

OUR MUSIC OUR WORLD

wind bands and local social life

Edited by
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Edições Colibri

OUR MUSIC/OUR WORLD:
WIND BANDS AND LOCAL SOCIAL LIFE

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Contents

Introduction

Maria do Rosário Pestana, André Granjo, Damien François Sagrillo and Gloria A. Rodríguez-Lorenzo	9
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

Military, wind and brass bands: transnational approaches

*“The band is the instrument” : military bands, the martial paradigm,
the crowd and the legacy of the long nineteenth century*

Trevor Herbert	17
----------------------	----

The Power of the Brass Band

Suzel Reily.....	27
------------------	----

Wind bands in Portugal and in the routes of Portuguese migration

The context of Philharmonic Bands in Portugal: A long term commitment

Graça Mota	41
------------------	----

*Historical, sociological and musicological notes on the evolution
of the Wind Band in Portugal*

André Granjo	57
--------------------	----

Musicking Locality with a Banda Filarmónica

Katherine Brucher.....	83
------------------------	----

*A “Bridge Over Troubled Waters” : the relational space of wind bands.
The case of São Jorge Azores Island*

Maria do Rosário Pestana	99
--------------------------------	----

*A música para banda da Biblioteca da Ajuda: um contributo para
o seu estudo e divulgação*

Bruno Madureira.....	117
----------------------	-----

<i>Memories of Portuguese Wind Bands in the Civil Wind Bands Meetings of the State of Rio de Janeiro (1976-1992)</i>	
Antonio Henrique Seixas de Oliveira	141
<i>Filarmónicas ‘in transit’: the Filarmónica Portuguesa de Paris as ‘Welcoming Port’</i>	
Maria Helena Milheiro	163
<i>North American Portuguese “Filarmónicas” – an Update and Summary</i>	
Paul Niemisto	175
<i>Da oposição, à criação da Banda do Centro Recreativo Amadores de Música “Os Leões”: Um retrato alicerçado nos enlaces da memória</i>	
Daniel José Nunes Rodrigues	203
<i>A Banda Filarmónica Barranquense: entre lugares, culturas e práticas musicais</i>	
Dulce Simões	237
<i>Sociedade Filarmónica ‘Lira do Rosário’: um património local</i>	
Ana Margarida Gaipo	265
<i>Banda Filarmónica de Pinhel: um ícone da cultura local da “Cidade Falcão”</i>	
Ana Cristina Brito Pinto	281
<i>Do “mundo elegante” aos “microcosmos da gente portuguesa”: os frequentadores no jardim público de Évora e os seus gostos musicais (1887-1910)</i>	
João Pedro Costa	301
<i>Bandas filarmónicas portuguesas: viveiro de músicos. Origens, opções profissionais e imaginário musical – um testemunho pessoal</i>	
Luís Carvalho	319
<i>Festival de Bandas de Música da EDP 1986</i>	
Pedro Ralo	329
<i>The Emergence of Fanfarras Brass Bands in Portugal (1990s-to present): associativism, local activism, and trans-local cultural production</i>	
Miguel Moniz	349

Musicians, repertoire and contexts in Austria, Brazil and Spain

<i>From Zarzuelas to Military Bands: Building a Spanish Musical Identity</i> Gloria A. Rodríguez-Lorenzo	401
<i>The Pannonisches Blasorchester in Burgenland (Austria): A Wind Band at the Border of Tradition and Modernity</i> David Gasche	419
<i>The Evolution of the wind band repertoire in Valencia: case study of the International Wind Band Contest 'City of Valencia'</i> Javier Monteagudo Mañas Conrado Enrique Carrascosa López José Pascual Hernández Farinós	443
<i>Pedro Braña en Sevilla: primer lustro al frente de la Banda Municipal (1945-1950)</i> Alejandro Díaz	461
<i>Bandas Marciais Escolares de Goiânia: Relações com a vida estudantil e seus integrantes</i> Aurélio Nogueira de Sousa e Joel Luís da Silva Barbosa	475
Biographical notes	495

The Emergence of *Fanfarra* Brass Bands in Portugal (1990s-to present): associativism, local activism, and trans-local cultural production

Miguel Moniz

This paper examines the emergence and role of a unique kind of brass music ensemble in Portugal, beginning in the mid 1990's and increasing during the post-EU period. Called *fanfarra* bands by their members, the brass street and stage bands have synthesized global music repertoires into a performative frame that has expanded on current and former practices of other kinds of Portuguese brass ensembles (i.e. *filarmónicas*) and cultural performance collectives (i.e. *ranchos folclóricos*) while incorporating other elements of performance styles in Portugal while also having been influenced by ICTs and personal exchanges with other global brass bands. Associativism is a major part in the organization and performative and cultural practices of the *fanfarra* brass collectives certainly locally, but also in international contexts. This paper provides an overview of the emergence and development of these bands in Portugal and their relationship to global brass walking band ensembles; exploring how their performances have participated in shaping narrative frames around reproduced local, national, and broader EU identities.

*Fanfarras*¹ and community band associativism^[SEP] A *fanfarra*² (as they are

¹ This research is part of the project “Our music, our world: Musical associations, wind bands, and local communities (1880-2018)” sponsored by FEDER Funds through the Programa Operacional Competitividade e Internacionalização – COMPETE 2020 – and by National Funds through FCT – the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology: POCI-01-0145-FEDER-016814 (Ref.^a FCT: PTDC/CPC-MMU/5720/2014). I am grateful to Salwa Castelo Branco, who first encouraged and validated my interest in further research on *fanfarra* bands. I am grateful to the *Conselho Científico* of the “Our Music, Our World” project for editorial comments on an earlier draft of this paper. The Luso-American Foundation also provided fellowship support to help assist this project. Earlier research on Portuguese *filarmónica* bands and associations in New England was also undertaken as a fellow on the FCT project Ritual, Etnicidade, Transnacionalismo-PI João Leal, CRIA-Universidade Nova de Lisboa [PTDC/CS- ANT/100037/2008], as well as the Colour of

termed in Portugal) is a category of multi-voiced horn ensemble arranged in *naipes* as the musicians in Portugal refer to their sections of alto, soprano, tenor and bass horn instruments (trumpets, woodwinds—more specifically saxophones, as well as some accordions—trombones, tubas, sousaphones); percussion instruments (favoring bass drum, snare, tom-tom but open to all kinds of traditional and experimental world percussion); and string rhythm, melody and solo instruments (which depending on the aesthetic or size of the *fanfarra* can include banjo, guitar, violin, as well as portable amplified electric guitars and other amplified instruments, including voices)³.

The ensembles are an example of a one iteration of the community-based bands⁴ and have a structural relationship to the *filarmónica* band tradition in

Labour: the racialized lives of migrants (ICS, University of Lisbon). The primary material and intellectual support for this project however came from the *Farra Fanfarra Associação Cultural* and the many members of *Farra Fanfarra* and other musicians and performers with whom I have had the privilege and pleasure to learn from, play with and experience the global brass music movement in recent decades.

² The name “Fanfarra” has been used previously to describe military marching corps horn bands, commonly referring in Portugal to older *Bombeiro* [fireman] ensembles). Castelo Branco 2011. Among contemporary *fanfarras*, I believe the name itself comes from common usage of fanfare bands among musicians playing together or seen in performances and videos. *Fanfarra* is the Portuguese version of the word. Brass, percussion, and string projects have linguistic variations of fanfare or *fanfarra* in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Mexico, etc. They also exist in the North America from marching band traditions including migrant brass bands and their influence on public school bands in contemporary American musical instruction.

³ I have been playing as a guitarist and collaborating in musical projects with *Farra Fanfarra* of Lisbon/Sintra since 2007 and have been a member of the *Farra Fanfarra Associação Cultural (FFAC)* a municipally chartered and nationally registered cultural association since 2010. I have also served as an officer in different positions in the association including currently as Vice-President of the *Mesa da Assembleia*, the association’s meeting board. Research for this paper and other work on the *fanfarra* phenomenon includes formal and informal interviews and field work conducted in parallel with rehearsing with, playing in, and participating in activities of these kinds of bands since 2006. This work also includes my participation in *Farra Fanfarra*, and various other brass ensembles, playing street, marching and stage shows in the rural communities and urban districts of Portugal at local village *festas*, urban dance clubs, regional, national and international festivals, commercials, TV shows, and *fanfarra* encounters, along with spontaneous performances. I have also supported FFAC association and other association’s civic and political engagement activities including SOS Racismo, Neriz Vermelho, and other social justice organizations. I have also conducted field work on a number of international and Portuguese association-to-association encounters in which I participated and helped to organize as a member of *Farra Fanfarra*. In nearly all of the events presented in this paper I was a participant-observer conducting research while playing with the band.

⁴ My analysis and research presentation is an attempt to engage with themes discussed in

Portugal⁵, although organized independently and with a broader productive and operational scope. The bands can also be analyzed as part of studies of political identity constructions, and how mobilities, negotiations over inequalities, and tangible and intangible material cultural production coalesce around the social relations among the members of chartered associations in Portugal and among mobile international labor and diaspora communities⁶.

The transgressive public performances of these usually itinerant ensembles emerging in rural and urban communities in Portugal studied in this paper was undertaken with bands based mostly in and around^[L1]Lisbon, Sintra, Guarda, Agueda, Évora, and the Ribatejo, although other bands exist in other parts of Portugal. The ensembles range from around 8 to upwards of 20-plus musicians⁷, and are conceived as bands for *arruadas*⁸, walking bands that mount lively ambulatory “street” performances that features movement, choreographies among the musicians, and can also include comedic *animadores*, *palhaçaria*⁹, and often dancers. There are a growing number of these kinds of bands that continue to form over the past decades in Portugal, including many newer players who have integrated into older bands, as well as musicians who have played previously in a *fanfarra*, who have branched

Finnegan 1989 and Reily and Brucher 2013 and including Newsome 2006, as well as the objectives of the FCT Grant Project: Nossa Música, Universidade de Aveiro (Rosário Pestana, PI). I would also mention ethnographies on global horn ensembles cited in this paper as also influential in helping me to develop themes in this paper.

