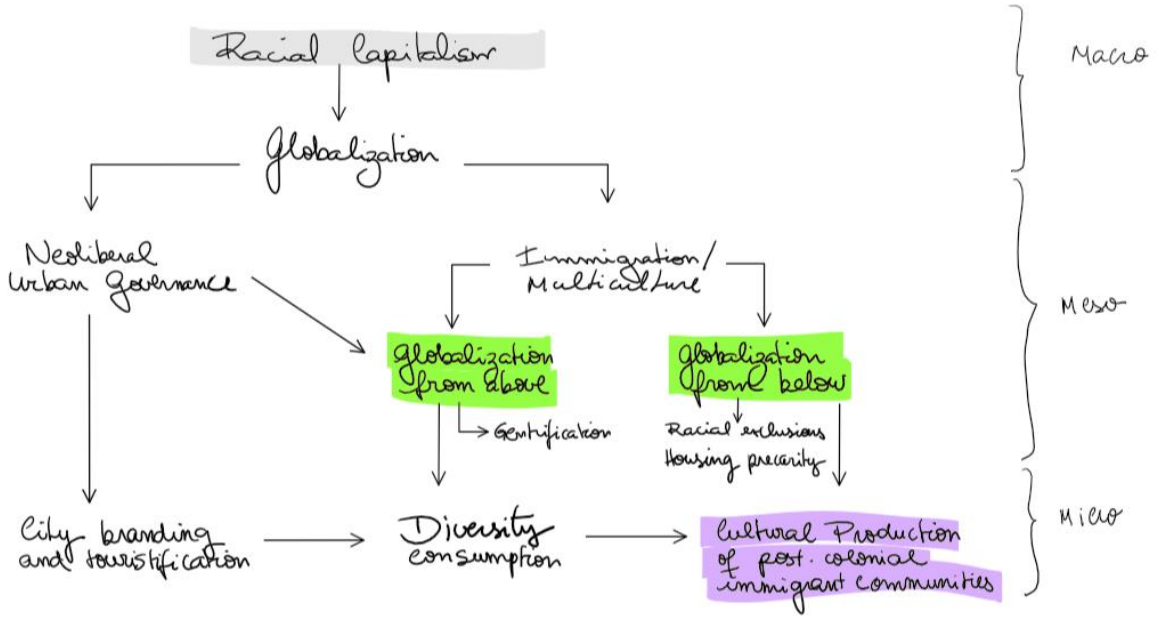

Figure 1. *Theoretical framework articulating a macro-micro approach. Source: Author, 2023.*

With its own limitations, as the other binary concepts discussed, the framework of globalization from above and from below, however, offers a privileged structure for the analysis I develop. Putting globalization in the center, it sheds light on how migration flows and the local management of multiculture are processes operationalized by individuals but embedded in broader politico-economic agendas and dynamics. Furthermore, the definition of "from above"

and “from below” reinforces the operating wealth and power hierarchies, also hinting at how these asymmetries coincide with the geopolitical division of Global North/South. Hierarchies that illustrate colonial-capitalist continuities in which the production of wealth relies on the production of poverty in a mechanism structured by racialized and historical patterns of dispossession. Finally, the elastic framework conceptualized by Hall (2021) cannot only be applied to politico-economic analysis and cultural processes but also reinforces the interrelation among them, supporting the multidisciplinary aim of this investigation, characteristic of the cultural turn in urban studies.

Figure 1 provides an overview of the conceptual rationale proposed, highlighting how the macro-level of racial capitalism and the micro-level of post-colonial immigrant cultural production are articulated by taking globalization from above and from below as mediator processes. This structure forms the theoretical framework through which I approach the studied reality.

III. METHODOLOGY

This section presents a description of the strategies and qualitative methods used in this research to approach the global-city making of Lisbon through post-colonial immigrant cultural production. Operationalizing the theoretical framework of globalization from above and from below, organized through racial capitalism, I take two cultural expressions, Afro House and Baile Funk, respectively African and Brazilian music and dance genres, as entry points for my investigation. To articulate a macro-micro analysis, although this research departs from and iteratively recurs to the macroscale of socioeconomic structures and the cultural, political, and historical processes that shape them, data collection was focused on the micro-scale of immigrant trajectories, lived experiences, perceptions, and agencies of cultural producers. For that, I chose three case studies: Dengo Club, a black queer party; Baile Funk dance classes; and Afro House dance classes.

3.1. Research Aims

By addressing the different aspects that unfold from the research question detailed in the previous section, the ultimate aims of this research are twofold.

- Academically, it aims to contribute to repairing color blindness in the production of knowledge and data in Europe. By operationalizing the conceptual framework of racial capitalism, this investigation wishes to counter the reproduction of silences that, instead of helping overcome racial thinking, hide the racial and colonial basis through which inequality is organized and the contributions of racialized people in the current urban political economy. In that sense, it is articulated with the aim of contributing to decolonizing knowledge by addressing coloniality and its legacies.

- Socially, it wants to further the understanding of everyday multiculture under neoliberal globalization, tackling power dynamics to provide "ways of thinking, strategies for survival, and resources for resistance" (Hall, 1990, p. 22), considering that the political economy of living with difference is a persistent challenge in the European reality in general, and in the Portuguese in particular. For that, it will take the cultural production and consumption centered around the music genres of Baile Funk and Afro House to explore the makings of how culture currently comes to be a critical zone of dispute, interchange, and development of tactics related to questions of social justice in the global city of Lisbon, particularly concerning colonial-capitalist continuities.

3.2. Scope of the Research and Case Studies

To operationalize the research interest in the cultural production centered on post-colonial immigrant identities and their interplay with the neoliberal urban governance of Lisbon, I chose

to focus on practices around the music genres of Baile Funk and Afro House in the city. The first originated in Brazil while the latter, for the purpose of this research, is understood as a broader category of electronic dance music that is infused with different African beats. A worldwide phenomenon particularly led by the African diaspora that, in Lisbon and other circuits in Europe, draws strong influence from Angolan Kuduro both in relation to the music and dance moves. The Afro House scene has also been influenced by Baile Funk, which is ultimately a cultural expression emblematic of the favelas of Rio de Janeiro and the Brazilian African diaspora that traces back to colonial times (Lopes & Facina, 2010). Thus, Afro House and Baile Funk are part of a "world-electronic-music" (Epalanga, 2018, p. 75) that is rooted in poor income, and also racialized, territories in the Global South, and those "Global South" geographies of global cities, more notably in Europe. Commonly referred to as "ghetto" soundscapes, they have been rising to prominence globally in the past decade, forming an intricated and Afro-centered network of musical influence and innovation. They coincide with the cultural dimension of globalization from below as proposed by Hall (2021), and can only be understood through plurality for their diasporic identity (Gilroy, 2001, as cited in in Lopes & Facina, 2010)

Both genres have occupied a central position not only in cultural production in Lisbon, but in cultural consumption, from daytime to nightlife, mobilizing the interest of Portuguese inhabitants, foreigners, and, of course, Brazilian and African communities. Although different cultural expressions holding similar importance in the cultural programming of the city could have been chosen for this investigation, Baile Funk and AfroHouse present dynamics exceptionally interesting for this research. The genres share, for example, a certain level of articulation, oftentimes appearing together in events, DJ sets, and remixes, composing a recent and blooming cultural scene particularly popular among the youth of Lisbon. Their intersecting paths of production and consumption provide me with a universe cohesive enough to keep a broader scope on post-colonial immigrant identities, including those from Brazil and the former African colonies, namely, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe.

Furthermore, as this research investigates racialized inequality patterns in the global city, Baile Funk, and Afro House, being the cultural products of urban sociospatial inequalities and holding particular African and Afrodiasporic characters, allow for privileged insights. Tracing parallels between marginalized territories in Brazil, Luanda (the crib of Kuduro), and Lisbon, Baile Funk, and Afro House are heavily characterized by do-it-yourself modes of production and distribution, which gained traction with the popularization of the internet in the 2000s. They are also coupled with specific dance moves developed and performed in street parties from the low-income territories where they are from. Their dynamics resemble, to some extent, that of hip-hop in the American peripheries, as they are rhythms that rise from urban precarity, reclaiming the cultural identity of marginalized (and racialized) groups, challenging stereotypes, and asserting their presence in the broader cultural landscape, ultimately gaining international recognition and influence.

To dive into the makings of Baile Funk and Afro House as post-colonial immigrant cultural expressions in Lisbon, two case studies were selected: Dengo Club, a black queer party created in 2021 in Lisbon that has both music genres as the structuring pillars of its soundscape; and Dance Classes of Baile Funk and Afro House/Kuduro. Afro House and Kuduro will often appear coupled

together in the course of this thesis because of their interacting dynamics. Especially because Afro House seems to have recently occupied the place of the main Afrodiasporic sound in the city that Kuduro used to have in the early 2000s, while, as mentioned, incorporating many elements of Kuduro's musicality and dance moves. That is so that the dance school where fieldwork was carried out used to interchange Kuduro and Afro House dance classes according to the instructors' availability. Furthermore, because of its more accessible sound, as Fabio, the Kuduro instructor, mentions in the interview, he incorporates a lot of Afro House music in Kuduro classes.

These cultural practices were chosen for combining both the dance and music dimensions of the studied cultural expressions and, more importantly, for connecting globalization from above and globalization from below through different propositions of cultural consumption. They are rooted in post-colonial immigrant identities, carried out by cultural producers from Brazilian or Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOPs), but present a clear outreach to the international community of Lisbon.

This sample is, of course, limited in its way. Not meant to be an exhaustive ethnography, it aims at providing a solid base and initial guidelines for further research to capture the polyvocality of the investigated cultural field, broadening the scope of cultural producers and including the standpoint of the audiences, for example. This work is therefore socially situated and, although it might produce formulations that resonate with the perceptions and realities experienced by other cultural producers, it relies on the richness of individual experience and only speaks for those concerned. This partial, but hopefully insightful investigation, therefore, has the potential to be extended and diversified for a more thorough comprehension of Lisbon's cultural production centered on post-colonial immigrant communities.

3.3. Research Approach

This investigation took an ethnographic approach, entailing immersion in the investigated social contexts and my active participation, assuming interaction and mutual influence as part of the research process. Distancing from positivist knowledge production and neutrality, I reflexively assume my positionality and biases as part of the research process (Sautu et al., 2005). With participant observation and interviews being my primary methods, I embrace the dialectic production of knowledge and the reality studied through methods that implicate being and acting on (Shah, 2020).

This investigation approached the field with an exploratory stand, not looking for confirming preexisting hypotheses with definitive results, but allowing itself to be guided by concepts and categories that emerged inductively. This decentralizing effort required a flexible and interactive design, especially in the initial stages of the research, allowing for the constant revision of theories and assumptions. Finally, being situated, this investigation comprehends the studied phenomena as embedded in specific historical, social, economic, cultural, and spatial contexts, and aims at unraveling the inter-relations between these different dimensions in the lived experiences of the cultural producers. Therefore, the ethnographic exercise carried out in this investigation intended to develop from the perspective of non-hegemonic groups, challenging

rigid ideas of mastery and science. On that note, it had a human-centered approach that relied on building trust and social connections, and that would not have been possible without the generosity and openness of the cultural producers studied and consulted.

3.4. Data Collection | Methods, Pathways, and Analysis

Focused on the experiences and perceptions of research participants, and how their practices interact with and help construct their internal and external worlds, this research relies on the use of qualitative methods (Flick, 2018). With that, it aims to take advantage of how qualitative strategies allow for the articulation between a microsocial focus – rooted in biographic trajectories, everyday interactions, and subjective meaning-making –, and historic-structural reflections (Sautu et al., 2005). In that way, this investigation builds on an empirical and situated approach that starts with a context analysis developed in Chapter IV of this thesis, which brings together data collected through a literature review, informal conversations, and participant observations during fieldwork, including those carried out as part of my internship in the research project Care(4)Housing. The dynamics discussed in the contextualization of Lisbon are then analyzed in post-colonial cultural production and consumption in Chapter V.

Addressing the concern of trying to "understand the significance of the examined practices better than the examined themselves" (Winter, 2014, p. 253), I take inspiration from feminist research (Roulston 1 Choi, 2018) and the work of Paulo Freire (2021) as I aim to develop an approach sensitive to participants' trajectory, highlighting their voices. For that, Chapter V gives particular weight to in-depth semi-structured interviews, which included biographical questions, also incorporating the discussion of preliminary analysis from the interviews with respondents. This design aimed at creating rapport through a transparent and respectful interaction, countering extractive and more hierarchical ways of doing research. Complementarily, the analysis relied on my embodied experiences, field notes, and mapping carried out during fieldwork at dance classes and the studied party.

On that note, my fieldwork was carried out over five months, from March to July 2023, with the first two months dedicated to a more exploratory interaction with Lisbon's scene of cultural production centered on post-colonial immigrant identities. During this period, exploratory conversations were held with five cultural producers, which were fundamental to mapping the field and narrowing down the scope of this research. Because cultural practices with post-colonial immigrant identities in Lisbon are still poorly represented in academic literature, this research also relied on context information, particularly for Chapter IV, provided through documentaries, media articles, lectures, novels, and even song lyrics.

Below is the structure of methods used in this investigation which data informed the contextualization and discussions developed in the following chapter:

3.4.1. **Participant Observation**

Adding to the empirical approach of this investigation, participant observation is incorporated as the first and continued step of my fieldwork, relying on presence to "animate theory and challenge it with observations" (Wästerfors, 2018). During the period of fieldwork, participant observation was carried out at five Dengo Club parties; and in weekly 1-hour Baile Funk and Afro House/Kuduro classes over three months, at one of the main Dance Schools in Lisbon located within the historical and touristic area of the city.

My first incursions were informed by an exploratory intent to map the field encompassing the attendance to multiple cultural events, seminars, and visits to social housing and self-built neighborhoods in the peripheries of Lisbon. On this last note, my 5-month internship in the research project Care(4)Housing – A care through design at the Centre for the Study of Socioeconomic Change and the Territory of the University Institute of Lisbon (DINÂMIA'CET-Iscte) was pivotal to enable a deeper comprehension of the sociospatial inequalities that mark the lives and, therefore, the cultural production, of post-colonial immigrants in Lisbon, particularly those coming from the PALOPs. The experiences and observations carried out as part of my work on the research project inform Chapter IV.

To better organize the immersive collection of data at the three studied cultural practices, namely, the party and dance classes, I took inspiration from the framework proposed by Wästerfors (2018) that concentrates on details, sequences, and atmospheres. Details are what stand out, the specificities that help us build accounts beyond simplifications. Sequences regard the chains of actions that show how small or bigger phenomena interact, and evolve, revealing social orders. Finally, atmosphere comprises the mood and ethereal tone of environments through the interaction of its different elements and actors. Operationalizing these three lenses, I hoped to better notice and characterize the way wider structures of power and identity are performed in the everyday cultural practices observed.

After observations were carried out in in-person social settings, they were written down in a field diary. Notes operationalized the three lenses mentioned with the following analytical categories:

- *Cultural Representation and Identity:*
  Identity markers in activities, venue layout, and promotional materials.
  Narratives engaged with race, sociospatial inequality, and cultural diversity.

- *Social Dynamics and Interaction:*
  Audience composition and engagement (age, gender, ethnicity, etc.).
  Staff diversity and roles.
  Intersectional identities (e.g., queer, black).
  Prices and possible inclusion and exclusions because of it.

- *Urban Context and Impact:*
  Location of activity regarding center/periphery dynamics.
  Perception of diversity in the neighborhood.
  Urban signifiers of segregation, upscaling, etc. In the neighborhood.

- *Governmental support and institutional affiliations*

The data collected through the observations was interpreted using qualitative content analysis, following the above categories and subcategories. For the contextualization of Lisbon (Chapter IV), data was organized into the main framing of globalization from above and from below, reflecting the theoretical framework.

3.4.2. **In-depth Semi-Structured Interviews**

In this research, semi-structured interviews are applied to access information about the cultural practices that are difficult to observe or obtain from the body of literature; to contextualize, explain, and reflect on remarks observed during participant observation; to locate cultural practices in the biography and situated context of the cultural producers; and to apprehend subjective experiences and interpretations about cultural practices vis-à-vis social structures. For that, semi-structured interviews were chosen for providing a consistent basis of topics to be discussed with all interviewees, while leaving room for flexibility (Roulston & Choi, 2018). The method was also chosen to allow participants to challenge suppositions and categories expressed in the way questions are framed.

In-depth semi-structured interviews, with an average duration of 150 minutes, were carried out with four cultural producers connected to the studied cultural practices. They are:

> **Saint Caboclo** (24 years old)
> He is the founder of Dengo Club, also working as a DJ. He is Brazilian and moved to Portugal at the age of 15. He identifies as a black queer man.
> *Interview carried out on June 5, 2023.*

> **Fvbricia** (24 years old)
> She is the resident DJ at Dengo Club, besides being a nurse and about to finish her degree in massage therapy. She was born in Lisbon to Santomean parents and identifies as a black and queer woman, inhabiting the racial and LGBTQ+ intersectionality.
> *Interview carried out on May 27, 2023.*

> **Fábio Jorge**, byname **Krayze** (34 years old)
> He is a Kuduro dancer and teacher and is also a musician. He is Angolan and immigrated to Lisbon at the age of 13. He identifies as a black man.
> *Interview carried out on May 18, 2023.*

> **Kay** (26 years old)
> He is a dancer who teaches Baile Funk and is also part of the Ballroom scene, dancing Voguing[4]. He is Brazilian and has been in Portugal for 20 years. He identifies as a gay man and mentions he has always struggled to define his ethnicity.
> *Interview carried out on June 21, 2023.*

[4] Voguing is a style of dance that emerged in the 1980s among the black and Latinx queer community in the United States, most precisely in Harlem. Performances were carried out in competitive events called Ballrooms. Dancers were organized in "family houses" that today are spread internationally, including in Portugal.

All interviews were carried out in Portuguese, and I had interviewees sign an informed consent in which they could opt for anonymity or not. All of them allowed the disclosure of their names which will be referred to in Chapter V. The protocols and question guides of the interviews are available in the appendix. The questions reflected the topics tackled by the research questions posed in this investigation and specific themes identified during the exploratory phase of the fieldwork. Transcripts are not included but a summary in English can be provided upon request.

The in-depth semi-structured interviews were recorded in audio, transcribed using intelligent verbatim, and interpreted using qualitative content analysis. The analysis started from the deductive categories (themes) that guide this research, which also structured the interview guides. They were used for the first coding of the interview transcripts in MaxQDA (Figure 2). Subsequently, the coded sections were summarized by interviewee. During this process, through an inductive reading of the data, more specific sub-themes emerged, which were employed to organize the summaries and, later, the final analysis, developed in Chapter V. The themes and sub-themes are described in Table 1. The summaries of each interview were shared with the respective interviewees for verification. This step was taken to ensure the accuracy of interpretations and that no significant details were overlooked in the synthesis.

