



**University of  
Zurich**<sup>UZH</sup>

# The Authenticity of Fado and Touristification: Implications of a Modern Phenomenon for the Perception of a Traditional Music Genre

GEO 511 Master's Thesis

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31.01.2023

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## **Abstract**

Many cultural practices have become a commodity in the modern world due to the massive touristification; therefore, the study of perceptions of the authenticity of these practices is more relevant than ever today. This paper examines perceptions of the traditional Fado music in Lisbon in the modern reality of mass tourism.

The data for this project was collected through semi-structured interviews with Fado musicians and singers, as well as through observations in Lisbon, particularly in the neighborhood of Alfama.

Analysis of the obtained data made it possible to determine that massive over-tourism created an imaginary physical and emotional space in Lisbon that serves tourists' needs. Because of that, the authenticity of Fado within this space is perceived mostly superficially by modern tourists. Although, the results of this research show that Fado continues to exist among the Portuguese outside of the imaginary tourist scene, tourism does not have a clear positive impact on the perceptions of Fado.

These findings indicate the need to reconsider how this practice is presented to tourists for the genre to be perceived authentically.

*Keywords: Fado, Lisbon, Alfama, Authenticity, Touristification, Tourism, Perceptions*

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# 1. Introduction

Each nationality has its own unique culture, which is shaped by its identity over time and expressed through various common patterns and modes of behavior (Layton & Wallace, 2006). The concept of culture has undergone a dramatic transformation over several centuries; thus, it is difficult to grasp the idea of it. There are many definitions of culture. For instance, according to Kroeber and Parsons (Kroeber & Parsons 1958, p.583), culture is “transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic- meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behavior.” Thus, culture influences people's behavior and shapes specific societal traits and characteristics. These general patterns or modes of behavior can be expressed through particular practices, which in turn can imprint on the locality that becomes part of them. Cultural practices, in this case, form a special relationship with the terrain, shaping its appearance, characteristics, etc. As a result, each culture creates a specific urban environment due to its identity peculiarities. Often the urban environment is developed in close relationship with certain cultural practices where one cannot exist without the other. This can last for centuries, resulting in a unique urban environment, which is a product of certain cultural practices. Thus, a particular synthesis is created between the two, making cultural practices and the urban environment the same.

However, this relationship between cultural practices and the environment is subject to different influences in today's world, where other factors influence culture and the environment. One such factor is globalization, which has allowed people to cross the geographical borders of other countries and the political, social, and cultural ones. The different identities are no longer isolated from one another because contemporary realities push them together by blurring the boundaries between them. This dramatically impacts identities and culture because it exposes their life and its derivatives to various influences. For example, unique art practices for a particular nationality nowadays can be perceived by people who belong to it and by tourists, a product of globalization. The development of technology that caused this process in recent years opened access to the inherited culture of different identities. The intent behind this master thesis is to study perceptions of a particular music genre, *Fado*, in Lisbon. At the same time, it is continuously being influenced by the consequences of globalization, namely touristification.

The motivation behind the chosen topic stems from an attempt to determine whether touristification can affect tourists' perception of local culture and identity within a specific urban environment and whether it can influence the change of it. Since Fado music is a reflection of Portuguese identity, a study of this question on the example of this musical genre will make it possible to determine whether touristification poses a threat to the existence of this specific cultural practice.

Touristification can be defined as “the appropriation of urban space by tourists” (Martins, 2015, p.2). This multileveled process that many different actors can cause transforms these spaces “into tourist commodity” (Renau, 2018, p.13). In other words, it revives the locale’s culture by adapting the urban spaces with the atmosphere for tourists (Fernandes, 2011; Shoval, 2018). For example, city administrations can create programs to attract tourists by providing the environment for performing various cultural practices in the cities’ neighborhoods. Cafés, restaurants, and other establishments, as a result of this process, adjust to the needs of tourists. They no longer serve as places for gathering local people and no longer provide the environment for them to spend their free time and feel that they are in their home country. Such areas of cities become theatrical stages for the entertainment of tourists. According to Agustín Cocola-Gant, this process needs to be seen as a form of gentrification since it displaces the urban spaces, and gentrification refers to the process of replacing local people from urban areas by creating an environment for more affluent users (Cocola-Gant et al., 2020). Tourists can be one type of these users who draw out the needs of the local population. It happens because they use private and public places in the neighborhoods to consume the locals’ culture. In this regard, gentrification becomes a more complex process because it displaces not only the physical location of the places but, by doing so, also replaces the identity of the local people. It happens because different city’ establishments, as a rule, create atmospheres for ages, which then are shaped by the identity of people who go there. As a result of gentrification, local people lose their ties to the areas where they live since tourism consumption causes the replacement of their traditional activities and entertainment (Mendes, 2016). City life becomes an imaginary reality dictated by tourists' behavior. Places created by local identity disappear in exchange for artificially created tourist spots that satisfy the needs of tourists. As a result of this process, tourism has been transformed from being a provider of cultural practices into artificially created sceneries in historic city centers to

attract tourists (Muselaers, 2017). These can happen due to the different touristic activities that transform the locals' areas for comfortable consumption by tourists (Cocola-Gant, 2018). This mostly happens in historic city centers, for example, in the city of Lisbon, where local neighborhoods are shifted to areas that fully meet the requirements of tourism (Gotham, 2005). One gets the impression that the urban environment serves as a platform for keeping tourists comfortable rather than providing that comfort for locals.

Tourism has acculturated the central part of this city in recent years. The number of international tourists in Portugal reached 24.6 million people in 2019, where 49.4% of trips had the purpose of "leisure, recreation or holidays," showing an increase of 17.9% compared to the previous year (National Institute of Statistics, 2019, p.6). Lisbon's city is Portugal's second most visited destination, accounting for 25,9% of national overnight stays (National Institute of Statistics, 2019). Therefore, this city showcases itself as the most attractive tourist destination (Bloom Consulting, 2019). According to the Visitor Activities and Information Survey, historic neighborhoods such as Alfama, Bairro Alto, and Mouraria are some of the most attractive destinations for tourists, as most tourists prefer to visit museums and monuments as well as go for dinner and walk around (Turismo de Lisboa, 2019). To provide good surroundings for tourists, the city has had to adapt its urban side to the needs of tourists. Because of this process, the locals' sense of place identity "is constantly being neglected" (Daly et al., 2020, p.1). In other words, the residents are no longer able to feel an attachment to the place because tourism no longer represents places to be visited but cultural experiences to be perceived (Muñoz, 2010).

These cultural experiences can vary; however, music has always been one of the most pivotal elements of different cultures (Jucu, 2018). It is one of the most famous art practices used for urban development and attracting tourists to the cities (Seman, 2010). Many Lisbon neighborhoods' cultural image often represents itself through Fado music by transforming it into artificially created entertainment for tourists. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) classified Fado as an "intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of Humanity" in 2011 (UNESCO, 2016). Fado, which became Portugal's "national" music during the twentieth century, is urban folk music most ubiquitous in Lisbon (Elliott, 2010). According to a study by Sánchez Fuarros, Fado, for example, in the Mouraria neighborhood, was once a source for locals' gatherings and has now become a product for tourists' consumption.



It happened because Lisbon held programs for transforming the neighborhood's urban space into a tourist attraction by regenerating it through the restitution of the Fado performances (Fuarros, 2017). It is a common practice when emotional experiences are used to restore public places (Lehtovuori, 2010).

Thus, this musical practice became a product that one buys to have a tourist impression while being in neighborhoods representing imaginary spaces for tourists. Curiously, 90% of tourists only attend Fado performances following the recommendations of tourist guides, never having heard of Fado before their trip. Attending traditional Fado performances for them became a “standard tourism ritual when in Lisboa” (Holloway, 2020, p.6). The tourists listen to Fado in the special “Fado houses.” People are supposed to learn how to listen to Fado and to feel its “soul” in these places (Gray, 2007).

The most fitting Portuguese word to describe this sense of the Portuguese “soul” that permeates Fado is *Saudade*. According to Zuzanna Bułat Silva, *Saudade* is a unique Portuguese word with no equivalent in any other language and expresses both “memory and a feeling, love and pain” (Silva, 2012, p.209). This word expresses an especially Portuguese emotion echoed throughout Fado's songs' lyrics. Fado's poems have a very sentimental character and convey the sense of loss, broken heart, and Lisbon with its neighborhoods. Traditionally, Fado singing is accompanied by acoustic guitar and Portuguese guitar and performed by *fadistas*. The word “fadista” means “a fado singer” (Word Sense, n.d.). The acoustic guitar creates a musical foundation, while the Portuguese guitar, with its improvised sounds, “dialoguing with the voice.” Silence is essential for any Fado performance because it enables the *fadistas* and the listeners to create an emotional bond, which is the core of experiencing Fado music (Rosal, 2018, p. 296), as well as proximity between the performers and the listeners that enables the music to be perceived in its naturalness. The place's acoustics also plays a vital role since Fado music creates “intimacy in the air” which is essential for experiencing the deep feeling of *Saudade*.

Fado is the unique “language” that Portuguese people use to express this feeling. Fado's performances have distinctive signs to create the right environment for expressing and receiving it. For example, Américo Da Conceição Mateus attempted to distinguish those signs and created special “Fado codes” (Mateus, 2005, p.9). According to the paralinguistic code, a Fado performance has a certain intensity and duration in the vocal sense. For instance, the voice of Fado singers is often sobbing and broken.

The kinetic code defines the way of the body movements of Fado singers. For example, they often display a melodramatic posture and half-closed eyes. Fado houses' interiors and atmosphere represent several visual and iconic codes. There is also the architectural code, representing the public place and the place for the performance. The dress code informs how the Fado singers should dress up. The musical codes show how the Portuguese guitar should sound. The linguistic codes enable the music to be perceived in a specific cultural way. All these songs are an integral part of the Fado performance.

One of the most significant Fado signs is its connection to Lisbon because it is considered an "urban popular music" inextricably linked to city life. Therefore, it had to adapt to different ever-changing historical realities in Lisbon (Nery, 2012). Being mainly associated with the neighborhoods of Alfama, Mouraria, and Bairro Alto, it has historically become popular by gaining a foothold in the social layers amongst sailors and criminals and was later adopted by the middle and upper classes at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Nery, 2012). As Richard Elliott said: "city and song, then, bear witness to each other." (Elliott, 2010, p.2). In other words, the city of Lisbon, as a place with a specific identity, inspired Fado while Fado, at the same time, became the reflection of the city's life.

For example, while Fado depended on the existing social systems such as marginality, the city's margins represented themselves as a particular limited space where Fado was developing. Marginality can be defined as "an involuntary position and condition of an individual or group at the margins of social, political, economic, ecological, and biophysical systems, that prevent them from access to resources, assets, services, restraining freedom of choice, preventing the development of capabilities, and eventually causing extreme poverty" (Gatzweiler et al., 2011, p.3). This physically and emotionally limited urban space allowed marginals to express their needs and emotions through Fado's lyrics and music. This form of art was a way for them to let people hear them in that restricted physical and emotional environment.

Political events that took place later, such as the end of the monarchy, were the reasons for changing lives in the city. As a result, a new bohemian social environment appeared at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which changed the Fado performances. They moved from their usual marginal environment into a new social reality represented by members of the bohemian intelligentsia. As a result, people played Fado at events popular among this segment of society, garnering this music genre a more

prestigious status. During the twentieth century, it was first captured on musical recordings and subsequently broadcasted into the world of radio and television, thus gaining international recognition (Nery, 2012). In other words, Fado was “opened” to the world, which had specific influences on it. For example, it significantly contributed to Fado becoming a “national song” (Brito, 1994). As a result, people worldwide started to perceive Fado music as particularly Portuguese.

Moreover, foreigners started professionally playing Fado music and singing the lyrics (Nery, 2012). Consequently, it became popular among tourists, and the ‘Fado houses’ started to designate the “real Portugal” urban space (Gray, 2005). This greatly influenced the urban areas that people associated with Fado because the number of Fado houses started to increase with the orientation of the demand of the tourists.

History shows that the city and Fado influenced each other by having a deep connection. The interrelationship between Fado and Lisbon emerged because the city has a rich and interesting history. Having been at a crossroads of different cultures during colonialism, it has become a unique environment for interacting with varying identities through various performance styles and sounds (Gray, 2013). Colonialism is a process of “domination of a society by settlers from a different society” (Böröcz & Sarkar, 2012, p.1). Portugal's Colonial Empire was one of the strongest empires of its time, beginning in 1415 and ending in 1975. It had sovereignty over considerable areas in Africa, India, China, and the Pacific Ocean territories (Almeida, 2006). Because Lisbon was the capital of this vast empire for such a long historical period, it represents ‘an observatory for a long and complex historical process’ where different social and political realities co-existed (Peralta & Domingos, 2019).

That is why some researchers believe that Fado emerged due to a mixing of Portuguese culture and the cultures of its colonies from the beginning of the fifteenth century until the end of the twentieth century (Feldman-Bianco, 2001). According to the theory of José Ramos Tinhorão, Fado's emergence was influenced by the African culture, which inspired seductive Brazilian dances, which later transformed into Fado music (Tinhorão, 1994). Rui Nery attempts to find a connection between Fado's emergence and the passionate Brazilian dances which existed at the beginning of the 19th century, such as the Lundum, Caranguejo, Modinha, and Fados, which influenced the repertoire of the music of social gatherings in the city of Lisbon (Nery, 2012). At the same time, some scholars believe that Fado has Arab and Morish origins (Braga, 1905;

Alves, 1989). However, others see no possibility for Fado having emerged from Arab influences (Viera, 1890).

It remains a mystery as to which historical circumstances lead to this musical practice's emergence. The lack of written sources makes it impossible to know precisely how and when Fado emerged. That is why the question regarding its origins has become a source for various myths. Kimberly Da Costa, in her work "Fado Historiography: Old Myths and New Frontiers," interprets the idea of Fado emerging because of the mixing of different cultures during colonialism as the "academic" explanation of Fado's emergence. At the same time, Da Costa introduces another explanation, which she refers to as an "impressionistic" one: Fado as a musical genre arose from the homesickness experienced by Portuguese seafarers during their maritime conquests. In other words, the feeling of Saudade of the sailors longing for home can be the origin of Fado (Holton, 2006). According to this explanation, Fado is a national Portuguese music genre that emerged in this country.

Since the origins of Fado are unknown, what represents the authenticity of this genre? Firstly, it is essential to clarify what the term "authenticity" means.

According to Dutton, authenticity is something "real, genuine and true" (Dutton, 2003, p.2). Other researchers define it as something with "consistency between an entity's internal values and its external expressions" (Lehman et al., 2019, p.2). In other words, authenticity is "a quality of experience" (Zukin, 2010). Since music performances are experiences, what can we regard as authenticity in music? Chee-Hoo Lum, in his research, claims that one should analyze authenticity through the concept of a time continuum and that it is not constant in musical practices (Lum, 2009). It raises a question about what aspect of Fado music should be considered authentic. In his research about the notion of the authenticity of Fado, James Felix concludes that the authenticity of this music genre is very personal, and there is no ultimate definition of it (Felix, 2015). He claims that a traditional way of Fado performance can be considered authentic – a clean face of Fado taken as a symbol of the nation. At the same time, according to him, there is another form of authentic Fado, which is the personal perception of it.

From this perspective, the individual perception of Fado is a form of authenticity. This conclusion raises the question of whether these personal perceptions pass through the prism of "clean Fado's face." "Clean Fado's face," in this case, are the conditions and the opportunity for this musical practice to convey its central message.

In other words, it is important to determine if the contemporary perceptions of Fado music in the reality of touristification are based on the values inherited in this “clean Fado's face.” As Geoff Holloway mentions in his article, Fado and tourism are two “liminoid” spaces that co-exist together contemporaneously (Holloway, 2020). He wonders how such different actors as fadistas and tourists can interrelate within the same limited imaginary space. According to Holloway, this question needs further investigation since, in today's reality, one does not exist without the other, raising the question of how this influences this musical genre's perception.

Nowadays, we live in an exceptional reality where we can experience things that were very complicated to attain in the past. The history of Fado adaptation to the significant political and social changes in Portugal makes studying the perceptions of Fado nowadays so intriguing because easy access to information, speedy travel, and abundance of tourist' services enable people to visit Portugal and experience Fado performances at any given time which makes access to it different from the past. These circumstances build a unique environment for this music genre, which has never existed. Touristification has created new urban spaces that have become the product of this contemporary reality. According to the concept of Indigo Paiva and Sánchez Fuarros, such areas refer to “collateral atmospheres” that emerge in the spaces and times beyond produced atmospheres (Paiva & Fuarros, 2020, p.393). These collateral atmospheres represent themselves as imaginary sceneries that provide tourists with various cultural experiences for consumption. This makes it intriguing to explore the perceptions of Fado and its relation to the city of Lisbon because this music genre's consumption by tourists creates a special urban space associated with Portuguese identity. Since Fado is an important element of national identity and is seen as an expression of the Portuguese “soul” (Gray, 2013), this musical practice's perception provides an intriguing subject for observation.

The importance of this study is to find out whether Fado can remain authentic while the creation of the urban space surrounding it is dictated not by the natural development of this music genre itself but by the process of touristification.

In particular, I am keen to determine the perceptions of this musical genre nowadays through the prism of historical, social, and political events that shaped it. It is important to study the perceptions of Fado with the idea in mind that this genre has no particular features which define it, but that Fado is itself the result of Portuguese people trying to express through the music their feelings about social realities that have flowed

from one to the other throughout history. Thus, Fado is the reflection of social and political circumstances. It is a combination of effect and the story of effect that binds people to place and one another. It was necessary to determine precisely how Fado connects people and places in the present reality of touristification in order to understand the perception of Fado now.

Since the popularity of tourism creates the space of real Portugal, it is essential to answer this question by focusing on how Fado and the city witness each other nowadays through the perceptions of Fado by people for whom this practice is a part of life. Furthermore, since Fado was in isolation from different nationalities in the past, an analysis of the perception of Fado today, when it opened for the “others,” will allow us to understand whether a musical movement that expresses the Portuguese identity can maintain its authenticity in the new political and social situation.

This work hypothesizes is because Fado for tourists exists within an artificially created urban reality within Lisbon and has become an imaginary art practice that serves the demand for cultural heritage consumption during the touristification process. As a result, the understanding of the Portuguese identity, which is the key message of this music genre, is perceived superficially through the conventional stereotype among tourists. In other words, touristification created a “Fado’s double” that adapted to the tourists' needs and represented the imaginary scene with the adopted features and characteristics that helps to maintain the demand of tourists.