⁵ Developed over essays by Brucher 2009, 2013a, 2013b.^[L1]

⁶ See work developed by Holton 2005; Leal 2009, 2011, 2016; Klimt and Holton eds., 2009; Melo and Silva eds., 2009; Sardinha 2009; Brucher 2009, 2013a, 2013b; Moniz 2020, forthcoming. See also Heath 2015.^[L1]

⁷ The economic crisis in Portugal diminished public and private funds to support music and reduced the number of musicians playing in *fanfarras* as well as other paid musical ensembles in Portugal. For unpaid community concerts the size of the bands is most often larger than for paid performances.^[L1]

⁸ Or an *arruada* (singular) has a history among Portuguese horn bands, including among community based *jilarmónicas* and other marching bands—who use the term to describe marching, ambulatory performances. The *arruada* is a term used similarly by the *fanfarra* bands, and forms part of how language is used by these bands in Portugal occupying the space of older cultural and structural forms of music production at the village and community level.^[L1]

⁹ The *fanfarra* bands are part of a broader development across Lisbon as well as other parts of Portugal, of mutual support among associations and groups performing local, traditional and international performing arts. The *fanfarras* also frequently collaborate with dancers and other street performers. The *animadores* or *palhaçaria* in Portugal have developed from local street performance art and other more formalized schools and associations dedicated to street performances. In Lisbon *Châpito* is one example of an international school, with international students and teachers.^[L1]

off to form their own new itinerant or walking horn ensembles. Each *fanfarra* has evolved unique performance styles within the genre and develops *alinhamentos*¹⁰ of global brass and wind music, sometimes originals, and arrangements of other locally and globally written popular songs. They perform at municipal and village events, agricultural and commerce festivals, music clubs, and in urban, regional and national music festivals; some perform internationally in similar settings as in Portugal.

The community-based bands are also organized as chartered community cultural associations (or have some affiliation with a community-based cultural association) which can facilitate members' broader civic participation. These associations participate in national and international musician exchanges (Reilly and Brucher 2013; Brucher 2009, 2013b) and encounters with other global *fanfarra*-style ensembles¹¹. In Portugal, some formally call themselves *fanfarras*, others do not, but they form a category of like-minded bands playing with similar instrumentation, similar approaches and appear in similar spaces of local street and stage performance throughout the country.

The bands have formed and exist in a cultural context of local responses to power inequalities, as global economies and mobilities effect local communities. The ensembles are another iteration of community-based brass, woodwind and percussion bands that have developed in Portugal and in other global geographies (Reily and Brucher 2013). These *fanfarras* in Portugal have emerged as part of an increasingly global movement of technically and performatively like-minded brass, wind and percussive music projects playing in public, which also have a cultural and political role in local community life¹². Instrumentation and musical practices of older community music associations, conservatories and jazz clubs have informed the *fanfarra*'s formation, and link current post EU power negotiations to earlier global circulation flows in colonial and post-colonial contexts; and are likewise linked to longitudinal labor mobilities to and from Portugal across the EU, North and South America, Africa and Asia. A key activity of *fanfarra* bands in Portugal, includes performances at voluntary community-based service activities organized by associations and local governments, even as the bands are also a way for musicians to develop and maintain professional careers. The community-based associations help both musicians and communities participate in political and humanitarian causes of social inclusion and justice.

¹⁰ A line up of songs, a repertoire. ^[1]_{SEP}

¹¹ See for example Boonzajer Flaes 2000, Burns 2006.

¹² I have collaborated with and done field research with several bands with which *Farra Fanfarra* has collaborated, both nationally and internationally including the *What Cheer? Brigade*, in Providence RI, which also organizes and participates in performances in support of civic issues and humanitarian causes. ^[1]_{SEP}

The band's place in local communities is formalized through their legal incorporation and municipal statutory codification and be supported by local, municipal, national and international governmental political, organizational and financial support. Their emergence has been stimulated by both formal and informal initiatives of the EU political, cultural and economic integration project—which has included state and institutional efforts to use cultural encounters to promote and re-define closed national identities into broader networks of political and economic contact, coercion and negotiation. These post-EU transformations have been negotiated in Portugal through a reliance upon and repurposing of older forms of community-centered approaches to civic participation—the association. As association or association affiliated projects, the bands' performances and activities make them community-based vehicles for civic, economic, and political engagement.

Community-based recreational, cultural, beneficent and economic cooperative associations have a history in both Portugal and mobile labor communities from Portuguese territories studied in New England, Canada, California, and Hawaii as well as in other Portuguese colonial and post-colonial geographies (Holton 2005; Leal 2009, 2011, 2016; Klimt and Holton eds, 2009; Melo and Silva eds, 2009; Sardinha 2009; Brucher 2009, 2013a, 2013b; Moniz 2020 in press). Particular versions of these associations, established for the purposes of playing and teaching music, also have been popular community-based vehicles for public and civic engagement dating formally back to the 19th century.

Over the *Estado Novo* period (1920s-1974), these associations became sites of state control, a part of the Dictatorships' rise to power by exerting control over public gatherings and through setting the rules of music and performance among the community organizations (see Holton 2005) centered in rural and urban *aldeias* or *freguesias* and other terms used to refer to local residential areas¹³.

The *Estado Novo*'s policing, regulation and censorship of musical and dance performances, repertoire, venue of performance, and performative styles, exerted social control that limited practical popular civic engagement, propagandizing their activities in the name of state-level control over local spaces. The rules and punishments imposed on cultural associations—which supported and provided the structural, educational and cultural capital necessary for the shape and venue of the gatherings and performances—made

¹³ Historical changes in administrative demarcations over territories using “freguesia,” “aldeia” (or even “bairro”) has led to uses of these terms not only in reference to an official unit, but also more broadly, as a reference to a specific social community and network of social relations. Although they are categorical, these relations have a high correlation with personal networks among communities of habitual contact (J Clyde Mitchell 1956.)^{SEP}

the associations a focal point of negotiations with the Dictatorship era program to control participation in public community life¹⁴.

With the political participation of communities of laborers limited by the corporatist state, the thousands of formalized civic, recreational, labor and beneficial associations in Portugal emerging from the 19th century provided a popular form of engagement with local, municipal and national power processes. The association is an independent organization chartered through the local and national government, a legally registered corporative body providing community collectives with a structure to exercise a voice and role in public civic life. Members of an association elect a governing board—although the boards of smaller community associations are more often than not composed of an unopposed *lista* or a slate of officers written up by the founder, founders, or a previous board¹⁵. These kinds of arrangements with continuous creative leadership are evidence of the viability and growth of a founders' project. As with *filarmónicas* and other local cultural associations, however, changes in leadership, difficulties with funding, or a failure to develop newer musicians, often can be destabilizing, and can mean the end of a project. One of the characteristics and challenges of the *fanfarra* style band associations if they hope to have longitudinal longevity and relevance, is how they are able to initiate and train new musicians in repertoires and performance styles.

An association's incorporation provides a statutory vehicle¹⁶ that formalizes social relations and formalizes a structure that allows members to carry out community-based cultural, economic or political activities. As with other community-based village musical ensembles, the more prominent *fanfarra* bands in Portugal are linked to a supporting association. It is another way that these community bands fill performance spaces and are a source of formalized musical education. The associations also provide a vehicle for the members to participate in civic- minded activities including public activism for political, human and social rights and other beneficial causes. There are thousands of cultural and civic associations in Portugal, many that have been in continuous

¹⁴ Holton 2005. For context see Monteiro and Pinto 1980; Corkill and Pina Almeida 2009; see also music and resistance in a different cultural context by Babak Nikzat, "Bazm, a self-organized social activity in the city of Bušehr: A study of local attempts to revive neyhambune music in Southern Iran after the Islamic Revolution." Unpublished paper presented at the HAHP 2019 conference. Universidade de Aveiro, June 30.

¹⁵ I have conducted anthropological and archival field research on associational governance in Portugal through collaborations and work with urban and rural associations; and in migrant contexts in New England among socio-religious, cultural and recreational, *beneficiente*, and economic cooperative associations.^[1]^[2]^[3]

¹⁶ See Holton 2005, Leal 2009, 2011, 2016; Klimt and Holton eds, 2009; Melo and Silva eds, 2009; Sardinha 2009; Brucher 2009, 2013a, 2013b; Moniz 2020, forthcoming; and in another migrant mobile labor study (from Poland) and associations by Radecki 1979.

operation tracing back to founding dates in the 19th century and include associations in Portuguese colonial and migrant labor and mobility contexts.

In the aftermath of Portugal's post-democratic period, the associations enjoyed greater freedom of expression and performance than before, but the tangible and intangible culture of these bands and groups, through their implication with Estado Novo control—was sometimes regarded in historical memory dis-favorably. The desire for international musical encounters among the local bands, which was already popular in Portugal during the dictatorship grew in the aftermath, with many musicians and bands turning away from these musical and cultural forms. The village associations' as community-based organizations with intergenerational and community integrative importance however would persist and develop over the period. These folkways have in large measure been reinvigorated by a younger cohort coming of age during the phase of Portugal's formalized integration into the EU, a period that also encompasses local responses to the global financial crisis in the early 2010s. The more recent Covid 19 pandemic has also caused the bands to greatly diminish their public social activities, along with the revenues generated by that work. The *fanfarra* bands in Portugal—along with other practices around music making and dance—are a part of broader community engagement with evolving migratory and economic flows resulting from reconfigured power relations in Portugal as a member of the EU, and how musicians and their audiences have exerted forms of agency through the production of material culture.

As the EU integration project progressed toward the Schengen and Euro, prognosticators fretted over a supposed cultural homogenization that would occur among member nations. No doubt, tourism and migratory flows have increased among Europe and Portugal along with other parts of the world as a result of these transformative political reconfigurations; which exist alongside and amplify other historical connections of Portugal to global geographies—relations with former colonies, labor mobilities to and from Portugal; and political and geo-strategic proximities to Europe, parts of Africa Asia and the Atlantic. Musical traditions, including brass, woodwinds and percussion from outside of Portugal have existed in Portugal for centuries, but contact with European and other flows intensified during the colonial period as a result of migrant and return flows among colonial geographies, especially in the post-dictatorship period set in motion by the 25 de Abril, 1974 Revolution. Portugal's transformation to democracy and the gradual political steps taken resulting in the administrative and cooperative framework of the European Union¹⁷ have brought to Portugal a broad and diversity of working musicians,

¹⁷ Lahusen 2006 examines the role of associativism across the EU in relation to EU political and civic integration.

with places like Lisbon a dynamic nexus of local encounter with a diversity of musical practices. Through these performances, and the soundscapes developed through this contact, musicians set contemporary expectations for what constitutes popular music production.¹⁸ Principles of EU political solidarity and cultural and educational exchanges are promoted in EU-wide programs that have directly and indirectly promoted musical and performative programs that have increased the circulation of trans-local cultures. The circulation of these and other traditions across the EU's cities is well studied, but lesser examined is how this project also implicates rural and sparsely populated EU locations as well.