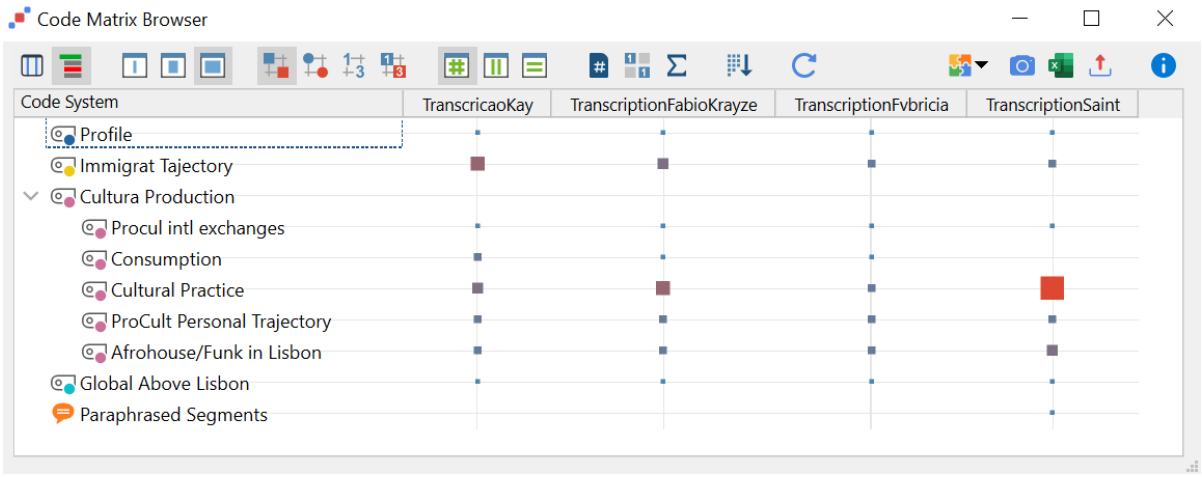

Figure 2. *MaxQDA Matrix shows the application of themes per interview transcript. Source: Author, 2023.*

Theme	Sub-themes
Immigrant trajectory	housing, social policies, citizenship and legality, social mobility, belonging
Cultural production - personal trajectory	enablers, impediments, interest
Cultural production – cultural practices	objectives, challenges, political engagement
Cultural production – consumption circuits	identity of participants, nationality and residence of participants, participant's interest, interaction patterns
Cultural production – international circuits of production and consumption	impacts of globalization from above, participation in international circuits
Impacts of globalization from above	housing, social circle, work opportunities

Table 1. *Themes and sub-themes used in the analysis of in the analysis of interviews. Source: Author, 2023.*

In Chapter V, the data collected in the interviews is presented in sections that reflect the coding themes. The section concerning Immigrant Trajectory analyzes the data as a group, only disclosing names and nationalities when relevant. Although there are different patterns to the settling in of PALOP and Brazilian immigrants, this differentiation is not the focus of this research, which has too small of a sample to draw any relevant conclusion in this regard. Furthermore, it aimed to guard the privacy of interviewees, their families, and their life stories. Because of that, gender-neutral pronouns are employed. The discussions of the data from the interviews also take into consideration my field notes, as I participated in the party and dance classes promoted by the interviewees. Other events, discussions, and seminars related to the studied practices were also part of my fieldwork and offered valuable insights that are included in Chapters V and VI.

3.4.3. **Mapping**

Lisbon is characterized by multiple orders of sociospatial inequalities. It is infused by racial contours as the settling in of post-colonial immigrants is characterized by peripheralization. It is also affected by the arrival of well-off foreigners, with the speculation of housing prices peaking in certain neighborhoods. To help analyze how the studied cultural practices interact with globalization from above and from below, georeferenced data were collected about the participants/cultural consumers.

The organizers of Dengo Club provided this research with screenshots from their ticketing system mapping tool which shows the registered addresses of all partygoers, both zoomed in Lisbon and Europe. Following a similar model of the material provided by Dengo Club, I collected data regarding nationality, residence zip code, and, if foreigner, the indication of whether residence in Lisbon was permanent/long term or short stay, in both Baile Funk and Afro House/Kuduro classes. As participants are not regular, the maps created correspond to one class of each dance genre. The data was collected anonymously, through the distribution of printed-out 3-question surveys for the participants to fill out.

The maps corresponding to each studied cultural practice provided insights into the center-periphery pattern of attendants, as well as allowed the observation of the presence and proportion of international participants.

3.4.4. **Non-participant Online Observation**

Considering online presence as a pivotal dimension for the studied cultural practices to reach and communicate with their audiences/clientele, in addition to in-person observations, I also carried out non-participant online observation of the social media pages of Dengo Club and the dance school where classes were taken. It aimed to evaluate online representations (people portrayed, identity markers, discourses around race and multiculturality); and observe the main language of communication and touristifying narratives. Data was noted on field diaries, and analyzed as complementary to data collected during participant observations.

3.4.5. **Secondary Sources**

Given the multidisciplinary subject of this research and the insufficient academic production on the studied post-colonial immigrant cultural practices in Lisbon, I drew on cultural products, such as documentaries, songs, lyrics, and novels as sources of valuable data. I also attended multiple conferences, seminars, and cultural events, which provided me with rich information to paint the broader picture of Lisbon's neoliberal governance, diversity management, and cosmopolitanism on the ground. The data collected was organized in a field diary and informs the analysis developed in Chapter IV about the context of Lisbon. Furthermore, Baile Funk, Afro House, and Kuduro songs heard during fieldwork (Dengo Club parties, dance classes, and events), mentioned in the interviews, novels, and news articles, or used in social media posts were organized in a Spotify playlist that can be accessed by scanning the QR code (Figure 3).

Figure 3. *QR code to access fieldwork Spotify playlist. Source: Author, 2023.*

3.5. Positionality and Reflexivity

I acknowledge the importance of addressing my positionality, especially since my research is structured on the discussion of identities, and the different statuses and privileges they imply. Being a Brazilian, 30-year-old female researcher in Lisbon, I hold a peculiar position between insider and outsider. Although Portuguese is my native language, which facilitates effective communication, my accent inscribes me into Brazilian stereotypes for some people. Being a woman, this includes the projection of sexualized ideas over female Brazilians which operate in the everyday and many cultural settings. They were, however, in no way noticed during my fieldwork at the three studied cultural practices. Conversely, my accent and "Brazilianness" might have helped me create rapport with interviewees for our shared post-colonial immigrant identities. Furthermore, Baile Funk is a familiar cultural practice, which facilitated my incursion and understanding of the cultural circuits around the genre in the city. It also helped me navigate the dynamics around Afro House and Kuduro, once they share circuits with Baile Funk.

Once ethnographic methods imply inherent autoethnographic elements, being Brazilian played a big part in my approach to the field. As Brazil has interconnected histories with Portugal and the PALOPs, being known for a diversity rooted in colonial times that is somehow reproduced in post-colonial Lisbon, my Brazilian lens provided me with an informed and fresh outlook. It also brought numerous biases such as preconceptions about Portuguese people and culture, and normative accounts regarding racialization and diversity consumption, which are sensitive to the

Brazilian context but should be taken as relational when used to frame different realities. In that sense, I had to be attentive to read Lisbon's reality, which I only experienced for five months, according to its situated dynamics and demands, and, for that, informants' participation was crucial.

My interactions with the participants of this research were guided by transparency, voluntary participation, and informed consent. As a white Brazilian, I also aimed to remain conscious of my position in racialized dynamics in Lisbon, and about the Afrodiasporic cultures studied. In that sense, I approached fieldwork with an open and respectful attitude, seeing cultural producers as invaluable experts in their practices, contexts, and struggles. During interviews, participants were also invited to challenge any concept or framing used that did not comply with how they see themselves or the reality they live in. Therefore, the category "post-colonial immigrant cultural production" was validated by them. Anonymity will not be used in the research, as interviewees opted to disclose their names reinforcing their protagonist roles in this investigation.

Finally, to further the participatory and two-way ambitions of this research, all cultural initiatives and producers contacted during fieldwork were offered my time and support in activities related to my professional and academic expertise. Within that, I contributed to the writing of two projects submitted for funding through call for proposals, supported a cultural producer in his master's application, and collaborated in an event from a dance residency.

IV. POST-COLONIAL GLOBAL LISBON

Like other former imperial metropolises of Europe, Lisbon negotiates its position as a global city between a colonial past and a post-colonial present. Failing to prevent the perpetuation of racially organized inequalities, the city experiences a cosmopolitanism predominantly characterized, on one side, by immigrants from Brazil and the PALOPs, former colonial territories, that face different levels of precarity and marginalization[5]; and on the other, by the well-off tourists, exchange students, retirees, and remote workers that find in the city a sunny, affordable, and culturally vibrant place to live or spend leisure time. This dichotomy, representing the globalization from above and from below in the city, originates not only from enduring colonial relations that persisted until the late 20th century, but also from urban growth strategies that have aimed to attract foreign capital, residents, and tourists into the city. An inflow that has triggered a crisis of housing financialization which has been the headline of local and international news (Jones, 2023; Moreira, 2023), and that ultimately advances urban inequalities and their colonial contours.

This chapter will provide a brief history of both globalization from below and from above in Lisbon. Housing is taken as the primary dimension of analysis for its significance to both patterns of mobility. It is ontological to post-colonial immigration because of colonial land dispossession and the dynamics of exploitation and poverty structured from it and that are continued until today. It is also part of how the colonial-capitalist order is reinstituted in Lisbon through housing precarity and other orders of exclusion, that mark post-colonial immigrants' settling in. Conversely, housing is emblematic of globalization from above for the speculative dynamics it sets off as it interacts with other mechanisms of Lisbon's neoliberal urban governance, which it is part of.

On that note, the chapter closes by addressing how culture comes to integrate the neoliberal development in the city. It discusses the way the diversity from globalization from below has been incorporated as part of Lisbon's cosmopolitan city branding that aims to attract foreign capital through the well-off gentrifying globalization from above. With that, the chapter discusses the contradictory dynamics within this recognition of diversity. It values post-colonial immigrant culture, while furthering celebratory narratives around the imperial "discoveries"; it fosters the growth of circuits for consumption of post-colonial immigrant culture, but it systematically denies the guarantee of citizenship and social rights to post-colonial immigrants. This discussion reflects how culture and housing are strategic and intersecting dimensions of Lisbon's neoliberal urban governance, and the way it manages and controls its desired and undesired, yet needed, immigrations.

[5] Although this work focuses on the post-colonial patterns of nowadays cosmopolitanism in Lisbon, it is still important to address that from the mid-2000s, the immigration of poor-income populations diversified with the consolidation of significant communities of people coming from Eastern Europe, and, more recently, from India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2023; Filho, 2023; Padilla et al., 2015). Furthermore, the Roma population in Lisbon is a large group that, although settled in Portugal for centuries, is still othered and racialized, with trajectories marked by exclusion and marginalization (Alves, 2016).

4.1. Globalization from Below

4.1.1. General Figures and Global/Local Precarities

According to the 2021 Census (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2023), the foreign residents in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon represented around 9% of its total population. Within this group, Brazilians are 36%, and immigrants coming from Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea Bissau, and São Tomé, the most represented PALOP countries in Portugal, make up 25%. Together, they show that, officially, more than 60% of the foreign population in metropolitan Lisbon is formed by post-colonial immigration. Numbers that are underestimated since they only count those legally in the country. In Portugal, access to permanent residency and citizenship is seemingly simple (Daré, 2021) being contingent on the presentation of subsistence and lodging proof related to the period of residence. However these conditions might sound basic, they are particularly challenging for certain populations in a country that has historically struggled to provide affordable and proper housing, especially for the poor, and where racism is present in both labor and real-estate markets (Alves, 2016; Filho, 2023).

Unemployment rates are two times higher among post-colonial immigrants (17%) in comparison to the average unemployment (8%), with more than a third of those employed working in "unqualified jobs" (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2023). Alternatively, the foreign nationals most represented in the professional groups related to scientific, political, and corporate positions, that is, highly paid jobs, are from Spain, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Germany (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2023). In that manner, immigrants with poorer economic backgrounds occupy the lowest-paid job positions in a country that has one of the lowest wages in Europe while housing speculation increases. The precarity entrapment is set. Today, it is estimated that more than 50 thousand families in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon do not have access to decent housing, 31% of which reside in public dwellings (Área Metropolitana de Lisboa & Universidade de Lisboa, 2022). This situation disproportionally affects impoverished immigrants and is historically connected to Portugal's coloniality, configuring the geography of a segmented global city bound to reproduce its past as a colonial metropole (Filho, 2023).

4.1.2. The Colonial History and Shape of the Urbanization of Lisbon

As the capital of Portugal, Lisbon has been the center stage for decisive events that mark the country's recent history. In the 15th century, it stood as the leading metropole of colonial navigations in the context of the Portuguese "discoveries", intercontinental trade, and slave trafficking market, which extended across the American, African, and Asian continents. The prominent position of Portugal was, however, eroded during the Napoleonic Wars, when the Portuguese Crown flew to Brazil, its largest colony, which became independent not long after, in 1822. Following these events, the last couple of centuries were largely marked by economic and political instabilities on a national scale, being worth highlighting the nearly-50-year national dictatorship (1926-1974), the longest in Europe, that came to an end in 1974 with the Carnation Revolution, leading to re-democratization and the end of the decolonization wars in Africa, ongoing during the 60s and 70s.

The end of both the national dictatorship and the colonial wars in Africa led to the independence of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé e Príncipe. Decolonization triggered the immigration to Portugal of returnees (Portuguese settlers that returned to Portugal after the independences), and the populations from formerly colonized African territories that aimed to escape the conflicts and crises installed in the aftermath of the end of centuries of colonial rule (Almada, 2020; Cardoso & Guterres, 2022; Garrido et al., 2020; Lages, 2017). In Lisbon, the arrival of these populations added to the considerable demographic pressure the city was already experiencing as a result of late industrialization during the 1960s, which encompassed rural-urban immigration and the inflow of Cape Verdean populations recruited as "cheap labor" to fill in the gap left by the Portuguese emigrated (Almada, 2020; Dias, 2019; Lages, 2017). In that manner, the newly arrived from Africa post-1974 were confronted with the challenges in place: the lack of social and urban structure to accommodate them in the city together with institutional racism. This included a shortage of cheap housing stock, the absence of adequate policies to support immigrants in accessing housing and obtaining their papers, racial prejudice of landlords, and in the labor market, pushing immigrants into precarity (Almada, 2020; Alves, 2016; Salgueiro, 2012). With that, newcomers contributed to the expansion of the already ongoing practice of self-built housing in informal settlements on the outskirts of Lisbon (Lages, 2017).

Self-produced neighborhoods were self-built housing areas on public (and to a lesser extent, private) lands, without proper urban infrastructure, occupied by inhabitants or illegally organized as allotments and sold to the recently arrived urban poor through facilitated payment arrangements and contracts (Lages, 2017). While many houses started as precarious constructions made of wood and metal sheets, they could be improved with time. Diverse in their shape, self-produced neighborhoods are emblematic not only of the expansion of Lisbon but of the diversity of the immigrants that inhabited them, who came to compose the population of the city. Beyond socioeconomic reasons, these informal neighborhoods were enabled by cultural factors, such as the possibility of constructing a house with a backyard, typical of the aspirations of rural migrants; or the desire for house ownership, which carries big symbolic and practical values, especially for populations historically dispossessed (Lages, 2017). In the 1970s, self-built neighborhoods represented 40% of all the urbanization implemented during the decade in Lisbon. Opposed to the “formal” city, these territories continued to expand with the ensuing immigration, being framed by the government and the media as “clandestine”. This approach reinforced their illegal origins, rather than their legitimacy, considering housing as a basic right that could not be fulfilled by the state. With that, they also reinforced the stigma of illegality over the people who inhabited them (Alves, 2016).

In the 1990s, self-produced neighborhoods were targeted by a series of programs that, fueled by public discourses that associated these settlements with criminality, aimed at their legalization or demotion, eradicating slum-like dwellings, and rehousing their residents (Almada, 2020; Lages, 2017; Saaristo, 2022). They were, however, in many ways, insufficient, slow, bureaucratic, and exclusionary. With residents from demolished neighborhoods not being granted the promised rehousing (Alves, 2016), and some self-produced neighborhoods waiting for a permanent answer regarding urban infrastructures and/or legalization until today. This is the case, for example, of Cova da Moura, where, although the built environment is consolidated and residents pay real

estate taxes, the municipality is constantly posing the threat of reallocation, said residents during a field visit part of the research project Care(4)Housing. Talude (Figures 4 and 5) is another informal settlement in greater Lisbon that has not been able to push back to that extent. Composed of a majority of Afro-Portuguese and African population, residents range from those living in the neighborhood for over 40 years to newly arrived immigrants. In March of this year, seven houses were destroyed by the municipality, leaving five mothers with their kids homeless among them.

In light of Talude's situation, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, during a conference held in Lisbon[6], referred to Sivanandan's aphorism "We are here because you were there" as a framework for thinking current post-colonial struggles in Europe as a result of Imperialism and Colonialism. She stated that when the struggle faced is about land use, as is the case for post-colonial immigrants' housing, then, it is about racial capitalism. On that note, the research project City Occupied[7] proposes an interesting reflection on the reparative dimension of land occupation, which is insightful to look at the case of Lisbon. Using the keyword "occupation", it sheds light on matters of illegality, entitlement, and path-dependency by juxtaposing colonial occupation and post-colonial immigrant occupation in Europe. Therefore, it emphasizes the contradictory ethics and a sense of genealogy to think about the land occupation by post-colonial immigrants in Portugal, which is criminalized by the State, as a process that starts on a history of racialized colonial occupation, domination, exploitation, and dispossession. A history that is not critically reviewed in contemporary politics and discourses, which could offer a reparatory approach to self-built settlements. Instead, while post-colonial immigrants' self-built neighborhoods are dealt with violence and discrimination, Portugal's post-colonial past is romanticized and acclaimed in city branding, as it will be later discussed.

The rehousing policies implemented by the end of the 20th century materialized in high-rise social housing complexes in the peripheries, disconnected from the urban fabric and opportunities (Figure 6). With an incomplete housing solution that did not serve residents with public transport, education infrastructure, employment, ways to legalization, and effective citizenship, social housing neighborhoods continued the exclusion that characterized self-built neighborhoods, cementing sociospatial inequalities. Furthermore, social housing projects started to be known as dangerous by media discourses that emphasized poverty and the everyday conflicts between different ethnic communities that were resettled together. Social housing projects, therefore reinforced the geographic, social, and symbolic marginalization of their residents (Alves, 2016; Cardoso & Guterres, 2022)[8]. Developed in a top-down approach, the urban and architectural

[6] Information collected at an open session that happened as part of the 6th Feminist No Borders Summer School in Lisbon with Grupo Mulheres do Bairro do Talude (Loures), Aida Fernandes from Unidos em Defesa das Covas do Barroso, and Ruth Wilson Gilmore on June 14th, 2023.