## **1.2 Structure of the thesis**

The introductory chapter of the thesis provides background information regarding the research question, touching on different concepts such as culture, which is expressed through diverse cultural practices and influences the urban environment and vice versa. The interdependence of cultural traditions and the urban city can be influenced by many factors, as in the case of the Fado that this study focuses on, where its authenticity is questioned because of the overtourism of the central urban environment with which this practice has a close connection. The introduction slowly brings readers to this essence and the importance of researching this issue.

The next chapter is dedicated to the interrelationship between Fado and the city of Lisbon through the narration of historical hypotheses about the emergence of Fado and the facts concerning its history, which developed side by side with the city.

Since the introduction touches on the question of the authenticity of Fado, the next section of the thesis explores the notion of "real" Fado and whether it can be relevant to the study of this question. This notion is explored through the prism of information gathered from interviews during the field trip with people directly related to Fado.

The following chapter explores the relationship between Fado, and tourists based on my observations made in bars and restaurants where Fado is performed. It also includes data from interviews with Fado singers and their personal experiences of the influences of tourism on Fado.

The subsequent chapter is dedicated to Fado's loss of identity and locale and includes comparisons of Fado's past and present, given in the interviews.

The last chapter explores the urban net of the Alfama area; it researches different Fado places and their influence on the authenticity of Fado.

## 2. Methodology

This work's main objective was the investigation of the perceptions of Fado in the modern reality influenced by touristification within the urban environment of the city of Lisbon. It was essential to study these perceptions through the experiences of people who are taking part in Fado performances at present moment in Lisbon to answer this question most efficiently. Since this required an in-depth examination of a cultural and social phenomenon, I chose the qualitative approach as the most suitable. The benefit of it is that it enables a researcher to understand better people's emotions and experiences (Tong et al., 2012). Moreover, to be able to draw conclusions from existing data and get new ideas based on them, hence, to make the research less sequential, I used an inductive method. A significant advantage is that it aims to identify implications based on patterns that create a theory; however, it still allows a researcher to use existing knowledge (Thomas, 2006). Following this approach, I could find profound insight into the raw data collected previously during the fieldwork that inspired me to go to Lisbon again to do another fieldwork to collect important and missing data. This study followed two main stages: profound literature research and, second, a field study in the city of Lisbon that included interviews and observation methods.

### 2.1 Field research

To answer the research question of this master thesis, it was crucial to go to Lisbon and talk to people involved with Fado and observe them to feel and better understand what the perceptions of this cultural practice are nowadays. The first trip to Lisbon happened in 2021, during which I got to know many people connected to Fado, conducted semi-structured interviews, and made many observations. Of course, it was essential to prepare in advance, so I wrote an Interview Guide and made a list of Fado places I would like to visit. By getting to know more people connected to Fado in Lisbon, I could attend not only Fado places but also the local Fado gatherings that happened outside the tourist setting.

The second trip to Lisbon happened in the year 2022 and was focused on the observations and informal conversation in the neighborhood of Alfama and helped me



to create a map using Geographic Information System with the Fado places in this part of Lisbon. I visited many Fado establishments in this district and asked people who work there about the history of a particular place. Sometimes, I was lucky to talk to the owners of these places. During this process, I made many notes that helped me to create the map with all the Fado places.

## 2.2 Sampling

Since Fado always had a connection to city life, it is crucial to note that all the interviewed people were Portuguese, which helped to understand the characteristics of their identity better. The possible participants were contacted in advance, but because only a few agreed to the interview, the majority of the participants were found on-site. That is why, in the beginning, I had people to talk to and interview at the Fado concerts in Lisbon. After attending the first Fado concert, one of the singers and one of the musicians agreed to be interviewed by me the next day. These people also helped me to find more connections in the future. This method was beneficial because people were happier to answer my questions on-site, rather than in advance via email. In addition, it was important that the interviewed people were active participants in Fado performances for tourists.

Four key parties operate in the Fado scene: singers, musicians, restaurant owners, and the audience (Holloway, 2019). The participants for this research were chosen because they are associated with Fado performances in Lisbon for tourists from abroad. Through interviews with professionals and beginners in the genre, I understood how Fado, being part of their lives, is perceived through the lens of their life experiences. The participants talked about their life experiences and views on life which was crucial for my understanding of their current social identity and thus identifying the social layer where Fado mainly exists nowadays.

Since Fado is performed for tourists in the Fado houses, it was necessary to interview someone who owns one since they provide the space for the Fado performances. Interviewing these people contributed to getting insights into how Fado is promoted, how the commercial side of it works, how the owners of the Fado houses organize the performances, and to what extent they keep their quality. Moreover, the

interviews' results helped to understand if the Fado houses' owners primarily aim to provide the feeling of Portuguese soul through the Fado performance for tourists.

Since Fado houses are representations of tradition in Lisbon's urban space, it was essential to find out which houses are the oldest and which were merely created for tourism. It helped me designate what Lisbon space was associated with Fado before the touristification process. This designation was a very interesting process since some of the Fado houses were established in the past as spaces for gatherings Fado aficionados, nowadays also welcoming tourists. The choice about what Fado house or restaurant to attend depended on personal perception. After entering a particular Fado space, I asked specific questions about when the space was created, for what purpose, etc. This approach helped identify which Fado spaces are the oldest and which appeared recently. However, this approach did not allow for identifying the quality of the Fado performances depending on the age of these spaces.

As Fado is a process through which emotions are expressed, it was important to find out if singers can retain the ability to do this while performing Fado for people with different identities. It was essential to understand whether they feel that people hear them, in other words, whether they can convey the emotions inherent in the Portuguese identity to people from other cultures who do not understand the lyrics of the Fado songs or have never heard Fado before. Therefore, I focused the interviews on their personal lives and experiences in order to know why they started singing or playing Fado music to begin with. I asked them what Fado is for them and why they included it in their lives, which contributed to the understanding of their perceptions of Fado generally and in times of touristification. Conversations with the singers gave me a better sense of the Portuguese identity through their explanation of the feeling of *Saudade* and descriptions of their values and lifestyles. This method also helped to understand aspects of the Portuguese identity, as it is crucial to learn about the characteristics of identities from the personal experiences of their representatives.

Another important category of people interviewed consists of musicians who also earn money by playing music at the *Fado* performances for tourists. Since the musicians are the ones who create the music, I was curious to understand whether they do it nowadays because they feel that they create art or because they perceive it as a routine process for earning money, or whether it is possible for them to find a healthy balance between these two things. I believe it is crucial for any artist to feel connected to the audience and know that he can send a message through his art. The

interviews helped to identify the musicians' opinions on this idea and whether they could have that feeling while performing for the tourists.

It is important to note that I tried to reflect on my feelings by attending Fado concerts as a tourist, and, at the same time, I tried to see the perception of the people who create Fado performances. I had informal conversations with singers and musicians during and after the performances and made observations and notes. The possibility to make observations appeared naturally and gave me a lot of insights. It was important to be in the Fado environment, allowing situations to develop spontaneously to observe Fado participants in everyday situations. It was essential to watch their emotions during their formal performances for tourists and non-official Fado jam sessions. I paid attention to everything: their clothes, their demeanor, their facial expressions, and the way they created Fado.

Interestingly, some short and spontaneous dialogues with random singers or musicians opened my eyes to their perception of Fado because some did not know I was a researcher. Not opening my identity contributed to the people's openness because they did not know me and felt comfortable expressing their thoughts. For example, once I came into one Fado house late in the evening hoping that the Fado concert was still happening. I saw the singer packing his microphone and musical instruments on the scene. I asked him when the next show would take place. He answered that such a concert would probably never happen again because it was unique for him since somebody had broken his heart recently. He said: "real Fado happens when fadista has a broken heart." This statement made me feel that real Fado for this particular person is the right emotional and physical can convey emotion. Simultaneously, during my interviews, answers to this question about what is real Fado were carefully considered and had a more neutral character.

## **2.3 Semi-structured interviews**

Since this research is qualitative, conducting semi-structured interviews with people in the aspect of Fado is the primary method for this research because it contributes to collecting real knowledge about the opinions, beliefs, and perceptions of the specific social groups of people. It helped to investigate the participants' personal experiences

by asking them open-ended questions with the help of the interview guide, which follows the research's main topic (Mashuri et al., n.d.). The interview guide was the foundation for keeping the conversation in the right direction. When necessary, I used the follow-up questions to clarify some important matters. The questions were organized around such important topics as the history of Fado, its definition and meaning of quality of the Fado performances in the different Fado places, personal perceptions of Fado, etc.

Since the interviews were about the perception of Fado in the city, I asked all the interviewed people about their opinion regarding the relationship between Fado and the city. I wondered what they thought the connection was in the past and whether it had changed because of the influence of tourism. Many interviewed expressed their views on this topic, describing how they saw historical events, how they influenced the city's political and social conditions, and how they reflected in Fado music. This allowed me to understand better the changing of Fado music influenced by the transformation of Portuguese society over different historical periods and allowed me to reflect on the problem of touristification and how it affects the perception of Fado.

The question of what “real Fado” was one of the most important ones during the interviews because it helped me to realize what the research participants appreciate in Fado the most. It also contributed to understanding if the authenticity of Fado is a concept that has consistency or if it's changing over time, or if it's a perception of each individual.

These main questions set the conversation's desired line; however, it was important to let the interviewees feel free to express their opinions and perceptions. Because of that, sometimes, after a detailed answer, new questions arose that did not follow the interview guide, which is why I had to adapt it during the process. Nevertheless, it helped me to develop new ideas and made the research more profound.

Before conducting the interviews, I explained the aim and motivations of my research to the participants. Then, I transcribed all the interviews to get the essential data. This qualitative data enabled me to make important conclusions to understand the perception of Fado nowadays by individuals as well, as it helped me to identify common and uncommon patterns in their opinions and beliefs. In addition, this approach helped me analyze the most important findings while comparing them to each other.

The interviews were conducted in English and recorded on the digital voice recorder with the interviewees' consent. However, I sometimes participated in informal discussions, especially when visiting Fado restaurants. Some participants in the informal discussions knew that I was a researcher, but some did not, which gave them the freedom to express and answer my questions more freely. This approach helped me to listen and to feel the people's perceptions of Fado. Moreover, small informal conversations were crucial because they helped me to collect data about Fado places. For example, during my daily walks in the district of Alfama and visits to different Fado places, I asked the staff about the history of the places and about when these Fado places started to work.

Studying the perceptions of Fado through the personal experience of the people who have a connection to Fado enabled me to look at the situation from the inside and interpret the results according to the beliefs of people capable of transmitting emotions through Fado or responsible for creating the right environment for this. Since these people are conductors of emotion inherited in Fado to the tourists, this method contributed to a better understanding of the influence of touristification on Fado. Moreover, since studying the perceptions of Fado is an emotionally laden subject, this method was the most appropriate because it allowed me to understand the emotion that Fado transmits.

## **2.4 Participatory observations**

Participant observation is "the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities" (Kawulich, 2016, p.2). Since Fado's performances are cultural and musical, participatory observations were essential for this study.

I went to Lisbon for field research twice in 2020 and 2022. During the first field trip, I spent most of the time in meetings for conducting the interviews; however, it did not prevent me from having the opportunity to make a lot of observations. I tried to pay attention to every detail, including the clothes, behavior, and moods of the Fado performers and the tourists. Interestingly, I often put myself in the tourist's place to feel their perceptions. For instance, I went to a few Fado restaurants and listened to Fado

concerts without letting anyone know I was a researcher. There I observed the behavior, the level of engagement of the tourists with the show, and the extent to which they revealed their feelings.

In addition, I had a lot of insights during the observations of the Fado performers. For instance, one evening, I walked down a narrow street in the Alfama neighborhood while the sound of *Fado* came from almost every house. The windows and doors of these houses were mainly open to attract visitors while the Fado houses' workers beckoned to go inside. That evening my attention was drawn by an elderly lady with a kind smile who suggested that I eat at her restaurant and listen to *Fado* simultaneously. I decided to visit this place because I was curious about how these people arrange *Fado* performances. What was my surprise when I saw this woman singing *Fado*, and even the waiter who brought me food sang a couple of songs. This observation inspired me to think about whether these performances represent only the business for these people or whether they have personal reasons to participate in creating Fado performances.

Moreover, during the covert research observations in the neighborhood of Alfama, I attempted to analyze how the city and Fado are connected through the urban network of the city in the reality of the expansion of tourism to explore the modern definition of this connection. I observed places that advertised themselves as Fado houses or Fado restaurants. In addition, I had a lot of informal conversations with the people who work in these places to learn more about the history of these establishments. I visited different Fado houses and asked how long Fado's performances lasted and identified the details about Fado's performances. I wrote down all the information in my notebook, which enabled me to create a table with all the gathered information.

At the end of my trip, I got to know many people connected to Fado, so I participated in a few informal Fado performances on the street of Lisbon. These observations played a very important role in this thesis since I could watch Fado concerts that were not made for tourists but served as gatherings for those who have a connection to Fado. These gatherings represented a separate reality, where tourism was not a part of it. Firstly, they took place outside so-called Fado houses, sometimes on the streets, sometimes in the parks. Secondly, those performances always happened during the night, after the concerts for tourists, which allowed me to feel the special intimate connection between the Fado and the city, where the echo of a singing voice on the walls of city houses and the calmness of the night served as the main attributes for

this intimacy. By observing the same singers and musicians' behavior at both concerts for tourists and themselves, I reached the differences and commonalities and could describe them according to my perceptions. The essential point was to feel the difference between the official and non-official performances to reflect on how I perceived Fado during them and the differences in my perceptions.

## 2.4. On-site surveys for GIS Map

The focus during the second field trip was based on collecting data about the Fado places in the district of Alfama to create a map using a geographic information system (GIS), which is “a computer system for capturing, storing, querying, analyzing, and displacing geospatial data” (Kang-Tsung Chang, 2008, p.1)

Since Fado and the city have a deep connection, it was necessary to visually show it in the example of the neighborhood of Alfama. Before the on-site survey, I found the most advertised Fado establishments in the internet tourist guides. I already knew the location of these places; however, it was necessary to go to each of these places and gather information about their history, facts about how long Fado has existed in each of these places, and observations about the Fado show there. I prepared a table template before the on-site survey to help me gather this information (see Table 1). This table enabled me to organize my notes better and collect the data efficiently.

**Table 1**

*Template of the table for the on-site survey*

	Name of the Fado place	How long does Fado exist here?	Fact about the history of the place	Characteristics of the Fado shows
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				

I tried to talk to the workers or the owners of these places when I was lucky. All the people I met were friendly and happy to share all the information they knew. However, sometimes, it was not easy to talk to them because they were busy serving the clients or inviting people passing by to visit their restaurant.

After collecting all the data, I created a map of these places in ArcGIS Online. First, I found all the locations in the satellite maps and marked them on the map in the ArcGIS program. Then I divided all the places into different groups and changed the color of the marks on the map accordingly. After that, I created pop-ups on the map with all the gathered information about the places, including photos.



### 3. Connection between Fado and the city of Lisbon

#### 3.1 Historical realities of Fado's existence

Many historians believe that Fado has become a popular and recognizable music form in Lisbon (Rosal, 2018). However, others believe it was born in this city (Stephens, 1891). As mentioned above, no one knows how Fado came to be, but in how it appeared in Lisbon, Fado developed under the influence of the exchange between different cultures. This is because Lisbon was a port city where many different identities have always come face to face (Nery, 2012). As a colonial city at the time of the appearance of Fado, it "is posited as the embryonic, decadent, contaminated, and cosmopolitan ground that enables the figuring of an expressive musical genre "born" of cultural hybridity" (Gray, 2011, p. 142). That is, what the city was like in those days is fully reflected in the character of Fado music. This happened in all its completeness because Fado in Lisbon originated in the marginal layer of Lisbon society. It was a special space for the development of this musical genre in that historical period because the impoverished, poor, and the lowest strata of the city's population created a favorable environment for interconnection between African, Brazilian, and traditional Portuguese music (Vernon, 1998). Unable to have any social or political voice in the country, they turned Fado into a shared and collective voice that allowed them to express their fears, anxieties, thoughts, and feelings. Fado during this period was performed in brothels and taverns in the city's poorest neighborhoods by prostitutes, sailors, and brigands. This was the first of the many historical realities in the country where Fado played a vital role (see Table 2).

The most significant event during this period in the history of Fado in Lisbon is the birth of the first Fado diva mentioned, Maria Severa, born in 1820. Working as a prostitute, she fell in love with a man who was then sent to Africa for a crime. Because she longed for him and her broken heart, she began to sing Fado to express her sadness and longing for him. However, she rose to fame as a Fado singer after her affair with a Count of Vimioso, whose family opposed his connection with a girl from an inferior class (Vernon, 1998). She died at the age of 26, which created an aura of a famous Fado figure around her, but nobody knows when and how this happened (Nery, 2012).

What is known is that this important figure in the history of Fado is a symbol of that unique period for Portuguese culture, a period of flourishing prostitution and a marginal social atmosphere.

**Table 2**

*Historical realities of Fado*

Historical reality	Time frame	Where Fado is performed	Characteristics of Fado show
Early Fado	1830s-1860s	Brothels, taverns	Way to express emotions
Fado's expansion to the higher layers of society	1870s-1925s	Theaters, places where people spend their leisure time	Music for entertainment
'Estado Novo'	1933-1974	The emergence of the Fado houses to control Fado lyrics from being politically explicit	Fado is censored and used as a propaganda tool for the new regime
Modern period	1974 – present day	Most Fado houses got closed	People feel free to express their emotions again. The appearance of Fado "Vadio" means "vagabond Fado" when everybody can come and sing.

This period created a certain characteristic of Fado and certain stereotypes about it that influence the perception of this music genre even nowadays. However, with time Fado became popular amongst different layers of society. It happened in the last third of the 19th century when Fado began to spread. Although Fado had a reputation for prostitution and crime, it gradually became popular among the bourgeoisie (Sá, 2015). For example, it became quite popular among high Portuguese society and members of the intellectual elite. In the late 1860s, Fado started to enter theaters and musical shows. By the 1870s, it was present in almost every place in Lisbon where locals spent their leisure time. Thus, since the places where the local population met have changed, Fado has taken a different form that started to express the opinions of people who were in a completely different social environment. Fado, as a genre, has become, for the most part, music for entertainment (Vernon, 1998).

It was the moment when Fado began to transcend the usual boundaries of the marginal layer of society. Because of this process, Fado started to change. According to Nery, when Fado became popular among the bourgeoisie, its listeners could only see a reflection of Fado from the lower classes because the bourgeois class singers and musicians were not authentic representatives of the old tradition (Nery, 2012). Because the new social class had a different life experience, they could express only those inherent emotions in their perception of life through Fado. Thus, by migrating from the previous social class to the new one, Fado expressed the values of the class where it was present. The moment Fado began to spread to the higher strata of society, it began to adapt to what was relevant within that stratum of society.