Rather than leading to some conceptualized homogenization of European cultural identity, however, Portugal's entry into the EU sparked a resurgence of traditional music practices in the country, as *fanfarras* (along with other music and dance associations)¹⁹ have rearticulated the concept of community band practices, (as one kind of community cultural association) to become a conduit for social life and civic participation. Simultaneously, the bands are also introducing and playing international playlists and incorporating global musical production for local audiences in spaces common to brass bands, helping to re-invigorate the community *feira*, *arraial* and regional fair, while they have also expanded both urban and rural soundscapes and performance venues for locally produced music in Portugal.

Public *festas*, *festas na aldeia*, and *arraiais* are specific kinds of community embedded social gatherings at which one finds live music and are a key space of *fanfarra* performances. The parties usually include locally produced music and community based folk music production, including *filarmónicas*. How these socio-religious events supported by the church and associativism have evolved, been adapted, or repurposed as a popular and secular form of community inclusion is a key theme of this paper. The performances and public dances put on by the *fanfarras*, as with the *trabaille*

¹⁸ Ie. Vanspauwen 2013 Labarre and Vanspauwen 2013. For broader context see Alge 2013. Béhague 1997; Castro 1997; Castelo-Branco 1997 Kubik 1997, Waterhouse 1997. For other examples see Palmberg 2002, Sarkissian 1999; Sieber 2002. Batalha and Carling (2008) develop an example in other lusophone post-colonial and EU migrant contexts of Cape Verdean migration to Holland. The *fanfarra* bands amplify a long-standing interest among horn and other musicians in Portugal to explore international genres, including even *filarmónicas* which also play popular international music.

¹⁹ Percussion groups, dance, choral groups, for example. I have also conducted research with musicians while playing in bands at *trabaille* dance association events and with other dance groups, including work and collaborations with *Pédexumbo* (which organizes the *Andanças* live music and dance festival). These associations have been key catalysts reviving and repurposing traditional village dances, dance music and events for public community gatherings, in modern contexts.

and neo-folk-dance movement in Portugal has transformed the performance of traditional musical and dance forms from a spectacle to be passively appreciated by a seated audience, into an event that can be participated in by everyone gathered. This is art that exists not as a metaphor, but as a civic practice of community inclusion.

Emerging in the mid-1990s—with the bulk established in the 2000s and early 2010s—the *fanfarra* bands in Portugal developed over a period of EU formalization, and reflect Portuguese brass, woodwind and percussion musicians' contact with various global music geographies, their traditions and compositions. The community-based educational and cultural support for the bands' formation, operation and performance, however, is disciplined by long standing practices shaping the role of cultural associations producing village *festas*. The bands organize local residential community life, a practice that includes Portuguese style *filarmónica* bands, and other popular musical collectives; and are a part of post-Democracy and post-EU iterations of community and civic participation in Portugal through youth, musical, cultural and recreational associations.

Socio-religious feasts and Saints celebration days have long been primary performative spaces for *filarmónica* bands. Along with the *filarmónica*'s religious celebration performances, they also play at local *festas na aldeia*, parties situated in and intended for local or regional residential community or a more urban neighborhood *bairro*, which have included performances of these ensembles along with other associative music and dance groups. Opportunities for paid performances by these musicians and artists have expanded in recent decades as a result of proliferating regional festivals, agricultural fairs, and ever more sophisticated corporate/public-sponsored merchants' and guild festivals, regional, national and international music festivals, regional and international touristic events, corporate parties and other advertising work.

With the Post-EU changes to both legal and affective definitions of Portuguese citizenship, social and cultural life in Portuguese villages and towns, as well as the more obvious urban spaces, have expanded physical and technological mobilities. These spaces have been points of negotiation and friction among international economies, commerce and labor flows; with material cultural consumption in these spaces shaped by older cultural practices and musical forms that structure social relations in local communities. This live local musical mobility is also implicated in the circulation of global cultural production in urban and rural communities that have access to digital media. The *fanfarras* have been formed through creative and dynamic cultural practices that adapted locally based associational activities to facilitate their creation of popular material and intangible culture; and as a means to effect the economic and social well-being in civic and community life for what the bands see as the public good.

These bands help participate in inter-cultural and inter-category mobility experiences that promote human rights and equality, and the musicians speak about their encounter with this music, these performances and other *fanfarras* in terms that are egalitarian, and that seek to create safe, mutually beneficial spaces for human social and artistic encounters. The musicians also participate, wittingly or not, in other reconfigurations of local and national identity constructions, providing some EU integration project initiatives with musical activities and for other national and international events in urban and rural communities.

The musicians who formed these early *fanfarra* bands were diverse, with each personal musical encounter ultimately unique to each performer's own experience. There are some common points of entry and contact, however, among these bands in Portugal, and similarities in their formation, and the amateur and professional musicians playing in them. At their most basic level, the founders and musicians all have in common personal access to other musical and performative repertoires of the kinds of *naipes* of horn, percussion and other rhythms through their own mobilities outside of Portugal or by being introduced to these soundscapes by other contemporary migrant mobilities in the country. *Fanfarra* musicians studying music in Portugal nearly all share in-common training in Portugal's village cultural association tradition of music instruction including *filarmónica* bands; as well as in private and public music conservatories. International players coming from other parts of Europe (predominantly), Lusophone Africa and South and North America, include musicians trained in similar conservatories and who participated themselves in community or municipal brass, woodwind, percussion and string projects before moving to live in Portugal.

Versions of the bands in Portugal started to appear in the 1990s and gained force over the first decade of the aughts. The emergence of the earliest *fanfarras* in Portugal is, however, not linear, but rather developed in distinct regional contexts and emerged, at least in their initial stages, largely independently removed from other areas, even if there were some common points of encounter among them. In more recent phases of the *fanfarra* movement the bands have met frequently and hosted one another for encounters, which have helped them to grow technically and developed a shared symbolic and performative awareness of what constitutes the distinctiveness of these kinds of ensembles.

Given their growth and number in recent years, as well as the extinction of some earlier bands, a completed catalog of all the bands is elusive. Compounding the problem of compiling such a list, is the rapidly growing number of new and distinct projects performing at local, regional and national fairs. I have identified dozens of these with the more prominent bands specifically identifying themselves as *Fanfarra* bands. At summertime *festas na aldeia* (village festivals), or regional market fairs, *fanfarra* or similar

walking brass, woodwind and percussion ensembles feature heavily in the programming.²⁰

The formation of some of the earliest bands, *Farra NemFáNemFun*, *Farra Sacabuxa*, *Fanfarra Kaustika*, *Pena Kalimotxo* and the *Farra Fanfarra / Kumpania Algazarra* co-project serve in this study as case examples of the development of the *fanfarras* in Portugal along with their broader participation in performance networks that includes other *fanfarra* style ensembles. These bands all come from distinct regional locations and have developed their own *fanfarra* concepts based on the particularities of their own communities' introduction to, education in, and engagement with these sounds and performance styles. The bands covered in this project include *fanfarras* in and around Sintra, Lisbon; Guarda; Águeda/Aveiro; Lavre and Évora in Alentejo; as well as explicitly named *fanfarra* or other similar musical and performative style bands in Ribatejo and Porto.

One of the earliest versions of these kinds of bands in Portugal referenced by those in my research network of players is the *Macacos da Rua* of Évora, a band founded by a group of local musicians under the direction of Greg Moore, an American tuba player from Boston who was living in the city. Travelling in Portugal in the decade after the 1974 25 de Abril revolution²¹ with an itinerant English theater group called *Footsbarn*, Moore performed "with a brass and string band and folk ensemble that featured clowns and dancers and well-rounded entertainers."²² The band travelled to Odemira and produced a new show over the winter, before going on the road again to perform across Portugal from the Algarve to Caminha.

Moore left Portugal for Amsterdam in 1981, but returned in 1993 because his wife, who was from the Minho, missed her family. Working as a teacher at the *Escola Profissional de Música de Évora*, he created the *Macacos da Rua* in an effort to form a band that could earn money at commercial and municipal events. As with others of Moore's projects in Portugal, the band continued after he left, and became a popular point of reference among the bands in Évora, Lisbon, and other parts of Portugal.

Moore likewise worked on other projects including teaching classes and giving band workshops in brass, woodwind and percussion instruments in various localities to musicians in the region around Guarda. In Fundão, Moore

²⁰ This is not strictly speaking an accurate number at any given moment. I have played with these kinds of bands since 2007 and I continue to learn about similar kinds of brass projects founded in this period and earlier that I hadn't previously studied. Nearly anytime one is in the regions in which the bands in this study play, one will find a festival with another brass *fanfarra* style brass music project.

²¹ The national day of celebration commemorating Portugal's democratic revolution against the *Estado Novo* dictatorship.

²² Interview with Greg Moore, October 30, 2014.

was invited by Miguel Reina to work with members of the town *filarmónica*. He was also invited by Honorato Esteves who had a background with a theater association for a residence in the relatively isolated Famalicão da Serra (Guarda) to teach workshops that would help brass and wind musicians form a street band— one of the earliest self-referentially styled *fanfarra* bands in Portugal, *NemFáNemFum*. As the community was not served by a conveniently proximate *filarmónica* band, Esteves thought it would be easier to ask Moore to help the smaller number of amateur musicians among the diminished population of the community to develop a 9-person wind and percussion ensemble rather than start a whole new *filarmónica* (Honorato Esteves, interview, July 21, 2018).

Esteves, as trumpeter, along with trombonist Alexandre Horta, are key musicians in the band; but are also political leaders in the local *junta da freguesia* the village civic administration. They are also primary movers behind the cultural programs developed through the Centro Cultural da Famalicão da Serra—a community civic and cultural association serving their small rural community. The band uses the association *sede* as a rehearsal space and has been an early and ongoing supporter of *fanfarra* style music in Portugal, organizing regional and national encounters of these bands.

The World Exposition in 1998²³ brought visitors from around the world to Lisbon and was held on the heels of Lisbon's standing in 1994 as the European Capital of Culture (see Holton 1998). These proto-European Union initiatives funded and promoted by municipal and national governments, European Community agencies and international companies, provided money and expertise that modernized the physical and technical infrastructure of many of Lisbon's performance spaces ahead of highlighting the city as a global touristic destination and artistic, scientific, research and educational partner. The years building up to the staging of these events are seen as a watershed cultural, infrastructural and political moment in the post-25 de Abril revolution period, presaging and preparing local communities' entry into a post-EU political configuration.