[7] Researchers from the City Occupied project participated in the EADI CEsA Lisbon Conference 2023: Towards New Rhythms of Development presenting their work and framework on the seminar held on July 12th, 2023. More information about the research project can be found on their website: https://city-occupied.net/

[8] Racist portrayals in the Portuguese media were, unfortunately not rare. One of the most famous episodes reflecting this racial bias concerns the newscast of an "Arrastão", a beach robbery performed by a group, in this case, of black individuals. The documentary "Once Upon a Time an Arrastão" tells how this narrative of hastily put together by news channels, which proved to be untrue days later after more in-depth accounts of what happened could be collected. The documentary is available here:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_h5OjSY_sqk

design of the social housing complexes did not take into consideration the residents' ways of living and needs (Lages, 2017). Hence, resettling entailed the destruction not only of whole neighborhoods built from the work and investments of residents, but also disrupted community conviviality, cultural practices, and support networks such as the sophisticated mechanism of community social security Djunta Mon (Almada, 2020; Cardoso & Guterres, 2022; Lages, 2017). Cultural producers interviewed pointed to how social housing projects also had a disciplining subtext that facilitate policing, with a single entrance into the neighborhood, and that confined the social and outdoor practices of the preponderant African and Roma resident population inside apartments, as quality public space was not available. This circumstance drastically changes how the cultural productions of these populations unfold in the next decades.

Figures 4 and 5. *Left. Talude, a self-built neighborhood in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. Source: Care4Housing Archive, used with permission.*

Figure 6. *Right. Quinta do Mocho, a social housing complex in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. Source: Author, 2023.*

The racially organized geography of exclusion that is delineated in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon with the help of social housing policies is pushed further by the urban security program of Zona Sensíveis (Sensitive Zones) implemented in 2006. They define "problematic" areas where a regime of exception is translated into truculent police action (Almada, 2020). The regulation that orients this policy considers the ethnic-social composition as a criterion of risk assessment (Henriques, 2019), institutionalizing the ethnization of poverty and criminality, and reinforcing essentializing discourses over social housing and self-built neighborhoods (Alves, 2016; Almada, 2020; Taviani, 2019).

Between 2011 and 2014 rigorous austerity policies are implemented in Portugal halting housing and other public investments as the country experiences the impacts of the 2008 economic crisis.

(Lages, 2017; Pereira & Esteves, 2017). As, by rule, they entail the rollback and downsizing of the state, particularly dismantling social protection systems, hence the poorest and marginalized populations are the most affected. This was no different in Portugal where the poorest 10% experienced a reduction of 25% in their income (Rodrigues & Junqueira, 2016). Phinney (2020) affirms that "austerity is always racialized" (p.2) recognizing the imperial legacies in how racial inequalities are produced in racial-financialized processes embedded in urban realities. As a consequence of austerity, emigration achieved a record as residents escape unemployment and poverty (Sapage, 2022). The United Kingdom is consolidated as one of the main destinations of emigration (Farcas & Gonçalves, 2017). Part of these mobilities are also post-colonial immigrants settled in Portugal who re-emigrated to the UK, building pathways that foster strong networks, including in the domain of cultural production. Two examples are the artistic and cultural collectives A Fonte[9] and The Blacker the Berry[10], they are composed of Afro-Portuguese artists and producers who live in Lisbon and/or in the UK, and develop activities in both countries, around topics concerning the African diaspora.

As noted in this section, for the post-colonial African immigrant population, housing precarity has represented an additional line of exclusion in a challenging scenario of labor precarity, racism, speculative rents, and the denial of citizenship and residence rights. Housing policies have not only been insufficient but, in fact, through violent processes of evictions and demolitions, they cemented a geography of racialized exclusion that infused colonial contours in an expanding post-colonial Lisbon (Cardoso & Guterres, 2022). As values attributed to people and places are mutually constructed (Watkins, 2015), the persistent precarity lived by inhabitants in self-built neighborhoods and social housing projects become both cause and consequence of enduring social stigmatization and criminalization by way of sociospatial self-fulfilling prophecies. The growth of Lisbon into a metropole is later complemented by the arrival of Brazilians. The post-colonial character of population increase facilitates the reconstruction of the imperial order in the city and the reproduction of social hierarchies inherited by colonial race-making (Machado, 2006). In the next section, I will further discuss how racial hierarchies help explain the way immigrants are perceived and manage to settle in Lisbon, looking at the differences faced by African and Brazilian immigrants.

4.1.3. Brazilian Immigration and the (Racial) Differences with the African Post-Coloniality

Since the late 2000s, Brazilians have become the largest immigrant community in Portugal after Cape Verdeans, experiencing a rapid increase with their numbers growing by over 75% between 2018 and 2020 (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2023). This immigration is mostly related to labor, with a first influx, in the 80s of "highly qualified" workers, followed in the 90s by a larger wave that filled in the vacancies in construction, cleaning and caring, hospitality, and retail – low-wage sectors (Pereira & Esteves, 2017). In the first half of the 2010s, there was an increase in the arrival of Brazilians motivated by study and research, and, in the second half, motivated by investments, taking advantage of the Golden Visa regime (Pereira & Esteves, 2017).

[9] https://www.instagram.com/nossa.fonte/
[10] https://www.instagram.com/theblackertheberryproject/

Since its independence in 1822, the relationship between Portugal and Brazil has been particular. Machado (2006) examines hierarchies of otherness and how they are racially organized through coloniality in Portugal to elucidate varying attitudes towards post-colonial identities. The author argues that Brazil is acknowledged as occupying an intermediary position between Portuguese and African identities due to many factors that include: the historical significance of earlier independence, the rise of Brazil on the international stage while Portugal has remained on the margins of the Eurozone, racial composition and identification, and the power of the Brazilian cultural industry in Portugal (García Canclini & Yúdice, 2014; Machado, 2006; Pereira & Esteves, 2017). The latter is characterized by the immense success of Brazilian soap operas broadcasted in Portuguese channels (Cunha, 2003), the American and Japanese cartoons that for a long time were transmitted in Portugal either dubbed in Brazilian Portuguese or subtitled (Picareta, 2009), by some of the greatest hits of Portuguese popular music being versions of Brazilian songs (Brandos Costumes, 2019), and, more recently, by the massive presence of Brazilian content on social media platforms – which has got Portuguese parents alarmed as their kids started changing their accent (Luz, 2021).

The racial component of this hierarchy of otherness is expressed, primarily, in the way the far-from-monolithic African immigrant community in Portugal is understood as a unit, taking blackness as a homogenizing tool – while Brazilians are organized within the somehow more specific category of nationality (Machado, 2006). And secondly, by how blackness is understood as a symbolic shortcoming, meaning divisiveness or backwardness, within the myth of racial democracy, historically celebrated by the Portuguese through *Lusotropicalism*[11] and the fallacy of "good colonizers" (Santos, 2020). This would put Brazilians in a subaltern, yet higher position because of its miscegenation expressed in a lighter skin tone.

Differently from PALOP immigrants, for whom housing precarity is a central signifier in settling in, racial hierarchies towards Brazilians are manifested more notably in the radicalization of cultural stereotypes and their repercussions in the labor market – although Brazilians are also affected by housing inequality. On that note, besides a large proportion of Brazilians working with care and cleaning services, immigrant workers from Brazil are overly represented in activities connected to hospitality, food service, retail, and entertainment, a "market of joy" (Pereira & Esteves, 2017, p. 142) that mirrors the essentialized idea of a "joyful Brazilianness" (Machado, 2006); and in the sectors of beauty and aesthetic, connected to the sexualization of Brazilian women[12] (Gomes, 2013, 2018; Machado, 2006; Pereira & Esteves, 2017; Pravaz, 2012). Both imaginaries feed into the production and consumption circuits of Baile Funk in Lisbon.

[11] As Pravaz (2012) explains, Lusotropicalism was coined by the Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre to define what he perceived as colones' openness and lack of prejudice expressed in colonial sexual reproduction between white Portuguese males and both indigenous and black (with African origins) women which he saw as harmonious. With that, he erased the violence that permeated this process of racial mixing*, mestiçagem*.

[12] The sexualization of Brazilian women in Portugal is thoroughly investigated in the works of M. S. Gomes (2013, 2018) and Pravaz (2012). They emphasize two key factors: the media's undue focus on Brazilian female immigrants in prostitution, contrasting them against Portuguese "mothers" and "wives," and the portrayal of the "mulata" – a mixed-race woman symbolizing Brazilian samba and carnival – in revealing attire. This sexualization perpetuates colonial power dynamics of desire and subalternation, mirroring the historical exploitation of black enslaved women by white male settlers and elites.

While Brazilian culture is essentialized in celebratory and sexualized images, the influence of African culture in Portugal has been historically pushed to negative connotations and invisibility. This process goes along with the erasure of the African presence in the country – both literally, with the expulsion of part of the African population after the end of enslavement in the colonial metropole, and symbolically. In this last case, through school books and official narratives that produce a collective amnesia (Almeida, 2004) erasing the history of pre-colonial Africa and the prominent role of Black, Jewish, and Moor peoples in the Iberic Peninsula, the African resistance to colonial domination, the history of African enslavement in Portugal, the presence of "assimilated" Africans in Portugal in the 20th century[13], and the intellectual and cultural contributions of African peoples and their descendants, among which is Fado, today known as the most traditional Portuguese rhythm (Almada, 2016; K. Gomes, 2023).

Recently, the entrenched racial hierarchy of otherness in Portugal gained quantified substance through a study building on the European Social Survey. It ranked Portugal on the top of the scale regarding cultural and biological racism in Europe, with 52.9% of respondents believing that some racial and ethnic groups are born less intelligent or hard-working than others, and 54.1% perceiving some cultures are superior. The European average is 29,2% and 44%, respectively (Henriques, 2017).

4.2. Globalization from Above

With Portugal's entrance into the European Union in 1986, the country aimed to align its development strategies with EU directives (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020; Pinto, 2018; Santos, 2008). Part of that were efforts to attract capital and tourism under the economic recovery agenda for the post-1970s oil crisis (Santos, 2008). City branding through urban renewal and publicity was as much part of this strategy as programs of fiscal incentives to attract tourists, retirees, liberal workers, and other affluent and mobile classes. Lisbon, as the capital of the country, had a central role in these processes. The first strategic document of the city, the 1992 Strategic Plan, established among the core objectives: (a) To make Lisbon an attractive city to live and work in; (b) to make Lisbon competitive in the system of European cities; (c) To reaffirm Lisbon as a metropole capital (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, n.d.). In this context, Lisbon is elected the European Capital of Culture in 1994, hosts the World Exposition in 1998 (Expo 98), and markets itself as the Atlantic Capital of Europe, inaugurating an enduring trend of mobilizing certain aspects to create marketable representations as part of urban regeneration strategies (Cardoso & Guterres, 2022; De La Barre, 2019; Santos, 2008). At the core of these urban images are the "resort city" in reference to the sunny climate; the traditional city, centered around the idea of *Portugalidade* and a vernacular culture expressed in fado music, food specialties, and tiled architecture – that implies and is very much organized through whiteness; and the cosmopolitan city, constructed through the celebration of the historical role of Lisbon in the colonial

[13] The "assimilated" were PALOP colonial subjects who, upon demonstrating a certain level of "social development", which included the abandonment of traditions, could transition from the status of "indigenous" to "civilized", accessing Portuguese citizenship. This was understood as proof of the benign character of the Portuguese colonial rule, and its effort to revert the "millenary backwardness" of colonized peoples (Domingos, 2020).

"discoveries" that presented "new worlds to the world", and through the multiculture "enabled" by it and embodied by post-colonial immigration (Cardoso & Guterres, 2022; De La Barre, 2019; Santos, 2008). The tensions that mark this last point will be further investigated in the following section.

In the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, and as part of troika's bailout, tourism and foreign investments are reinforced as the engines of urban development in Portugal. Besides touristification, a series of aggressive programs have been created by the Portuguese government to attract foreign capital (Figure 7). Some of the most prominent are the non-regular tax regime of 2009, the Golden Visa program of 2012, and the Digital Nomad visa of 2022. All of which have aimed to solve a crisis at the expense of creating a new one. They contributed to shaping the deregulated real estate market, the housing crisis, and the wage/cost of living gap that marks the reality of Lisbon today.

The non-regular tax regime targets high-income professionals and pensioners from EU countries, offering reduced personal income tax for those spending over half a year or owning property in Portugal. This program has attracted mainly French citizens, along with Belgians and Scandinavians, to buy a house in Portugal (Lestegás et al., 2018) – either as a home or a means of advantageous investment due to tax breaks, explained a Portuguese resident during an informal conversation. With the troika, rent controls are removed, evictions are facilitated and the Golden Visa is approved, a residence permit for non-EU investors that has drawn wealthy residents and property buyers, particularly from the United States, China, and Brazil (Lestegás et al., 2018; Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, n.d.; Silva, 2021). The latter two countries indicate how globalization from above has also been engendered by the elites of South/below geographies. Facing post-pandemic challenges and taking advantage of the increase in remote working, Portugal introduces the Digital Nomad Visa which offers short-stay visas and residence permits to foreigners outside of the EU and the EEA who intend to live in Portugal (Braathen, 2022). Eligibility is contingent on providing proof of a monthly income equivalent to, at least, four times the minimum wage in Portugal. It is worth noting that the Portuguese minimum wage in 2023 is 760 euros, roughly half the average minimum wage in the US and France (République Française, 2023; U.S. Labor Department, n.d.), key countries in the internationalization of Lisbon.

Altogether, these entrepreneurial urban policies, impelled by bailout measures, have been responsible for the speculative effects on housing and living costs in Lisbon. They attract large numbers of internationals with heightened financial capacity, in comparison to the Portuguese reality, and real estate investors that take advantage of the liberalization of housing policies, to profit through the financialization of the housing market. They contribute to the city's urban upscaling which caters to the arrival of affluent immigrants and the booming of tourism that, together with the influx of international exchange students[14], ignite a market of short-term rentals (Lewis, 2019; Silva, 2021).

On that note, supported by city branding efforts that granted the city titles such as Europe's Leading City Destination (Seixas et al., 2019), tourism has been an increasingly important

[14] International exchange students in Lisbon make 44% of the group in the country, which had been steadily growing before the pandemic and is expected to return to its growing trend by 2022/2023 (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2023)

economic activity in Lisbon. In 2019, the city accommodated an average of eight tourists for every resident, with the sector representing 17,9% of the GDP of the Metropolitan Area – a figure that should be surpassed in 2023 as post-pandemic tourism consolidates (Aníbal, 2023; Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2023; Meireles, 2023; Rosa, 2023; Silva, 2021). Nation-wide, the main tourist groups were from Spain, the UK, France, Germany, and Brazil, with a notable surge in tourists from the US (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2020).

Lisbon's globalization from above has been, therefore, engendered by multiple mechanisms of neoliberal urban governance. Consequently, housing unaffordability has been escalating, and inequalities deepening. Local populations watch the emergence of a new urban poor priced out by speculation, while the already poorer segments of society, largely comprehending racialized populations, are further pushed into precarity. In 2022, rents went up by 36.9% (Moreira, 2023), a reality that is aggravated by Portugal having one of the smallest social housing offers in Europe, around 2% (Silva, 2021). And as "the socialisation of losses goes hand in hand with the privatization of gains" (Pinto, 2018, p. 89), according to a piece by The Guardian (Silva, 2021), Lisbon is one of the few cities in the world where the luxury real estate sector grew during the pandemic.

Figure 7. *Lisbon's city-branding materials target foreign investors and residents. Source: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2023.*

4.3. Global Lisbon, from Above and from Below

Although urban inequalities building up in Lisbon are referred to by investors as "collateral damage" of saving the country from economic collapse – a process that created direct and indirect jobs –, it is no news how the benefits of neoliberal strategies are unevenly distributed (Seixas et al., 2019; Silva, 2021). The employment boosted in the sectors of civil construction, entertainment, and hospitality is, in great part, precarious and characterized by low wages. Therefore, the financial gains of these workers, most of whom are immigrants (Perista et al., 2021), do not make up for the speculative effects in housing and the general cost of living engendered by tourism and the internationalization of the city. This dynamic reflects the framework proposed by Saskia Sassen (1993) concerning how globalization from above is connected and dependent on globalization from below. It is interesting to note that the

globalization from above in Lisbon, that is, the financial, business, and corporate elites who immigrate or invest in the city, include the high-income classes from countries from the South, mostly former colonized territories, including Brazil, a former Portuguese country. This is a reminder of the social divisions engendered by the colonial-capitalist machine at the local level in former colonies. The global racial line and North-South economic inequalities are reproduced through the unequal social structure of many geographies from the South, with the notable importance of race in the organization of hierarchies especially in the case of settler colonies. This is the case in Brazil in which 1% of the population has the equivalent of 50% of the nation's wealth (Credit Suisse Research Institute, 2023). The globalization from below in Lisbon, however, does not surprise and is confined to South-North influxes, with post-colonial immigration experiencing a renewed boost in the 90s as the city engages in public works for city branding and the organization of touristic services and infrastructures (Pinto, 2018).

Additionally, as Portugal aims to further advance economic growth through tourism, it struggles with the labor shortage in the sector. The country has an aging society and a history of emigration due to low wages, resulting in job vacancies that are occupied by poor-income immigrants. Those high-income immigrants also participate in this dynamic as, more recently, local populations have been fleeing the increased prices driven by their arrival (Pinto, 2018). In this context, it is no coincidence that a new visa type for job seekers was recently created, followed by the approval of a facilitated visa process for immigrants coming from the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP – Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa) (Amato, 2023; Assembleia da República de Portugal, 2022). Portugal, therefore, relies on "cheap and flexible" (Perista et al., 2021, p. 22) immigrant labor to fulfill its development strategy (Agência Lusa, 2022). More than that, policies of immigration as labor allow the government to regulate unemployment through its borders, taking advantage of the foreign workforce when necessary, and rendering their status illegal if they are unemployed and cannot prove an income source, repatriating the social costs to their country of origin (Perista et al., 2021.). Labor immigrants, in the case of Portugal, and multiple other European countries, express the continuation of a production logic based on the disposal of a racialized surplus population, as introduced by Cedric Robinson (1983). This reality also presents necropolitics contours when looking at the police violence exercised towards poor racialized immigrant communities in Lisbon, as previously discussed, another tool to manage surplus populations when they are no longer desired (Gomes, 2013; Pinto, 2018). On that note, it is important to mention that, according to a report published by the Migration Observatory (2022), the most recent data indicate that immigrants contribute more through taxes in Portugal than they receive through social policies (Oliveira, 2022).