Throughout the 19th century, Fado covered many different themes. For example, Fado lyrics were about love, work, crimes, death, political conflicts, religious matters, episodes from history, street festivals, etc. (Nery, 2012). It gives us an idea of what these people lived every day and what their daily routine was full of. These topics are involving many various events that it is clear that Fado acted as a link between the classes of society through events such as religious festivals and bullfights (Sá, 2015). Like the invisible thread, Fado linked the Portuguese population by allowing them to speak this emotional national language. In other words, it was a tool through which residents could express their reactions to the different events and their vision of everyday life.

Since the political situation changed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century because of growing dissatisfaction with the monarchy, Fado's lyrics began to include mostly political themes, attacking the existing situation in the country and expressing a desire to change it. Then the period of monarchy in the country ended, and it became a republic in 1910. Fado's lyrics immediately reflected this. People expressed their greetings to the new regime through it. Portugal's entry into World War I also contributed to the perception of this event in Fado's lyrics. Generally, Fado gradually became more politically oriented.

After the emergence of the Second Portuguese Republic, which was called "Estado Novo" (1933 – 1974), strict propaganda took its place. During this period, any expression of a negative opinion about the new regime was forbidden in the Fado lyrics (Pinto, 2011). Furthermore, the new regime did not recognize Fado, so it was severely repressed because it could express other political or radical views and lacked the pres-

tige of being recognized as a national song (Nery, 2012). However, Fado was so popular among the Portuguese that regime members could not forbid it entirely. That is why during World War II, the regime's supporters used Fado as a propaganda tool.

Since politics was no longer mentioned in Fado, the new strategy of engaging Fado in society helped to bring it together. Fado thus ceased to exist in the form it was represented before the beginning of the regime in the country. This was when the first "Fado houses" appeared as a symbol of a decent society. These houses represented all associated with the typical Fado tradition of the past. One could say that Fado was standardized through special characteristics like silence during a concert or the dress code of the singers and musicians. Fado is a part of the framework that has come to have the function of expressing national identity without the impurity of morally questionable characteristics of the past. Fado's performance, enclosed in a place, became ritualistic in nature and lost its improvised character (Nery, 2012). Thus, the emergence of special places for Fado facilitated the censorship and professionalization of Fado (Gray, 2011). Fado became an instrument of power through which it could control the ideological sentiments of the population. It was claimed to be the "national song"; in fact, it was radically remade and reinterpreted by the new regime.

This provoked a reaction from many artists of that time. For example, Portuguese architect, painter, and cartoonist João Abel Manta in one of his cartoons presents the ghost of the famous Fado singer Augusto Hilário, who died in 1896 which floats over the Coimbra castle and thus represents the fact that the real Fado is dead (O Fado anarquista, 2009). Fado could no longer be a tool to express social or political positions. The regime completely changed the perception of the genre by driving it into a rigid framework that defined what was traditional and what was not for the genre. Almost everything associated with traditional Fado belongs to this period of reinterpretation of the genre (Nery, 2012). Fado adjusted to the new dictatorship by creating a new image for the genre, which included notions of what was traditional and what was not, how and where people should listen to Fado. Fado, created among the local population, and naturally developed among them, ceased to exist. The new regime simplified and crammed it into a rigid framework and re-presented it to society.

However, even though Fado was brutally repressed, Amália Rodrigues was the living embodiment of the fact that Fado is still alive. She was the most popular representative of this period and the most famous icon of the Fado genre. She was born in

1920 and had a Portuguese and international career as a Fado singer. Amalia Rodrigues came to fame in the 1940s during the reign of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, who was the prominent leader of the regime. Because of this, she was often credited with encouraging the regime. For example, she circumvented the regime's bans by performing leftist poets' "slyly subversive" songs (Lewis, 2007, para.10). However, the regime broadcasted Fado to the international world through the voice of Amalia Rodrigues to reinforce this created status (Gray, 2013). She breathed new life into Fado, expanded it, and made it international. Many different composers wrote lyrics for her. Amalia as well contributed to many different reforms in the genre. For example, wearing the shawl during the concert became traditional; the guitarists now sat in front of the singers instead of behind them, and sign language was also included.

With the regime's fall in 1974, Fado lost popularity because it was widely perceived as a symbol and voice of an obsolete regime. Many Fado houses closed, and Fado began to gain popularity as an expression of a radical tradition. During this period, people started to sing Fado *Vadio*, which means "vagabond Fado." People sang it because they wanted to be able to express emotion rather than for commercial purposes. Although Fado was still associated with the regime, new Fado houses that had no political position started to open with time. During this time, people started to reflect on the meaning of Fado in Portuguese culture, and as a result, Fado quickly regained its popularity (Nery, 2012)

The first half of the 20th century defined Fado as it appears today as the advent of the phonographic industry crystallized Fado and defined its length. Fado was thus deprived of its improvised character (Sá, 2015). In 1990 Fado started to be popular in its classic way. It was discovered by the younger generation who were exposed to Fado through the recordings of famous people in the past and not through listening to Fado in the Fado houses.

Attitudes toward Fado have changed considerably today, thanks to the worldwide interest in the genre (Gray, 2011). First, from being a form of social deviation and protest, the official representation of Fado has evolved into a national genre, then a genre used by the dictatorship for its purposes, now transformed into an expedient cultural recourse (Yúdice, 2003).

Since its appearance in Lisbon, this genre has survived all of Portuguese history's global social and political changes. It has changed its characteristics by migrating from one social class to another and adapting to the expression of different values of

the different classes of the population. Even in this dark period for the Fado genre, it did not cease to be the language of the Portuguese people to speak not through words but through emotion.

Based on the preceding, Fado has always reflected the situation in society and embedded what was relevant to people at a particular time. Even under the influence of censorship, this genre of music adapted to the circumstances and, despite everything, retained its important characteristic, which is the transmission of actual emotion, just as for the fadista, whose heart was broken not long before the concert, singing Fado was something special because he could feel the depth of emotion to express it in Fado. Thus, different historical periods had various emotional moods in society, some more profound and pronounced and others with a fainter tone imprinted in this musical genre.

All of these emotions found expression in one way or another through this musical genre. Emotion, in this case, is a certain mood in certain strata of society caused by different social or political situations. For example, radical Fado lyrics during the totalitarian regime expressed dissatisfaction with the current political situation. As these sentiments had poignancy and depth, they were reflected in the songs of Fado, being this very emotion.

An important element in the expression is the emotion of Saudade, which is a Portuguese emotion; in other words, it is the way Portuguese express emotions. It is a certain filter through which the Portuguese pass their emotions, which immediately take on a taste of melancholy, wistfulness, and sadness. Fado, to some extent, is the conduit for the best conditions for the possibility of this filter to function. After all, it is this emotion that is so characteristic of this musical genre. First, however, it is crucial to understand what characteristics make Fado being authentic during this expression. In other words, what are the circumstances that define Fado as real, and if this concept can exist. The following is a summary of what is meant by the term “real Fado” based on the interviews’ results.

## 4. Defining “Real” Fado

The Fado genre has witnessed different historical periods in Lisbon. With each of these periods, it synthesized and reflected them. That is, depending on the social and political situation, it expressed the Portuguese perception of the inherent reality of the historical period. Since no one knows how Fado originated and has had different forms during each historical period, it is impossible to determine what is authentic for this musical genre. Despite the lack of a scientific basis for Fado's origins, understanding what the Portuguese people connected to Fado consider authentic about it is an important step toward answering the question of how Fado is perceived today. It is important to note that the goal here is not to determine how Fado came to be and what Fado has been throughout history but to take this fact into account and try to understand what authentic Fado is today.

Moreover, it is important to note that the term “real Fado” is not literal and was used to allow respondents to reflect more precisely on what they value most about Fado and what Fado is to them. The term also serves to understand better the distinction of the characteristics of Fado for tourists if such a difference exists in general. That is, the term is used to understand whether there is authentic Fado and Fado that only serves to raise the demand for tourism.

When asked about what is real Fado, the respondents tended to reply that this question is very complex because Fado has been very different during different times. However, they held certain identical conclusions during the interviews. Therefore, the following subsections are divided according to the opinion of the interviewees and reflect their main essence.

### 4.1 Fado as an expression of the emotions

All respondents agreed that honest expression of emotion by fadistas and perception of it by the listeners is what makes Fado real. This emotion transmitted through Fado belongs not only to Portuguese people, but what makes it special is how Portuguese people feel this and express it. As one of the interviewed respondents said: “Fado is a typical Portuguese way to transmit this emotion” (*Participant D, personal communication, September 17, 2020*). That is to say, Fado is a way and an instrument

for conveying certain experiences, whether personal experiences or societal sentiments. Therefore, it is collective and, at the same time, an individual way of communicating feelings. However, this emotion has a certain connotation - a connotation of Saudade.

*Saudade* is the best word to describe the emotion encapsulated in Fado, and some believe that Fado cannot be sung without this emotion (Vernon, 1998). *Saudade* word's meaning is not translatable to English (*Participant D, personal communication, September 17, 2020*). It expresses a special sense of nostalgia in the present for the past that is irrevocable. This realization that what was in the past cannot be experienced again gives rise to a special sense of unease and pleasure that exists beyond time and distance. Fado becomes real when the energy behind the words is transmitted to the listener (*Participant C, personal communication, September 15, 2020*). Thus, Fado is this emotion encapsulated in a musical form and expressed through it.

Saudade is more than just a word; it is “a descriptor of Portuguese national identity” (Silva, 2012, p.205). In other words, it is the feeling through which the Portuguese look at the world around them and the events that take place in it. It is important to note that Portuguese cultural identity has always been strongly rooted as a mindset in the country's political, social, and economic situations (Nielsen et al., 2009). Since Fado is an expression of Portuguese identity through a particular emotion of Saudade, Fado reflects what is going on in society (*Participant D, personal communication, September 17, 2020*). Since the events and the situations in the society were different at the different historical periods, Fado was also different and helped to express the feelings of people and the moods in the society, not in the same ways.

## **4.2 Fado is a “living heritage.”**

Fado has always been connected to Lisbon's social and political situation (*Participant B, personal communication, September 17, 2020*). Since Fado was performed during different social and political realities, different characteristics of Fado developed during these periods. In other words, different situations and circumstances influenced the Fado performances during these periods. Going through different social and political periods, it extracted from each of them the most important characteristics. For each



of these periods, these characteristics are different and express various values for society. Characteristics here refer to how, where, and in what way Fado was performed, depending on the circumstances. For instance, in the beginning, Fado was popular amongst poor people and marginals; thus, it had sometimes vulgar and not recognized by the normal society character. This was the Fado space at that moment, and it was actual for Fado to be like that. After, during the other periods, Fado had different spaces (emotional and physical); thus, it had completely different characteristics.

To define what is authentic about Fado, it is crucial to determine the period - the "source," while each source has its heroes (*Participant C*, personal communication, September 15, 2020). The source represents a specific period that Fado witnessed. Each period is a set of unique historical circumstances and social relations. Thus, it is impossible to define a certain precise set of characteristics that would describe authentic and traditional Fado because it has permanently changed over time. That is why there is no term for "real Fado" because Fado is a "living heritage" (*Participant B*, personal communication, September 17, 2020). That is, Fado flows through time, absorbing the country's existing political, social and economic situation as it reflects the Portuguese identity. In this way, the Portuguese identity expresses itself through the Fado genre, a special art form that uses emotion as a tool for this expression.

Knowing a certain time during which Fado existed in the past in some form or another, we can determine what was characteristic of that period, that is, what was typical for Fado in that period.

But we cannot say that these characteristics are traditional for Fado as a whole because Fado either discards or acquires characteristics as it permeates different realities. It flows and progresses through time as a reflection of the circumstances it expresses through emotions. In other words, Fado is a musical phenomenon that encodes the realities of different historical periods. Thus, these elements of Fado reflect these different circumstances, depending on Portugal's political and social situation in the past.

### 4.3 Fado is the connection between generations

According to most of the respondents, what makes Fado real is when it crosses generations. In other words, “true” Fado creates a bond between old and new generations through a respectful attitude.

Fado represents an “old socializing process” that brings the old and the young generation together (*Participant C*, personal communication, September 15, 2020). Since Fado is constantly changing due to external political and social circumstances in Portugal, the intergenerational connection is very important because it creates a special mix of approaches to understanding and performing, making it alive. The attributes inherited in the old Fado traditions that are respected by the new generation make Fado vibrant and keep the memory of the past in the present. Since Fado has become very open to the new generation, it is important for them to respect the old Fado, the old tradition. Only by doing so it is possible to keep Fado changing but with respect to the old tradition. Because it changes over time by considering the previous forms, this connection is like an invisible foundation that serves as a base for Fado to express Portuguese emotion. This is when all generations connect around one experience to keep that experience alive. This is when different people from different times and spaces are connected through one particular way of expression called Fado.

Thus, an attempt to understand what real Fado has resulted in the conclusion that “real” is a musical expression of Portuguese identity that flows through generations. There are no specific characteristics that make it “real,” but there are special attributes for Fado to deliver its message: it should express emotion through the prism of Saudade, it should keep the connection between the old and the new generations, and it should be an expression of the different social and cultural realities while adapting to it and keeping the ability to express that emotion in its unique way. That is, it is possible to identify specific attributes that are inherent in Fado, but one cannot perceive them as attributes that determine the actual experience of living Fado.

## **5. The interrelationship between Fado and tourism**

The image of Fado as a native Portuguese activity has made it very popular among tourists. That is, Fado has turned into an event that almost all Portuguese tourist brochures recommend visiting, i.e., it has become a museum exhibit, a must-see to experience the culture of Portugal.

Tourists listening to Fado and Fado itself represent two liminal spaces, where limonoid space refers to the situations when “the person (actor) shifts from their normal social roles to one that is transitory or temporary and wherein normal role expectations are sometimes reversed or inverted” (Holloway, 2020, p.3). Since tourists who have lived outside of Portugal do not belong to Portuguese culture, the question arises as to how these two spaces – tourism and Fado interact and what happens as a result of this interaction. Including whether musicians and Fado singers can convey an emotion belonging to the Portuguese identity to people who do not belong to that identity. That is why one of the interview’s most important goals was to attempt to understand the interaction process between these two actors from the inside. It was vital for me to ask people who belong to the Fado community how this connection is happening because they are the actors who create the conditions for an emotional exchange with tourists during the Fado performances. As well as it was necessary to answer the research question to get their feedback on whether they feel they can build this emotional connection and convey the message hidden in the Fado.

### **5.1 Perceptions of Fado in touristic places**

Based on the above, it was important for me to get my first perceptions on this matter in a tourist Fado place. That night I made a reservation at one of the most popular Fado restaurants for tourists called “O Povo.” It is located in an overcrowded street with bars and restaurants in Lisbon and looks like a typical restaurant. I was going to listen to Fado for the first time in my life and had no expectations of what the experience would be like.

I walked into a dimly lit cafe and was escorted by a waitress to my table. I was told to be quiet and not to eat during the performance. The restaurant space was rela-

tively small and filled with closely spaced tables. All the tables were occupied by tourists - couples or groups of people. Right in front of me was a makeshift stage, a space of two square meters. After dinner was served, several musicians took their seats. One of them was going to play a regular guitar and another a Portuguese guitar. Then a beautiful Portuguese female Fado singer came out. She greeted the audience and began to talk about Fado and what the experience was all about. She spoke about the importance of feeling the music and the voice and letting feelings take over during the Fado concert. It was very interesting to hear her say this because it showed me that the audience did not know much about the Fado tradition and how it should be listened to. At one point, I felt like I was in a museum where a tourist guide explained to tourists the meaning behind a work of art.

Her explanation made me understand that it is essential for her to have contact with tourists and that she wants them to be able to experience Fado. That is, singing Fado for her is not just a way to make money but an opportunity to convey to the audience the Portuguese emotion.

When she started singing, it was like I couldn't see the person anymore; I could only see the emotion. An emotion that I did not fully understand logically but made me feel my life experience through a special prism of nostalgia, which contained both sadness and joy simultaneously. As famous nowadays Fado singer Marisa said in one of her interviews: "Fado is the kind of music that grabs your emotions" (Cornwell, 2016, para.1). That is, I felt that Fado reveals this emotion hidden deep inside and provides an opportunity to experience it. As a tourist listening to Fado for the first time, I could feel a sentiment that I had already felt before, but this time it was accompanied by Fado, so it had a special touch and special deepness. So even though I didn't understand the lyrics, I could feel the bouquet of emotions encapsulated in the energy behind the words.

Later, when I had an interview with this singer (*Participant A*), I asked her if she felt that there was always this kind of emotional connection with her Fado listeners. To my surprise, she said that she could not sing Fado for two years because she felt that the tourists could not perceive it even if she tried to express emotion through singing Fado. She felt that they bought Fado as a meal at McDonald's. Thus, she felt that tourists did not appreciate her attempt to open her soul by singing Fado:

And I remember the last time when I sang Fado two years ago. I was crying. I was not even able to finish the night, you know. And this is really ugly. It's when you are [pause] I used to say - imagine when you are showing yourself to some [pause] a lot of people you don't know, and you need to be totally naked about your feelings. You are there in front of everybody you don't know. And they treat you like [pause] they don't care. It's just something that - 'ok I did, I went to Portugal, I visited, and I went to listen to some Fado.' This is the only thing which I don't like (Participant A, personal communication, September 15, 2020).

In today's situation, when Fado restaurants are overcrowded with tourists who have not thought about how to listen to this musical genre, it is challenging to create the right atmosphere and the right approach. That means it became ever more challenging to experience the emotion through Fado through direct contact and respectful relation with the fadistas. As I highlighted before, the main task of fadistas is to involve the listener in his reality, that is, in the emotion. When fadistas sing, their voice almost breaks, which expresses a sense of longing and nostalgia; they almost cry, trying to convey this sad feeling as deeply and beautifully as possible. According to Richard Holloway, this should be supported by several factors. These factors include a disposing, intimate atmosphere in a relatively small space where the fadista is close to the audience and on the same level as them. And the listeners, in turn, must maintain complete silence to show their respect to the fadistas and provide the possibility to maintain an intimate atmosphere (Holloway, 2020).

According to *Participant A*, the problem is also hidden in the fact that people have forgotten how to be in the present moment, and this applies not only to Fado but to life in general. Fado only touches the most hidden corners of the soul if the listener allows them to do so. As *Participant A* said:

We are not allowed to be weak [pause], we are not allowed to feel [pause], we are not allowed to be sensitive... (Participant A, personal communication, September 15, 2020).