Trumpeter Nuno Reis, who joined *Farra Fanfarra* shortly after the band's formation was trained at the *filarmónica 12 de Abril de Travassô*, (today known as the *Orquestra 12 de Abril*) in Águeda. He also studied at the *Conservatório de Música de Aveiro de Calouste Gulbenkian*, before moving to Lisbon for advanced study at the *Escola de Jazz do Hot Clube de Portugal*. In the 1990's, Reis was a founding member of the Portuguese pop-jazz band *Cool Hipnose*, an alt jazz, hip hop, brass and wind ensemble, that was a featured performer playing various times at Expo '98, including the main stage at *Palco Praça Sony* as part of nationally televised concerts. The

²³ Anthropological field research conducted at Expo 98. Summer 1998.

building of the stage was sponsored through international global music industry investment, and today remains the largest commercial indoor public stage in Lisbon (Castelo-Branco 2011).

Reis recalls: “Expo was transformative. It wasn’t just the infrastructure that was updated to the city’s concert halls, but sound engineers, sound and light technicians, production skills, all of this, they had to be trained, musicians were playing on much larger stages and for larger audiences. It was a leap forward” (Nuno Reis, Interview October 11, 2008).

The events also required organizers to find ways to represent popular culture from Portugal. Music made by international encounter in Lisbon was a theme of the Expo as well as the 1994 ECC. Live musical performances at the events were drawn from around the world, but also relied upon local musicians to fill the program and to showcase music from the host country, making the musicians responsible for helping to define cultural production from “Portugal” for expositors, which was presented including cultural production from former colonies as well as Lisbon urban projects including performers from these geographies. The widely disseminated *Red Hot + Lisbon* disk which was produced by David Byrne on the Luaka Bop label also contributed to this notion of Portugal in which Lisbon was a space of musical encounter and creativity and these processes were used in broader discourses by promoters of the events through which Portugal was presented as an international place of contact and investment. Mobilities among these global geographies would be opened to Lisbon’s professional musical scene and Lisbon as a professional base and European gateway city for lusophone African musical artists. Many of the *cantautores* or singer-songwriters from these genres in the city from Angola, Cabo Verde and Guinea Bissau, as well as Brazil called on local brass musicians to play with them in musical projects.

Players working in professional projects in Lisbon would be founding members of *fanfarras* and other stage brass bands. *Fanfarra* music was also a part of representations of Portugal during Expo ‘98, with *NemFáNemFum* playing during the summer long event. Accompanying an image of the band playing in front of the *Pavilhão do Território*—a pavilion that promoted Portuguese national territories—text from a promotional guidebook refers to the ensemble: “The band draws from a broad and open repertory, music of the world, crossing rhythms and influences that come from jazz to pop and including Russian, Jewish, Afro-American, Latin music as well as some songs from Famalição folklore.” The outfits worn by the band in the publicity photos from Expo ‘98 show them playing a street concert *arruada* dressed as Franciscan monks including comic wigs to make them look tonsured; other outfits of the band included Hawaiian shirts, or “gangster style” suits and ties. Dressed for these shows in a common uniform is a unifying characteristic of all

of the *fanfarra* bands, with some kind of common outfit or theme; and more usually than not, some kind of common dress band t-shirt, as the bands in their own individual way, have generally adopted the *filarmónica* and military marching band concept of a uniformed ensemble, that shares common dress elements with other *fanfarras* (Brucher and Reilly 2013). All bands, however, attempt to push design elements beyond just t-shirts. *Farra Fanfarra* for example has enlisted painter, graphic and graffiti artist Pedro Verseci to design logos, paint murals on rehearsal spaces, the bands travelling van, and etc.; with the band collaborating with many other plastic and performance artists, videographers, etc. as well as students in university arts and cultural classes who frequently work with the association.

Some of the outfits can also be evocative of the kinds of more dramatic costumes worn by bands marching in annual *carnaval* parades and celebrations. Carnival style has effectively been adapted to Halloween outfits as well, as much as outfits are shaped by the participants memories of American movies and television in which stories around the holiday are a frequent topic. Halloween as an adult holiday has only come over recent years in Portugal, with Irish bars promoting live music parties for the Irish holiday in Lisbon, like Gilen's Pub which had its first live music Halloween party in 1994. Now commonplace in Lisbon and elsewhere in the country *fanfarras* and brass ensembles provided music for the earliest local celebrations of Halloween in Lisbon at Irish bars and other music clubs. The transgressive nature of carnival and other inversion holidays makes these celebrations a good fit for the category-crossing *fanfarra* bands (Damatta 1997; Turner 1969).

The region around the Serra da Estrella, which has a number of *filarmónicas*, music schools, and a music conservatory, also has, not coincidentally, several *fanfarras*. *Fanfarra Sacabuxa* from Castanheira de Guarda was started by a group of musicians from the *Banda Filarmónica de Pínzio*—a philharmonic and music school that recruited musicians from neighboring villages, mostly through church announcements, including 15 young people who went to Pínzio to study in the *Associação de Juventude Activa de Castanheira* (AJAC), a youth association created to assist “life in the village, *festas*, and the traditions of each particular village community”.²⁴ The AJAC invited Greg Moore to teach brass band workshops over 2001-2003 and the *Macacos da Rua* also performed in the area. After seeing the concert, the group from Castanheira made a proposal to start a similar kind of street band to play in their *aldeia* and worked with Greg Moore—who held various workshops for *filarmónicas*—to mount a 10-piece *fanfarra*. Band founder Elmano Pereira, a tuba player, recalled, “The band played a lot of traditional music, *ai ai ai ai, minha machadinha...* and other

²⁴ Interview with Elmano Pereira, founder of *Fanfarra Sacabuxa* February 9, 2015. “Vida na terra, festas e as tradições na propria terra.”^{SEP}

traditional songs from Portugal as well as music from everywhere in the world.”²⁵

After Gregg Moore left much of the impetus for the band dissipated, according to Pereira, but from the professional music training he received playing in the *fanfarra* as well as school in Pínzio, several matriculated at the *Escola Profissional de Artes* in Covilhã. Eventually, however, the musicians from Castanheira brought their classmates at the music school back to Pínzio to play in *Fanfarra Sacabuxa*, revitalizing the band with other regional players. In 2013 however, the Castanheira youth association ceased operation as a result of a broader pattern of out-migration from the *aldeia* as younger people left to find work in the cities and outside of Portugal—part of an ongoing repopulation challenge in smaller villages in Portugal’s interior. Without the AJAC, the band was left without an association as an organizing entity; and was further, a victim of its own success, as this youth labor mobility included members of the band who, like players from other parts of Portugal, left Covilhã to seek opportunities in Lisbon for advanced training and to pursue professional careers in music.²⁶ Once resettled, this core of players including Elmano Pereira gathered in Lisbon for rehearsals and with other musicians founded another *fanfarra*, *Fanfarra Forrobódo*. Pereira also plays in smaller versions of *fanfarras*, for a *Junta de Freguesia do Samouco* ensemble playing what he described as “charangas” a kind of smaller *fanfarra* of around 5 or so musicians that perform with a similar spirit to a *fanfarra*.

The *filarmónica* band associations, through the various community leadership roles among the individuals supporting their activities (including non-musician officers) are a local community resource for education, sociability and community life. Their activities have offered free musical instruction and training to anyone interested in joining, as part of a historical and cultural patrimony extending more than a century. After studying to pass basic exams in music theory and notation through the *solflège* method, those willing to practice and master the art of playing are provided a free instrument by the association. Playing and learning together, musicians ranging in age as from seven to their seventies participate in traditions of musical instruction that have been handed down generationally within each association. Other privately or governmentally funded music education in rural and urban areas of Portugal over the post-Revolution period have also made advanced music instruction more accessible to broader numbers of students, but even brass