Immigrant workers embodying globalization from below in Lisbon are responsible for the construction and renovation of Airbnb-like accommodations, cleaning, for driving Ubers and tuk-tuks around the hilly city. They are also owning, cooking, and serving at foreign food restaurants, DJing and performing seldom-heard sounds to European audiences, consolidating the cosmopolitan brand of Lisbon. The role of this cultural production and consumption in the making of Lisbon's cosmopolitan brand is what I will delve deeper into.

4.3.1. **Cosmopolitanism and Diversity Branding in Lisbon**

Within the context of globalized interurban competition, culture is turned into a marketing tool part of urban regeneration recipes to create singular identities for cities and attract tourists, investors, and, as is the case of Lisbon, foreign affluent residents and local residents in a "return to the city" dynamic (Oliveira, 2019). This culture-led strategy is embraced by the Portuguese capital as the country joins the EU and is underpinned by the ambition of affirming the city as a global metropole with European dimensions (Santos, 2008). As such, catering to new urban lifestyles informed by cosmopolitan tastes, the cultural diversity of Lisbon, embodied by its immigrant community, is mobilized as part of city branding and in the organization of spectacularized urban spaces and experiences for cultural consumption (Oliveira, 2019). This process is however deeply marked by the uncritical operationalization of cosmopolitanism through the city's coloniality.

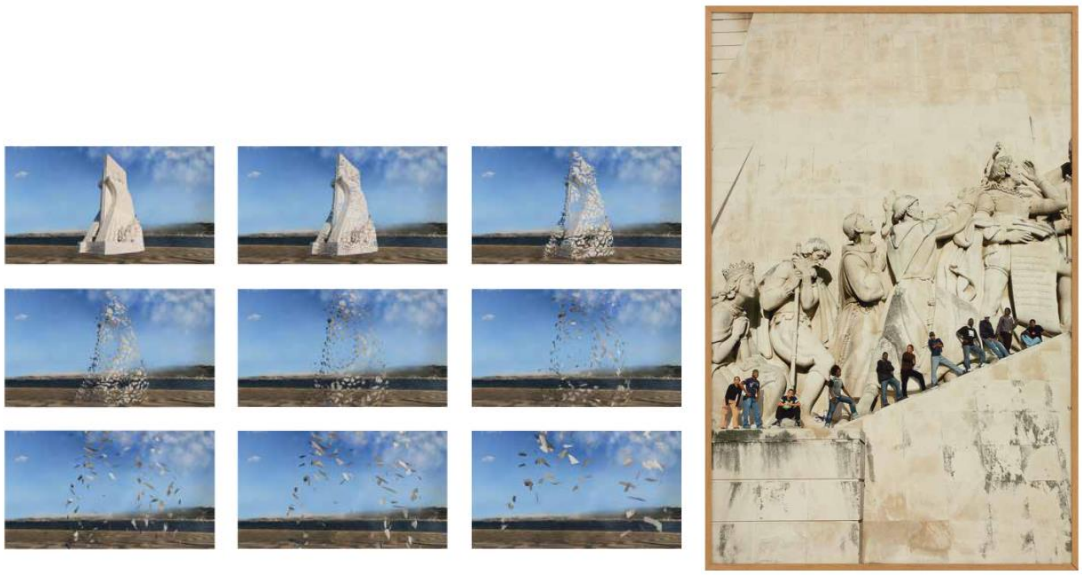

Figure 8. *Left: Explodindo com a História (Exploding with History). GIF, 1280×720, no sound, by ROD, 2021. Used with permission.*

Figure 9. *Right: A Descoberta (The Discovery), 2007. Photo by Kiluanji Kia Henda, 2007. Used with permission.*

In the 1990s, Lisbon's urban strategies emphasized a narrative of greatness around imperial discoveries, determining cultural centralities and landmarks related to colonial times. They made use of Lisbon's historical status as a colonial metropole to forge its position as a global one. In the urban fabric, while post-colonial immigrant populations were made invisible by segregating social housing projects, whole areas of the city center were targeted with touristification. This included the construction of flagship cultural institutions and the sacralization of historical monuments that should have otherwise been contested. This is the case of *Padrão dos Descobrimentos (*Monument to the Discoveries*),* built during the dictatorship period (Cardoso & Guterres, 2022; Santos, 2008), and that, although currently attracting hundreds of tourists every day, has become

a target of criticism, including through post-colonial immigrant artworks (Figures 8 and 9).[15] The idea of *Lusofonia* is also put forward in the 1990s, proposing Lisbon as the centrality that connects Europe, Africa, and America through the Portuguese-speaking world, with an emphasis on the cultural dimension. Reproducing a sort of imperial nostalgia and reshaping the ideas behind Lusotropicalism, cosmopolitan Lisbon celebrates its coloniality while confining post-colonial immigrants in policies tackling social exclusion and residence legalities (De La Barre, 2019; Santos, 2008).

By the late 2000s and 2010s, Lisbon's multiculturality is taken as a strategic advantage by public authorities (Oliveira, 2019; Santos, 2008). City plans and official discourses incorporate innovation, entrepreneurship, and cultural diversity as core values, equating diversity and interculturality as characteristics of a modern, tolerant, and cosmopolitan city (Oliveira, 2019). Its cosmopolitan hospitality is not only reconciled with the celebration of Lisbon's imperial past but is explained by it – a city that is open and multicultural because discovered new worlds (Oliveira, 2019). Within the framework of intercultural dialogue, cultural diversity emerges as different from the vernacular (and white) Portuguese culture, therefore, belonging to the domain of otherness, and representing an additional market for cultural branding and consumption on which the city can rely (Castellano & Lança, 2019; Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020; Oliveira, 2019). This instrumental approach to the diversity embodied by immigrants is complemented by a set of multisectoral initiatives regarding their integration, at the municipal and national levels, such as the I Congress about Immigration held in 2003 and the publication of a Municipal Plan to the Integration of Migrants 2015-2017 (Machado, 2006; Oliveira, 2019). The literature, however, highlights how integration/multicultural policies were guided by the preservation of difference, acknowledging immigrants as an integral part of Portugal's future, but in the position of Different – a vision that is extended to the Portugal-born children of immigrants who are framed as second generation. Machado (2006) explains that this integration framework treats differences as substantive, approximating cultural and ethnic signifiers to racial logics. This is a fundamental mechanism for how Lisbon repurposes racial difference in the process of asserting itself as a cosmopolitan city (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020).

In terms of policies and public initiatives, the new focus on Lisbon's multiculture in this period is translated into a somewhat diversifying cultural offer and the first public fundings made available for it (Santos, 2008). But, from the paper to practice, it mostly and foremost privileged sporadic events that aimed to cement an image of Lisbon as a city of "mixture", of "encounter of peoples", which is consonant with performative and spectacularized city branding (Santos, 2008). It is also worth noting the cultural programs in marginalized territories underpinned by the use of culture as a tool to address social problems with the youth (Guterres, 2012; Santos, 2008; Costa et al., 2017). In many ways, these governmental efforts reproduce an othering framework in which immigrant cultures are considered either exotic or marginal, receiving insufficient support and acknowledgment from official institutions (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020). Therefore, immigrants are less seen as active agents, cultural producers, workers, and entrepreneurs, and

[15] Figure 9 is a photograph of an artistic intervention in which post-colonial immigrants from the PALOPs stand in front of the figures of the colonizers, illustrating Sivanandan's aphorism previously mentioned of "we are here because you were there". The video recording of the artistic intervention is available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wf26I7GuyG8

rather understood as beneficiaries or diversity otherness. With cultural consumption serving the purpose of urban development, multicultural policies are addressed to immigrants but mostly to global consumers, tourists, and investors (Oliveira, 2019).

In that manner, the visibility and prominence that cultural diversity gets in Lisbon, operationalized as entertainment and social control, do not translate as a platform to realize immigrants' full citizenship. On this note, it is worth mentioning that, while touristification is centripetal, concentrated in the city of Lisbon, the cultural and human resources on which it relies are organized in a centrifugal manner, and distributed in the different municipalities of the metropolitan region (Cardoso & Guterres, 2022). Therefore, the broader set of socioeconomic regulations necessary to balance and redistribute the benefits generated through the use of immigrants' cultural diversity in Lisbon's urban regeneration, would require regional coordination that is not always realized.

Either within or on the margins of Lisbon's multicultural strategies, immigrant communities, especially the post-colonial, are responsible for a large body of cultural practices that on different and, sometimes, contradictory levels integrate, contest, and/or benefit from the urban regeneration pushed through their cultural diversity. Authors have already explored how neighborhoods known as immigrant enclaves in Lisbon become zones of interest targeted with urban and economic restructuring and cosmopolitan branding by the municipality (Dias, 2019; Oliveira, 2019); how curatorship practices of private institutions have strived to critically engage with Portugal's (post)coloniality, increasing the dialogues with artists from Brazil and the PALOPs, although succeeding only in part to include those most affected by racial discrimination and exclusion in the city (Castellano & Lança, 2019; Pinto, 2018); and how community-led and bottom-up creative initiatives have been fostering insurgent modes of citizenship and contesting the celebratory agenda of the Creative Lisbon regarding its diversity (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020). By focusing on Dengo Club, a black queer party, and on Afrohouse/Kuduro and Baile Funk classes in one of the main dance studios of Lisbon, this work will analyze practices that are on the frontier between resistance, integration, aestheticization, and commodification of difference.

4.3.2. **"Afro Lisbon" as "Diversity Lisbon"**

To understand the studied practices, it is important to comprehend "Afro Lisbon", one of the central images of cosmopolitanism created for the city through the media, public discourses, and cultural expressions. The term refers to the large post-colonial presence of immigrants coming from the PALOPs and their descendants. It has been mostly deployed to characterize a music scene in Lisbon, heavily influenced by African sounds, particularly by Angolan Kuduro, that has been gaining increased prominence on global stages. Buraka Som Sistema, in the mid-2000s, emerged as the ambassador of this image with their "progressive kuduro" of festive ambiance that reconciled "contemporary cosmopolitan-cool with ancestral cultural diversity" (De La Barre, 2019, p.115). The group, formed by members from Portugal, Angola, and later, of Brazilian origins, made success at a moment when electronic dance music producers, mostly European, sought in the creativity from the global peripheries, material for musical innovation (Faria, 2018). By mixing Kuduro, Brazilian Baile Funk, and other more European electronic dance music genres,

the music group helped consolidate Lisbon as a unique geography of diversity that enabled original fusions of Lusophone music. With that, as De La Barre (2019) writes, the band's work is taken by national and international media as the representation of a "post-colonialism that you can dance to" (p. 114) with "roots extending across the five continents over the course of a five-century history" (p. 124). This uncritical account of the dynamics that mark post-colonial diversity in Lisbon echoed Lusotropicalist tropes, overlooking racial inequalities, and contributing to the projection of a celebratory, convivial, and vibrant image of the city as a multi-ethnic melting pot (De La Barre, 2019).

Contradictorily, despite the "From Buraka to the World" rhetoric, none of the members of Buraka Som Sistema were from Buraca, a working-class neighborhood that belongs to the urban imaginary of housing precarity and illegality of post-colonial immigrants. Still, Buraka Som Sistema was pivotal in shedding light on the potent creativity produced by post-colonial immigrant communities in the peripheries. An acknowledgment that the hip-hop scene and more "traditional" kuduro could not attain. In that way, the music group operated within contradictions similar to those produced by cosmopolitan city branding in which the creation of some visibilities and some opportunities have more impact in forging a compelling image of diversity around the city, than in restructuring power dynamics and socioeconomic inequalities that affect those who embody the diversity. This is, of course, bearing in mind the very different roles and interests of the state and the members of Buraka. This is also to acknowledge how city branding is not solely undertaken by public efforts, with the music scene having a major impact on it, in the case of Lisbon. Nevertheless, the international success of Buraka Som Sistema gives way to more protagonism around the musical production of the African diaspora in the city.

Coined as the "Sound of Lisbon's Ghettos" (Barry, 2013; Harrison, 2015), Batida is a music genre crafted in the peripheries of Lisbon, having its epicenter in Quinta do Mocho, a social housing project. Unfolding from the Angolan Kuduro scene, the genre is, however, produced and influenced by DJs and rhythms from different Portuguese-speaking African countries. It reflects an Afro-centered and post-colonial multiculturality that is emblematic of most of the social housing projects and self-built settlements in greater Lisbon. Besides incorporating elements from other Angolan styles such as *tarraxinha*, Cape Verdean *funaná,* and South African mixes of Afro House, Batida has also increasingly included references to Brazilian Baile Funk (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020). Known as the music produced "from the bedroom to the world", batida is the result of different urban and cultural aspects that mark the trajectories of African immigrant communities. As Antônio Brito Guterres explains in a lecture[16], the relocation process of residents from self-built neighborhoods into social housing projects has disarticulated sociability practices and disciplined conviviality into private spaces due to architectural urban designs. On top of that, struggling with precarious transport connections, and having to juggle precarious jobs, immigrants living in the peripheries of Lisbon had little opportunity to pass on to the Portuguese generations the cultural practices from where they came from.

In the mid-2000s, residents in peripheral areas gained access to computers, the internet, and wireless technologies, first through digital inclusion centers, and later with individual ownership,

[16] The researcher participated in the debate "Municipal neighborhoods, art, and identity" on May 13th, 2023, part of the commemorative program on the 30 years of the relocation policy in Lisbon.

and policies that distributed laptops to students. This favored the use of software for the creation and diffusion of artistic products, particularly in music (Cardoso & Guterres, 2022). Thus, if sampling practices facilitated forms of appropriation, it also allowed immigrants and second generations to "revisit the territories of the past and resignify the present", as De La Barre (2019, p. 110) suggests building on the work of Paul Gilroy. The digital revolution allowed Afro-Portuguese producers to get to know different genres, while also reconnecting with the soundscapes of their origins, favoring the development of the authentic sound of Batida. The online network of cultural production and consumption built from the peripheries of Lisbon, together with the effervescence of the music creations, contributed to them transgress inferiority stigmas and marginalization patterns that commonly mark the cultural expressions of the poor and racialized (Cardoso & Guterres, 2022; Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020). While some musical productions forged in the immigrant peripheries of Lisbon had massive online success but remained excluded from official and commercial cultural circuits[17], the partnership of the label Príncipe, operated by four white music entrepreneurs already inserted in Lisbon's alternative music scene, with Batida DJs was central to promote the access of the rhythm to Lisbon's core and its projection to international stages, informing the broader Afro House scene in Europe (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020; Nast, 2020). This access gained by the rhythm was extended to its Afro-Portuguese producers and the youth living in the immigrant peripheries where the genre is produced. Famous clubs, well-known for racist door policies, started having Batida DJs as headliners and, on those nights, the ghetto takes over the cultural centralities.

Together with Portuguese and melancholic Fado, Batida is probably the most prominent musical expression from Lisbon internationally, representing its modern and cosmopolitan façade. As the documentary "Lisbon Beat" by Rita Maia and Vasco Viana (2019, 0:65:00)[18] shows, Batida is rooted in the immigrant peripheries of Lisbon. At the same time that it produces a unique musicality enabled by the post-colonial multiculture of Lisbon, reinforcing the city as the only place where it could emerge, therefore contributing to the consolidation of the "Diversity Lisbon" brand; Batida is also an arena of active negotiation of stereotypes, centralities, belonging and identity (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020). While Batida is recognized as the Sound of Lisbon, its producers belong to a population that is systematically denied citizen rights. One of Príncipe's founders acknowledges that amplifying the voices from Lisbon's peripheries and immigrant communities is insufficient if it remains confined in the field of culture where they can be turned into celebratory images (Harrison, 2015). Nevertheless, Batida is inherently a form of resistance. Channeling work, leisure, pain, and genius of populations pushed into sociospatial exclusion, it pushes back, claiming their right to the city by taking over urban and cultural central stages.

It is in this context of Afrodiasporic cultural vibrancy and contradiction that Dengo Club and Kuduro/Afrohouse dance classes are inserted. Brazilian funk, on the other hand, is not part of a "Brazilian Lisbon". Being a cultural expression of the Brazilian Afrodiaspora, it establishes a dialogue with the African post-colonial culture in the city both through the global music scene and the everyday makings of immigrant communities in Lisbon. Found in Batida tracks and Afro

[17] This reality is demonstrated by António Brito Gueterres in his TedTalk available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oFn7oJz__z8&t=18s

[18] Maia, R. & Viana, V. (Directors). (2019). Lisbon Beat [Film]. Terratreme Filmes. Trailer available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1hk5kJumT2E

House DJ sets that explore an Afro-centered musical cosmopolitanism, Brazilian funk also has fully dedicated parties for the genre in Lisbon, can be heard in every touristic corner of the city, and attracts full classes of women wanting to learn the Brazilian version of twerking. The rhythm has, however, not been provincialized. Although it is remixed by Portuguese, African, and Brazilian DJs based in Lisbon alike, the original musical production remains in Brazil. A position that mirrors the nearly hegemonic yet othered status that Brazilian culture seems to have in Portugal. Boiler Room, one of the most important cultural platforms of electronic dance music in the world has produced a series called "Third Space: Beyond Baile Funk & Batida"[19] in 2021. The work traces a parallel in sound and image between the urban and cultural formations of the African diasporas in Brazil and Portugal. It juxtaposes the beats and dance moves from Batida and Funk, and the geographies where they were forged: Rio de Janeiro's favelas and the social housing buildings in Quinta do Mocho. With that, the series illustrates how racialized peripheries in Brazil, Portugal, and Africa are historically connected through coloniality and dispossession, and currently connected through their soundscapes, immigrant communities, housing precarity, and cultural resistance in Global Lisbon, as this work will aim to explore.

[19] Boiler Room. (2021, October 11). KAMVA Collective presents Third Space: Beyond Baile Funk & Batida [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sIcp4185_uc

“Tantos amigos que eu perdi	"So many friends that I've lost
Muitas canções que não ouvi	Many songs that I haven't heard
Poucos deles que eu já cumpri	Few of them that I've already fulfilled
Não, deixa eu tocar	No, let me play
Deixa produzir	Let me produce
Sentimento na batida,	Feeling in the beat (Batida),
Isso é o que me dá mais vida	That's what mostly gives me life
Quando falo que sou do ghetto,	When I say I'm from the ghetto,
Quando falo e bato no peito,	When I say it beating on my chest,
Mas eles ficam com receio	But they become afraid
que vou roubar	that I'm going to steal
Vou roubar quem?	Steal from whom?
Tramancar quem?	Rob whom?
Sabotar quem?	Sabotage whom?
Enganar quem?”	Deceive whom?"