*Participant A* considers her main task today to be the attempt to allow people to be vulnerable by listening to Fado, thus touching the real Fado, which aim is to convey this emotion. This emotion is not unique to the Portuguese, but it is unique in the way they feel this emotion and Fado is its conduit:

So that is a good example of a Portuguese emotion that it's very, very hard to translate it [pause] because the Portuguese [pause] it's not that other people don't feel it. They also feel it. But the Portuguese feel in a very particular way, that's [pause] that's maybe that's the connection with Fad o [pause] because we feel it in a very different particular. It's our own way of feeling it (*Participant D*, personal communication, September 17, 2020).

Fado is a special instrument for feeling emotion the way the Portuguese do. However, to fully experience this music, special conditions must be met that include contact between musicians and listeners, respect for musicians by listeners, and openness and lack of fear on the part of listeners to feeling this emotion.

Moreover, where Fado is sung is also very important because it is the main element that dictates how Fado will be perceived. Often Fado houses surround Fado performances with special paraphernalia and rituals to attract more tourists. The lyrics and music in such concerts are more cheerful and energetic to leave a positive impression. According to *Participant A*, the "O Povo" venue where she regularly performs is special because there, she can be herself and sing a repertoire that is not necessarily considered standard for concerts for tourists (*Participant A*, personal communication, September 15, 2020). It's often sadder and more melancholic, which most accurately captures the emotions in Fado. As *Participant A* explained tourist faced Fado is normally 'happy or funny,' and it doesn't show the depth of Fado that allows people to experience the 'love and pain' of the Fado's emotion (*Participant A*, personal communication, September 15, 2020). That is, it creates an opportunity for the singers to convey emotion through their own approach instead of singing the classic Fado songs for tourists.

The existence of such places where singers and musicians can express themselves gives hope that tourists can experience real Fado that expresses both joyful and sad emotions. The "O Povo" place is unusual and unique in allowing young Fado singers to participate in the Fado genre. Many places will enable them to do this. One of them is 'Tasca de Chico'. This bar is an unusual stage where listeners try to find real Fado among the unstoppable stream of Fado concerts for tourists (Gray, 2011). During a personal conversation with the owner of this Fado house, I learned that this is where newcomers to Fado can come and learn and then become professionals.

The ability to sing Fado differently and still not be a professional, thanks to the influence of tourism and the emergence of many Fado houses, is a symbol that Fado traditions change over time, which is natural for this genre if looking at history. According to *Participant A*, this is a good part; however, for Fado to remain real, it is important to respect the old generation of Fado (*Participant A*, personal communication, September 15, 2020). However, respecting the old tradition becomes more and more difficult as touristification turns the absorption of Fado by tourists into an uncontrollable phenomenon.

Since Fado has been recognized internationally and gained wide popularity among tourists, it reflects what is going on in Portuguese society and society as a whole. People no longer allow themselves to feel the sadness that is Fado's central theme. Therefore, tourists visiting Lisbon tend to consume a beautiful cultural scene rather than the current reality. Because of the high demand for an idealized picture of Fado, residents present tourists with this simplified and idealized idea of the genre without trying to show it in its real form. Thus, two realities collide, the tourist reality and the reality of local culture expressed in Fado. However, as a result of this collision, there is no real interchange because of the lack of balance between quantity and quality of Fado performances; it is often perceived superficially, which narrows its value and message. As a result, there are many risks that Fado can lose its essence because its main listeners, the tourists themselves, devalue the genre without noticing it. More precisely, the demand for the genre devalues it. As a result, this process becomes uncontrollable and false perceptions emerge, artificially created to sustain this interest. Fado, for example, is often perceived by tourists as music to be listened to while in Portugal. However, not all tourists know how this music should be felt and heard. That is why there is also a risk that Fado singers will no longer try to convey the emotion hidden in Fado if this activity becomes routine or if they feel that tourists do not know

how to be open to experiencing this emotion. Fado will then become a kind of artificial performance that does not make sense and does not make the audience participate in the process.



## 6. Fado's loss of identity and locale

According to Aaron Fox (Fox, 2004), musical art practices can play an important role in the interaction between place, memory, social, and political life. A place is a memory sealed in physical objects at a certain location. However, these physical objects are formed by events that create this memory. These events represent the political and social life that characterizes society in a particular place. Everything that happens in society is reflected in the place where it happens. Therefore, particular society's art practices characteristic can considerably impact the site where they are practiced. This kind of interconnection between these elements creates a unique combination that leads to the physical component being formed naturally and, in its way, together with the art practice.

Due to its role in the social and political life in Lisbon, Fado music has its place in the memory of this city, which is expressed in its urban fabric. Born in close connection with the city's atmosphere, it is a reflection of the urban moods imprinted in the urban picture of Lisbon. Nowadays, Fado exists at every corner and can be heard everywhere in Lisbon. If to walk through the narrow streets of such neighborhoods as Alfama or Bairro Alto in the evening, one can hear Fado from almost every restaurant. Near nearly every establishment, one will also encounter a person who will urge to go inside his restaurant because Fado's performance is about to begin.

Lisbon, at such moments, is like an improvised stage where one performance begins while the previous one is still in progress. Once, I listened to the Fado concert at a place called 'A Baiuca' in the neighborhood of Alfama, and to my surprise, I could not stop listening to Fado even during the pauses between the performances because during it, people sang Fado outside in the terrasse of the adjacent establishment called 'São Miguel Grandes Cantorias.' The music from these two restaurants was played in turns so that the two concerts would not overlap each other, and listeners could enjoy the clear sounds of the voice and guitars. During my research fieldwork, I learned that these two restaurants had to adjust to one another due to their close location to keep the business alive. 'A Baiuca' restaurant is different now than it was in the past. It is located at the intersection of two narrow streets, and each side has a large door looking at one of these streets. In the past, Fado always took place behind closed doors, but

nowadays, they are always wide open. People passing by unwittingly become participants in Fado concerts; that is, there is no intimacy in the form that was in the past.

This situation is a consequence that is caused by many factors. After the Portuguese economic crisis, the government had to open Lisbon for tourism and rehabilitation programs to save the national economy widely. As a result of these rehabilitation programs, such neighborhoods as Alfama, Bairro Alto, and Mouraria have been subject to gentrification processes that have provoked uncontrolled touristification (Daly et al., 2020). It happened because gentrification changes the 'social fabric of neighborhoods' by adapting urban businesses to meet the needs of tourists rather than the local population (Romero-Frías et al. 2020). Due to the popularity of Fado music among tourists, Fado houses became these urban businesses. As one of the respondents said:

Fado houses were always like small restaurants with a small owner that liked Fado and maybe sings or maybe plays an instrument and [pause], and Fado was evolved around that around the familiar kind of concept. Right, there are big companies that own Fado houses and that run Fado houses like they were grocery shops (Participant D, personal communication, September 17, 2020).

Touristification, mercilessly erasing in its path the establishments that grew up around the demands of residents, creates more and more Fado houses that crowd the colossal space of central Lisbon. Most tourist faced Fado establishments perform poor-quality Fado concerts for tourists nowadays because it has become a routine. This is also aided by the fact that Fado houses are often overcrowded due to the owners' desire to take as many orders as possible to make money. As a result, Fado places nowadays appear in the urban environment of Lisbon mostly uncontrollably. Moreover, with the influx of tourism, many special places for local people are ruthlessly erased and replaced by Fado restaurants that cater to the tourists' physical and social needs. For example, an old café in the center of Lisbon that was once a gathering place for residents on Sunday mornings for coffee and newspaper discussions can be transformed into a Fado restaurant for tourists. In this case, the café that had become a favorite of the locals is the embodiment of their attachment and belonging to the place.

It is not just a meeting place but an atmosphere they have created that is associated with their culture and identity. Thus, gentrification caused by the popularity of the Fado genre among tourists does not necessarily displace the physical location of the local population but deprives them of their attachment to places that once served them as places for expressing their identity.

Before the heyday of tourism, Fado existed behind closed doors. Therefore, it was not easy to get to the Fado performance. As one of the interviewed respondents said:

You needed to know somebody that knows somebody's friend to get to the restaurant. You know, when [pause] when you want to know how to [pause] how to get in Bairro Alto, you go, you can walk to the river. And before it was closed, you had to knock on the door and tell: 'Ummm, can I come in?' And then you would hear a response like: 'Who are you? So, who are you? Are you going to eat here and going to be?' And Fado was very closed [pause], it was very closed. Yeah, because all the restaurants are like that (Participant B, personal communication, September 17, 2020).

That is, Fado was something secret in an intimate setting and utterly inaccessible to ordinary passersby. Today Fado is highly exposed because it has become a theatrical performance for tourists. All the tourist oriented Fado houses want to attract as many as possible visitors. The difference between the past and the present situation is that nowadays, the process of making money from Fado is not controlled, unlike at the beginning of the tourism industry (*Participant C*, personal communication, September 15, 2020). In the middle of the 20th century, the local population realized that Fado concerts could bring money.

Moreover, the government had a cultural program that aimed to open Fado for tourists in 1950. From then on, Fado houses began to focus little by little on foreign listeners and create the atmosphere of traditional Portugal by placing various sceneries associated with Fado in the interior (Nery, 2004). It became common practice when

Fado houses have many attributes related to Portuguese culture in their interiors: photos of old Lisbon and Portuguese singers, artificial cobblestone floors, and various Fado accessories to create a traditional atmosphere. All these served to create a nice picture of traditionality to attract more and more people. As one of the respondents highlighted:

...tourists were always a big part of this 'machine.' But, you know, it was more controlled. Nowadays, it's completely out of control. And, you know, the owner of Fado houses [pause] They care about making money. (Participant D, personal communication, September 17, 2020).

One could say that these factors created tourist oriented Fado that represents a layer superimposed on the Lisbon urban space that coexists in parallel with 'real' Fado, which does not depend on tourists. One of the observations after a tourist Fado concert in the place 'A Baiuca' mentioned above helped to reflect on this point of view. The two wide doors that faced both streets were widely opened during the performance so that curious passersby could look inside, and groups of tourists sitting inside enjoyed the Fado concert. Unfortunately, there were no free tables inside, so I had to watch what was happening outside. There was a feeling of intimacy and closeness, but the singers seemed like museum exhibits being watched by astonished onlookers. It was a different feeling of intimacy that was not described in any written source about Fado. At the same time, the performance itself was incredibly beautiful, but the sense of connection to the singers was exceptional because now it required closeness. The narrow streets, the atmosphere of the urban space around, and the people talking loud outside of the restaurant created a special feeling where I could still seem to me perceive the 'real' Fado. After talking to the fadistas and telling them about my research, I was invited to a *non-commercial* Fado concert right after.

After a short walk through the narrow streets of Alfama, we came out to the walls of the catholic Saint Stephen Church. A square with a view of Lisbon surrounded the church wall where we stopped.

The long wall height, tall trees, and the night's darkness made it feel like an enclosed and intimate space. We sat on the cement curb attached to the wall. There

was incredible silence and tranquility around us as the show began. The Fado was sung by the same people who had been there a few hours before, but something had changed. They were no longer enclosed in the box of what was allowed to be shown to the tourists. Suddenly they had a character and a special way of singing. Suddenly their voice began to express a palette of emotions, and suddenly, they seemed like vulnerable emotional beings who felt and expressed those feelings through the music of Fado. The contrast with what I had seen before was so great that I thought I was listening to a dry parody of Fado in a café.

After a while, a few more people came and joined us. At first, I thought these people were spectators. However, after they sang Fado, I realized they were real fadistas. At one point, it seemed as if they were collectively exchanging their emotions by singing Fado. A fadista listening to another fadista turns into a spectator at that moment, and then they swap roles. It was a conversation where everyone could feel vulnerable to express their emotions and still be heard and understood. I realized at that moment that I was part of an exceptional event that embodied the need of the Portuguese to express their emotions through the language of Fado. This Fado represented the feelings of the performers.

Both experiences seemed to be so different, but there was something that united them. It was this invisible connection that Fado created with the urban environment while expressing the emotion of Saudade. The walls of the church, the trees, the streetlamps, and the darkness of the night all around seemed to create a special atmosphere. The city created that very intimate space that is so necessary for Fado.

Another day, I walked through the narrow streets of the Bairro Alto neighborhood, aiming to have dinner in a restaurant with a Fado performance I hadn't been to yet. After a few minutes, a waiter on the street invited me to a small restaurant. The restaurant was tiny, with a room with dim light, a space for the musician, and a couple of tables. Two musicians playing Portuguese guitar and acoustic guitar took their places and kindly asked the audience to keep silent during the show, saying that this is a tradition of Fado. However, some guests did not pay attention to this request, behaving as if the Fado concert was just a background pleasant noise accompanying their dinner. Despite this, there were a couple of moments where I felt connected to the magic of Fado. But those who talked loud during it brought me back to reality every three minutes.

Another time, while listening to Fado on the terrace of one of the Fado restaurants, I could not properly hear the music because the waiter was constantly inviting passers-by to sit at the table, while a couple of people sitting between the musicians and me had a very loud discussion.

Cultural practices demand a certain understanding; for a person who does not belong to a certain culture, it can be challenging to get the essence of it. Fado has become incredibly popular among tourists, so residents simply do not have the resource to explain what Fado is. It became the way of earning money, the way of surviving. There should be a different way of introducing tourists to Fado through the sessions where they will be explained the history and the idea of Fado. But this is complicated nowadays because Fado's performance has become a huge business that does not necessarily demand quality concerts. For Fado to reach such a level when it is presented to tourists in a more quality way, it is necessary that it ceases to be such a popular way of earning money.

It can be concluded that the situation in a society where tourism plays such an important role is a modern period of time, like all the historical periods of the existence of Fado. This period of time is very challenging for Fado, as, for example, the period of the regime was for it as well.

Fado for tourists, in turn, has become a phantom with no development but only serves the purpose of satisfying their needs. Tourism froze Fado with all the special attributes that accompany the picture of traditional Portugal for tourists. Thus, tourists oriented Fado does not serve the purpose of expressing Portuguese identity because it's a part of the mechanism that sells the image of Portuguese culture. This artificial image is directly reflected in the physical space of Lisbon. That is why Fado music is one of the reasons that cause the loss by the local population of their feeling of belonging to their identity and the space around them. As a result, the identity of the urban population is no longer tied to a place, so there is no connection between Fado and identity. Fado becomes an artifact from the past that is presented as a cultural reality to tourists. As a result, Fado is perceived by tourists superficially and not in its entirety.

The touristification of central Lisbon has deprived tourists of the opportunity to explore real Fado by depriving the Portuguese of the chance to introduce Fado to tourists. It is a vicious circle that remains unbroken because the urban and cultural picture

of the Fado genre for tourists is dictated by the demand for it among tourists. That is, this demand destroys the possibility for tourists to experience Fado.

## 7. Fado scene for tourists in Alfama

### 7.1 Tourism, authenticity, and Fado in Alfama

The neighborhood of Alfama is the oldest in Lisbon, located between the São Jorge Castle and the Tagus River. It is the only area in Lisbon that did not suffer significant damage from the Earthquake in 1755, which is why Alfama could keep its character and medieval atmosphere.

The area's history, culture, and urban fabric are closely linked to the period of Arab domination in the country. In Arabic, Alfama means "hot water" or "springs." That is because this area was known for its therapeutic hot springs, with temperatures above 20 degrees in the past. People used this water for public baths for decades; however, more than 40 years ago, this practice and the hot springs were completely abandoned (Ramalho et al., 2020).

The architectural image that the neighborhood is famous for appeared during the reign of the Moors. They build famous narrow streets to protect the houses from the heat and to use it as a defense mechanism. At that time, the territory of Lisbon was limited by the boundaries of the district of Alfama; however, later, it spread to the West side.

Between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, Portugal was liberated from the Muslim Moors, which led to the change of the social construct of Alfama. Poor people and fishermen began to fill the area, which forever changed its appearance. However, during the discovery of the New World, Alfama was able to regain some of its lost splendor. In 1775, a terrible earthquake happened, which caused the severe destruction of Lisbon and the displacement of the aristocracy from Alfama to find suitable conditions for living in the already rebuilt areas of the city. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, new, timely projects to redevelop the urban fabric of the area were introduced; they were never applied, though, so their appearance has remained the same to this day as it was in the past. However, during the 1980s, it was very dangerous to be in this neighborhood because it was considered very troublesome (M. Ça, personal communication, November 18, 2022). In the later years, Alfama was revitalized and started becoming very popular among tourists. Moreover, because the architecture of this neighborhood was well preserved, Alfama began to be associated with 'traditional Portuguese culture' (Castela,



2018). Both narrow streets that look like colorful labyrinths made of cobblestones with picturesque architecture create a special atmosphere that tourists are eager to experience. However, not only architecture is a critical component of the whole touristic experience in Alfama. The urban environment became so popular due to the tendency amongst modern tourists to perceive experience rather than museum exponents or architectural objects. Tourists began to blend into the background, eager to feel the life of the local people and learn about their way of life (Van der Borg, 2022). At a closer look, this was caused by a complex process of gentrification and touristification as the urban environment of the cities nowadays has great importance for the development of cultural tourism.

This happened because of the fast development of the short-term rental sector in this historic neighborhood which caused a huge number of historical buildings to be occupied by tourists (Sequera & Nofre, 2020). Moreover, in 1986, Lisbon City Council created Alfama's Urban Intervention Office (Gabinete Tecnico Local de Alfama) and started the rehabilitation program in the neighborhood to preserve its cultural heritage. One of this program's directions was tourism development (Sequera & Nofre, 2019). The government has begun to encourage tourists to visit this area, and as a result, a lot of local people lost their connection to the urban environment of the neighborhood (Daly, 2020). Moreover, Alfama has the most significant number of Airbnb apartments (Sequera & Nofre, 2020). This, and many other factors, caused a particular phenomenon called *terramotourism* – a tourism earthquake that is compared to the Great Earthquake in the year 1755. Still, this time, the damage is caused by touristification (Terramotourism, 2016). Like an earthquake, the phenomenon caused global devastation in the city, but not on a physical level. For example, due to *terramotourism* in Alfama, a general shift to tourist services caused the creation of a specific urban environment focused on disseminating cultural practices among tourists, such as, for example, Fado restaurants and bars (Jorge et al., 2018). There are countless bars and restaurants dedicated to Fado in this area of the city caused by the desire of tourists to *experience* this cultural practice through urban, cultural, and identity components. That is, it's crucial for the whole experience to be in the space, which is associated with tradition, and to feel the atmosphere of the urban environment.