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Lisbon is a prominent urban point of encounter of global musicians seeking professional musical training and pursuing public performance careers among those from lusophone Africa and Brazil, for whom the ease of settling into Portugal through the city provides a potential stepping off point for a broader European musical career.^[1]^[2]^[3]^[4]^[5]^[6]^[7]^[8]^[9]^[10]^[11]^[12]^[13]^[14]^[15]^[16]^[17]^[18]^[19]^[20]^[21]^[22]^[23]^[24]^[25]^[26]^[27]^[28]^[29]^[30]^[31]^[32]^[33]^[34]^[35]^[36]^[37]^[38]^[39]^[40]^[41]^[42]^[43]^[44]^[45]^[46]^[47]^[48]^[49]^[50]^[51]^[52]^[53]^[54]^[55]^[56]^[57]^[58]^[59]^[60]^[61]^[62]^[63]^[64]^[65]^[66]^[67]^[68]^[69]^[70]^[71]^[72]^[73]^[74]^[75]^[76]^[77]^[78]^[79]^[80]^[81]^[82]^[83]^[84]^[85]^[86]^[87]^[88]^[89]^[90]^[91]^[92]^[93]^[94]^[95]^[96]^[97]^[98]^[99]^[100]^[101]^[102]^[103]^[104]^[105]^[106]^[107]^[108]^[109]^[110]^[111]^[112]^[113]^[114]^[115]^[116]^[117]^[118]^[119]^[120]^[121]^[122]^[123]^[124]^[125]^[126]^[127]^[128]^[129]^[130]^[131]^[132]^[133]^[134]^[135]^[136]^[137]^[138]^[139]^[140]^[141]^[142]^[143]^[144]^[145]^[146]^[147]^[148]^[149]^[150]^[151]^[152]^[153]^[154]^[155]^[156]^[157]^[158]^[159]^[160]^[161]^[162]^[163]^[164]^[165]^[166]^[167]^[168]^[169]^[170]^[171]^[172]^[173]^[174]^[175]^[176]^[177]^[178]^[179]^[180]^[181]^[182]^[183]^[184]^[185]^[186]^[187]^[188]^[189]^[190]^[191]^[192]^[193]^[194]^[195]^[196]^[197]^[198]^[199]^[200]^[201]^[202]^[203]^[204]^[205]^[206]^[207]^[208]^[209]^[210]^[211]^[212]^[213]^[214]^[215]^[216]^[217]^[218]^[219]^[220]^[221]^[222]^[223]^[224]^[225]^[226]^[227]^[228]^[229]^[230]^[231]^[232]^[233]^[234]^[235]^[236]^[237]^[238]^[239]^[240]^[241]^[242]^[243]^[244]^[245]^[246]^[247]^[248]^[249]^[250]^[251]^[252]^[253]^[254]^[255]^[256]^[257]^[258]^[259]^[260]^[261]^[262]^[263]^[264]^[265]^[266]^[267]^[268]^[269]^[270]^[271]^[272]^[273]^[274]^[275]^[276]^[277]^[278]^[279]^[280]^[281]^[282]^[283]^[284]^[285]^[286]^[287]^[288]^[289]^[290]^[291]^[292]^[293]^[294]^[295]^[296]^[297]^[298]^[299]^[300]^[301]^[302]^[303]^[304]^[305]^[306]^[307]^[308]^[309]^[310]^[311]^[312]^[313]^[314]^[315]^[316]^[317]^[318]^[319]^[320]^[321]^[322]^[323]^[324]^[325]^[326]^[327]^[328]^[329]^[330]^[331]^[332]^[333]^[334]^[335]^[336]^[337]^[338]^[339]^[340]^[341]^[342]^[343]^[344]^[345]^[346]^[347]^[348]^[349]^[350]^[351]^[352]^[353]^[354]^[355]^[356]^[357]^[358]^[359]^[360]^[361]^[362]^[363]^[364]^[365]^[366]^[367]^[368]^[369]^[370]^[371]^[372]^[373]^[374]^[375]^[376]^[377]^[378]^[379]^[380]^[381]^[382]^[383]^[384]^[385]^[386]^[387]^[388]^[389]^[390]^[391]^[392]^[393]^[394]^[395]^[396]^[397]^[398]^[399]^[400]^[401]^[402]^[403]^[404]^[405]^[406]^[407]^[408]^[409]^[410]^[411]^[412]^[413]^[414]^[415]^[416]^[417]^[418]^[419]^[420]^[421]^[422]^[423]^[424]^[425]^[426]^[427]^[428]^[429]^[430]^[431]^[432]^[433]^[434]^[435]^[436]^[437]^[438]^[439]^[440]^[441]^[442]^[443]^[444]^[445]^[446]^[447]^[448]^[449]^[450]^[451]^[452]^[453]^[454]^[455]^[456]^[457]^[458]^[459]^[460]^[461]^[462]^[463]^[464]^[465]^[466]^[467]^[468]^[469]^[470]^[471]^[472]^[473]^[474]^[475]^[476]^[477]^[478]^[479]^[480]^[481]^[482]^[483]^[484]^[485]^[486]^[487]^[488]^[489]^[490]^[491]^[492]^[493]^[494]^[495]^[496]^[497]^[498]^[499]^[500]^[501]^[502]^[503]^[504]^[505]^[506]^[507]^[508]^[509]^[510]^[511]^[512]^[513]^[514]^[515]^[516]^[517]^[518]^[519]^[520]^[521]^[522]^[523]^[524]^[525]^[526]^[527]^[528]^[529]^[530]^[531]^[532]^[533]^[534]^[535]^[536]^[537]^[538]^[539]^[540]^[541]^[542]^[543]^[544]^[545]^[546]^[547]^[548]^[549]^[550]^[551]^[552]^[553]^[554]^[555]^[556]^[557]^[558]^[559]^[560]^[561]^[562]^[563]^[564]^[565]^[566]^[567]^[568]^[569]^[570]^[571]^[572]^[573]^[574]^[575]^[576]^[577]^[578]^[579]^[580]^[581]^[582]^[583]^[584]^[585]^[586]^[587]^[588]^[589]^[590]^[591]^[592]^[593]^[594]^[595]^[596]^[597]^[598]^[599]^[600]^[601]^[602]^[603]^[604]^[605]^[606]^[607]^[608]^[609]^[610]^[611]^[612]^[613]^[614]^[615]^[616]^[617]^[618]^[619]^[620]^[621]^[622]^[623]^[624]^[625]^[626]^[627]^[628]^[629]^[630]^[631]^[632]^[633]^[634]^[635]^[636]^[637]^[638]^[639]^[640]^[641]^[642]^[643]^[644]^[645]^[646]^[647]^[648]^[649]^[650]^[651]^[652]^[653]^[654]^[655]^[656]^[657]^[658]^[659]^[660]^[661]^[662]^[663]^[664]^[665]^[666]^[667]^[668]^[669]^[670]^[671]^[672]^[673]^[674]^[675]^[676]^[677]^[678]^[679]^[680]^[681]^[682]^[683]^[684]^[685]^[686]^[687]^[688]^[689]^[690]^[691]^[692]^[693]^[694]^[695]^[696]^[697]^[698]^[699]^[700]^[701]^[702]^[703]^[704]^[705]^[706]^[707]^[708]^[709]^[710]^[711]^[712]^[713]^[714]^[715]^[716]^[717]^[718]^[719]^[720]^[721]^[722]^[723]^[724]^[725]^[726]^[727]^[728]^[729]^[730]^[731]^[732]^[733]^[734]^[735]^[736]^[737]^[738]^[739]^[740]^[741]^[742]^[743]^[744]^[745]^[746]^[747]^[748]^[749]^[750]^[751]^[752]^[753]^[754]^[755]^[756]^[757]^[758]^[759]^[760]^[761]^[762]^[763]^[764]^[765]^[766]^[767]^[768]^[769]^[770]^[771]^[772]^[773]^[774]^[775]^[776]^[777]^[778]^[779]^[780]^[781]^[782]^[783]^[784]^[785]^[786]^[787]^[788]^[789]^[790]^[791]^[792]^[793]^[794]^[795]^[796]^[797]^[798]^[799]^[800]^[801]^[802]^[803]^[804]^[805]^[806]^[807]^[808]^[809]^[810]^[811]^[812]^[813]^[814]^[815]^[816]^[817]^[818]^[819]^[820]^[821]^[822]^[823]^[824]^[825]^[826]^[827]^[828]^[829]^[830]^[831]^[832]^[833]^[834]^[835]^[836]^[837]^[838]^[839]^[840]^[841]^[842]^[843]^[844]^[845]^[846]^[847]^[848]^[849]^[850]^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players in advanced musical training today often also belong to a *filarmónica* even if they only participate occasionally.²⁷ The *filarmónicas* and their music schools have been the early crucible forging the world-class skills of many professional musicians trained and performing in and outside of Portugal. Aside from the *filarmónica* bands there are also some percussion associations in Portugal, that collaborate with *fanfarras* and share members. Others explore the many complex rhythmic structures of international percussionists in Portugal and through contact and classes with migrants; as well as their own musical mobilities living in other global geographies. This would also include bands and associations supporting *gaita-de-fole* (bagpipe) traditions and ensembles in different regions of Portugal, including the ensemble *Roncos dos Diabos*²⁸ a gaita and percussion ensemble which has a performative style that make it a related *fanfarra*-style wind band.

The *fanfarra* relationship to music conservatories and *filarmónicas* was formative and acts as both a base of training and as an organizational model from which they have explored and experimented with brass, woodwind and percussion styles from within and outside of Portugal. The formation of the *Fanfarra Kaustika* of Agueda, who style themselves as a “punk *filarmónica*” is another example of a *fanfarra* ensemble that began in a distinct local context in contact with other *fanfarra* style ensembles. Founder of *Fanfarra Kaustika*, trumpeter Brian Carvalho, said the creation of the band was inspired by an exchange between the Banda Alvarense (*Sociedade Musical Alvarense*) with a brass and woodwind band in Valência, Spain. During the encounter, the bands had music jams and the *Alvarense* musicians learned some new repertoire from the band from Valencia; and upon returning back to Portugal, continued the spirit of the jams. Carvalho called the *fanfarra* bands “a kind of a musical ‘upgrade’ of *filarmónica* bands”²⁹ requiring more intricate musical and performance skill. As the musicians developed their style through these international brass and wind exchanges, the *fanfarra* has nonetheless developed similar performative milieu as the *filarmónicas* and has adopted their role as an advanced popular music school and a participant in community associative activities.

Carvalho said, “there is a nuance of the *filarmónica* band present in the *fanfarra*, it makes sense because that is how the musicians were formed, that’s what we knew, how we learned to study music, how we learned to dress, how street shows operate.” *Fanfarra Kaustika* also borrowed its administrative and organizational structure from *filarmónicas* and other associations and have

²⁷ Portugal’s most successful brass and wind players will often return to play concerts for the *filarmónica* they originally trained in.

²⁸ Or as some of their bagpipe averse public jokingly calls them, the *Broncos dos Diabos*.

²⁹ Interview with Brian Carvalho, founder of *Fanfarra Kaustika* June 28, 2019.

members beyond musicians in the band including Salome Castanheira a non-musician friend of the band, who was elected President from 2017-18. In addition to musical instruction and performances at community festivals, *filarmónica* bands have also participated in civic aspects of community life with rehearsal space used as a community cultural and social center with members participating in meetings, special events and group dinners—forms and practices that have been adopted by the *fanfarra* associations as well. Members of *Fanfarras Kaustika* have studied at the music conservatory of Agueda, and their rehearsal space and *sede* or physical meeting space is provided by the *Junta de Freguesia de Borralha* in exchange for playing a few concerts for the local and municipal *junta* and *câmara* during the year.

The musical training and socio-cultural role of *fanfarras* in their communities is structured through the evolution of older soundscapes that have broadened to both commercial and popular appeal for audiences and participants at contemporary iterations of *festas na aldeia*—with locally organized *fanfarras* and similar bands exploring and performing newer repertoires of global brass. These *festas* also include secular parties and other celebratory aspects of socio-religious festivals that take place around Portugal. Socio-religious events are a primary performance space for most *filarmónica* bands, but the spaces have expanded to also include entertainment from *fanfarras*. With the expansion of agricultural, merchant and touristic festivals in rural areas, live music programs have come to increasingly rely upon the music of *fanfarra* bands, even as performances also include what are regarded as more traditional community-based music and dance associations along with the *filarmónicas*.

2. *Fanfarras* as points of contact for global music and performance styles^[1] As part of a diverse flow of live global folk and musical production from outside of Portugal, top Romani

Romanian brass band *Fanfare Ciocărlia* toured Europe over the turn of the century making various stops in Portugal. They were brought to Aveiro in 2003 sponsored by *D'Orfeu* (Agueda), a dynamic, multi-faceted multi-cultural organization whose activities range from theater to folk music, world music, cultural exchange, etc. One of *D'Orfeu's* diverse cultural activities also supports bands from Portugal performing and touring nationally and internationally and brings bands from outside of Portugal to play in the country. Members of the *Banda Alvarense (Sociedade Musical Alvarense)* who would later create *Fanfarras Kaustika* were at the performance, having been invited by *Ciocărlia* and *D'Orfeu* to play a song for the Romani Romanian band. *Fanfarras Kaustika's* first public concert was in 2005 and their first musical recording was made in 2007. Influenced by their contact with the Romanian band and exploration of Balkan brass music, according to Brian Carvalho and tuba player Marco Freire, these original set lists were

“almost entirely Balkan covers.” Since, these early concerts, the musicians evolved a set list that is now around 80% original compositions of diverse musical styles.