DJ Danifox (2020)[20]

[20] DJ Danifox. (2020). Dark Hope [Song]. Príncipe. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lRc3NtAcdaw

V. LIVED EXPERIENCES OF GLOBALIZATION FROM BELOW

Completing the macro-micro analysis proposed in this investigation, this chapter will delve into the interviews conducted with four cultural producers of Lisbon who are part of post-colonial immigrant communities and develop works connected with Baile Funk and Afro House/Kuduro. The interviews aimed to examine how the social, political, and economic structures and processes involved in the global-city making of Lisbon are reflected, perceived, and acted upon in their lived experiences. With that, I analyze on-the-ground interactions between globalization from above and from below through a biographic viewpoint of the cultural producers, and the operationalization of their practices.

As indicated in the methods section, this research takes Dengo Club, a black queer party centered around afro Latin culture, and dance classes of Baile Funk and Afro House/Kuduro as case studies. The interviewed participants representing the party are Saint and Fvbricia. Representing dance classes are Kay and Fabio, Baile Funk and Kuduro/Afro House teachers respectively. The empirical data of the interviews are discussed as they are presented, bridging with concepts introduced in the theoretical framework and processes presented about Lisbon's context. The organization of the following sections reflects coding categories namely: Immigrant Trajectory, Cultural Practice, and Perceptions and Impacts of Globalization from Above.

5.1. Immigrant Trajectory

5.1.1. **Housing**

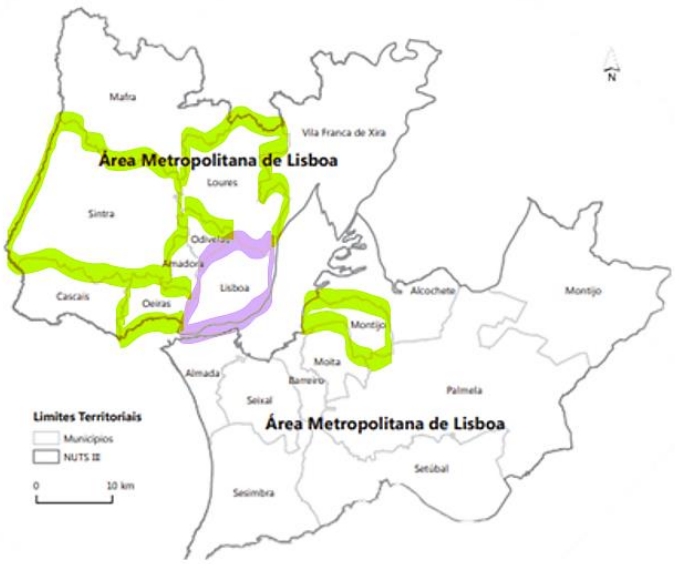

Figure 10. *Municipalities that compose the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2023, highlighted by the author.*

All interviewees shared that their immigrant backgrounds are connected to the search for better living conditions by their parents and higher quality education for them, the kids. Their settling in Lisbon, or upbringing, in the case of Fvbricia, took place in municipalities within the Metropolitan Area: in Sintra, Montijo, Loures, and Oeiras – areas highlighted in green in Figure 10. The first two are well-known peripheral territories, characterized by globalization from below, with high rates of foreign residents and lower rents (Figures 11 and 12). In Loures, the interviewee lives in Quinta do Mocho, a social housing complex with a large presence of the PALOP immigrant community and Roma population, and rents as low as two euros. Oeiras is on the top tier in terms of rent prices while on the lowest for international residents (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2023; Dinâmia'CET/ISCTE-IUL, n.d.). In that way, most of the interviewees had their settling in Lisbon marked by peripheralization. Today, only the residents of Montijo and Oeiras have moved to the central area of Lisbon, living in flat shares (In Figure 10, the municipality of Lisbon is highlighted in lilac).

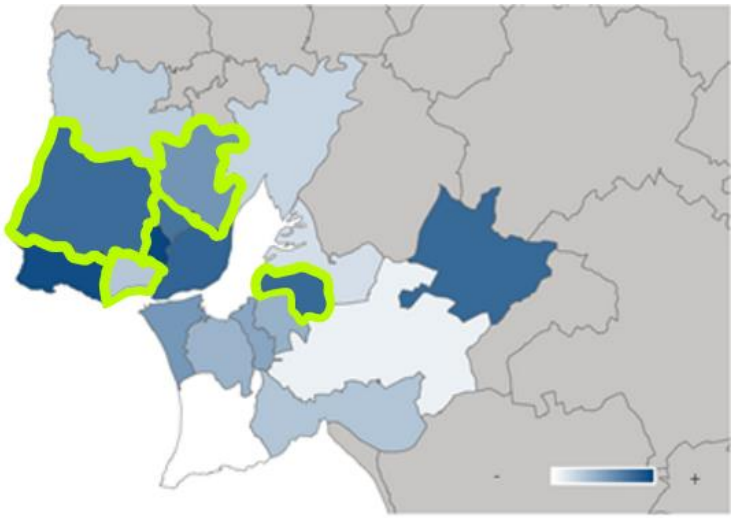

Figure 11. *Proportion of resident population with foreign nationality (%).*
Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2023, highlighted by the author

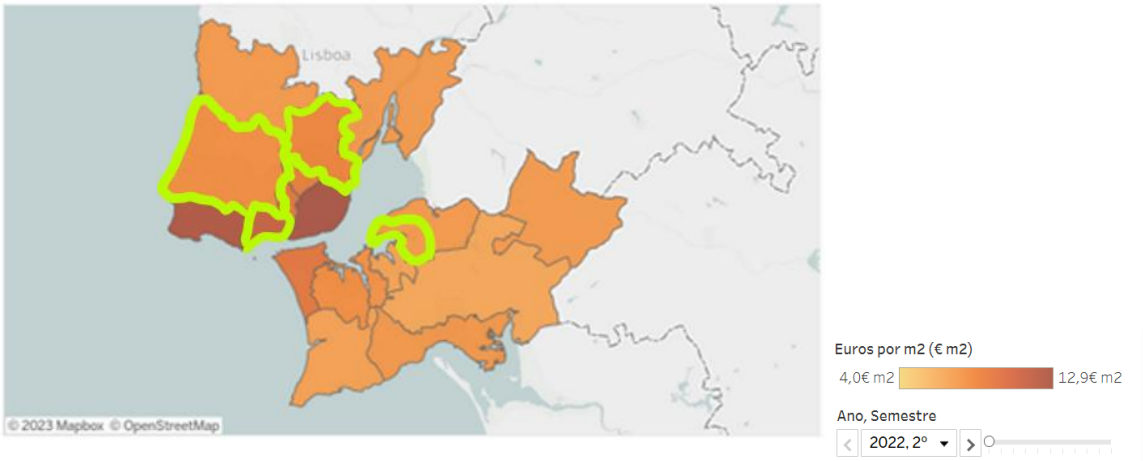

Figure 12. *Average rent price (euros/m2) in new contracts in 2022.*
Source: Dinâmia'CET/ISCTE-IUL, highlighted by the author.

Sintra and Quinta do Mocho are particularly represented in the literature about immigration in Lisbon, housing precarity, and ethnic and cultural diversity. Quinta do Mocho was introduced in the previous chapter, which highlighted its significance in the musical production of post-colonial immigrants within the studied genres. Sintra was pointed out in the interviews with a similar relevance. The municipality has the highest number of foreign-born in Portugal, with post-colonial immigration representing the larger groups (Alcoforado et al., 2018). It is generally identified with the train line of Sintra, the main transport connection. In conversations during the ethnography, multiple people mentioned something as "Take the Sintra train line, you will not see a white person", indicating the racial component that underlies the urban organization of Lisbon.

Recalling his trajectory, Fabio indicated he moved from the peripheries of Luanda, in Angola, to a periphery of Lisbon, in Portugal, a parallel that illustrates Sassen's mention of "third world" spaces in global cities. Regarding housing precarity, only the interviewee living in Quinta do Mocho indicated living in unfinished buildings before moving to the social housing unit.

5.1.2. **Social Support**

Of the four interviewees, only two have received some type of social benefit. Both indicated receiving *Abono Familiar*, a family allowance available to the residents of Portugal that compensates the expenses related to the support and education of children and youth. Beyond that, the interviewee living in Quinta do Mocho also benefits from social rent and mentioned the rental prices had just been adjusted with a tenfold increase. The steep price update, related to the household no longer having any underaged dependents, seems to be part of a recent effort from the municipality to correct rent prices and collect rent debts, after years of absent communication. As mentioned by community leaders in fieldwork, and also circulated by the media *(Group, 2023; "Loures ameaça avançar com despejos em série*", 2023), an effort that arrives late, threatens to evict up to 800 families, and is implemented precisely when the city experiences a serious housing crisis.

Another interviewee declared that, although they needed governmental support, particularly to pay for school meals and books, their illegal status during the first years in Portugal hindered that possibility.

5.1.3. **Citizenship and Legality**

Aside from Fvbricia, who was born in Portugal and did not face challenges in being recognized as a Portuguese citizen, all the other interviewees only have a permanent residence permit. Living in Portugal for 10 to 20 years, they all reinforced how keeping regular residence and applying for citizenship are overly bureaucratic and costly processes. They also mentioned how procedures are riddled with incorrect instructions, and aggravated for immigrants that went through illegality. The interviewees' experiences demonstrate how seemingly simple immigration protocols, such as the ones in Portugal, in which a person can obtain Portuguese nationality in five years, are far from being universally accessible, particularly, to those economic immigrants.

This sheds light on the way policies and everyday bureaucratic tools, operationalize the management of desired and undesired immigration within the bounds of democracy. By treating immigrants with equal processes, not considering their different statuses, backgrounds, and challenges – such as the racism operating in housing and labor markets – governments ensure different outcomes. With that, it can facilitate the settling of immigration from above while controlling the immigration from below as surplus population.

Although interviewees did not explicitly mention racism in the bureaucratic challenges and treatment received, racial profiling is a known mark of the immigration offices of Portugal. In the documentary Lisbon Beat (Maia & Viana, 2019), previously mentioned, a racialized African immigrant musician says he was asked by a public servant if his presence in the country would be valuable as he filed for his residence permit.

About the consequences of not having Portuguese citizenship, one of the interviewees mentioned it prevents them from feeling safer. "When you are an immigrant, you are always alert, you can never be asleep, you can never be rested", they say. A feeling they also mention when traveling, which is an important part of their artistic career and could be facilitated with an EU passport. Conversely, Fvbricia, who is Portuguese, and a racialized woman, says that “anywhere I go, I will not be treated like any Portuguese person. They always ask me for a residence card as if I could not be from here”. In that sense, Fabrícia embodies Lentin’s (2014) idea of how racialized people wear their passports on their faces.

5.1.4. **Social Mobility**

The interviewees were asked about different aspects that could indicate upward social mobility between the generation of their parents and their own, such as better wages and housing, and enhanced mobility locally and internationally. While two interviewees did not see much difference, the other two pointed out a notable improvement in accesses, opportunities, and socioeconomic position. Indicating how their parents “worked to survive” in comparison to how they live a more comfortable life, they indicated that having access to education was the turning point. They emphasized the significance of learning other languages in expanding their work opportunities, social networks, and access to knowledge. In that sense, they mentioned how education brought them a more critical stance in comparison to their parents, which became central to their cultural practice.

One of the interviewees said their parents arrived in Portugal as adults, without a degree, having Portuguese as the only language, and a different Portuguese than in Portugal. Their mother started to work in cleaning, earning a minimum wage, and their father in civil construction. As they grew up, their mother made a savings account for them. The amount she took years to save, they saved in about five months.

5.1.5. **Belonging**

Besides the material dimension of their immigrant trajectories, the interviewees addressed many elements concerning identity and belonging. Although this thesis does not intend to extensively discuss identity politics, the points made by the participants were presented as responses to discriminatory policies, colonial urban narratives, and everyday negotiations emblematic of living with difference, that are within the scope of this investigation. Identity and belonging were also indicated as central aspects of how the interviewees engaged in their cultural practices related to Baile Funk, Kuduro, and Afro House. A relation that was indicated as dialectical once these cultural practices become also fundamental for them to navigate their multiple-affiliation identities as immigrants.

While seeking official recognition through Portuguese citizenship, all the participants preferred to embrace their immigrant background in their symbolic everyday performances. Including Fvbricia, who is Portuguese but, for being systematically racially othered, for recognizing her culture is not Portuguese, and, as a response to the innumerous second-generation individuals to whom Portuguese citizenship is denied, she presents herself as Santomean. A situation that illustrates the limits of integration through diversity, which reinforces othering while not tackling socioeconomic differences.

The other interviewees, some of whom have already spent more time in Portugal than in the country they were born, also firmly reject adopting a Portuguese identity. During the interviews, it was particularly emphasized how the experience of those who immigrate at a younger age or are born to immigrant parents in Portugal is deeply violent. It is permeated by cultural judgment, lack of relatedness in ethno-racial terms, and a belittling Portuguese colonial pride, infused by Lusotropicalist tropes, present in educational environments and monuments in the urban space. At school, the foreign Portuguese accents were also marked as wrong and became a motive for xenophobic treatment which has made some of the interviewees engage in code-switching or entirely changing their accent, at some point, to fit in. These narratives are underpinned by the idea previously discussed of the culturalization of citizenship, in which being recognized as a citizen also entails compliance with specific cultural norms of the host society. Vis-à-vis these xenophobic microaggressions, the interviewees also highlighted the school environment as a place of bonding and cultural exchange between different immigrant identities, particularly those post-colonial. A dynamic that is in accordance with the idea of subaltern multiculture that characterizes globalization from below.

On the labor and housing market, and in social circles, interviewees indicate the accent is revealing of other stereotypes: of being promiscuous, too loud, and festive, for example, in the case of Brazilians, which reflect in prejudices when finding a place to live. On an intersectional note, the Brazilian participants also highlighted how Brazil has a vibrant and vast queer culture, particularly in comparison to Portugal, that was pivotal for them to have as a reference to explore their own queer identities and initiate their artistic practices.

Examining different dimensions of the interviewees' trajectories reveals that the immigration goal of obtaining better access to education, leading to improved living conditions, has been largely attained. A process that, for some of them, was also supported by welfare programs. Even

among the participants who did not perceive significant upward social mobility, they either expressed to be forging their path toward it or acknowledged leading a comfortable life with the privilege of deriving a livelihood exclusively from their cultural practices, which has been facilitated by the local and international opportunities and connections made in Lisbon. In that way, interviewees' immigrant trajectories are marked by layers of economic inclusion mediated by the access to social assistance policies and education during their upbringing in Portugal. However, when looking at narratives around belonging, citizenship, and legality, it becomes evident how they persistently face patterns of institutional and symbolic othering, revealing the way racial exclusion is an operating force in their immigrant experience. This ends up reflecting on their professional cultural practices, curbing their economic gains, which is further discussed in the next section.

5.2. Post-Colonial Cultural Practices

5.2.1. **Personal Trajectory in Cultural Production**

The introduction of the four interviewees into their cultural practices did not stem from any formal or institutionalized professional training. Although Fabio later went to a professional dance institution, his career as a *kudurista* was already established with Pupilos do Kuduro, a duo he started during high school. Hence, all participants shared stories related to how their social networks, particularly those of family and friends connected to their immigrant and/or queer identities, were fundamental to enabling access to knowledge, material, equipment, and opportunities, in Portugal and abroad. The interviewees who have initiated their practices more recently also pointed out the relevance of the internet, particularly social media, as an enabler of their practices. They mention it was a crucial tool to connect with people who later became focal points in their careers and to connect with their immigrant cultures, exploring soundscapes and dance moves. On this last note, a process connected to their artistic and subjective development. Curiously, the only participant who did not consider the internet pivotal in his career was the only one who benefited from the policy of digital inclusion with a laptop.

The genres within which the participants work become platforms of affirmation or negotiation of their identities and means of political engagement. Fvbricia, for example, states that she always incorporates Batida in her DJ sets because, first, growing up in Quinta do Mocho, she says it is "a style that really touches my soul". Also, by assuming her Santomean identity, she wants to give visibility to her origins within Batida producers once artists are often assumed Angolan. Finally, she aims to counter what she calls the "colonization of the genre", as it is frequently branded the "Sound of Lisbon", which gives it a Portuguese – and white – character, taking away the protagonism of producers who, despite being born or growing up in the city, she says, "are still African". A critical stance that reflects how she perceives the diversity of post-colonial immigrants is recognized when convenient but stigmatized in more structural terms.

In that sense, most participants see their cultural practices as part of an effort to forge new circuits of cultural production that counteract the exclusionary patterns of the broader scene of

Lisbon. They describe that, although Brazilian and African rhythms pervade the city's day and nightlife, opportunities are largely intermediated by Portuguese white cis-gender male owners of clubs and dance studios. Challenges mentioned include the disproportional space granted to white Portuguese DJs who play Afro-Latin music and "that are not part of the culture" (Fvbricia, interview; Saint, interview), the fewer opportunities granted to male dancers because of sexist policies of party organizers, and, overall, atmospheres that downplay the significance of race, gender, and sexuality which allow situations in which cultural producers are more vulnerable.

Regarding the appropriation of African and Brazilian cultures, and their modification, by white Portuguese artists, the interviewees were very clear about how they understand cultural change and exchange as inherent to cultural production. Therefore, criticism was directed to the power unbalances and inequality of opportunities once well-connected white Portuguese artists are often given preferential treatment. Fvbricia adds that female, non-binary, and racialized DJs have been getting more space in mainstream circuits but stresses the potential tokenization. That is, the superficial inclusion of artists from underrepresented identities as part of diversity performances that do not genuinely commit to "giving light to the culture". Fvbricia emphasizes the importance of carefully analyzing proposals, as many of them offer a platform for visibility and growth that would otherwise not be available for people within certain identities.

Regarding these unequal dynamics, interviewees also mentioned how they engage in resistance through the joy and celebration part of their artistic work rather than in confrontation. A framework that will be later discussed and that, far from being celebratory, seems strategic to navigate commercial circuits of cultural production and consumption. In the case of Baile Funk, the music genre is often deemed inferior, only validated as electronic dance music when mixed with European sounds, and the dance too sexualized to be recognized within urban dance styles. Accordingly, Kay and Saint highlight their practices as engaged in promoting the genre, much in a decolonial effort towards cultural hierarchies. Through partying and dancing, they reinforce the political dimension of Baile Funk which helps challenge the conservative, colonial, and xenophobic narratives in Portugal. Saint recalls when MC Carol, a Brazilian Funk singer opened her concert in Lisbon with the song "Não foi Cabral" (It was not Cabral)[21], which says:

Professora, me desculpe	Teacher, I am sorry
Mas eu vou falar	But I am going to say it
Esse ano na escola	This year in school
As coisas vão mudar	Things are going to change
Nada contra ti	It is nothing against you
Não me leve a mal	Don't take it badly
Quem descobriu o Brasil	Who discovered Brazil
Não foi Cabral	Wasn't Cabral

[21] Mc Carol. (2015). Não foi Cabral [Song]. Bandida. Heavy Baile Sounds. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yYs5U5OjUeU

In different places of their careers, Fabio is the participant with the longest trajectory, and also the only one who lives exclusively of his cultural practice. He, however, stresses that opportunities for Kuduro dancers are no longer like they were when Buraka was a big hit, with most dancers moving to other countries or other jobs. The other interviewees evaluate that their artistic paths have been steadily progressing.