Restaurants, in general, have a crucial importance for developing the tourism business because these types of establishments do offer an experience (Dhora & Dinonizi, 2014). As a rule, the most important part of this experience is food, which can be a big inspiration for the tourist trip (Hall, 2005). Unfortunately, many Fado houses in Alfama offer a fixed menu to enjoy Fado music. In general, almost all Fado establishments in Alfama offer dinner for tourists. The dinner itself is already a touristic experience, but while listening to Fado in a specially decorated space, the experience can become much more valuable (see Figure 1). In fact, Fado restaurants are not just places to eat; without food, they would probably never become so popular among tourists.

**Figure 1**

*Advertisement for a Fado restaurant in Alfama*



The popularity of this type of touristic activity in Alfama and its occupation of the urban environment can also be explained by the fact that tourism is a huge source of power, where authenticity became a 'tool of power' (Zukin, 2010). Tourism can bring a significant income for those who invest in it; that is, those who have more money have the power to implement new beginnings into the urban and social life of the district. Alfama has become one of the most attractive destinations for international and local real estate investors (Sequera & Nofre, 2020). As a result, the monetization of this cultural practice created a vast amount of Fado establishments, which often replaced the old local ones.

Replacement of the local places by Fado restaurants creates a picture of the urban environment being developed and modern, where newcomers introduce their sense of authenticity; however, authenticity has a lot to do with the social life of the locals, their belongings to the origins and not only with the appearance of the urban environment (Zukin, 2010). It is important to note that tourists nowadays are often seduced by appearances, and they tend to associate authenticity with them. In other words, in this case, something becomes authentic when it is determined as such by the observer. Therefore, the urban image can make a massive impression on tourists as well as Fado restaurants that look traditional and are often associated with the times when Fado was sung in the closed tavernas on the narrow cozy streets of the neighborhood. Moreover, specific decorations and interiors also play an essential role here. These factors create a sort of simulation of the authentic area, a well-established mechanism where authenticity is its primary 'tool.'

During my field trip to Alfama, namely, to the area with the most concentration of Fado establishments in the neighborhood, I visited 26 of these establishments (see Table 4) and created a GIS map that reflects their location (see Figure 2) where all them are divided into two groups according to their age (Esri, 2023). Many of these Fado establishments have appeared relatively recently and have been simple restaurants, bars, or grocery shops in the past (see Figure 3).

Interestingly, most of these Fado places are located in an area with narrow medieval streets and a charming atmosphere. Dean MacCannel compared this mechanism to a 'living museum,' In his book 'Staged Authenticity' he introduces seven stages for a tourist to enter a social situation, based on the theory of Erving Goffman about life being a social performance that includes the participants performing in the three different spaces 'front stage,' 'back stage,' and 'off stage.' According to the author,

people who take part in the ‘front stage’ know that they are observed and behave according to the expectations of the audience, where the physical appearance of the ‘stage’ also plays an important role. People who belong to the ‘back stage’ are free from any expectations dictated by the ‘front stage.’ They behave according to their true self, and the ‘stage’ appearance is not that important (MacCannell D., 1973). The seven stages introduced by MacCannell are presented in Table 3.

**Figure 2**

*Print Screen of the GIS map of the Fado houses in Alfama*

**Fado Houses in Alfama**

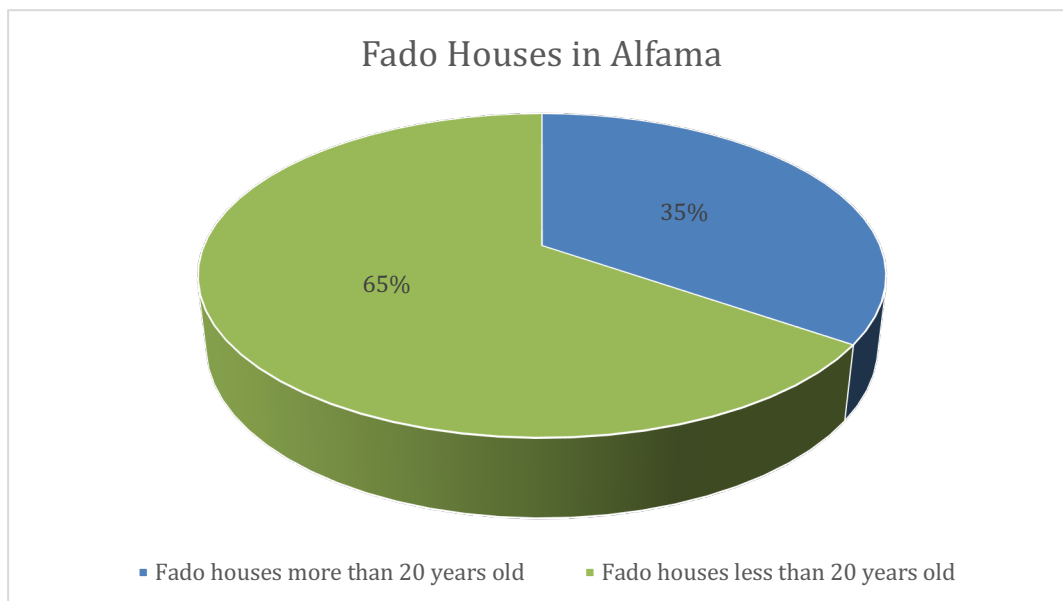
Groupname

- Fado houses more than 20 years old
- Fado houses less than 20 years old



**Figure 3**

*Age of Fado houses in Alfama*



According to my observations, most of the Fado establishments belong to the ‘second stage’ because they are decorated to attract tourists and provide a genuine experience to create an *atmosphere*. The interior typically consists of numerous photographs of famous Fado singers and musicians hanging on the walls, and paintings that reflect the Fado theme (Figure 4).

**Table 3**

*The concept of Stages by MacCannell (MacCannell D, 1973).*

First stage	Social space tourists ‘attempt to overcome or get behind
Second stage	A touristic front stage that has been ‘cosmetically’ decorated to appear atmospheric
Third stage	It’s well organized to look like a ‘back region,’ where tourists can observe the simulation.
Fourth stage	The Back stage that is open to outsiders
Fifth stage	The Back stage is prepared for a visit by tourists
Six stage	The Back region, which ‘motivates touristic consciousness.’ In other words, it’s the space that enables the tourists to enter the setting and not only observe.

Moreover, many Fado establishments have different sceneries that also relate to Fado and can belong to other historical realities of Fado’s existence. For example, in one of the Fado houses, the floor is traditionally tiled and has a Fado theme, while the ceiling is decorated with decorative elements that resemble the details of the old ships. Such details give the impression that tourists are participating in a theatrical performance that is supposed to transport them into the spirit of the past. However, they have no access to the ‘back stage’ as the performance is set up.

In some places, the Fado performance begins shortly after the official opening of the institution, after all the guests have already been served, and take place literally behind closed doors. In this case, closed doors create a feeling of intimacy, and the silence in the room due to the closed space does not allow guests to create noise, thereby violating this intimacy.

**Figure 4**

*Example of scenery in a Fado house*



Moreover, new guests cannot enter during the performance and disturb the atmosphere. The concerts have fifteen-to-thirty-minute breaks, allowing attendees to socialize and dine. As a rule, regular visitors to such establishments are tourists and Portuguese people. In such establishments, they give back to the past, when Fado could only be heard behind closed doors.

In some other establishments, Fado is also presented between short breaks, and visitors are served only during the break; however, the concerts are not held behind closed doors so that any curious passer-by can watch the concert. This destroys the atmosphere of intimacy, but the connection between performers and listeners can still be present.

**Table 4***Fado Houses in Alfama*

Name	Age	The past of this place	Fado shows
'Taska do Chico'	12 years old	A bar	The practice of 'Fado Vadio' means that everyone can come and sing Fado. Fado is performed behind closed doors.
'Parreirinha de Alfama'	Since 1939	-	The establishment has three permanent singers, two musicians, and a fixed menu.
'Taverna del Ray'	Since 1960	Sailors burnt charcoal here in the past	The Fado show is divided into a few sessions with short breaks.
'Taska do Jaime'	Ten years old	A church was here before the earthquake, then a tavern.	The family-run restaurant where everybody can come and sing ('Fado Vadio'); however, the establishment also has permanent musicians. Clients are asked to respect the Fado show.
'Esquina de Alfama'	30 years old	Sailors burnt charcoal in the past; then, it was another Fado place.	Fifteen-minute fado concerts with food breaks
'Restorante porta de Alfama'	25 years old	People used to carve meat here in the past	During Fado performances, tourists are asked not to make noise
'Restorante de Sao Rafael'	19 years old	They assume that before there was a Synagogue	Fado is sung mostly outside, while tourists can be quite loud and not respectful.
'Coraçao de Alfama'	40 years old	A tavern was here before.	Fado Vadio is present, but there are fixed musicians; Fado is sung with the small breaks
'Alfama Grill'	For 20 years here, another Fado establishment. 'Alfama Grill' has been here for one year.	-	Fado is sung at the entrance. 'Here is not a Fado house' – I was told.
'Lucindas'	One year old	A restaurant was here in the past	Fado is sung mostly outside.
'Sao Miguel Grandes Cantorias'	Five years old	This used to be a collection point for imported goods.	Fado is sung inside and at the door, which is why the people on the terrace can also hear it
'Sao Miguel D'Alfama'	Since 1945	There was a Roman street. Then it was a pub, then a restaurant, and then this Fado place. People used to burn charcoal in the distant past here.	Fifteen-minute fado concerts with food breaks. The establishment has permanent singers and musicians.
'A Baiuca'	25 years old	A restaurant was here in the past.	The establishment has permanent musicians, and Fado is sung from the door and inside.
'Arcaz Velho'	Seven years old	There was a Padaria (a bakery) in the 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup>	Fado is sung with the deemed light, and there is no service during the

'Mesa de Frages'	16 years old	century. A bar was here in the recent past. Here was a church before. A grocery shop and many other things were here in the recent past.	show. There are little breaks during the show. Fado is performed behind closed doors. This establishment focuses not only on tourists but also locals.
'Associação do Fado Casto'	Since 2018	-	Fado is explained before the performance
'Canto de Poeta'	This place opened the year after the pandemic	-	This establishment specializes not only in tourists but also in local people.
'Casa De Linhares'	12-15 years old	A restaurant was here before	This establishment has permanent musicians and singers. Fifteen-minute fado concerts with food breaks
'Duetos da Se'	Since 2020	A restaurant was here in the recent past.	This establishment has permanent musicians and singers. Singers tell about the history of Fado before the concert.
'Bohemia Lx'	Seven years old	A shisha bar was here in the past	Visitors are asked to be silent during the concert. There are fifteen-minute Fado concerts with food breaks.
'Clube de Fado'	37 years old	A bar was here before	Fifteen-minute Fado concerts with food breaks. Three performances during the dinner. There is no service during the performances.
'Pateo de Alfama'	Since 2007	A factory to make mattresses used to be here in the past. After that, the first cinema with sound in Lisbon was here.	Folk dancers can accompany Fado shows. Visitors are asked to be silent during the concert.
'Estaca Zero'	Seven years old	A restaurant used to be here in the past.	"Fado Vadio" is practiced here. Family run business.
'Adega dos Fadistos'	14 years old	Mini Mercado used to be here in the past	This place does not have official opening and closing hours. After all the Fado places are closed, musicians come here to sing behind closed doors.
'O corridos'	Since 2019	An antique store and a bookstore used to be here before	The lights are put down when the music starts, and there are breaks when the food is served.
'O Fama de Alfama'	Five years old	A bank used to be here before	The owners told me that they want to make a good Fado here. The staff times the Fado so that there is an interlude between three sets of music when one can dine and carry-on conversation, allowing the guests to concentrate on the Fado when the performers are on stage.



In certain establishments, Fado is performed outside, near the veranda of the establishment. In this case, intimacy is complicated to create, as the audience often dines and communicates loudly, perceiving Fado as music in the background. In one of these establishments, I watched how a couple of people sitting literally a meter away from singing musicians had a loud conversation and paid attention to the performance. This attitude distracted me from immersing myself in Fado music and did not allow other visitors to feel its essence.

The desire of Fado establishments to have as many visitors as possible made Fado 'open' and not behind closed doors. It became an obstacle to creating an intimate bond between Fado performers and listeners. These consequences of touristification are present in the modern reality of Fado.

Interestingly, due to the close relationship between Fado and the city, the city walls began to act as a special element in creating the intimate atmosphere of Fado. However, this is only possible outside of the tourist 'spectacle.' During my field trips, I participated in two local gatherings of the fadistas. For example, once I was invited to an outdoor meeting next to the catholic *Saint Stephen Church* in the Alfama neighborhood. This church is a special place for Fado singers, and some Fado songs are dedicated to it, such as "Igreja De Santo Estêvão" (Maurício, n.d.).

### **Igreja De Santo Estêvão**

Na igreja de Santo Estêvão	[In the Church of St Stephen
Junto ao cruzeiro do adro	Near the cross of the entry yard
Houve em tempos guitarradas	There were once guitar concerts
Não há pincéis que descrevam	No brushes can paint
Aquele soberbo quadro	That superb picture
Dessas noites bem passadas	Of these nights long ago
Mal que batiam trindades	Despite the ringing of the trinities
Reunia a fadistagem	Fado singers used to meet
No adro da santa igreja	In the entry of the Holy Church

Fadistas, quantas saudades	Singers, so much yearning
Da velha camaradagem	For the old camaraderie
Que já não há quem a veja	That no one ever sees now
Santo Estêvão, padroeiro	St Stephen, patron
Desse recanto de Alfama	In this corner of Alfama
Faz o milagre sagrado	Perform your sacred miracle
Que voltem ao teu cruzeiro	That they return to your cross
Esses fadistas de fama	These singers of renown
Que sabem cantar o Fado	That know how to sing Fado]

These Fado lyrics describe the church where the fadistas used to gather and the content implies that these were intimate and special meetings dedicated to Fado. Nowadays, musicians' gatherings in the city shows that Fado still connects to Lisbon, where tourism is not a part of it.

Another time, I was invited to a gathering of musicians and singers after the average concert for tourists in one of the Fado houses. All of them were rushing to gather for a jamming Fado session among friends. I took the address and arrived at one of the narrow streets of the Alfama district. Many more singers and musicians were drinking beer and talking on the street. They just finished their concerts for tourists and gathered to continue the evening. After a while, we moved to another narrow road that was embraced by the walls of the beautiful Alfama buildings. Some people sat on the floor, some stood next to the walls, while one of the guitarists took a garbage bin, turned it over to use it as a bench, sat on it, and a singer sat next to him. Immediately there was complete silence. The Fado began. It was a magic moment, where it felt like all the people were connected through the music born in the guitar strings and the singer's voice. All the people suddenly allowed themselves to be vulnerable together. After a moment, it was interrupted by the angry neighbor who shouted at us and asked us to stop. Then we moved to an adjacent park and continued to listen and feel the music.

As one of the participants of this jam told me, 'You don't listen to Fado by ears; you listen to it by your soul. Do not search for the answers, search for the truth. The truth you will feel, but not listen. Never listen to Fado; feel Fado.' These words came directly to my heart and explained to me the magic that was happening around me. These people gathered to create a moment where they could feel, be sensitive, and reflect on their feelings. It felt like they needed to do that because this is what makes them alive – the emotion. Fado seemed to be a perfect way for them to express their emotions and let themselves feel them. The same person also said, 'Fado lives in each of us in different ways; it's about losses and love, and the feeling is different for each person. Creating moments like this is Fado's magic to help people connect and be vulnerable together.'

Fado for tourists can lack an opportunity to provide with these feelings because it has certain limits, such as the fact that Fado is performed in Fado houses at dinner, tourists do not always respect the silence during the performances, and so on. However, this creates an opportunity for them to perceive traditional Portuguese music in their way. Many times, even though many tourists did not follow the rules at the concerts, I could see sadness or longing in their eyes when listening to Fado music. Unfortunately, we live in a world where everything is quick, there is a lot of information, and it's very complicated for many people to explore things deeply.

However, during the touristic Fado concerts in Alfama, tourists believe that they perceive an authentic experience as if they were transported into the past because of the atmosphere created by the architecture of Alfama, which plays a vital role in creating this impression. From this point of view, it is fair to say that the architecture of the Alfama neighborhood represents something that lies beyond all the levels. This historical and unique area has become tourism's 'playing field.' Against its background, Fado establishments look as if they have moved here from the past. At the same time, numerous tourist sources promote the idea that Fado originated in this area in one of the taverns, which excites the imagination of tourists. They want to have this unique experience of being in such a historical place because it also, in the words of MacCannell, 'motivates touristic consciousness' (MacCannell D., 1973). This happens since the city and Fado are deeply connected, where one cannot exist without the other. In other words, they represent one whole because the city is part of Fado and Fado is part of the city.

There was a tendency during spontaneous Fado gatherings of the musicians: for them, the place where to have a Fado jam does not matter too much (even though they gather at historical places quite often); what matters is that these people create a space where the silence and intimacy of the moment are automatic, as they represent the very concept of Fado. Thus, even though tourism has changed the essence of Fado places in the city, making them touristy and superficial, non-touristic Fado is creating places that are not physically attached to certain places in the city but are shaped primarily by the musicians' desire to express emotions through Fado. That is where true Fado's expression exists, but on an emotional level first. The important point is that this emotional level would be out of reach without Fado still happening in Lisbon. Whether in the old church where the musicians met in the past, or an alley, sitting on overturned trash cans, it happens in the atmosphere of the city, which is part of Fado. Tourism has absorbed the physical component of the city, so the attachment of Fado to specific places in the city has become less intense; however, this attachment is still there on a much deeper level.

Attending spontaneous gatherings of the fadistas helped me to sense how singers and musicians perform Fado among themselves, compare it to their performances for tourists, and conclude that Fado is witnessing a very challenging reality, where touristification acts as an obstacle to its development. Moreover, although that tourism has erased the development of the natural physical print of Fado in the network of city, this genre continues to be intimately connected to Lisbon on a deeper, emotional level. Furthermore, the fact that people for whom Fado is part of their soul come together and express their emotions through Fado suggests that despite difficult times, Fado is alive and will remain to be such.

## 8. Conclusion

I have argued throughout this work that Fado's perceptions of Lisbon nowadays have become inferior due to touristification. Namely, they have become inferior because the practice of Fado has become an imaginary stage that serves the needs of tourism. In particular, I demonstrated that uncontrolled tourism led to the commercialization of Fado establishments, which in turn not only blocked the perception of Fado but also began to destroy the belonging of cultural identity to the physical component of the city, which is an inevitable consequence since Fado, and Lisbon are closely connected.