Over the aughts, Ciocărlia played multiple dates including Guarda in 2007 and continue to play Portugal, even as recently as summer 2019. Other Balkan bands came to Portugal as well, including *Taraf de Haidouks* from Clejani Romani. The live performances of the band were also a part of their appearance in the Johnny Depp film *The Man Who Cried* (2000) and as well as publicity brought by Depp’s subsequent association with them. Part of a rising awareness of these sonorities and instrumental arrangements brought to Portugal by bands like *Ciocărlia* were also a part of the popular imagination as a result of the Emir Kusturica film *Black Cat, White Cat* (1998), which has also been influential among local bands that started playing songs from this region, and helped to build a receptive audience for these performances. Global encounters with music and performance were not only limited to the urban setting of Lisbon but extended to smaller cities and more rural areas of Portugal as well. Expanding internet access across Portugal from the mid-aughts on also exposed musicians in these musical schools to a breadth of brass music from the region, and accelerated access to the sound and performance style of other global brass bands as well. Seeing or hearing these bands play influenced musicians in Portugal who were impressed by the intricacy of the melodies and skill of the players and were attracted to their performance aesthetic. That Balkan brass ensembles also come from village brass band traditions, with musical knowledge passed on from generation to generation was a point of local commonality and something that impressed the would be *fanfarra* musicians. The experience had a profound impact on these musicians as they developed their own contemporary community- band music making outside of the structural confines of filarmónica performances. Expectations for community brass performances guided by contact with *música balcã* or “*música cigana*” [“gypsy music”] in Portugal, has shaped the popularity of these repertoires and interest in the intimate *feita*.

“Gypsy music” is a complicated category that includes many diverse traditions. Associated by some with the global popularity of the *Gipsy Kings*; for string musicians seeking different melodic arrangements and rhythm patterns, Django Reinhardt is a key reference point. Among aficionados of Balkan style music in Portugal, it is often used as a popular gloss for all kinds of brass, woodwind, percussion and string melodies, harmonies and rhythms, including musical repertoire reaching Portugal from Romenian, Serbian and other Balkan brass inspired ensembles, and including guitar and accordion music made by Romani Portuguese musicians in the city and regionally in itinerant and professional performances. Bands playing some or predominantly Balkan styled repertoires also developed outside of the *fanfarras* and

included dancers and dance troupes—developing tribal fusion and tuga-fusion³⁰ dance styles in Portugal.

Balkan music would also be influential to the *Farra Fanfarra* and *Kumpania Algazarra* co-project, led by Francisco “Kiko” Amorim and founded with key members of the projects since beginning. Kiko’s parents migrated to work in France where he was born, although they moved back when he was too young to really remember life before Portugal. He started playing guitar as a teen and would eventually study trombone in the *Sociedade Filarmónica os Aliados*, São Pedro de Sintra. Kiko is not alone, as the members of Farra Fanfarra have broad international musical experience and over the years have developed international musical encounters and exchanges with members of other community brass and wind musicians from other parts of the world. Some of the players in local *fanfarras* have also been trained internationally and carry with them their own global mobilities. Where other fanfarra musicians encountered this music through tours of bands from the region in Portugal, Kiko is an example of a player whose experience of the music was met through travel and performing in the region from which it came. He participated in an association sponsored youth exchange from Sintra to go to Kostanitz, Bosnia in 2000 where he met up and played with local musicians. These encounters greatly influenced his interest in brass and wind music from the region and the genre became an elemental part of Kiko’s musical studies³¹ and informed his participation in various “*musica balcã*” Balkan inspired music projects mounting dance parties, concert production, selecta shows, dj sets with live musicians doubling recorded tracks and other performance bands—at various public clubs and venues popular among audiences seeking these sonorities that exploded in the late aughts through the current decade. Kiko, along with other *Farra Fanfarra* / *Kumpania Algazarra* members were key participants in partnerships with other local producers, venues and associations in Portugal and worked with Weather Report, a cultural association. Weather Report mounted a series of concerts and other programs in their rural (Aldeia Galega) Sintra *sede*, which was used as a concert hall and rehearsal space hosting multiple brass, wind and percussion projects over the late 2000s through early 2011 until the space burned down in a tragic fire.

Beginning in 2004, Kiko would gather a number of Sintra brass musicians that he had been playing with to create a brass, wind and percussion ensemble

³⁰ With dancers incorporating trad-baile, their interpretation of *danças orientais* and other study of dance in local performances, often accompanying fanfarra and other live stage brass bands playing balkan repertoires.^[1]_{SEP}

³¹ Espírito Santo (2014) has written an exceptionally detailed history of the formation and earlier years of the Farra Fanfarra/Kumpania Algazarra co-project, including an analysis of Farra Fanfarra as a model for other bands and as a music school.

that would eventually develop into *Kumpania Algazarra*, and spawn a second fanfarra, *Farra Fanfarra*. These two distinct, but intimately entwined brass, woodwind, percussion, and string projects, evolved from Kiko's organization along with the collaboration of other key members including percussionist Helder Pakito Silva, saxophonist and guitarist Luis "Trinta" Barrocas, and sousaphonist Pedro Pereira. Joining with a group of local players, these musicians mounted a brass marching band that would evolve into *Kumpania Algazarra*. As more and more local musicians heard the band play however, they also wanted to participate and learn repertoire. Wanting to maintain *Kumpania Algazarra* as a smaller, fixed membership originals project, Kiko and key members created a second brass ensemble in 2006, one that would be open to anyone who wanted to join, *Farra Fanfarra*.³² The open *Farra Fanfarra* project has also evolved since the early days through the work of Paul Robert Hagenaar and Diogo Andrade (who also play with *Kumpania Algazarra*) as well as André Marques, Nuno Reis, and many other musicians. It also includes a group of younger members of *Farra Fanfarra* who joined the band years after its founding and were trained by older musicians and over time, have themselves moved into roles of musical and creative leadership in various naipes of the band.

In 2008, after having been organized and supported by other community cultural associations, the members of *Farra Fanfarra* founded their own association, the *Farra Fanfarra Associação Cultural* [*Farra Fanfarra Cultural Association*] (FFAC) a musical, cultural and civic organization. This association is a conduit through which the band operates as a fiscal entity and acts as a base to apply for mobility funds and organize association-to-association collaborations in Portugal and internationally. Although influential individuals in a fanfarra don't necessarily have official positions in its' supporting association, in *Farra Fanfarra* they often do.³³

³² This concept comes from filarmónica bands which are also conceived as open projects.^[1]_[SEP]

³³ I have been proud to have served in different "elected" and ad hoc officer positions in the *Farra Fanfarra Associação Cultural* including the *Presidente* of the *Mesa da Assembleia* (I am currently V. Pres of the *Mesa*). In *Farra Fanfarra*'s operational hierarchy however, these positions represent more the diversity of the association, and are formal roles rather than practical roles in these operations. Functional roles in the band are separate from official positions and the real power and creative control to make decisions in the band and association resides with a key core of officers and founders, who also have important roles in the association including the President, the Treasurer, Secretary and the Musical Director. In any event, the operation of the association is apart from the relations of the musicians playing in the band, and is anything but formal, with proposals and projects made frequently and encouraged among the members. Much like new songs or arrangements proposals are open to be discussed and are often broadly pursued by the entire band. Some members like Paul

Different projects in Portugal have different ideas and reasons arguing over whether a group should be open or closed. Although some fanfarra style bands, like *Kumpania Algazarra* and *Fanfarra Kaustika* do have occasional substitutes, they are moreover fixed projects, limited to particular individuals. Farra Fanfarra however is largely an open project, rather than “closed” in that musicians or other community members who wish to join the association or attend rehearsals are welcome, functioning in this regard like a *filarmónica* band. Public performances have gone through phases with more or less fixed groups of musicians playing shows, but in recent years given the growth of the band and the renewal of the project with an entirely new generation of players, Farra Fanfarra can play several concerts simultaneously, with different formations sometimes even playing at the same time in different locations. With newer members learning repertoire, this flexibility also allows the band to mount shows when musicians may be playing and earning money on conflicting performance dates with other projects. *Farra Fanfarras* paid gigs have included upwards of 20/20+ members, but with post-austerity Portuguese economies has diminished funds available for professional musical production; and the sizes of locally performing or travelling *fanfarras* has shrunk to 8/9-12/15 musicians, often even fewer.

As “open” a project as Farra Fanfarra is, most of those joining rehearsals have done so out of interested contact with musicians who are already in the band. Others have heard the band play and sought out opportunities to join rehearsals. There is an 18-year-old age limit to join Farra Fanfarra given the bands adult professional activities and social comportment. Once approached by the mother of a 15-year-old who wanted to join, Kiko remarked “pronto, esta aqui não é bem uma situação pelos miúdos.” [“this here isn’t exactly an ideal situation for young kids.”]. *Farra Fanfarra* and *Kumpania Algazarra* include many members of each band, and although the opposite is not the case, virtually everyone in the *Kumpania* is either an everyday member of the

Robert Hagenaar have contributed many Farra Fanfarra themes and are key figures in the musical *direção* of the band. Whatever the names of the positions, however, Kiko has been the key creative director and President of Farra Fanfarra with the exception of a brief break he took from having an organizational role for a couple of years before returning. His absence from daily operations presented some challenges to the identity of the band. Current musical directors, Haagenar and Andres Marques also have had significant input into the functioning of the band and the arrangement of *equipas* for specific shows as well as arrangements, along with input from different *naipes*, including Helder Silva and Diogo Andrade among the percussionists, Nuno Reis and Sandro Felix as trumpeters, and Rui Machado and Abuka as saxophonists. The most prominent *animadoras* of Farra Fanfarra (Stefano Bottai and Marian Schou) are also public performance and artistic directors, and other performers have taken leads in various performative and creative aspects of specific performances. This is also apart from the association’s paid management positions organizing the activities of the band.

Farra, or plays with the band occasionally, often at FFAC events or as a supplemental or substitute musician for concerts. There are also two versions of *Kumpania Algazarra*, with one band designed more for *arruadas*, and the other for the stage. All the *Kumpania Algazarra arruada* band players have performed with Farra Fanfarra, but not all of the stage musicians do. *Farra Fanfarra* also hires other occasional musicians to fill out *equipas* or band rosters for concerts, who are usually hired for their musical abilities at quickly picking up repertoire and are always recruited through personal connections with existing members of the band. Many of these substitutes playing across all naipes play in various of Portugal's larger touring bands and include musicians who get the call to eventually join the rehearsals regularly or become frequent regulars for periods.