5.2.2. **Cultural Practices**

a. Dengo Club

Dengo Club presents itself as a "platform to promote the emerging Afro-Latin culture in Portugal, organized by black individuals for black people, people of color, LGBTQIA+ individuals, and all women"[22]. A description found on their social media that has been worked on in the past months reflecting a rapidly growing initiative that was initially described as a black and queer party based in Lisbon and centered on Afro House and Baile Funk. Founded by Saint Caboclo, Dengo Club is made by a group of black artists and producers, who are first- or second-generation immigrants, with origins in Brazil and Africa, and upbringings far from urban centralities and mainstream circuits.

Dengo has the double mission of being a safe space of celebration and cultural consumption, particularly for racialized and queer individuals, while also promoting the production of DJs within this intersectionality as protagonists. Saint tells that Dengo emerged out of outrage about how everything in the cultural scene of Lisbon was focused on whiteness and/or heteronormativity. He says magazine articles about Lisbon's nightlife scene did not portray any black representativeness, as if they did not exist. Echoing stances shared by other cultural producers I have encountered during fieldwork, he also addressed ongoing racist door policies at clubs that, most of the time, play Afro-Latin rhythms inside while preventing racialized Afro-Latin populations from gaining entry. In that way, within his black and queer intersectionality, he shared how he singled out for being a Brazilian and black person even in the more inclusive environment of queer parties. Meanwhile, at Afro and Brazilian/Latin clubs, he felt unsafe in his queer identity. Dengo is, therefore, a space thought for people in the black and queer intersectionality, pioneering a field that has been developing with the emergence of parties such as The Blacker the Berry and Pump da Beat. In that sense, Fvbricia says, in the last three years, with the Black Lives Matter movement, and because of the murder motivated by racial hatred of Bruno Candé, mobilizations around matters of race gained momentum in Lisbon, reverberating in several sectors, including in cultural production.

To make Dengo happen, Saint highlighted the difficulty in finding allies, especially concerning venues. Although he claims to be cautious in calling something racist, he does not see much way around it when it comes to the nightlife economy in Lisbon. Adding to the list of episodes in

[22] Description found on a "For Your Information" post on Dengo Club's Instagram profile: https://www.instagram.com/p/Csq9ptdsal9/?img_index=2

which venues deny hosting Afro-centered events[23], Saint tells how he would repeatedly hear from club owners "This is not the kind of thing we want in our space" whenever he said the party was not only queer but with a black identity. Beyond that, that it would play Baile Funk and Afro-House music. He explains that African and Funk parties are strongly stigmatized as spaces of trouble and brawls in the city. He argues, however, that the violence associated with the immigrant identities and cultures is, in fact, derived from a hostility emblematic of sexist performances of masculinity by cisgender straight males that are also largely present in Portuguese events and touristic nightlife circuits of the city. Saint also calls out the role of the media in producing and sustaining these stereotypes as he remembers that, on the occasion of the murder of a boy, media headlines reported "boy gets stabbed at Funk party in Cais do Sodré", making a point in associating violence with the music genre. A genre that is already stigmatized by the often sexual or violent content of the lyrics, similar to the diversity of themes of Hip Hop music. Saint also mentioned the confusion and discomfort of club owners when he indicated Dengo was going to be a black and queer party. Club owners were apprehensive of white people feeling excluded and the party not having enough audience.

When eventually a club owner close to Saint's family accepted to host the event, the black and queer identity of the party triggered many questions among potential partygoers. This was revealing to Saint of Portugal's segregated multiculture and backwardness in the understanding and living everyday diversity. On that note, Saint said that communication was central not only to creating interest but also to educating people on the concept of the party. While communicating directly about the black and queer identity was central to establishing the party as a safe space, Saint mentioned he had to make posts and reply to many messages on social media clarifying the inclusionary character of the party. He recalled having to explain that, by putting black and queer identities on center stage, white people were not excluded. A doubt he was surprised non-European immigrants, racialized by their identities but not for their skin tone, had. Ultimately, he found it interesting how he became an agent of translation and operationalization of an intersectional approach to diversity in Lisbon – something he perceives people only saw on the internet about Brazil or the US.

Saint added that online communication was also key to creating and circulating an attractive image of the black and queer community in Lisbon, with which people could identify and feel inspired (Figures 13, 14, and 15). This was a strategy to attract partygoers who would want to be part of that appealing atmosphere but not only. It was a means to overthrow the invisibility of the black and queer community in Lisbon, creating a reference imagery that would also challenge negative stereotypes about racialized populations. For that purpose, he explains, each party has a theme. They need to be accessible, because of the different socioeconomic situations of the audience, and create both a visual cohesion and an ambiance for the party. They have done: y2K (year two thousand), fur, and want to do "graduation" next because they have realized that many black people, including the Dengo team members themselves, have not attended their proms because it is a very expensive ceremony.

[23] Recently an episode took over social media as a party organized by Boddhi Satva, a world-famous Afro House DJ, was canceled by the owners of a venue because of its Afro-centered theme, rendered by him as not a "normal event". See the news article by Vidal (2023).

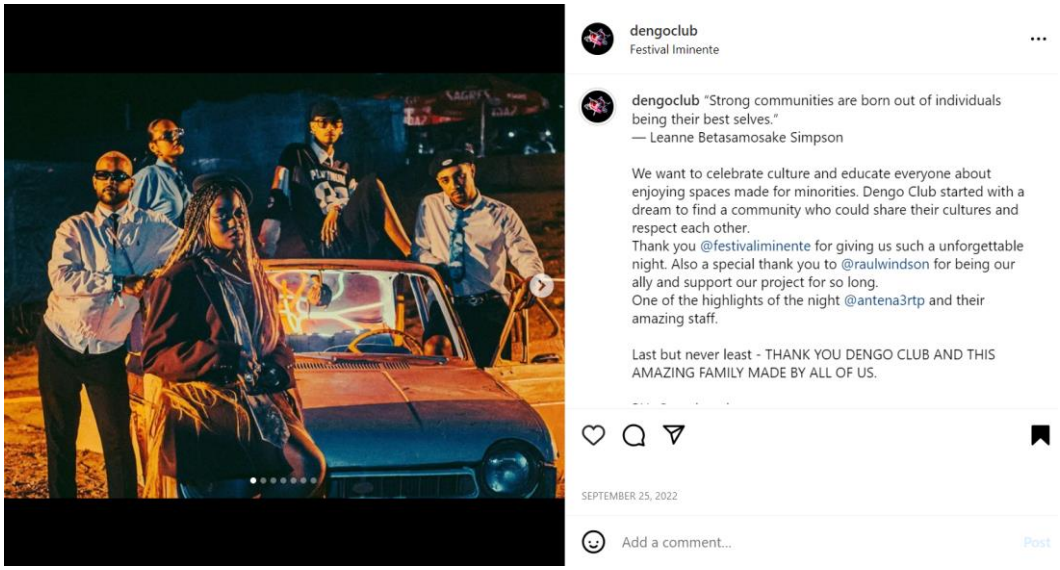

Figure 13. *Dengo Club social media post, the picture shows the party organizers.*
Source: Screenshot from Dengo Club's Instagram page and photo by @tomicornio. Used with permission.

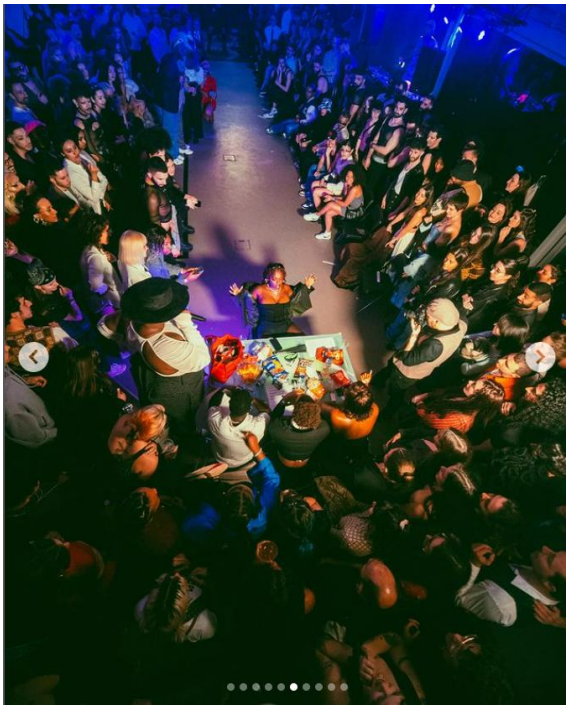

Figure 14. *Left. Dengo Club party in October 2022. Source: Screenshots of the photographers' Instagram (@tomicornio). Used with permission.*

Figure 15. *Right. Dengo Club party, theme BACK2BUSINESS, promoted together with a Kiki Ball in March 2023. Source: Screenshots of the photographers' Instagram (@tomicornio). Used with permission.*

To address the making of a safe space, Dengo has implemented measures such as gender-neutral toilets, a policy of zero-tolerance to discrimination or harassment, and staff training. Fvbricia said she sees a safe space as a place "where you can feel free, be who you are, free from judgment, free from aggression. A place of disinhibition, a place where you can be without worries". In the making of it, Saint recognized it is a work in progress and that, although they can control the environment inside the party, acts of violence can still happen on the outside. Addressing the different economic challenges faced by the audience of the party, Dengo has a low-income and trans-list discount list. Regarding the staff, Fvbricia reinforced how the party provides fairer and more caring working conditions compared to other venues/parties. Saint highlighted this was one of Dengo's goals as parties have been subjecting artists to precarious pay and conditions. Countering gatekeeping and aiming to contribute to increasing the presence of black people, people of color, queer individuals, and women in the nightlife of Lisbon, Dengo has also an open channel to which DJs can send their material.

Dengo Club has been a big success in Lisbon's nightlife since its first edition, when 350 people attended, opposing worries from venue owners on the insufficiency of audience. In 2022 Dengo won the award for the best party from Time Out, Lisbon's biggest culture and entertainment guide (O melhor de 2022 em Lisboa, 2023). The platform has never received public funding but is interested in them to develop more activities beyond the party.

b. Baile Funk and Kuduro/Afro House Classes

Both Kay and Fábio are dance instructors at the school where fieldwork was carried out, which is in the docks area of the city center. Kay has been giving Brazilian Funk classes for two years and, before teaching at the dance school, he had his own project, Lisbon Funk, at a Cultural Center. His goal was to create a safe space for marginalized bodies, especially women, where they could dance funk, twerk, have fun, and express themselves without being judged or sexualized. The classes were, therefore, a response to what Kay and Saint define as the way Brazilian Funk dance and music is associated with promiscuity or vulgarity. And worse, how "white suburban Portuguese men think the sexually charged lyrics are literal instructions" (Saint, interview). Lisbon Funk classes had great reception occasionally having more than 40 people in class, which allowed him to earn the equivalent to a month's rent in one hour, he said. Lisbon Funk is temporarily on hold but classes at the dance school are equally sought after.

Fábio has been giving Kuduro and Afro House classes for around ten years. In this meantime, he also opened his own dance school, the Krayze School, as he wanted to create a training space for the talents that existed in the region of Linha de Sintra and who could not access schools in Lisbon, due to the costs involved. Despite having experienced many challenges while teaching at white-owned dance studios, Krayze School did not emerge as an answer to that. Fábio said the school had always been a dream, as well as a professional strategy for when he was not performing. The school closed in the context of COVID-19 but should reopen soon.

5.2.3. **Cultural Consumption**

a. Dengo Club

The interviewees said Dengo Club aims to have a broad and diverse audience, which has been accomplished. They believe Dengo connects many different people because of the novelty, the quality of the party that becomes known by word of mouth, the attractiveness of its imagery, and the reputation it has constructed as a revolutionary space in the nightlife of Lisbon. According to the stats provided by the party's ticket platform, the majority of Dengo's audience is 25 to 34 years old, followed by a younger group between 18 and 24. Looking at the geodata (Figure 16), which shows the addresses registered in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, one-third of the audience is distributed over more peripheral territories. Particularly those areas known for the large presence of black and immigrant populations, such as Linha de Sintra, the South Bank, and Amadora. It is worth noting the number of partygoers in this last municipality, where Cova da Moura is located, an emblematic geography concerning the legality disputes of self-built neighborhoods.

Most partygoers, however, are concentrated in the city of Lisbon, data that should be looked at considering how some young people who grew up in the peripheries move to the center, especially in flatshares, as they start their professional life. This is the case for part of the interviewees and for members of Dengo Club. Dengo's map of partygoers in Lisbon offers insights into the extent the party reflects peripheralization, a characteristic that marks the history of the music genres it relates to, and the settling in of post-colonial immigrants in the city. In contrast to Noite Príncipe, for example, a monthly party organized in the city center by Príncipe Discos, which is an occasion when "the peripheries take over the center", as indicated in multiple conversations held during fieldwork; the interviewee acknowledged that Dengo does not have a predominant periphery identity. They say it is part of the intersectionality the party contemplates and see it as part of a socioeconomic mix that makes the party financially possible.

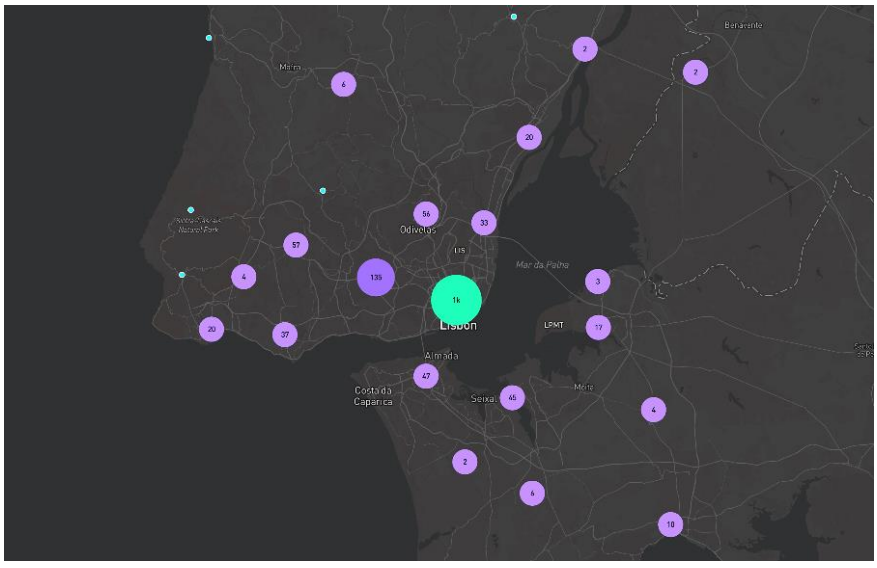

Figure 16. *Residence of Dengo Club partygoers in Metropolitan Lisbon. Source: Dengo Club database. Used with permission.*

As Dengo has all its communication in English, a common characteristic in Lisbon's cultural scene, I was curious to know the stats regarding the share of foreigners in the party's audience. This was also because, doing fieldwork at the party, I would more commonly hear English and French than Portuguese. Although internationals living in Lisbon might be included in the Portuguese crowd because of their place of residence, Figure 17 indicates the effective international outreach of the party in Europe, notably in France and England. Both countries are known for their large post-colonial immigrant population and related Afro-centered cultural circuits. In this context, interviews and fieldwork highlighted the close connection between the Afro-centered cultural circuits in Lisbon with those in France and England. The latter also holds strong connections with the Afro-Portuguese community due to Troika-related emigration. Regarding non-European foreigners, the ticket platform map also showed a few registered people in the US. These connections reveal how Dengo is embedded in a transnational dynamic of Afro-centered cultural exchange.

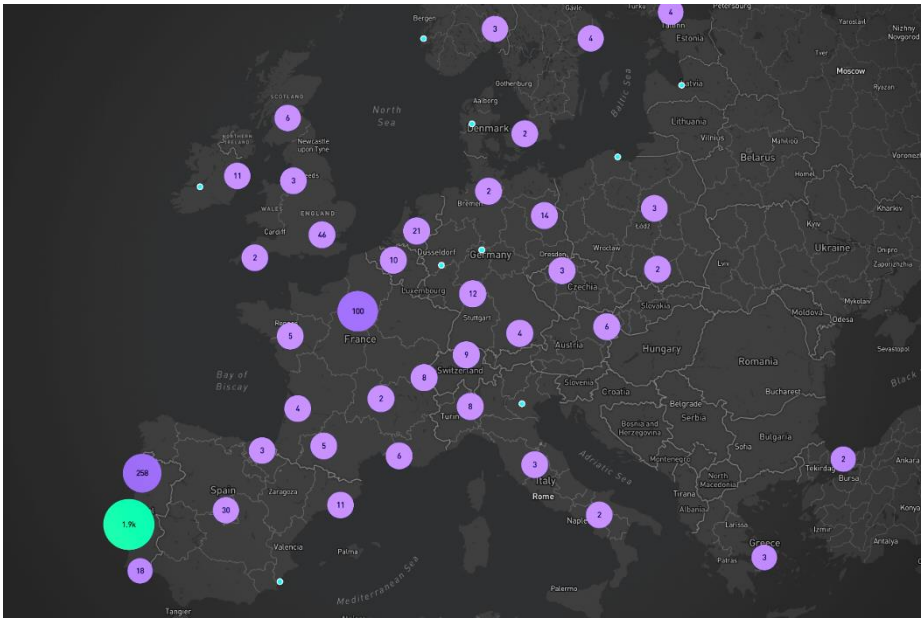

Figure 17. *Residence of Dengo Club partygoers in Europe. Source: Dengo Club database. Used with permission.*

Saint argues that Dengo's communication mostly in English, is not a barrier in Portugal, as he perceives most young people speak English, including in lower-income neighborhoods. At the same time, he notes it was fundamental for Dengo's international projection and partnership with other black and queer initiatives. Furthermore, Fvbricia perceives the international people at Dengo are mostly racialized. The international audience is perceived by the interviewees as more musically open which supports how the organizers want the party to explore different soundscapes within Afrodiasporic music, beyond the more popular sounds among the Afro-Portuguese community. In that sense, it was highlighted during the interviews that Dengo DJs are not pushed into adapting their sound to cater to the audience. Saint stresses that Dengo explores the polyphony in and through Afrodiasporic music:

> "You will be at the party, you will dance to all styles of black music, and you will understand that, even if it is not your reality, it is a reality that is part of black history. [...] whether it's romantic like the 2000s with Destiny's Child, whether it's violent like Mc Carol, everything has its importance".