I explored the essence of this connection by learning more about the history of Fado in Lisbon. For instance, during its early period, Fado was performed mainly by sailors and prostitutes in brothels and tavernas. This period is considered one of the most significant because it set many characteristics of the genre that continue to define Fado to this day. Later, the genre started to spread to the higher layers of society; that is, the tradition of Fado began to change because the new historical reality had different representatives with different lives and experiences. Fado became more entertaining and moved from the tavernas to the theaters. After the 'Estado Novo' emergence, Fado's lyrics fell under censorship, and the genre was used as a propaganda tool. As a result, Fado houses started to appear as a physical manifestation of censorship. Since then, Fado was mainly performed in these establishments and lost its improvised character. After regime's fall, Fado became very unpopular amongst the Portuguese people; however, after a certain period, it could regain its place in the people's hearts. Since Fado has always been a part of the different historical realities, it has been shaped by them in one form or another. In other words, Fado has collected specific characteristics from different time periods of its existence.

Since no written sources that could help us determine when and how Fado appeared in Lisbon, the findings of this paper show what is authentic about Fado and what the perception of this musical genre should be based on. Based on the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews, I could identify the features associated with 'real' and authentic Fado by the musicians, fadistas, and singers that perform Fado in Lisbon. The analysis leads to the important conclusions:

1. Firstly, to be authentic, Fado should transmit emotion to the listener.

2. Secondly, to identify what is authentic about Fado, it is important to define the 'source,' that is, the historical reality of Fado.
3. Lastly, Fado is considered authentic when there is a connection between generations.

However, according to the findings in this paper, the first requirement is the most crucial because to achieve an authentic Fado experience, the listeners should feel the emotion carried by Fado. This can be explained by the fact that flowing through time, Fado absorbs different social circumstances, and by 'processing' them, it produces emotion, which is the most important attribute of this musical genre. That is, Fado should be performed under certain conditions that could create an opportunity for feeling to be transmitted. For instance, to transmit emotion, the listeners must stay silent during the concert and respect the performers. Importantly, our results provide evidence that it's challenging to maintain these conditions in the modern realities of touristification.

Moreover, during this research, it was determined that these conditions represent the heritage of the generations. Since, due to over tourism, no good tribute is paid to this heritage, there is no 'soul' for Fado listeners to fully perceive this musical genre and for the Fado performers to achieve a certain connection with them. Thus, taking the past as its central theme, the all-consuming tourism machine has turned Fado into an imaginary practice presented in the imaginary scene.

As a result, the city, as a part of Fado, became the foundation of this scene. This conclusion was made based on data obtained during a more detailed study of the relationship between the city and Fado in the Alfama region. However, as a result of the fieldwork in this neighborhood, it was concluded that Fado continues to develop amongst Portuguese people beyond the pale of an imaginary touristic platform. Local gatherings, full of emotion and intimacy, continue to take place. During these practices, there is a clear link between Fado and Lisbon; city walls are beginning to act as an important attribute for creating special conditions for transmitting of emotions. At the same time, the connection between the city and Fado, in this case, does not cease to exist because it moves from the physical level to the non-physical. However, it's crucial that Fado still happens in Lisbon and transmits emotion. Thus, the physical component begins to be expressed through the emotional one.

Thus, it can be concluded that even though touristification has created an imaginary Fado reality based on the collective image of the past, Fado that does not depend on tourism continues to exist. However, Fado aimed at tourists continues to live and involves many of the Fado performances. Conclusions made in this research indicate that uncontrolled tourism in Lisbon destroys Fado's perception. Thus, it's essential to reconsider the general consumption system of cultural practices both from the side of the tourism system and from the side of people who are willing to perceive other cultures.

Future research on this topic might extend the explanations of the modern reality of Fado to determine the characteristics of Fado without tourism being involved.

Further studies should investigate Fado practices not made for tourists and performed amongst people for whom Fado is a passion and hobby. These findings might help determine what can be done to ensure that unique practices like Fado can be presented with a better quality for tourists.

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## Appendix

### I Interview Transcript

Interviewer: Mariia Mariniak

Interviewee: Participant D

Date of the interview: 17.09.2020

Place of the interview: Lisbon

Transcriber: Mariia Mariniak

List of Acronyms: M=Mariia Mariniak, D= Participant D

M: Dear *Participant D*, could you introduce yourself and explain why you started to play? Do you play Portuguese guitar, right?

D: Yeah, Portuguese guitar. So, my name is [*Participant D*]. And I am actually 40 years old, which is too old now, but I started playing the Portuguese guitar when I was around 12 [pause] 11-12 years old. I started to do it through my uncle - my mother's brother who was like an amateur musician, composer and singer, but not full time, not a professional musician, part-time usually. He practically played Portuguese guitar in his house. He said: 'You know, you have to play this. It's really beautiful'. So, he introduced me to Portuguese guitar, which I did not like at first very much. But then I got used to it, I started having some lessons [pause] private lessons with a very good teacher. You know, I have become a little bit in love with the instrument. And I started playing and [pause] I've been playing all every day, many hours a day. It became something very important. You know, make a long story short, more or less [pause] like this.

M: I saw you playing yesterday, it was really good. Are you playing only the "Mesa de Frades?"

D: No [pause] So, I'm a professional musician, I'm like a freelance musician. And I play [pause] I've been playing with two singers for a long, long time, like more than 15 years now [pause] [inaudible]. And a male female singer called Antonio [inaudible] So I played with them for a very long, long time, but I also played with many other singers like [pause], Ana Mora for some time. I played with [pause] a lot of different singers. Mainly what I do is [pause] I am [pause] I am [pause] I play with singers. My main [pause] thing that occupies most of my time is [pause] is doing that, and I also have some projects that are connected with, like instrumental music. Trio, I have two trios that play and that have no singing, it's strictly instrumental music. I mainly do [pause] I think my activities related to these two [pause] different ways of playing the guitar: playing with the singers and playing instrumental music [pause] more or less.

M: So, it's not only Portuguese guitar?

D: It's only Portuguese. I only play Portuguese guitar.

M: I was yesterday at the Museum of Fado. They have an exhibition there of the Portuguese guitars. Portuguese guitar is so beautiful.

D: I didn't go yet, but I'm planning to go.

M: So, I would like to ask you one very important question. I am really curious what is real Fado for you as a musician?

D: Well, that's a very, very complicated question and very complicated because we cannot know exactly. How Fado was born. We cannot know [pause] we cannot know exactly what kind of musical influences are in the basis of Fado, we can [pause] you know, we hear it and we can and we can hear maybe some influences that are there, but we cannot [pause] we cannot be sure of that [pause] of this you know, they are not there aren't any scientific basis about the origin of Fado. And throughout the history of Fado [pause] I think right now, nowadays, Fado is different from how it is played and the way it is signed is different than it was 50 years ago. Because, you know, it's [pause] it's a different time, people have different experiences. So, it's not played and sung exactly the same way it was 40 or 50 years ago. So, it's been evolving, there's been [pause] it's not exactly [pause] it's not played exactly the same way. But, you know, it's something it's [pause] it's something [pause] the music is related to [pause] to [pause] There are [pause] to the Portuguese emotions. Like I can, I believe I can speak like this. There are some emotions that are specifically Portuguese, I lived intensely by the Portuguese people and Fado always is [pause] this is a kind of song that helps to express that kind of feeling, that kind of emotion. This is [pause] you know [pause] this is [pause]. The easiest way I can find to describe it, because it's a very complex question. The main connection for me is with emotion, with the intensity. And that's a very particular kind of emotion that [pause] that is translated by Fado and there's a very particular kind of intensity that is, that you can hear on Fado [pause] and it's specific, so maybe I would go [pause]. Fado is a very typical Portuguese way to transmit emotion.

M: That's a really nice explanation. I also learn Portuguese now and I heard that Fado is an expression of feeling "Saudade".

D: Yeah, it's like that, yeah. Which is [pause] which is another difficult word to translate, it's untranslatable, but it's a Portuguese emotion. So that is a good example of a Portuguese emotion that it's very, very hard to translate it [pause] because the Portuguese [pause] it's not that other people don't feel it. They also feel it. But the Portuguese feel in a very particular way, that's [pause] that's maybe that's the connection with Fado [pause] because we feel it in a very different particular [pause] It's our own way of feeling it.

M: You know, my research is about the influence of tourism, globalization on Fado.

D: It's [pause] it's not a very good influence right now.

M: Yes. So, I want to[*pause*] I want to research if the authenticity of Fado is changing. From my impression tourists go to listen to Fado and do it very short, just to tick the box. So, I was wondering if Fado is still the same. If it's possible in such a short time when the tourists go to listen to Fado in Lisbon, if they are able to feel the emotion [*pause*] if they are able to really go deep into this, because as I understand, when [*pause*] when a singer sings, she or he is 'naked'. How do you think people, not only tourists, nowadays non-Portuguese people or Portuguese? People, if they are really able to feel vulnerable, to feel [*pause*] feel the emotions...

D: I think that's a very good question. But the direction [*pause*] most of the time, like 90 percent of the time - no. That's the business that was built around Fado and especially around Fado houses, Fado houses are very, very important to the tradition of Fado, for the maintaining the tradition of Fado, preserving the tradition of Fado and the Fado houses are extremely important for that. And there's just been a process of, uh[*pause*] of transformation of Fado houses into companies. Fado houses were always like small restaurants with a small owner that liked Fado and maybe sings or maybe plays an instrument and[*pause*] and Fado was evolved around that around the familiar kind of concept. Right now, there's like there are big companies that own Fado houses and that run Fado houses like they were grocery shops. So, it's really hard to find in Lisbon, I'm talking about Lisbon because I don't know how far the houses are outside of Lisbon, but in Lisbon it's becoming harder and harder to find a place where you can hear more or less the real thing and where you can connect, where the listener can connect the way how you are describing [*pause*] can connect to the people that are singing and playing in a very intense way. That's [*pause*] You know, most of the places you go, most of the well-known places that are working right now in Lisbon, it's like[*pause*] for tourists. They always play the same thing. They only sing the same thing. And it's like five minutes you are over. All right. Let's do it - next group. One group goes out, another group comes in, and it's mostly around the money. The care that you have to get your needs around Fado of the people that sing, around the people that play. Finding the right conditions to listen to[*pause*]that the people listening to it in the right place. That there is silence and there is the right environment. Most of the houses don't care about that. We care about, you know, money. So "Mesa de Frades" is actually a great exception around that because it's a Fado house that puts artistic [*pause*] that puts playing and singing above everything else. It's a very special place, but there aren't many. And it's becoming like a rarity to try to find a place like that. But unfortunately, globalization and, you know, the number of tourists that come in, they come into this Lisbon every day [*pause*] are making it harder to preserve[*pause*]that spirit. It's[*pause*] it's[*pause*] it's hard to defend the spirit of the music with, you know, all this money involved. And that's [*pause*] that's true.

M: In the past, like maybe 20 years ago, because you play from 12, right?

D: I play from 12, yeah.

M: So long! But before it was, I guess, a bit different?

D: Right. I wasn't [pause] I wasn't immediately a professional until I started playing at 12, but I became a professional around 21, 22. So I studied for more or less, eight-nine years, then I became a professional and it was different. You always have the tourists and tourists were always a big part of this 'machine'. But, you know, it was more controlled. Nowadays it's completely out of control. And, you know, the owner of Fado houses [pause]. They care about making money. It wasn't exactly like that 20 years ago it was better just a little bit. But you [pause] you can still find nice Fado houses if you look for that, but it's hard.

M: Almost the same question, but how was it in the past, the traditional Fado? So, [pause] how was it organized? Also, with the dinner or without?

D: The way Fado houses earn money is through having dinner. So, uh, uh, I think that the dining time was always a big part of the Fado environment. So, people went to a Fado house [pause] they had dinner and during dinner and after dinner, there were some Fado [pause] small Fado concerts. And during the day, but the dinner was always very important because it was basically, the only way that a Fado house earned some money and paid the singers and musicians and employees. So, it was I think from the beginning, it was always a big part of [pause] of the whole process. Yes, dining is very important.

M: Maybe a bit out of context question, but I heard that Fado emerged through the city, that the city influenced it.

D: Yes, it's urban [pause] urban music

M: Could you please tell me a bit more about that? Is it how Portuguese people spend their leisure time? How did the city exactly influence the emergence of Fado?

D: Well, it has to do with the [pause] with the [pause] a little bit of the history of Portugal. During the [pause] you know, the final part of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, there were a lot of people coming to the cities from the countryside and all kinds of [pause] all kinds of people, and especially all kinds of musical influences, because there are many different kinds of [pause] musical influences around the country. The northern part of the country has a specific musical tradition. The central part has another. The South has another. Each region has its own. So, people came from all around the country to go to Lisbon because in Lisbon they can live better and more money, have a better life and [pause] in the city, so they [pause] they came to the city. But they brought a little bit of their musical influences and gradually that's [pause] probably the [pause] this is a theory because it's really hard to demonstrate it with evidence. It's very difficult [pause] they came to Lisbon with all these different musical influences. And it became a part of the music. And there are even Fado houses [pause] Many times we don't play only traditional Fado, we [pause] We play other kinds of music that are related to Fado that are directly connected with this [pause] richness of the Portuguese music, especially with the [pause] with the folklore [pause] folklore is a specific kind of popular music

at this place in Portugal. And you can [pause] you can see that in the way the music is played. The way the people sing the music right now, and this was all possible because people came to the cities. So that's one of the big importance of Lisbon as a city [pause] it was the place where Fado was born. It has to do with this because it was a specific historical period of Portugal that became the center of where people came to work, to live and have a better life to raise their families in was like the center of all this. And Fado was born in this environment. So, he was influenced by other kinds of music.

M: And what do you think [pause] that the authenticity of Fado is disappearing? Do you think what will be in the future [pause] will Fado remain its identity or not?

D: Well, it's a very hard question to answer because, I hope so, and I hope that that will happen. But it's becoming harder and harder for that to happen because [pause] because it's what is happening to Fado is happening in society in general. And I'm talking about, you know, the money [pause] The business is becoming more and more and more important everywhere around society because you can't control it anymore. So, a real danger for me is, about looking at Fado, looking at everything that's related to Fado as a business, as something that's business, that is, uh, uh, a livelihood, and that is becoming, uh, a business for a lot of people. So, if that is [pause] if that continues, I think that would be very dangerous. But I'm not saying that people that love tradition people that [pause] that, uh, worry about, uh, the tradition of Fado should not worry also about money because money is important. Of course, that [pause] that's important. "Mesa de frades" a good example of that is the Fado house [pause] It's a good Fado house, but it has to make money, so [pause] you have to worry about that, but putting money in front of everything else, the most important thing is money and everything else is like [pause] you don't care about that. That's a real danger. So, for me, that's the main danger right now.

M: I think I've covered everything. Thank you very much.

D: You're welcome.

## II Interview Transcript

Interviewer: Mariia Mariniak

Interviewee: Participant B

Date of the interview: 17.09.2020

Place of the interview: Lisbon

Transcriber: Mariia Mariniak

List of Acronyms: M=Mariia Mariniak, B= Participant B

M: *Participant B*, could you please introduce yourself?

B: So, my name is [*Participant B*]. I am playing Portuguese guitar. And I interviewed people also. So, it's fun, interesting.

M: Yes, it is, because I know so many people already and some of them...

B: I always interview people also, but sometimes people come here, and they tell me: "I want to talk to you about Portuguese folk music". No, no, I know nothing about folk! I did folk music before, but I did mostly African music - pop African music and Brazilian, of course. I'm from Brazil and I played the Portuguese pop, some classical music, jazz [pause] and now - Fado.

M: OK, so how long do you play Fado?

B: For how long have I been playing Fado? I started playing Fado in 2002 playing the bass, bass guitar. You know, but just in shows and huge concerts, not, not playing small places. And I was doing all the other styles of music. So, it was just exploring but not really studying Fado, in 2002. So, I played bass, the bass guitar, but I had six percent of my gigs where Fado was mostly not fun. Then much later, I decided to do a masters here in Northern University in Ethnomusicology, and then I decided to study about Fado because I knew the connections with people. And then I started to learn the Portuguese guitar. I play guitar, classical guitar, bass guitar, piano, and I had a Portuguese guitar for many years before, but I didn't play really the Fado idiom I used to play, like it would play a mandolin or something, just like a Portuguese guitar, but with the plectrum or with the fingers, but not with the nails, you know. So, I start to mess around with the Portuguese guitar. But I never played. In my masters I went to the Fado schools. They just opened a Fado school, in Mouraria, to learn the Portuguese guitar. So, I stayed there for five months, mostly because I was writing about it and doing research and I was making little progress with the Portuguese guitar, very little progress. And then some of some obvious changes, the Portuguese, the Portuguese guitar teacher that changed in one day, a friend, a fellow musician, came, and he gave him a new official name that I could play then because he had probably his finger close to my finger. So, then I start to play a little bit better. And then I went to interview lots of musicians from old Fado musicians. I knew some old musicians because I used to come with the bass and jam with them here in Alfama [pause] in Bairro Alto also, but mostly in Alfama. And one of the old musicians had a son – a well-known viola player and he knew about me and he asked me to help him play for his students. He had the students on the other side of the river and a class of adults and children. For adults - Monday night, for children, Friday, and Saturday night. So, he told me: "oh, you're going to earn nothing, but I will come to pick you up at your place and bring you back. Just bring a guitar." And that was the best school for me. I started playing with lots of amateur people because I first came here in 1990 to Portugal. I got in connection with professional musicians

mostly. So no, I didn't have experience with amateur musicians. But in Fado there's a lot of connection between amateur and professional musicians. So, like a couple weeks ago, I had to play a concert in the [inaudible] and do the site for these students. So, I know lots of amateur people, and so and then I started to play here and there, and people started to call me. When you start playing Portuguese guitar, a lot of people want to call you because there are less musicians who play the Portuguese guitar. It's still the learning curve. It's tough in the beginning. So, it's not a very popular instrument. And even Portuguese musicians, everybody plays the guitar or the bass or drums. Portuguese guitar is a bit exotic. And also, to have a good Portuguese guitar, you're going to spend a couple thousand euros. So, I had like a 500 euros industrial generic guitar. And then after a couple years, I bought a better guitar because I started to play lots of Portuguese guitar. And this helped me in my research, actually. So, I finished my master's and then I went to the Ph.D. Yes, I'm in third year and I start to think because my master was musicology, because it had some social stuff also, but lots of musicology. So, I had the scores. I talked about the songs, the lyrics. I talked[pause] I also talked about the ideas of history. How did the [pause] how people thought the Fado was a 'regime music' from [inaudible]. And, uh, and I also talk about the impact of world music. So, I didn't talk about I didn't talk about tourism or about work or precarity work, you know, artistic work. So, I decided to [pause] since I was already playing the Portuguese guitar, so I started to play Fado more like 60 percent, now I think 80 percent. So, I decide when I talk about, um, the work, the practical things, you know. So, there are [pause] There will always be some musicology, how people are and the relations between the guitar and the singer and stuff, but lots of I have to read about heritage a lot. I have written about reggae heritage, it's ok. I think it's OK. And now tourism also, so [pause] so, but not the focus. The focus is obviously the work the musician's work.