Observations that the local development of "*musica cigana*" or gypsy music among some of these communities in Portugal can be perceived as performative or cultural appropriation is a valid criticism but is undercut by the actual connections that the many individuals performing have created with one another as well as among some local, national and global Romani communities, and mutual professional collaboration in various projects. Challenging these critics, the musicians will say their engagement is an attempt to bridge genres and places with creative arrangements and creative styles. It is an approach or a kind *bushido* that promotes what musicians and others participating in the encounters call "*boa onda*," good vibrations, what are positive and effectively humanitarian and liberal-minded collaborative encounters with others.

The musicians themselves have said that they are embracing these global sounds and celebrating the cultures of the people that play them; and is part of their awareness of broader networks of international and local connection predicated upon their engagement with sustainable living and intentional promotion of human rights and social justice causes. They are proud of their openness to these broader communities and feel that they are paying a band and a composer homage by learning and performing their song. That many of these songs have origins in politically (if not musically) marginalized communities is also part of the performance power and is likewise a part of negotiations for openness and civic rights for marginalized populations in Portugal in what are traditional local Portuguese performative contexts. These tropes rely upon imaginations of "gypsy" musicians who belong to an unrooted and marginalized, but deeply enmeshed personal social community network. This is reflected in the performers and audiences own ruptured definitions of community and citizenship as a result of EU political "integration," international exchange, and community-based political and civic participation advocacy. Whatever the multiple attractions of the musicians to this soundscape, part of playing the music is to recognize the origins of historically marginalized groups and to participate in their liberation and inclusion. The sounds, however, are performed locally as an expression of civic participation.

The development of this musical and performative style in Portugal among both musicians and audiences in this early period made the encounters not solely about the actual music but also included the particular environments in which the music is played—intended to be intimate, face to face and in smaller gatherings, even as the bands also routinely performed larger amplified stage shows. The performative space of these encounters is often transgressive, a production of purposefully crossed musical styles and traditions.

Aiding civic participation as they confront their own economic marginalization and sympathy with inequalities, the musicians use their bands to participate in social debate. Protest music actions, rallies, and marches do not always have a license, and many of the band's unpaid performances are undertaken outside of municipal ordinances for the performance of live music. This invites confrontation with local authorities should they choose to challenge the right to the public gathering. A *fanfarra* is designed to facilitate spontaneous performances and a concert can be mounted in the time it takes to open a case. There is a profound sonic power to a large horn and percussion ensemble that plays songs arranged to hit the instruments' peak decibel capabilities. The public's investment in the style and experience can make the concert difficult to disperse.

Farra Fanfarra (as well as Kumpania Algazarra) have played in spontaneous concerts in public spaces, including participation at the *Sines Festival Músicas do Mundo*, or street marches and concerts in parks without permits and after leaving a stage at the end of a concert to continue in the middle of the audience for a couple of more hours. Dealing with police and other municipal authorities with the power to levy fines has been an ongoing battle for live music in Lisbon. The financial crisis (and its aftermath) has greatly challenged musical production and local cultural and artistic economies. Parts of the city that were formerly rich sites of local community musical production have been dismantled as the city's pre-pandemic urban development favored uses of former largely abandoned public spaces to cater to tourists who have more money to spend on cultural activities and broadly divergent performance expectations than those living and working in the city. The cities Air BnB economy has not only been destructive to local residential communities but to local cultural production as well. Small community associations, some formed in earlier decades, others more than one hundred years old, like the *Lusitana Club* increasingly shut down as rents rose in areas targeted for touristic development or sold-out leases in sizeable windfalls. Public spaces in the city landscape at which *Farra Fanfarra* and other live musicians once played unheeded in the city by the municipal authorities—São Pedro de Alcântara, Adamastor, etc.—have in the new Lisbon been shut down by City Hall at the complaint and behest of private commercial investors. PSP and municipal officials will also harass unauthorized live performances, and can be especially aggressive in certain contexts, including shutting down festas, *bairros* and public transit to enforce noise and public gathering ordinances.

When its rehearsals were based in Lisbon, Farra Fanfarra would always take an August hiatus when their space—an associational cooperative—shut down for the month. Wanting to play, however, the band would give a series of clandestine, that is unlicensed, concerts at São Pedro de Alcantara, basically a public rehearsal that would turn into a Lisbon late-night un-sanctioned street party. In August 2013, this led to a tense moment when the band clashed with the city's municipal police for playing without a license, which escalated to machine gun-carrying PSP SWAT guards who were called in to disperse the crowd. The party was likely loud, but the only real threat of brutality was on the part of the municipal authorities with the guns. These kinds of actions reclaiming what were public spaces for gatherings and musical performance have been part of a broader crisis-inspired municipal crackdown on live performances in the city, related to austerity measures to bring Lisbon establishments in line with fiscal and legal ordinances. City authorities fine establishments with live music, using noise levels to control music production in the city in service of remaking urban neighborhoods to meet the needs of a gentrifying Lisboa. Brass bands and other musicians helped make the impoverished and abandoned centers of Lisbon safe for commerce with their local association performances and connections to community-based organizations. The musicians in these bands lost and continue to lose revenues, when, upon having helped to re-vitalize these abandoned areas, they were subsequently barred from playing the kind of music that brought the public necessary to revitalize the neighborhoods in the first place. Using fines for excessive noise was one part of making up for deficits caused by the financial crisis and the structuring of austerity measures adopted in the Portuguese bail-out. Bars and live music venues in Lisbon were routinely fined thousands of euros for unreasonably low (compared to what had been played in the neighborhoods for a decade) noise tolerances. The control of local music in Lisbon has reached a point where establishments with music licenses are connected via microphone and computer to what is effectively a municipal sound censor and are made legally and financially liable subjected to real-time fines. Further, in-house, sound levels are set on an interrupter that will cut amplification in the middle of a show if the decibel level raises to a sound level that is already at peak in the normal ambience of a bar or a small club on a busy night, even before any music has ever been played.³⁴ The effect that this has had on local paid performances has been profound.

³⁴ The closing of Adamastor or clearing out of Bairro Alto and other routine police public gathering measures has been increasingly enforced in Lisboa as well. An article about one of my field sites discusses the situation: "Lisboa. Som dos bares ligado em tempo real à Polícia Municipal." Ana Bela Ferreira, *Diário de Notícias*, March 08, 2017. <https://www.dn.pt/sociedade/lisboa-som-dos-bares-ligado-em-tempo-real-a-policia-municipal-5711374.html>

The bands also participated in popular political protest marches around stewardship of Portugal's economy during the global financial crisis, with musicians and *fanfarra* ensembles, as well as cultural associations marching, publicizing and supporting the numerous public rallies for Portugal's future during the period.

In a moment in which Portugal faced profound transformations in definitions of citizenship and civic participation and accelerated mobilities to and from Portugal as a result of EU integration, local musical production rather than replicating right-wing political discourse and anti-immigrant sentiment embraced broader connections among various international politically and economically marginalized communities through global brass band traditions. Musicians themselves feel they take a holistic approach to musical production and it is reflected in their own actions. They use the music to seek out shared and common experiences, and an alternative to social conflict in intercultural settings. These performances in public spaces and the nature of the bands' repertoires help them to socially and politically mediate positive encounters with difference, in encounters that seek to bring individuals across intersectional power categories into a communal local performance that itself embodies this diversity (Interview with Luis Barrocas 2016).³⁵

Brass music from the Balkan region has clearly influenced the fanfarra movement in Portugal, and for some is a defining style of the bands. It is important to recognize that for the musicians and other audiences, these sonorities and rhythms are only one influence of many on musicians whose work in the *fanfarras* is conditioned on their study of a broad array of musical schools and styles from around the world. Afrobeat, world folk traditions, as well as jazz, rock and blues are all as important to the development of the brass bands (Espírito Santo 2014).

Encounters with "*música balcã*" in Portugal is common among these bands in diverse national regions, but for some musicians—as has been especially the case in the *Farra Fanfarra* and *Kumpania Algazarra* co-project—their encounters with this music has also been in the places where it is produced. As a result of these contacts, other formalized mobility exchange networks among these community bands continue to develop through associational musical exchanges among brass music in parts of the EU and other geographies. Repertoires of music however also arrived in Portugal via various secondary or tertiary mobile diffusions. Portuguese musicians through their own or their families' labor mobility were exposed to different musical traditions prior to returning to Portugal. Privately funded travel or formalized EU funded international educational exchange projects also led to exposure to

³⁵ Interview with Luis Barrocas, of *Kumpania Algazarra* and *Farra Fanfarra*, over February 2010.

various sounds among musicians from Portugal in cities across Europe or other parts of the world. Artistic and cultural mobility exchanges promoted through the formalization of the European Union integration project has brought many of *Farra Fanfarra*'s musicians and performers to programs across Europe. The band has also participated in these kinds of youth exchange and music diplomacy projects promoting musical exchanges in regions of high recent or ongoing political conflict; including EU integration objectives of broader political and community belonging, which also form part of the ongoing resolution of the brutal and genocidal war that reconfigured the region (Danforth 1995).

Farra Fanfarra could trade playing "Balkan" songs along with other bands all night long, but the actual set list for concerts includes only a few songs per show that could be considered part of the genre, or Indian brass wedding music for example. The rest of the set consists of arrangements of afrobeat, kuduro, jazz, Brazilian frevo and samba, various Latin American rhythms (mambo, cumbia, salsa, salsero, bolero etc.), New Orleans jazz, blues, hip hop, Portuguese and international pop songs, ragtime, Irish and English reels, funk, reggae, blues, classic music, traditional brass and wind songbook, and songs playing *gadwa* (Arabic quarter tone scale system), etc. *Farra Fanfarra* even mounts fanfarra versions of genre cover bands for one-off concerts, including arrangements of heavy "metal" with *Xaranga Infernal*, a deep track reggae cover band called *Brasstafari*, and *Pimbrass*, a *fanfarra pimba*³⁶, playing classic popular *feira na aldeia* hit songs.