With that, it is possible to understand how the party is positioned towards the Afrodiaspora and the idea of a cosmopolitan black culture. It gives visibility to local cultural expressions from post-colonial immigrant groups and connects with the scenes in Brazil and the PALOPs, bringing artists such as Mc Carol, previously mentioned, and Angolan Kuduro singer Titica. However, it is not closed in these post-colonial routes, which is evident in the lineups that always present international guest artists from different countries. Through this Afrodiasporic variety, Sain indicated the party has a character of teaching about black culture, which he saw as pivotal to culture exchange at Dengo, and particularly informative for white audiences. On this note, Saint shares he is occasionally approached with concerns about how the party might get "too white". A concern I had myself in some events, although it proved not to be a consistent trend, contingent on the theme and lineup of each edition. Saint declared he believes it is important that white people participate and invest their money in strengthening the black and queer community as allies, as long as they can respect the protagonism is not theirs. He explains how this participation can be reparatory and redistributive:

> "When you see the people on stage, everyone is black and queer, when you pay, those 10 euros, 15 euros [for entrance] that money is being converted to a designer who is black and queer, when you are paying for a drink [...] it is being directed to a project that is black and queer. So, if you want to support the cause and you are a white person, you are going to pay for the ticket because [...] there is nothing that supports the cause better than you coming to the event."

Sharing his view on how people are interdependent, and how identities are multiple, overlayed, and interconnected, Saint stated Dengo brings people from all backgrounds and colors, not despite, but particularly because of its black and queer intersectionality. Acknowledging social bonds do not exclusively follow identity lines, he still sees them as instrumental in shaping the networks and spaces people access and mobilize. Along these lines, Saint indicated that white people come to Dengo through queer friends, straight people come through black friends, and all identities are mobilized by the black and queer intersectionality.

b. Baile Funk and Kuduro/Afro House Classes

During the three months of dance classes, I attended as part of fieldwork, Kuduro classes ranged from five to twelve participants, while Brazilian Funk classes had an average of 25. Kuduro classes had a higher proportion of male participants and, generally, about half of the attendees were foreigners, with Fábio occasionally giving full classes in English. Conversely, Brazilian Funk classes were taken over by female participants, and most of the classes were carried out in Portuguese,

sometimes with a few interventions in English to provide explanations for a few foreign participants.

Fabio indicated that the interest in Kuduro classes was very high at the time of Buraka but the demand has decreased. Today, he explains, those who want to learn Kuduro in Lisbon are more often foreigners than Portuguese, with a high turnover rate in dance classes. As confirmed during fieldwork, most of the participants were people with no dance experience, who liked the music or Fabio's teaching style. Many participants saw the class as a moment of exercise rather than cultural fruition. Continuing a discussion started at an event about urban dances in Lisbon we both attended, Fabio has noticed a pattern of interest in Kuduro through exoticization, one that is common to other African cultures in the city. In classes, Fabio has to adapt steps to make them easier and also to adapt the music as he sees participants do not have the repertory to appreciate Kuduro from Angola, with their interest in Kuduro being rooted in sound mixtures similar to those made by Buraka or infused in Afro House genres.

In the Baile Funk classes at the dance school, attendees are more regular and mostly Portuguese. For Kay, this allows him to build trust bonds and better work in participants' development. In his previous project, Lisbon Funk, the attendees were mostly foreigners, tourists, and short-term residents, mostly attracted by word of mouth and social media, leading to a high turnover rate. Kay observes most participants come to classes to learn how to twerk, a signature movement of Baile Funk. During fieldwork, I noticed the playlist had the representation of LGBTQ+ artists, and was always empowering, sexy, and suggestive, but never explicit, referring to violence, or engaged with social issues. All subjects that are foundational to the genre and emblematic of the complex and contradictory reality in which it was forged. The classes, therefore, navigated in the most pop music side of Baile Funk, with Anitta's songs, the artist that has become the ambassador of the genre internationally, being the only ones I perceived both the Brazilian and the Portuguese attendees knew.

Following a similar model to the maps provided by Dengo, I collected data regarding nationality, residence zip code, and, if foreigner, the indication of whether residence in Lisbon was permanent/long term or short stay, in both dance classes. As participants were not regular, the maps produced are a snapshot of one particular day, complementing field observations. On the day the data was collected, most attendees at Kuduro classes were Portuguese. Their residence patterns were concentrated in Lisbon and on the coastal line where rents are the pricier in the Metropolitan Area (Figure 18). Besides one participant, the rest are detached from the territories where Kuduro, Afro-House, and Batida are produced. That is, detached from territories with a majority of post-colonial immigrant communities. Baile Funk classes' participants, on the other hand, presented a more dispersed and peripheral pattern of residence, with international attendees being not only EU nationals but also Brazilian (Figure 19). In both classes, no internationals staying in Lisbon for a short period were identified. Besides, the racial composition of participants was predominantly white, with, however, more diversity observed in Brazilian Funk classes, which also had a larger quorum. On this last note, the higher demand for Baile Funk classes is possibly associated with the international projection the genre has been getting in the past couple of years in the global pop scene, which is no longer a reality for Kuduro. Social media has been playing a major part in the international popularization of Baile Funk through 60-

second dance challenges that reflect the ontological association of Brazilian Funk music and dance steps.

Figure 18. *Residence and nationality of Kuduro/Afro-House class participants in Metropolitan Lisbon. Source: Author, 2023.*

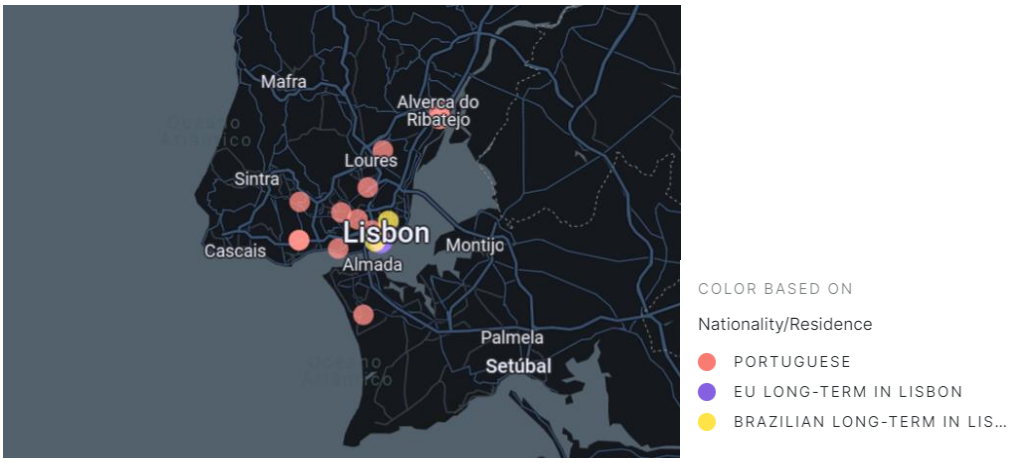

Figure 19. *Residence and nationality of Baile Funk class participants in Metropolitan Lisbon. Source: Author, 2023.*

Both Kay and Fabio perceived the classes as a moment of cultural exchange, but they highlighted how that is contingent on the participants. Both said attendees are less interested in the history and culture behind the dance genres, and more in the music and fun associated with it. Still, Kay emphasized how his relationship with participants might break stereotypes around Brazilians as they learn to get in touch with their bodies and self-esteem through Baile Funk, appreciating Brazilian culture beyond moral judgments.

5.2.4. **International Circuits of Cultural Production and Consumption**

Saint and Fvbricia, Dengo's members and DJs, have already played in Spain, Swiss, and France, and indicate these opportunities are related to both a queer clubbing circuit and a growing network of parties and initiatives from different Afrodiasporas in Europe.

In the dance scene, Kay indicates his strongest international bonds are through his Ballroom network, which connects with Baile Funk through the "Shake That Ass" modality, but he has not traveled outside Portugal to perform yet. In the Kuduro context, Fabio explains that the European circuit of Kuduro workshops started from Kizomba festivals, which are countless in Europe. Fabio feels there is a larger demand for Kuduro workshops in countries where the style is more exotic than part of everyday life, with people being rather impressed with the sound and bodywork. He has already been to Finland, Norway, Luxembourg, and Belgium to teach Kuduro and Afro-House and observes this general dynamic internationally. Fabio also observed that the new generation of Kuduro and Afrohouse dancers is promoting a lot of workshops abroad, compared to years ago. The intersection of the studied genres with other Afrodiasporic cultural expressions once again reinforces how the processes of globalization from below in Lisbon are articulated with a broader network of globalizations from below in different global cities.

5.3. Perceptions and Impacts of Globalization from Above

The consolidation of Lisbon's global city project, that is, its internationalization, with social, cultural, and economic dynamics being informed by and catering to foreign residents and tourists, is perceived in its intricated benefits and drawbacks by the interviewed cultural producers. All participants observe a growing number of internationals in classes and events, apart from the PALOP diaspora and the Brazilians. For some of them, this indicates that cultural production gained more consumers leading to the expectation of more and better job opportunities.

On the other hand, the rise in rents and living costs caused by the arrival of people with wages disproportionally high in comparison to Portuguese standards was an observation shared across all respondents. While most of them are in a comfortable housing situation now, they fear the end of their contracts. The participant who lives in Quinta do Mocho, for example, says they cannot move out because of unaffordable rents. In this context, interviewees perceive the lack of regulatory policies to be blamed rather than foreigners moving to Lisbon.

The increased costs have also affected the makings of the cultural practices. Saint indicated that, because the rise in prices is widespread, the costs of producing a party have also increased, causing tickets to go from 10 to 15 euros to 30 or 40 euros. He continues saying venues have been putting pressure on Dengo's organizers to raise their prices. But, because of the peripheral and low-income audiences who are intrinsic to the black and queer intersectionality in Lisbon, they have been trying to find strategies to circumvent this. He says artists have been supportive as they agree to lower their fees so the party can happen without turning into an elitist event. Therefore, the speculative effect caused by the globalization from above in the city, pushes an initiative catered to minority identities, with an emphasis on racialized populations connected

with the globalization from below, to negotiate and rely on the somehow precarization of the latter to continue to exist.

Analyzing this dynamic makes us circle back to Putnam's and Bourdieu's understandings of the relations between economic and social capital in the context of immigration and cultural diversity. As can be noticed, the studied cultural practices, although engaging in different patterns of bridging, both with white Portuguese and internationals, can turn their symbolic cultural capital into economic capital only to a certain extent. Because colonial-capitalist power structures remain untouched, with racialized patterns of inequality and exploitation continued by unregulated markets and neoliberal urban development policies, economic gains derived from touristification and internationalization are unequally distributed. Even in initiatives such as Dengo Club, which aims to address fair wages in the cultural sector, the benefits stemming from the expansion of the local cultural market are hindered by speculative price increases. This situation puts at risk redistributive efforts, demonstrating how the agency of cultural producers is ultimately confined within financial constraints. In that manner, as stated by Bourdieu, financial capital proves to be overpowering to all others. Cultural producers with post-colonial immigrant identities, who, as demonstrated by empirical data, embody some level of colonial dispossession – either in their economic immigration, illegality, or lack of economic stability – are in a disadvantaged position. Although social networks have been touted as pivotal in enabling their practices, disputing symbolic representations, and countering institutional oppressions, they still rely on the support of economic power elites. These power players include white-Portuguese venue and dance school owners, local and international well-off cultural consumers, and well-connected cultural producers who in different ways benefit from Afrodiasporic culture under the aegis of "Diversity Lisbon".

VI. DISCUSSION: Resistance in and through Racial Capitalism

As demonstrated throughout the analysis of the empirical data, cultural producers with post-colonial immigrant identities in Lisbon engage in multiple and complex forms of symbolic and material struggles in their everyday lives and artistic practices. While they question colonial-capitalist racial hierarchies and inequalities, they do so within the dynamics of consumption and commodification. Working in and through capitalism, I want to argue that, although limited, the studied cultural practices engage in important forms of resistance. With that, I finish my analysis concerning how cultural initiatives made by and centered around the identities of post-colonial immigrant communities navigate dynamics of inequality, commodification, and resistance part of Lisbon's global-city making. Thus, answering the research questions that guide this investigation.

6.1. Resisting Beyond Bridging, Bonding, and Assimilating

Putnam's (2000) integration framework of bridging and bonding, addressed in the Literature Review, is an insightful framework to analyze the complexities of the studied cultural practices, and how they challenge simplified views. For a start, the interactions mobilized by them do not fit the binary immigrant-host society proposed by the author, being embedded in more multilayered and multi-actor dynamics emblematic of globalization and multiculture in the global city. Dengo Club, for example, with its clear focus on black identities, could be read as fostering bonding and increasing insularity among racialized post-colonial immigrant populations. The reality, however, is different. As discussed, the focus on black identities is cosmopolitan rather than communitarian, as the party brings together racialized populations from different countries and Afrodiasporas. The understanding through bonding would be, therefore, reductive and infused by racial homogenization of black and African populations. This approach, however, as indicated in the interviews, was taken by venue owners as they understood the party would not have enough audience, besides attributing problematic stereotypes to them. Furthermore, the intersectionality of black and queer identities proposed by the party, as mentioned, rather broadens the audience than restricts it. Still, it is interesting to reflect on how the open affirmation of the party as black and queer was initially perceived by part of the audience as a barrier of exclusion, rather than a means to promote more inclusivity in the lineups and among partygoers. In that way, it is worth noting how color blindness and racial silences are produced and reproduced in Lisbon. While events that do not mention any identity focus are implicitly white-dominated and heteronormative, those that aim to be inclusive and objectively communicate the identities to which they will cater, are deemed exclusionary.

Kuduro and Brazilian Funk dance classes, alternatively, seem to be examples of bridging social capital as Portuguese, Brazilian, and internationals with different nationalities share a convivial experience led by an instructor with a post-colonial immigrant identity. Bringing together members of the host society and immigrants belonging to globalization from above through the culture of globalization from below, dance classes reflect the cosmopolitanism Lisbon has engaged in producing. Countering the assimilationist contours bridging can assume, with immigrants carrying the larger responsibility of being open and integrating into the local culture,

the studied dance classes take as the central factor of cross-cultural interaction post-colonial cultures rather than Portuguese. Furthermore, the consumption of post-colonial cultural practices attributes value and visibility that disputes stigmas and marginalization projected over them and their producers. These dynamics, which could be understood as proxies of resistance, however, are juxtaposed with dynamics of oppression as the consumption of cultural diversity in Lisbon interacts with broader patterns regarding the commodification of otherness and the way cosmopolitanism is operationalized through integration and exclusion. It integrates, through othering, to the limit that diversity is profitable, and excludes to exploit and control.

Lisbon mobilizes post-colonial immigrant cultures to build its image of authentic diversity in a dynamic I called in the Literature Review, the commodification of citizenship through culture. That is, the instrumental recognition of immigrants' culture for urban development strategies, before or despite the assurance of full rights. In Lisbon, this dynamic operates together with assimilationist ideas of the culturalization of citizenship but, beyond that, what seems to be a racialization of citizenship. This is observed in the stories of how the police always ask for citizenship documents to black people in Lisbon as they could not be Portuguese, and how black people experience intimidating situations when taking care of their papers. Therefore, although the interviewed participants could be rendered as "desired diversity" for their entrepreneurship, besides cultural and economic contribution to the city-branding of Afro Lisbon, they do so only to a certain extent. While being "economically profitable" should be enough under a colorblind neoliberal lens that divides cultural diversity into either marginal or exotic (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020), racial biases prove to be very much at play and post-colonial immigrant cultural producers experience both patterns of marginality and exoticization against which they struggle (Lentin and Titley, 2006).

6.2. Resistance Between Cultural Appropriation and Appreciation

Operating within consumption, the studied cultural practices entail commodification, as culture needs to be reconciled with a commercial agenda that takes catering to the audience as a priority. This can happen to different extents, as noticed in the interviews, concerning how dance classes adapt music and simplify steps, and Dengo needs to adapt prices. In "Eating the Other", bell hooks (2015) reflects on the racial element in the consumption of diversity. She addresses how it is crossed by exoticization and fetishization, reenacting colonial desires for the other. In that way, the author argues that consumption has to be critical or, otherwise, it reproduces imperial paradigms, inequalities, and patterns of exploitation. She states that "Mutual recognition of racism, its impact both on those who are dominated and those who dominate, is the only standpoint that makes possible an encounter between races that is not based on denial and fantasy" (hooks, 2015, p. 28). Therefore, as difference is mobilized by Lisbon to fabricate innovation, and by individuals in their search for enjoyment (hooks, 2015), the line that divides potentially transformative appreciation from exploitative appropriation in the consumption of post-colonial culture is the engagement in acknowledging and unmaking structural inequalities, addressing their racial component.

Observing how in neoliberalism “communities of resistance are replaced for communities of consumption”, bell hooks (2015, p.33) understands consumption as the dominant relationship in society being, therefore, infused by political choices and relevance. Hence, the consumption of the Other, the marginalized, the racialized, and post-colonial might offer some reparatory or revolutionary promise, to both cultural producers and consumers, as they break with white Eurocentric regimes of value, visibility, and inclusion. The open desire for the Other through the affirmation of cultural plurality, which is performed by individuals in their cultural consumption habits, and by governments in their diversity policies, might be potentially disruptive and a platform for resistance. However, it is only so if they surpass the agenda of fulfilling the desires of dominant groups. In that manner, the desire for diversity can only integrate resistance if it is part of a broader effort to confront structural inequalities which, in the case of Lisbon, are centered around race. Otherwise, it offers an update of colonial imperial desires for the exotic, which come at the expense of the exploitation of those who embody difference. Therefore, it rather reinforces racial hierarchies than disrupts them, asserting cultural labor and diversity policies as updated platforms for the racialized to be rendered as surplus population.

Following this framework, different levels and dimensions of resistance were observed in the studied cultural practices. I propose to analyze the initiatives through two ways they can contribute to challenging racist social structures in Lisbon. First, how they contribute to the social mobility of the cultural producers with post-colonial identities, once they are activities of income generation. And second, in their critical engagement with the histories and contexts related to their respective cultural movements. The Kuduro and Brazilian Funk dance classes operate between the institutional statutes of dance schools and the desires of participants, who are predominantly white Portuguese or EU nationals. Matters of social mobility are, therefore, dependent on the fees offered by dance school owners, and the cultural market is known for its precarity due to low wages and free-lance work arrangements. Beyond that, the interviewed dance teachers also perceived most of the audience as interested in the enjoyment aspect of the dance rather than in more critical or cultural discussions. Different dancers encountered during fieldwork pointed to how the commercial setting of “white dance schools” is not welcoming to this approach – both from the standpoint of owners and audiences, who hold the financial capital. While a transformative intent underlies the practices of the dance instructors, as a critical engagement is not openly articulated, its realization beyond appropriation is indirect and contingent upon the reciprocal effort from participants, as mentioned by the informants.