M: It sounds like really interesting research. It's in Portuguese right? I'd like to read it.

B: Of course. So maybe I can send you some stuff. Yeah, but you're doing geography.

M: Yes. Human Geography.

B: Masters?

M: Yes, because I studied tourism before in Russia, but it wasn't my thing. Because I wanted to know about the cultures. You know, arts as well, because I want to be an artist, so.

B: But you start by researching art.

M: Yeah, yeah. I mean, I draw.

B: I draw [pause] I started drawing too, because[pause] see I came from music. I did um[pause] Graduation in Brazil and in music. Classical music. And then I did the jazz graduation here. So, I never, I was not into writing, I was reading a lot but not writing, you know, and in the master[pause] you know, I learned how to write. I think my Ph.D. helped me to write.

M: Yeah, it's complicated.



B: Yeah, yeah[pause] And also I told my[pause] I told[pause] once I told my supervisor, I told her: 'it's not about becoming an anthropologist. It's bringing anthropology to my music'. And yes, I do the other way, you know.

M: Yeah. Because it's important to study about such things because[pause]

B: It[pause] it changed me as a musician and composer.

M: So, you started to look from a different perspective?

B: Yeah.

M: So, what is a real Fado for you?

B: What's the real Fado? I don't think there's any real Fado. I think Fado in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the worst music possible for society. I mean, for the elite, you know, it's like if you think today of the worst music, the worst kind of music, I call the Fado, you know.

M: Really? Why?

B: Yeah. Because it was a minority [pause] prostitutes. You know, it was into this world [pause] After a while it starts attracting aristocrats. But just because they want to look at the favela, they want to have a look,

M: So, they were curious?

B: Yeah. Curious. Curious. Yeah, a bit like others. Huxley Brave New World: 'Oh, let's see how humble people leave and stuff like that.' And, uh, so I think there's no real Fado.

It's always changing. For instance, I give one of my ideas about it[pause] nowadays real Fado is Portuguese guitar, classical guitar, and singer. Right?

M: Yes.

B: And[pause] but someday some famous singer in 100 years starts singing with violins and the Portuguese guitar starts to go away. You never know. You know, everything's it's [pause] it's a living heritage. So, it's always changing.

M: And that's interesting because I thought that there is a certain kind of a traditional Fado where musicians open their hearts, the hearts of the listeners, and then they let them feel those emotions. And if I thought that nowadays, because of consuming Fado, people don't really feel vulnerable while listening to it, they don't open their soul. You think it's true?

B: No, no, no. I don't think that. No, no, no, there's another [pause] Well, you go into physics[pause] because I think for people who come to Fado and they're not used to Fado [pause] it can be Portuguese can be a foreigner. There's one thing that's very important when you're playing in a place like, in a small place[pause] is that we don't have a [inaudible]. So, for a lot of people, it's the first time they consume music or see music or feel the harmonic, the strings, the voice near them so that the spirit of music is very limited for people who are not musicians, you know. They go to a pub and there's some deejay or so it's not a real thing when they hear the technology that brings physics. What if you play the guitar for you here on the street if you want to sound ok, but if I go into a chamber, it sounds much better because of the chamber.

So, the physics of liberation. So, lots of people that I'm not used to that. There's a singer [pause] a famous singer. Ana Mora, she says in the interview [pause] nowadays, when we're recording, you do the guitar, sing a guy's voice line for them, but you are away from the guitar player. you know, you are in the other [pause] the aquarium, in another chamber and they play for you. And after a couple of days, you come back to sing the real voice. And then she says: 'oh, that's terrible. When I can come back, I have to sing, but there's no guitar players. I don't feel the wind of the strings [pause] or the feeling.' So, it's all here in the years. And she says terrible. Yeah. So, people are not used to this as well. I do want to bring back the old days, but I remember I have the boxes like these with amplifiers and you know, at home we have the sound system.

M: And they played Fado?

B: No, no, not to play Fado [pause] to listen to music. You put the music and everything, the houses, the whole houses vibrate and nowadays the people listen to the mobile phone, computer, little plastic box. It's, uh, it's physics, it's [pause] I think it had something to do with geography, actually. The physics, the placing of the music is very important.

M: And also, I think I thought about it when I started to do this research and I started to talk to people. I realized that people are scared of expression. People, people [pause] how I'm going to say it [pause]

B: Its "flat"!

M: It's right. Yes, exactly. "Flat" [pause] there is no expressing emotions anymore. And I think back to the days Fado was more, more emotional maybe.

B: No, I don't think like that. No, no, no, I don't think [pause]. I don't think [pause] I think that we are a society where people show off a lot of time. You see that on the Internet. Right. And it depends [pause] a good example for your geography. If you [pause] if you're playing loud music, playing like a Brazilian music here or rock, you're going to have lots of trouble with the police. You are going to have trouble with police by playing Fado. But Fado is so [pause] acoustic. Acoustic music [pause] even though the noise is slower and people, Fado and the singers they have they have songs they don't like. They say, oh, when they sing this because for tourists and even in Fado repertoire [pause] to think you have a mix, it's not old Fado. It's a mix of lots of styles. They also play one or two Brazilian sometimes [pause] they sing, but when they say, if there is a song they really like, they really bring the feelings. You know, it's like the blues. Samba is the feeling. The feeling is always there.

M: Yeah, I heard that if you are an amateur musician, then you can play many songs, many different songs. But if you are an experienced musician, then for you, you kind of [pause] you can't sing everything [pause] you really carefully choose which one.

B: It is a good point. That good point. But it's also the reverse [laughing]. When I started playing professionally, the Portuguese guitar, I went to this teacher, I went to help and

because people were trying to contact me and to stay fixed in the place and he told me: 'Don't do that[pause] don't do that because you're learning, you want to be all over the place and that and then you're going to learn a lot of repertoire, play with different musicians, have a better view of Fado.' It's a great thing. I never really fixed too much because now I can kind of choose. Right. Before the pandemic [pause] pandemic, I had a list of places I would not play.

M: Why not?

B: Because it's like maybe I didn't like the noise or the treatment or the money or whatever. So, uh, it's a blacklist. Every musician has his blacklist, you know, and sometimes the blacklist, my blacklist is different from somebody else, you know...

M: So, you play in different places [pause]

B: Now after the pandemic, I've been playing a lot in "Baiuca". And sometimes I do something else, some things outside also because when it came back from confinement, confinement, we, uh, we opened in the summer, so in the summer, even flu pandemic, we're going to be playing mostly for tourists because this, I wrote to my mind, I started to organize my thesis, and I see[pause] I see the Four Seasons of Fado, because in the summer, even the tourists, because the Portuguese are not meeting and when they have new wine or castanets. So, the best part of it for me is playing now from now[pause] to December. You're going to play in the Sintra outside, [inaudible], you know, outside Lisbon and Metro Lisbon [ pause] for [pause] for the people who really, uh, they love Fado, we call them 'tifosi' like the football team, Italian football team, we say ' tifosi ' for somebody who is crazy about football. They travelled the whole city just to see the amateurs.

M: So, when you play for 'tifosi' I guess [pause] Is it a different connection with them?

B: Yes, the first thing is everybody understands Portuguese and then there's always a huge meal. And then we can finish at three in the morning, three thirty or two and it's always a place [pause] bigger place. It's hard, but it's fun. It's like every guitar player has to pass[pause] and some professional guitar players don't want to play for these people. Because it's too much time playing, but it's fun. You know, it's another ambience.

M: When you play for tourists, do you sometimes feel that they don't really appreciate the music or that they don't really want to do that?

B: Yeah. Yeah. It depends. I don't know about most tourists like [pause] also because of the acoustic thing, I just talk about the sound and experience [pause] experience, but it depends on the direction of the house, how they treat people. For instance, in Bairro Alto [pause] I don't like to play in Bairro Alto in the most places because they just want to bring people in or when they're there and they like it. Sometimes I imagine some Brazilian people come[pause] four

people come to Fado and they are respectful, they are silent. But then It's noisy. The employer in the house is noisy and the people, who care for the house with the cookers know everybody's noisy. So, they don't care about that [pause] also because before I don't know now but before the pandemic was so full of people, they just didn't care, you know, especially in Bairro Alto.

M: Do you think that because of this idea the Fado is changing?

B: It's always changing. It's not like I told you in the 90s, it's always changing. For instance, the style of playing guitar came from [inaudible]. It's a guitar player from the twenties. Twenty nine [pause]. But you know him because he was recorded [pause] There were great guitar players before him, but we don't know them. Just know because we don't have how to listen. So yeah, Amalia also changed.

M: That's interesting because I didn't think about it changing. I thought that it's fixed.

B: No, no, it's not changing. When I first came here [pause] I think [pause] the opportunities of work changed [pause] and the situation of work [pause] I am not saying that's better now, but that's more exposure for Fado, exposure for everybody, because when they came here for secrecy, it was [pause] also the restaurants were all closed. You need to know somebody that knows somebody's friend to get to the restaurant. You know, when [pause] when you want to know how to [pause] how to get in Bairro Alto, you go, you can walk all the way to the river. And before it was closed, you had to knock the door and tell:

- "Ummm, can I come in?"

- "Who are you? So who are you? Are going to eat here and going to be?" [Laughing]

And Fado was very closed [pause] it was very closed. Yeah, because all the restaurants are like that. Not only 'taska' is one of them. But nowadays you walk in, there's people eating, and the windows are huge. You can see the people eating [pause] like in American style [pause] like in San Francisco. And Fado also change in the whole situation just so it's [pause] it's easier for you to listen to Fado, to meet people who play Fado [pause] before it was not like that, it was close.

M: So, it was all closed?

B: It was very, very secretive, very secret. Like everybody was dressed in black, but really tight and no jeans and no sneakers. No way.

M: You know I was in a place called 'Povo'.

B: Yeah. Yeah. It's a very modern place. Yeah. It's not the Fado place [laughing]

M: I know, but I was interested to go to different, you know, places to see how it's changing. So, it was really weird. There was a musician playing, but she was dressed in a very modern style and then white like sneakers.

B: Yeah. Yeah.

M: And wearing very modern clothes [pause] and I felt this kind of like[pause] it was a dissonance. I wasn't able to feel [pause] she sang really good, but at the same time, it was really weird, like I think, yeah, probably because we live in the modern world.

B: Yeah. When [pause] when I started to play Fado, I went to places and I was more used to Fado here in Alfama and Bairro Alto. But I went to places like outside from here[pause] very modern places where they had Fado and I was like, you cannot be Fado. And I was a bit of a booze, you know, and like on the beach, people singing Fado on the beach. But so much exposure. Exposure, I suppose you can say to me today you're going to say, this is for me. This is the secret recording. Oh, yes. Oh, yeah. Exposure for Fado.

M: Yeah, I will, I will write it down everything and then I will send it to you.

B: OK, yeah. Send the audio - no problem. You don't have to go to work like hell.

M: I'll have to, you know,

B: See my time [pause] it's fine. Maybe 20 minutes.

M: Ok, maybe if we have ten minutes more [pause] I wanted to ask you, like I heard that Lisbon born Fado [pause], that there is a certain connection between Lisbon - the city, the city life [pause] and, and Fado, that without Lisbon Fado would emerge [pause] in a way that without Portuguese identity, Fado wouldn't emerge. That Fado provides you with this feeling of Saudade that you and...

B: There's a lot of cliché about that stuff. Yeah, yeah, yeah, well, the thing is that Fado in Lisbon [pause] Fado is [pause] mainly it's not coming back anyway, but it's a witness of the city [pause] I have[pause] I have an article I did a long time ago in Portuguese, again, I can send it to you [pause] Fado, is the witness of this city[pause] So it talks with the city, when the city starts to have electric light [pause] when [pause] associations, Republican associations start to give education to help the poor and so Fado has permeated the whole Portuguese Lisbon system, not Portuguese [pause] Lisbon history. So, it's like now to try to make it[pause] make Fado a national brand, you know, but it's mostly a Lisbon thing now. Now they have Fado in Algarve [pause] in those hotels [pause] in [inaudible]. And the good fadistas and good musicians. But it's something very much for Lisbon[pause] to say again, that's Fado changing. One important thing I could go and study in the future is that the territory, the territory [pause] territory of Fado, how Fado is pending, because if you remember now, the people playing Bossa Nova and Samba and Jazz and Rock in Russia, but not playing Fado, probably playing salsa. Yes, of course.

M: Yeah. It's also interesting with forró because [pause] yeah - because there are so many now, not many, but few bands already in Russia.

B: You in Europe, all over Europe. This huge festival here. Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.

Yeah. But see, Fado didn't get there for many reasons. Well [inaudible] [pause] he wanted to get the country closed from the influence. So, they need not going to war against Germany. So, like Brazil did. And then the Americans bring all the Brazilian music in for many reasons. But [pause] uh, but now you see singers in Japan, in Brazil, in the U.S., all over Europe. Not a lot. But you can have playing Fado in Switzerland, if I go some my guitar and they're going to leave, you're going to have gigs. Yeah, interesting. This is changing. So nice to talk to you.

M: You really have been studying this stuff. It's really interesting. And my last question is, do you think what is going to be with Fado in the future [pause] in relation to a city? Because Moraria, Alfama these are traditional places for Fado, right? But because of tourism, it's changing, right? How do you think it's going to be in the future?

B: I can tell you 'one million dollars' question. I just told you about the Portuguese. That's a little bit I told you about the Portuguese guitar, for instance. Yeah, I don't know. There's one thing I believe is that I grew up playing. I was going to be classical guitar playing, electric guitar a lot or [inaudible] guitar, because when I first came to Portugal, this was going to be a good hint for you. When I first came to Portugal in 1990, it was old fashioned Fado because I was in an old regime. Or they also say [inaudible] [pause] we all played jazz and progressive rock, and you know, African music or swing you know, - pop African music from Angola, from Cape Verde. So, everybody's here [pause] "you're Brazilian, and you like Fado? crazy!", and you don't go too Fado, my friend's pianist and several people are very right wing, the extreme right wing, and then playing Fado I discovered that [pause] you have something from LGBT [pause] You have everything in Fado, modern rock or even jazz, you know, because of the popular [pause] popular origin of the Fado. So, we have all kinds of people in Fado. And that's I've been thinking lately that that's you can lose that you can, that Fado can lose that. May lose that with the way the world is going [pause] what it means nowadays to be an artist or even a student, because the art to some students, university students are the same vibe [pause] to do something you enjoy or even to invest in something that you don't see the results of right in front of you, but you think you're going to bring in rich, create great value for life. It's a thing that's becoming only for the rich. So, I think in the future, it can be a risk that Fado [pause] we go to the rich. Only the rich can play on the rich can sing, you know, and the poor are going to be [pause] put away from five different states gentrification of Fado because it started for poor people.

M: Thank you very much for a very interesting conversation!

B: Thank you!

### III Interview Transcript

Interviewer: Mariia Mariniak

Interviewee: Participant A

Date of the interview: 15.09.2020

Place of the interview: Lisbon

Transcriber: Mariia Mariniak

List of Acronyms: M = Mariia Mariniak, A = Participant A

M: So, let's start. Could you please introduce yourself?

A: Yes, my name is [*Participant A*] and I sing Fado.

M: *Participant A*, let me tell you about my research. I am very interested how the popularity of tourism nowadays influenced the authenticity of Fado. I heard that before there were not so many Fado places and now there are a lot of commercial ones which are changing the idea of Fado, right?

A: What I feel is, first of all, until some point, we only had a few typical places to go and listen to some Fado. We used to have a lot of, I don't know the name in English, but we call it Fado [inaudible] It's like places where people went just to sing if you are not a Fado singer then, all these places right now, they commercialized themselves and what I feel actually it's a good thing, the good thing is we have more people, young people with the opportunity to go in the circle, because some years ago it was really hard. And we have brilliant voices and brilliant musicians, especially the musicians, in my opinion. They are really young, and they have an opportunity to come in. But yes, the thing, the negative point for me - it's not how many spaces we have now - it's the quality they want to give. But you can feel that in general, like a normal restaurant even without Fado you know - it's everything like a McDonald's - everything really fast. So, they treat the Fado in the same way. And this is a problem because Portuguese people will always go and listen to some Fado, but it's not like every weekend so it's not about the money - we cannot do our business using, using in a good way, for the Portuguese customers, so what I feel and think what I really don't like and because of that I spent two years, spent two years not singing Fado at all. It was because I felt that the people, they were buying Fado just to do like a checklist. And this is horrible, the feeling, the musicians and the singers they are, it's not because of the voice but because of the feeling that we have are sharing it, it's horrible. And I remember the last time when I sang Fado two years ago, I was crying. I was not even able to finish the night, you know. And this is really ugly. It's when you are, I used to say - imagine when you are showing yourself to some, a lot of people you don't know, and you

need to be totally naked about your feelings. You are there in front of everybody you don't know. And they treat you like, am, they don't care. It's just something that – “ok I did, I went to Portugal, I visited, and I went to listen to some Fado.” This is the only thing which I don't like.

M: You know, when I saw you singing last night, it was very special, because you really explained to people the idea, the tradition...

A: It's really important because [pause] like non-Portuguese people they don't have to know what we are doing - they don't know our culture, it's our obligation to tell it, to make them really be with us when we perform, right. So, it's important - it's not only: “Common, you have to be in silence”, you know, you just: “Don't say a word” - no, you have to explain why: “You have to be totally with us, you have to feel it properly.” That is a really important thing and even the stuff, if you are in a place, and if the stuff is the same way to you, you will not feel it in the same way, you will just think that someone is asking you to be quiet - no, it's more than that.

M: *Participant A*, so what is the real Fado for you?

A: So, real Fado for me is, it's a hard question [pause], it's really important when you share this culture, that you keep the tradition, musically speaking, and for me it's really important when you cross generations, you know. When you can mix generations between the old people that used to perform in the beginning and we have, we still have a lot of them. The respect between the new generation and the real Fado for me is exactly that point when you can feel the connection between different generations - the past and the present, and the roots, the roots, is really important when you can feel that it's not only the Portuguese culture - is a mix with all the past of Portugal and [inaudible] that Portugal had with the colonies, so all of this for me needs to be present, to feel the real Fado - emotion, honesty. It is not about showing off [pause] of course you need to know how to sing, but more important than that is to be totally honest to have the traditional Fado.