The critical engagement with matters of racialized inequality, on the other hand, is elementary to Dengo, crossing the way line ups, communication, pays, and prices are structured. Always in intersection with matters of gender and sexual identities. This clear stance has enabled the production of a multicultural conviviality at the party that acknowledges conflict, and because of that, is in constant discussion and negotiation. This happens in how the party is planned and organized and in its online communication through posts, private messages, policies, and feedback forms. The cultural consumption of racialized diversity at Dengo is informed by the reinforcement of the protagonism of black culture, artists, and individuals, with Saint acknowledging allyship from white and other dominant identities as pivotal. Using bell hooks’ words, “white youths who desire to move beyond whiteness. Critical of white imperialism and

'into' difference, they desire cultural spaces where boundaries can be transgressed, where new and alternative relations can be formed" (hooks, 2015, p. 36). The makings of Dengo are informed by the belief in interdependency, mobilizing redistribution and solidarity within the limits of nightclub life and capitalist structures. But as Ruth Wilson Gilmore says "We can't undo racism without undoing capitalism" (antipodeonline, 2020) as capitalist structures are far from being effectively challenged, efforts of fair pay and affordable prices are curtailed by the speculative dynamics that take place in Lisbon. Weighing more on the poor and racialized and on their practices, this negative effect is in no way minimized by public funding to support cultural initiatives or small businesses. A scenario that contrasts with the relevance practices like Dengo have in the heavily marketized cultural vibrancy of the city, and the significant public revenue that is spent on tax benefits offered to foreign investors.

hook's reflection can also be applied to other cultural practices that have helped consolidate the cosmopolitan image of Afro Lisbon. One that promoted the visibility of a large African population in the city, incorporating post-colonial black cultures as part of Lisbon's diversity without tackling racial socioeconomic differences. In this context, white Portuguese producers find legitimacy in the white component implied in Lisbon's melting pot character to compose Afro Lisbon in a complex appreciation/appropriation dynamic. One of the main white Portuguese DJs of the Batida scene, who hosts a monthly party with consistent black protagonism, and has his work recognized by important Kuduro and Batida artists, has his work described as "beat without ethnicity and religion, it is Lisbon looking at the Tagus and receiving new musical explorers curious for the rhythm of the capital city" (*Musicbox Clubbing*, n.d.). Similar narratives that reproduce colonial images while erasing the racial element at play in Lisbon's cosmopolitanism are very much present in the media and cultural agendas, indicating how the city might still be closer to appropriation than appreciation of the cultural contributions from post-colonial immigrants.

To close this reflection from bell hooks' framework, I would like to reinforce the role of global mass culture in informing tastes and world views that shape the macro and micro-scale in the global city. Looking into how diversity city branding aims to cater to what is deemed "global tastes", it becomes evident the importance of global communication and advertisement, including the social media, movies, and series diffused through streaming platforms, and other means of communication in shaping the image of cosmopolitan coolness and the diversity component of it. This is apparent when the participants address the way the international popularization of Kuduro, Afro House, and Baile Funk triggered increased local interest in the genres. In this situation, what I want to highlight is the way the global market helps validate local expressions that are in many ways marginalized. But as bell hooks reinforces, these global images of diversity often come with the reproduction of stereotypes that feed into the desire for the exotic (hooks, 2015). This is well illustrated in how the internationalization of Baile Funk happens through the aestheticization of the poverty in favelas and the sexualization of female Brazilians, and how participants of Baile Funk dance classes are mostly interested in learning how to twerk. This simplified, superficial, and uncritical way in which difference is mobilized as commodity innovation in global markets, defines its appropriation logic. One that is reproduced

by city branding and operationalized in everyday practices that reinscribe racial exclusion to the benefit of dominant classes rather than transform it.

On the other hand, global communication also articulated networks of exchange regarding social struggles that have uplifted local resistance. As mentioned by participants at the interviews, and by Flávio Almada, in a talk at a conference in Lisbon which I attended[24], the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement was a turning point for the racial struggle in Portugal. Almada says that without the global relevance it had, Portugal would never be acceptive of anti-racist demonstrations. Fabrícia also notes how BLM reverberated in several sectors, including in the recent scene of Afro-centered parties made by Afrodiasporic subjects. These initiatives transform many dimensions of domination as they support cultural production and consumption centered on the desires, needs, and identities of racialized individuals. They offer opportunities for allied identities to join that fall closer to the appreciation side of the spectrum of cultural consumption for their increased critical engagement.

[24] The rapper and activist Flávio Almada participated in a conference on May 4th, 2023 part of the 5L – International Festival of Literature and the Portuguese Language, together with Carla Fernandes from the project Afrolis, discussing the subject "The construction of the city in a post-colonial perspective".

VII. CONCLUSION

Embedded in global flows and building global Lisbon from below, the studied cultural practices integrate the everyday politics of the city. They do so from a fundamental dimension to economic immigration, labor, and act through the dominant relation in neoliberalism, consumption. While directly, the municipality interacts little with them, other stances of power, notably the media, and powerful players, such as well-off cultural consumers, inscribe the case studies under a primary urban development policy of Lisbon: city branding for the attraction of foreign investment. In this investigation, I have discussed how these post-colonial immigrant practices, and the cultures of which they are part, sustain the image of "Diversity Lisbon". However, despite the recognition of difference as an asset, its commodification framework sees the diversity embodied by racialized immigrants as a creative product to be shaped for the consumption tastes of well-off urban classes and tourists, rather than a pillar of Portuguese citizenship and identity (Garrido Castellano and Raposo, 2020). In that way, cultural practices around post-colonial immigrant identities contribute to a governmental agenda that does not directly support them nor address the precarity and exclusion that mark the lives of the cultural producers, and immigrant communities in which they are embedded. Still, I asked myself to what extent the studied cultural practices were enabled by this broader urban agenda of financializing and touristifying internationalization of Lisbon, once foreigners represent a significant part of their consumers. Working in and through Lisbon's neoliberal dynamics, the cultural practices and their producers seem to be part of a contradictory dynamic that benefits and disadvantages. A dynamic that is emblematic of the continuous colonial-capitalist remakings and the way they produce wealth through producing precarity.

I will not say the studied cultural practices are invited by Lisbon's neoliberal agenda, because the conditions created by it are not deliberately designed to cater to their needs and foster their activities. Cultural producers from post-colonial immigrant communities rather infiltrate the created structure, finding field of actions, despite the multiple barriers and limitations. Rufino and Simas (2018) propose the framework of "dribbling" to analyze Brazilian Afrodiasporic cultures, which can also be useful for the reflection of this study. He draws inspiration from the soccer player Garrincha and proposes the metaphor of dribbling. He explains the Brazilian soccer technique as the way the player does not confront the marker, who, in that case, would end up just getting the ball. Therefore, the player articulates the move through the space the marker cannot reach. It does not subvert the field of action, the rules of the game, the divisions, and hierarchies, it works through them. In this way, subaltern Brazilian culture, similar to post-colonial immigrant cultures in Lisbon, creates possibilities, alternative perspectives, and representations in the gaps of institutional barriers and structures. That is to say, the studied cultural practices develop through the fissures shaped by neoliberal urban governance and cosmopolitan city branding in Lisbon, creating, through culture, temporary spaces of negotiation of historical and systemic exclusions.

Culture, in this context, assumes a relevant dimension in the dispute of citizenship, given the limits to civic engagement expressed through the lack of representation of racialized and immigrant populations in formal politics (Garrido Castellano & Raposo, 2020; Roldão, 2022). The

energetic music and dance connected to Kuduro and Baile Funk, for example, are understood as embodied performances of transgression in relation to the oppressive environment in which they were forged. Contexts marked by poverty, racial violence, and exclusion, and, in the case of Angola, post-colonial war instability. These politically infused cultural practices marked by their festive character are in no way celebratory. They are affirmations of life and citizenship, resisting necropolitics, and criminalization. As argued by Simas, "We celebrate not because things go well, but because life is hard".[25] In Lisbon, post-colonial immigrants' trajectories, including those participating in this research, are marked by colonial-capitalist dispossession: from the structural forces that pushed them into economic immigration, to the way they are pushed into illegality and precarity in the job and housing market. Culture is taken as a sphere through which post-colonial immigrants challenge multiple orders of racial subalternization articulated by dispossession. As noted with the studied practices, these cultural responses to dispossession are later the means through which dispossession is remade in the global city, instrumentalized as a diversity component. To cite Miraftab's (2020) take on the innovative nature of capitalism, "What is today an alternative, or radical, practice might become mainstreamed and de-politicized by containment and entrapment tomorrow, its transformative force hollowed out" (p. 439). With that, diversity-friendly neoliberal capitalism asserts itself as racial capitalism, seeking to perpetuate the exploitation of racialized populations as surplus.

In terms of limitations, this research took an interdisciplinary lens, engaging in the in-depth examination of the selected post-colonial immigrant cultural practices, therefore presenting clear restrictions, primarily, concerning its small sample. Taking into consideration time and funding constraints, the research considered the scope of Baile Funk, Kuduro, and Afro House, which represent only three of the various cultural expressions of post-colonial immigrant communities in Lisbon. Still, even within these dance and music genres, different cultural practices and events connected to them take place in the city and should be considered in an analysis that aims to draw more all-encompassing conclusions. Looking at the cultural producers interviewed, it is important to highlight the limits implied in them being mostly men and all cisgenders. This opens venues for further investigation, particularly, with more female representation, given how research findings showed the pivotal role of intersectionality in the dynamics of living with, consuming, and negotiating difference in the everyday multiculture.

Furthermore, in my investigation, the focus was given to cultural production as the aim was to unearth the struggles and negotiations experienced by post-colonial immigrants. However, as pointed out, notably in the discussion chapter, consumption is a key process both to entrepreneurial urban governance and to the resistances articulated by cultural producers. In that manner, further investigation on the consumption side of the global city would be an important addition to the analysis this thesis proposes. Additionally, conducting a more extensive review of the policies and public investments regarding cosmopolitan city branding, particularly those concerning post-colonial immigrant culture and racialized populations, could lead to more direct policy recommendations – which my thesis does not accomplish.

[25] Quote extracted from a video part of an online course. Simas, L. A. [KOPE]. (2022, February 2026). "Entre tambores e procissões: festas e frestas da brasilidade" [Video]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=636344074097902

In conclusion, this investigation aimed to address how race is an operating category in the organization of reality, even when not officially used. With that, I hope this research contributes to countering colorblindness in academia, while, in the broader society, shedding light on the colonial-capitalist continuities in global-city agendas, particularly, in Lisbon. Specifically, I hope this work has shown the limits of the cultural diversity framework operationalized by neoliberal urban governance, calling for more critical approaches to managing multiculture that contest rather than reproduce colonial patterns of inequality organized through race. In this context, asserting the centrality of circuits of cultural production and consumption in the political economy of global Lisbon, my investigation demonstrates, within the limits of its case studies, that the cultural productions around post-colonial immigrant identities are forms of everyday resistance. They, to a larger or lesser extent, manage to engage in transformative efforts, proposing new protagonisms, dance moves, forms of sociability, and epistemological centralities. Within their practices and fields of action, post-colonial immigrant cultural producers forge new perspectives of cosmopolitanism renegotiating the colonial legacies that mark interactions between globalization from above and from below, ultimately moving racial hierarchies in Lisbon.

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APPENDIX

Semi-Structured Interview Guides

(*translated from the original in Portuguese)*

i. Dengo Club

Interviewees: Fvbricia (DJ), Saint (founder and DJ)
Protocol: up to 150-minute interviews, recorded in audio.

Introduction

Presentation of the research.
Signature of informed consent.
Encourage open dialogue and affirm space for the interviewee to contest categories, and framings of the researcher.

Personal Trajectory in Cultural Production

- Could you please introduce yourself, emphasizing the aspects that you consider most significant about your identity and professional journey?
- Can you share your experience with starting as a DJ and how it evolved into a professional practice?
- How would you define the genre of music you produce, and what led you to choose these specific genres?
- Apart from Dengo, are you involved in any other projects related to Baile Funk or Afro House? If so, could you elaborate on them?
- Aside from DJing, are you engaged in any other professional activities? Is DJing your primary source of income?

Baile Funk/ Afro House in Lisbon

- Would you consider Baile Funk and Afro House popular rhythms in Lisbon? If so, could you explain why and since when?
    - Do these genres extend beyond immigrant communities?
- Are there specific challenges or advantages of working within these genres?
- In what activities, neighborhoods, and places in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon is Baile Funk/Afro House present?
    - Do you think the genre has a “peripheral” identity in Lisbon?

About Dengo Club

- What is Dengo Club?
- Can you tell me about how Dengo started/how your participation at Dengo started? Who was involved, how did you meet, and why did you create it…?
- Who is the Dengo team today and how do people position themselves in terms of immigrant and peripheral identities?
- How is Dengo positioned in the broader circuit of parties in Lisbon?
    - What is the difference between Dengo and other Afro-centered and queer parties?
- What do you consider the main challenges and advantages of organizing the party?
- Why does every edition have a theme?

Audience

- Who comprises the primary audience of Dengo's parties?
- Do you have information about their origins within the city?
- How do you determine the venue or location for the party?
- Dengo emphasizes being a space for black and queer individuals. What is the rationale behind this focus?
- There is a diversity within and beyond these groups that go to the party. What do you believe attracts them? In what ways does the party cater to them too?

International audience

- All your communication is in English. Can you explain why? Who is your target audience?
    - Have you observed a significant international presence at Dengo? Could you describe this audience?
- Have the touristification and internationalization of Lisbon impacted Dengo somehow?

Safe space

- What does it mean for Dengo to establish a safe space? How do you initiate and maintain this sense of safety?
- Do you consider affordability part of the safe dimension of Dengo?
- Given the diverse audience, do you feel like you provide a space for cultural exchange? Is translation or any type of adaptation needed? How?

International circuits

- Dengo maintains strong connections with other black queer projects and DJs internationally. Could you explain how this global network was forged and its importance?
    - Is the network predominantly comprised of black and queer individuals too?

    - What do these opportunities indicate about the international popularization of Baile Funk/ Afro House?
- Could you share the experiences and access that enabled you to navigate this international context? For example, how did you learn English?

Revenue

- Have you received any form of public funding, even indirectly?
- Do you see economic empowerment as part of Dengo's goal? How do you articulate that in relation to the fees and work agreements with DJs and other staff of the party?

Immigrant Trajectory

- Has the rising touristification and internationalization of Lisbon affected your personal life, particularly in terms of living costs and housing?
- Can I ask about what is your personal/your family heritage/immigrant trajectory?
- In general terms, the trajectory of post-colonial immigrants in Lisbon is marked by many exclusions, particularly regarding housing. Was your trajectory marked by housing precarity, social housing, or somehow peripheralization?
- Did you access any type of social support?
- Were there other challenges in terms of accessing rights, services, or documents?
- And any other challenges regarding settling in, and fitting in?
- I heard there is a big difference between immigrant generations, with the second-generation immigrants being more mobile in the city and internationally, speaking English, while their parents barely left the neighborhood, struggled to have access to basic rights or to be granted citizenship… Have you experienced this dynamic? If so, what do you was the turning point?

Wrapping Up

What are your plans for the future? What are the plans for the future of Dengo?

Anything else I did not ask you about and that you would like to add to this interview?

ii. Afro House/Kuduro, and Baile Funk Dance Classes

Interviewees: Fábio Krayze (Kuduro/Afro House) and Kay (Baile Funk)
Protocol: up to 150-minute interviews, recorded in audio.

Introduction

Presentation of the research.
Signature of informed consent.
Encourage open dialogue and affirm space for the interviewee to contest categories, and framings of the researcher.

Personal Cultural Trajectory

- Could you please introduce yourself, emphasizing the aspects that you consider most significant about your identity and professional journey?
- Can you tell me about how you started dancing, and how it became a professional practice?
- What are the professional activities related to Baile Funk/Afro House/ Kuduro you carry out?
    - Any other besides teaching dance classes? If so, which are they?
- Why did you decide to work specifically with Baile Funk/Afro House/Kuduro?
- Are there specific challenges or advantages of working within this genre?
- Any other professional activities? Are dance classes your main source of income?

Baile Funk/Afro House/Kuduro in Lisbon

- Would you consider Baile Funk/Afro House/Kuduro to be popular music and dance genres in Lisbon? If so, could you explain why and since when?
    - Do these genres extend beyond immigrant communities?
    - Do you see Baile Funk/Afro House/Kuduro dance classes as popular in Lisbon? How?
- In what activities, neighborhoods, and places in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon is Baile Funk/Afro House/Kuduro present?
    - Do you think the genre has a “peripheral” identity in Lisbon?

About the Dance Classes

- Can you share about the experience of having your own dance project and teaching at dance studios? What are the differences – advantages and drawbacks?

Participants

- Who would you say is the audience of the dance classes? From what you see, what is generally their interest in the dance classes?
- The dance genre you teach is emblematic of peripheries and black communities. However, in the classes I've been in, most of the students don't share these identities, do you agree? Do you think this is the case in most dance schools? Why do you think this happens?

International participants

- With Lisbon becoming more international, do you think this has impacted the Baile Funk/Afro House/Kuduro scene, and, more specifically, dance classes? If so, how?
    - Do you have many international students?
    - What, in your opinion, draws foreigners to Baile Funk/Afro House/Kuduro?
    - Do you think they are more interested in it compared to Portuguese locals? If so, why?

- Are there any adaptations you make to accommodate local and international audiences? (For example, adjusting the music or simplifying steps)

International circuits

- As a dancer, have you had the chance to dance outside of Portugal? Were these opportunities related to Baile Funk/ Afro House/Kuduro? How did these opportunities come about?
    - What do these opportunities indicate about the international popularization of Baile Funk/ Afro House/Kuduro?
- What is the significance of these international opportunities for you?
- Could you share the experiences and access that enabled you to navigate this international context? For example, how did you learn English?

Revenue

- Have you received any form of public funding, even indirectly?
- What do you think about the work fees and conditions of dance schools and the broader dance circuit?

Immigrant Trajectory

- Has the rising touristification and internationalization of Lisbon affected your personal life, particularly in terms of living costs and housing?
- Can I ask about what is your personal/your family heritage/immigrant trajectory?

- In general terms, the trajectory of post-colonial immigrants in Lisbon is marked by many exclusions, particularly regarding housing. Was your trajectory marked by housing precarity, social housing, or somehow peripheralization?
- Did you access any type of social support?
- Were there other challenges in terms of accessing rights, services, or documents?
- And any other challenges regarding settling in, and fitting in?
- I heard there is a big difference between immigrant generations, with the second-generation immigrants being more mobile in the city and internationally, speaking English, while their parents barely left the neighborhood, struggled to have access to basic rights or to be granted citizenship… Have you experienced this dynamic? If so, what do you think was the turning point?

Wrapping Up

What are your plans for the future?

Anything else I did not ask you about and that you would like to add to this interview?