M: It's very interesting! So, are the tourists usually aware about the unspoken rules, that you should not for example, eat when a Fado singer is singing[pause] these rules[pause] they all come from the past right?

A: Yes.

M: Nowadays, I guess it's changed a bit, right?

A: Because after a while they, we, it was like giving up on these habits, but actually if you go to a traditional Fado house they will tell you that they will not serve you, so like I was saying before - if nobody tells you that - you don't know, right. So, you have your plate nearby you - keep eating because it's cold, but if you go to a traditional Fado house - they will not serve you at all. They do a really small part of Fado and in these moments it's no eating, no drinking, no drinking - ok, drinking is fine. No speaking, because of that we do small part, you know to have time, but I think after a while we will give up on this, because the places they want to do everything fast to have the next table for more people to seat to have money, you know. So,



you've been there, you had your food, you had a little bit of Fado, so now you can go, and - 'next, please'. So, because of those kinds of rules, they won't stay long.

M: Do you think that these unspoken rules and real Fado are changing, in other words does the authenticity of Fado is changing?

A: Of course, of course. If you are not totally with us at that moment - it's not the same. You are not giving your full attention about what is happening. And your full respect about what is happening. Even imagine when [pause] in the past when you went to a place, you would not even try to peak your phone and to record and take a picture, because you were so connected with the music that you would just forget about all these things. I guess it's our present now about everything, about the Fado.

M: Yes. It's totally true. It's all about how people communicate, how people treat things...

A: Yes, we are, and it's another thing that I love in Fado is that we can speak about it in us poems without being cheesy, you know. This is amazing for me. I love this. Because we are so afraid, I am not disappointed with human beings, but I understand that we are so hurt. We are so damaged that we are not able to deal with love, and I am not talking about love with couples, love between everybody, you know. Because if you smile on the street to someone it's like – “she is crazy”. No, no “crazy” - if you share some love in the small things it's like medicine solves most of the, not the biggest problems, but the small ones. And we need to start exactly like that. For example, in this culture of Fado, you can do it. You know, I have a problem, not for me it's not a problem, for me it's, I understand for show business things, I don't have any “Fados,” I did the other nights when there is something more, it's like happy, or funny in that case, but I don't have that kind of poems, music, you know, the musicians all the time are asking me to have one or two or three, because they are talking about the commercial part, to sell it, you know because people after a while [pause] because they don't know what I am singing they say: “Hmm seems everything the same”. But I always fight with myself not to do this, because if we are in a society where we can talk about this kind of thing that is so important like love and pain, to be happy you need to deal with your pain. So, if you are not speaking about it you will have a breakdown for sure. Our generation is exactly that, we are so cold, we are so,

M: Oh, I understand, I don't know this word as well,

A: Everything is so...

M: [pause] on the surface!

A: Exactly! So, we can't go a little bit off that surface. So, I try to do that. When I am singing Fado I do that all the time. Now I can smile when I talk about it, but I just came back to Fado this year, after the quarantine, because until this moment, I had two years without singing, I was trying to deal with that pain. So, it's really important. We have to reach the point, even if it's just an iceberg point, just go there to melt it.

M: You are totally right; I have a quote all the time in my mind: "May the whole world know what is love," but it's exactly as you said not between couples, just without ego.

A: And it's so present ego and then, so I grew up in a small village and I always lived on a farm until I was 12. And I remember the day I was 10 years old and I remember the day, you know when, you know, when you are sleeping and you just wake up from dreaming, from a dream, and then I realized that everybody and everything changed. I really remember this day, because I felt that the behaviour of everybody, not because of them, but because of our progress, was like, it was like a wall [pause] so until my 10 and after my 10, in that place in that village I really felt that, so after that moment I realized that we had no time to walk side by side with globalization and we had before that moment it was more about taking care of ourselves, really taking care of people. And for me it was hard, and I still remember that day and imagine to our parents our grandparents they were crossing all these kinds of changes. Of course, me and my brothers are young, of course we will stay with this kind of hurt, not hurt [pause] because if our parents they had no opportunity to digest everything [pause] neither our grandparents, so we will deal with all these traumas and the new generations, we did not take care of all these for so long, so bring everything together it's really hard. We are not allowed to be weak, we are not allowed to feel, we are not allowed to be sensitive, you are not allowed to be, if I say to be a woman, it's something which is not good. Because you cannot be a woman like a concept that we have. And for me it's all wrong.

M: You know, I really see the connection between Russia and Portugal, because of the idea of being yourself as a woman or as a man, being vulnerable is like, not good in a society.

A: It's horrible. And the way, we all want, we are changing, I feel it, but I am afraid that this change right now can be something, need to be of course in the beginning superficial, but I am afraid like we can feel for example with the political party, all the things that were thought that were in the past are coming back right now, so actually we were there all the time, right. So, I am afraid that we are superficial, less sensitive, but the insight still has a lot of terrible, terrible things about racism and feminism. About everything actually, everything is there, still there. Nobody healed, they just cover it all the time for many years, and this is really, really bad. So, I am afraid of that part right now, but I feel free at the same time to speak about it and try to do my part. And Fado helps me with this.

M: You know what I felt, when you felt that in my heart there were a lot of things which I just covered and while you were singing it all went out, like my heart was just opening and it was so beautiful. Thank you so much!

A: Thanks, I'm happy, because for me that is my intention to myself, and if I can share that with someone it's like a way to heal, you know. I am learning slow, but I can do it - I can share it as well. If I can share that feeling to just one person, it's amazing.

M: Thank you so much, it was really, really great. You know I went yesterday to another

place just because I was curious. The place is called 'Tasca do Chico'. There were young girls singing Fado, and I just didn't feel anything, because I felt that she doesn't have this pain, this experience,

A: Yes, it's exactly what I was saying in the beginning - they can have, because of that it's important crossing generations, because imagine me when I grew up, I was really mature, I thought that I was, but even my body, so I just grew up really fast, so with my 12 I was already, 14 I was already full of pain, because in the small places when you grow up earlier, People like women, you suffer a lot, So, if you have a young lady with 18 years old or 20 in Lisbon which was always protected by the parents because they live in the big city, She will know only the normal things from the teenager right. If you are speaking about love, you are speaking about growing up and getting old of course she will not have this kind of pain, Thanks to God, she doesn't know that kind of pain, right. So, she can have a beautiful voice, but miss that part.

M: Exactly, that's why I felt that Fado is a way shaped by tourism, you know there were all those tourists, sitting there and they really perceived that everything around is just something to consume, for me, I wasn't able to stay there, I stayed 15 minutes and I ran away because it was too much.

A: So, on one side I feel really happy about that [pause] the other side makes me sad because most of these are horrible places, you know the environment, the singers, the musicians, it's all about consuming you know, or you will find the places where actually the musicians and the singers are amazing, but still is missing the most important part. I love that place where we have been - 'Povo', because of that, because it's not a Fado place, it's not a traditional house, it's not, it's just people who decided 10 years ago to have this cultural part, because one of the owners is a musician and they have 2 houses, they have a place called 'music box' older than 'Povo' and exactly that, it's a music box because they invite really famous people from Portugal or from other countries to go there and do some concerts. So, when they opened 'Povo' the intention was bringing this cultural part and bringing Fado singers that were never recorded and the moment it meant that they were not working at the Fado places, they were not singing at all, like, I was one of them. So, we had an opportunity to be there for a couple of months like three, like at my time it was one month. So, and at the end you have an opportunity to record the song, the managers, they changed a lot of stuff, like every place. I don't know how they keep having this way to be, even if it's different right now because everything is different, but they created energy that for me is amazing, because you can be relaxed, you don't need to have that kind of way that most of the people have in Fado, like being the most respectful thing, but in the end, they are selling it, so for me it's terrible when I go to a place, but at the end they are treating the Fado and the customers at the same time as: 'I want to sell', 'Povo' will probably not have this kind of respect that Fado circle needs, but for me it is amazing to share this kind of authenticity, so, in that place I have this opportunity to be myself, and they really treat

me well, actually I never [pause] not actually in 2013 I had the experience in a Fado house it was really good, but I understood there was not their fault it was my fault, I am not the kind of singer who will be ready, prepared or comfortable while performing in a traditional Fado house, So, the only place where I sing Fado is in 'Povo' since 2013. So, this is my place. I feel like I'm home and I will have different people whom I don't know but I feel confident to be myself and try to.

M: Yeah, you really have this, you know how to connect, because I immediately felt connected, you know, it's really beautiful...

A: The manager from the place she says the same, it's always the same with me like, "you have this thing, I don't know what you do, the people they really feel connected with you." It's not all the time, but I also feel that.

M: You are a great singer, and I am very happy to meet you. Thank you.

A: It's rare after that night to keep in touch with someone you know. It is rare. So, when it happens to me it's like – "wow". I did my part, it's really good. It's important, so thanks for that.

M: Thank you too as well as for having this conversation!

A: You are very welcome!

## IV Interview Transcript

Interviewer: Mariia Mariniak

Interviewee: Participant C

Date of the interview: 15.09.2020

Place of the interview: Lisbon

Transcriber: Mariia Mariniak

List of Acronyms: M = Mariia Mariniak, C = Participant C

M: Hi, *Participant C*. So, I would like to tell you more about my research. First, I was really interested in the history of the countries that were colonies in the past, then I was interested in what kind of art emerged because of connections between colonizer countries and their colonies. Then I started reading a lot about it and I found capoeira and then I found Fado, forro as well, yes, it's really changing a lot now as well, there are so many arts which were born because of it. They are also changing now because of globalization. I have decided to conduct research about Fado. That's why I was very curious to go to Lisbon and to talk to people and find out whether the authenticity of Fado is really changing. In particular whether the popularity of tourism changes the idea of Fado itself.

C: I don't know if it's useful for me to comment on this issue as far as I have collected in my experience as a musician. Fado is a reality from the 19th century. It became really strong in the beginning of the 20th century and before we go to the questions just to make more kind of, Fado was born at the same time with tango and flamenco, the cities created these urban forms, you know, these forms are also connected to the expansion of tourism and people who are visiting different places. We believe for example that Fado, there is a strong possibility that it was born not only in the Portuguese musical tradition, probably, it's a bit African. It might arrive with this movement of sailors, also the king run away to Brazil when Napoleon invaded Peninsula, and this apparently really gave a drive or push to the mixing of musical forms and Fado is one of them which survived but there were a lot of dances and these kinds of things but Fado survived only because it's a perfect match with the city. So, it's a bit like tango in Buenos Aires, I used to explain, but tango is more international then Fado, Tango is really like a brother of Fado, you know, because the teams, the sea[pause] Fado is pretty much connected to the river, city...

M: So, do you think that city kind of creates the music?

C: The city created the music, and the music recreated the city, because the city, the 'Lisboners' started to see themselves in another way as soon as this practice of writing these little songs began to appear. It is not my sentence, it's from a college but it's the way how the city and song reshape together.

M: It's really very interesting.

C: So, it became very identical, like the identity of Lisbon [inaudible] and this symbol has got into this kind of mass process you know, this mass process is something that is being studied, the several researchers because what we call music[pause]it's really suffered since the 60s and 70s. This process of becoming the industry and becoming like something animals in the zoo, to go and visit...

M: Do you mean that tourist s[pause] want to buy it? That they consume it and don't appreciate the roots and the idea?

C: The tourists, the problem is not tourists, the problem is that the ones who sell Fado to practice, first they found already in the beginning of the 20th century that they could make money out of it and then in the 50th they made a lot of money from it. You know, Fado is from the popular layers of the society. For these people this kind of music became the only way to have a decent house or decent car[pause]it's a commercial, this is not from now it already was in the past. And now it has become something[pause] even more consumed because you can see that Fado is sung to the tourists with not so much quality, you know, it's like the Chinese things - you sell, and you get a certain amount of money for it. But this is living side by side with another part of Fado - with non-commercial which is still alive among the young people by going to learn Portuguese guitar. They are really interested, so it's like two, a good and an

evil side which are living together.

M: Do you think that tradition of Fado still exists?

C: What we call traditional Fado still exists but in the other forms. We are not anymore composing about the time of the second world war or these kinds of things. It's different but still pretty much alive, it's kind of, so it's still alive as a currency of identity. These kinds of popular neighbourhoods. It's not in 'Povo' where you will feel it but in a kind of event for Portuguese, where you can get a glimpse of this old kind of, old socializing process, to connect old and young, you know Fado is still pretty much this,

M: You know what I was curious about, I went to the place 'Tasca de Chico' and it looked different then 'Povo', because there were so many photos on the walls and the atmosphere was different, it looked like it was a traditional Fado place. But what is interesting is that there was a young girl, she was singing, but I wasn't able to feel something. Everything around was really related to Fado, but I didn't feel this 'emotion', because it was not there. And in 'Povo', even though it doesn't look like a Fado place, but I really felt it, I was so much into that, so are there other places where the atmosphere and the experience are at the same level? Or is it something rare now in Lisbon?

C: It depends on the place, also on the surrounding, on a lot of factors. You can see really great deep things happening in 'Tasca de Chico'. You can also go to 'Povo' and see something completely different. It's not easy for the true Fado people to gather at the 'Tasca de Chico'. It's difficult because at the moment we have a lot of tourists, but it's true that when you go to such a place as 'Povo' on the street full of nightclubs and discotheques. It's more difficult to have a true Fado experience. You can get [inaudible].

M: The other question I want to ask you is what is real Fado for you?

C: It's very subjective, but we, the community of Fado, normally it's something with the source, then you have to define the source [pause] is like today we have some central figures in the history of Fado, we have a certain type of sound. You define the source, and you have sources which are more or less common, but each of them has their own heroes. We have some names that define a bit what is the true and non-commercial Fado. And then when you define the source you can define what is modern and what is a bit old. It's a bit difficult to draw the lines, but we definitely, some are... are very commercial, but if you go a bit ahead, we have a place like 'Mesa de Frades' which is still a very sacred place for Fado. There are other places that have a reputation of making less concessions for the commercial things. Normally there is a guy behind - the figure who controls the quality of these kinds of things...

M: Are also locals going to these kinds of places?

C: For example, 'Mesa de Frades' is definitely the place where the Fado people gather. In 'Tasca de chico' sometimes. Sometimes there are groups of Portuguese people there and you know that they are musicians or singers, but if it's a very touristic atmosphere full of tourists

and you have no space for sitting and you can see that guys want to make lots of money, so they take lots of orders. It's more difficult for such groups to be there. It's a very tribal thing and if you are not Portuguese you have to know Portuguese to be accepted, to be initiated [pause] you are going deep into these circles and then if you are lucky [pause] if you are good, you can really go to the real places, non-commercial places, there are singers who make these gatherings. Flamenco is very much the same. It's kind of, you have to be introduced.

M: I didn't know that it's such a tribal thing,

C: Did you see the movie 'God father'?

M: I think so.

C: This is an old movie, but this is like that [pause] with less depth, in the south of Italy, and now we have this in Lisbon. At the same time, I will explain to you what is the true Fado, we also live in an era where Fado is opening. We have foreigners singing Fado, who are trying to sing professionally.

M: Foreigners?

C: Foreigners, yes. I am talking not about curious guys who love Fado and visit Lisbon. I am talking about the people who live here and really trying to make the career as the Fado singers and try to get into this, it's very difficult. Because you have to speak very well Portuguese. Another thing you have to understand about Fado - is very connected to the language, like flamenco. In Fado you have to really, It's a bit like hip hop. You have to be very clear, because these are text messages they used to send before the era of radio. At the same time, you have these foreigners, who really sing well, I know one American guy from New York and a Serbian girl, people who are more or less accepted by the Fado community. We have a Japanese girl singing very well too[pause] and you should go after these people to understand, because they are from the outside, not Portuguese, who suffered a lot to go through all the barriers, all the obstacles to get into this, and I told you about [x], he is Brazilian who plays Portuguese guitar who went through this process, I will give you his contact after the interview, he is the guy from the university who decided to research Fado. And also, Participant A is a very special person who is not originally a Fado singer, but she was accepted and sings it a lot now in 'Povo'.

M: Yes, this morning I had an interview with her already. Last evening when I listened to you performing together it was really intense for me because it was my first time listening to Fado. So, I felt I have to talk to you both.

C: So, the mission is accomplished.

M: Yes! It was really good! Thank you so much.

C: This is great. Because this is how it should be. The energy beyond the words should be passed. So Fado survived.

M: Even though it was not a traditional Fado place, I think the most important thing is this message, to open the hearts of the people and connect to them.

C: In the end it's not the atmosphere, the place must be small. Then you don't have to have pictures on the walls, it's just the intimacy which is created there. And this is difficult sometimes. If you have more questions to ask in the future, I am around at 'Povo' quite often, by the way.

M: Thank you so much!

C: And you are in the mood for this, when you are back to Lisbon we can continue to talk, because this is a long conversation.

M: You are right. So, I have only a couple of questions left. Do you think Fado would be popular without tourism?

C: I think it's the contrary. Tourism got there because of Fado. Of course, the fact of the cheap flights, of course it played a part here. Everybody can go everywhere. Fado is getting international.

M: Do you think that tourism shapes Fado?

C: Yes, Fado is superficial and quicker.

M: Like Participant A said that it's like in McDonalds.

C: Exactly.

M: Yes, so the last question is how do you see the evolution of Fado in the city? Will there be more places that offer Fado?

C: Now with the Covid I think the number will stabilize, for example, in the 2011 Fado became a world heritage. In the 2013 Lisbon became like the hit, the amount of Fado places raised from 30 to 100. But this process is slowing down and stabilizing since like 2018 as the curve of tourism is also becoming stable.

M: as I read the most popular Fado districts are Alfama and Moraria.

C: Also, Bairro Alto. There are a lot of Fado places there.

M: But now there is Fado everywhere right?

C: Mainly downtown. Outside there are restaurants which make Fado from time to time [pause] You have to understand that it's a very old city, a very special place. The river is huge, it's like the sea river. You have to see that we had this dictatorship [pause] we had colonies, it's terrible, it was an ideology [pause] people believed in certain ideas. The country was very poor and this poverty kept Fado. If you walk around you still can see this poverty, which kept the nature of these popular neighbourhoods. I am already a mixed product, "metis," because I fell in love with Fado and then I began to play. The inner circle is a be ethnic in the Portuguese sense.

M: All right, thank you very much for the conversation with me!

C: You are very welcome.



## Personal Declaration

I hereby declare that the submitted Thesis is the result of my own, independent work.

All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the Thesis.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Mariia', is centered on the page.

Mariia Mariniak, 31.01.2023