Fanfarra musicians also play in multiple professional projects and have a familiarity with playing diverse musical traditions of melodies and harmonies based on their work and their own personal interests. The bands they play in are popular national touring and recording bands across multiple genres and they bring personal expertise to the arrangements and performances of their other projects. For these musicians, *musica balcã* is no doubt a rich source in their study of intricate melodic lines, the arrangement of different voices among the *naipes* and harmonies; dominating these repertoires has aided greatly in their further artistic and professional development. It is ultimately, however, only one influence in a deep and expansive study of music. How a brass band audience categorizes a live experience is separate from how a band conceives of its own selection of repertoire and arrangements. To call the *fanfarras* Balkan music, "música cigana" is to see this influence as static and

³⁶ *Pimba* music features repetitive chord progressions (lots of 1-4-5, 5-4-1), and usually sexually suggestive lyrics and ribald and cheesy puns. *Pimba* bands, popular at local festivals, including the king of *pimba* and one of Portugal's best paid touring musicians Quim Barreiros, are synonymous with local definitions of village and community life in Portugal. This prompted alternative names other than *Pimbrass* including Quim Fanfarreiros, or Farranhit 541 (after the Kurt Vonnegut novel).

greatly misrepresents the broad educational training and dedication to explore global sounds that characterize the musicians in the fanfarra bands. Musicians in Farra Fanfarra—as with those in many of the more longer-lived *fanfarras* in Portugal—have a broad professionalized musical training. In *Farra Fanfarra* and other *fanfarras*, musicians have had formalized music education in conservatories and music schools studying theory, advanced musical training in jazz, classical training, etc; many have earned bachelor’s degrees in music and some have advanced degrees (see Appendix 1). Musicians migrating to Portugal have also had contact with formalized education and among the *fanfarra naipes* nearly all players have played before or currently play with a filarmónica or community wind and percussion band, even if they may not be regulars—a pattern consistent with most other *fanfarras*.

The *fanfarras* in general (and certainly *Farra Fanfarra*), as international spaces of musical encounter also promote cultural and mobile encounters. *Farra Fanfarra* frequently hosts and participates in international festivals and exchanges of global brass bands, including closer relations with fanfarra style bands like *Nema Problema* (Milano), *Imperial Kikiristan* (Lyon, France), *Orquestra Cirque Voador* (Rio de Janeiro), *What Cheer Brigade* (Providence, RI), *Always Drinking Marching Band* and hundreds of other encounters among these bands and individual members with other global horn ensembles. Farra Fanfarra has benefited as a result of the band’s rehearsals in Lisbon and Sintra, which give it access to a large pool of well-trained and interested musicians from all over Portugal and internationally—many of whom are studying music or developing their own professional careers. Brain Carvalho of the relatively rural Agueda’s *Fanfarra Kaustika* recognized that the band would have benefited in their development from proximity to Lisbon or a larger urban center. As a result of their proximity to Lisbon, Farra Fanfarra has also had the opportunity to play for television and films including as guests on Portuguese talk shows, and to record soundtracks and act in television commercials and other professional media ad campaigns. Farra Fanfarra has also performed live music for street and stage shows on Portuguese television, such as RTP 1’s 2012 Eurovision send-off for Portugal’s entry into the Eurovision song contest, when the band played a balkan syncopated version of Madalena Iglesias’ 1962 winner *Ele e Ela*.

Farra Fanfarra rehearsals are quick, concentrated, and run with precision. The band may give an impression of lackadaisical indifference to a casual observer, but this masks the musicians’ serious attention and full concentration when it comes to their work and development. If there is sheet music for a new song, Fanfarra will play the song through a few times, with an objective of getting off the *pauta* or sheet music by the third try. Or the band will attempt to *sacar a malha* as they say, to learn it by ear. If you don’t quite learn the song during the rehearsal, good luck, you have a week to figure it out at home. From that point forward the band just repeats and refines. Individual voices and

section arrangements are worked on as well in *naipes* or with the band, and it is not uncommon for the band to rehearse a specific break or melodic line even 10 years after the band has been playing the song to tighten it up.

Stage rehearsals have their own challenges, as playing at a far remove from an audience requires a different performative style. *Fanfarras* are ultimately bands designed to play music in close. *Filarmónica* bands have to march together and read music while playing, which is no small feat, but in addition to playing and dancing choreographies, complicating *fanfarra* performances is having to deal with all kinds of rough physical contact with and distraction from an up-close chaotic interaction with an audience. The songs are so rehearsed and so tight, and the musicians' ears are trained so highly, that one hears any *prego* (as the band calls a wrong note) like it was rock thrown at one's head. Negotiating uneven terrain, descending downstairs, hopping over walls, wading through dense crowds, getting smacked into by drunken dancers are no excuse to play a false note. A *fanfarreiro* (as *fanfarra* musicians can call one another), can be lucky only winding up with bruises having to wrestle with more exuberant members of the public in order to keep performing; every musician's worse nightmare (often realized) is having one's instrument damaged in the maelstrom of the performative encounter. These kinds of raucous informalities though are one of the draws for musicians, and the unpredictability and heightened social energy of the performances is a large part of their popularity with audiences.

Some of the performances can be joint collaborations between the bands and the economic and political objectives of the local village and municipal political authorities in which the bands are chartered and located. The bands make money from playing at festivals, music clubs, private concerts and the like, but *fanfarra* performances also take place when they are paid as a part of initiatives to provide entertainment by government municipal celebrations. This nationalization and internationalization of public/private collaboration in agricultural or professional association fairs and markets, which also include regional tourism draws, has been instrumental in the growth of the *fanfarras*. Octavio Costa and Miguel Cepa, who represent a craft beer professional organization, founded and continue to run the first and largest annual craft beer festival in Portugal, *Artbeerfest* in Caminha. The festival is an exposition supporting craft beer Portugal held like a *festa na aldeia* in the public square and off the streets of public *praças* in Caminha. The festival is also used by the Caminha municipal government to promote national and regional tourism to the picturesque Atlantic seaside village and is an important draw in the competition for prodigious tourist money from across the border in Spain. *Farra Fanfarra* and other walking brass and wind bands have played at the festival since the first edition in 2013. Costa said that bands like *Farra Fanfarra* are at once "consistent with Portuguese traditions" while at the same time, the bands represent "a newer performance style that is open to other

international musical encounter.” Costa and other organizers feel this is part of appealing to the local public and the promotion of what is ultimately a local product (and drawing tourists to these kinds of market fairs)—without compromising the feeling of a village *feira* and its role representing local communities, regional and national industries, and municipal arts programs.

Farra Fanfarra also plays a number of free concerts during the year. Some are local concerts in São Pedro de Sintra and Terrugem near the *Armazem*, which the band plays in exchange for the local municipal government’s support of the FFAC, and to offset costs for the band and association’s *sede*, its rehearsal space and recording studio (co-used by a number of other musical projects including *Kumpania Algazarra* and other global roots bands). Some of these performances take place as part of annual citywide celebrations such as the *Festas da Lisboa*, especially *Santo António* as well as Todos os Santos celebrations in other localities, along with national public celebrations during the year. Other free or public action concerts include events that the *Farra Fanfarra Associação Cultural* either organizes or in which they are invited to participate to promote civic activist and social justice causes. The band’s concerts at celebrations like *Santo António* is part of a broader tradition of other itinerant brass and wind ensembles performing at *festas populares* in Portugal in performances outside of formal *marchas* (parades and reverent and irreverent processions). In more recent years, commercial manufacturers have even co-opted the band’s participation at such events. Industrial condiment manufacturer Paladin for example hired several Farra Fanfarra musicians and performers as part of a Santo António marketing campaign to represent the brand’s association with “traditional” Portuguese community life while also embracing newer cultural forms by effectively co-opting musicians and performative context to stage a commercial *arruada* through the celebration. Given the complicated economics for working musicians and performers, getting paid to play on the night and at other neighborhood *arraiais* and municipal sponsored stages is an important objective.

The band has also played a role in national telecommunications companies’ ad campaigns. In one example, Optimus (an earlier brand of one of Portugal’s larger global telecommunications groups) used recorded musical arrangements and acting performances by Farra Fanfarra and other popular Portuguese music and media figures in a series of advertisements as part of a national campaign to promote high speed internet sales in rural Portugal. Through performances of Farra Fanfarra and other brass *arruadas* the national television advertising campaign series attempted to bridge gaps between older traditional community life and the promise of a broader world possible by purchasing high speed internet. The fanfarra bands and their supporting associations work to communicate these representations because they indeed are community-based bands and maintain the function of local community cultural associations.

The more skilled and broader circulated *fanfarras* also help to support the professional careers of members. Filarmónica bands also get paid for concerts, but the money is circulated back into the association for its activities rather than to individual members, even as members are supported in part through travel expenses, paid meals, and musical training. That money is used however to directly benefit those living in the local community and helps pay for the expenses of maintaining a *sede*³⁷, and running the operations of the association. In *Farra Fanfarra*, however, only a small percentage of a musician's cachet is taken by the band to cover operating expenses, with the bulk of the money intended to be paid to members for performances. The band supports the fiscal reporting of the professional projects of the *sócios* or members of the association. Governmental approved receipts are increasingly required to play music professionally in the city—another of the outcomes in local communities' negotiation with municipal and national authorities over EU fiscal policy and austerity measures, which resulted in a greater push on the part of the municipal authority to not only levy taxes, but also to control and industrialize cultural production at local public venues. Smaller concerts in these venues had previously been part of the casual economy, a way for musicians to quickly make money. Professional musical work in Lisbon, however, has been increasingly been controlled by fiscal authorities through rigorous policing of invoices for concerts played, and registration of events in compliance with municipal ordinances and national tax law. These regimes have largely left the musicians behind, drastically shrinking their pay and opportunities to perform.

Playing in multiple musical projects is how professional musicians earn a living in Portugal, which for some also includes studying for advanced degrees, earning teaching certificates, teaching lessons, and other occasional substitutions and temporary projects. Others have opened clubs, produce music or eventually leave Lisbon for greater opportunities in pursuit of life and professional career goals. The regular work of *Farra Fanfarra* has helped to develop musicians' careers including musical and artistic training, including experience in mounting professional performances as well. The *fanfarras*, especially as the popularity of these kinds of projects have grown over the past decade-plus makes the performances important money makers and valorizes their efforts to master a chosen instrument.

There are numerous challenges to professional music careers in Portugal. The high skill level of even casual players has set audiences expectation for

³⁷ A *sede* is a physical meeting space, usually owned or with the lease held by the association. Although it refers to a building at an address, the *sede* is also an association's practical space of activity and creation. For *fanfarras* it is where the band rehearses, records, has parties, etc., and is effectively the "spiritual center" of the band.

live music, not least of which is severe limitations on the market for private paid performances of bands. With rare exceptions, the numerous free public concerts during the year sponsored by governments and associations that pay the bands a *cachet* without charging the public a gate, has contributed to a culture that eschews paying high ticket prices for national performers. Further the small size of Portugal as a music market makes large paid stage shows in the cities really only financially fruitful if held infrequently. Even the top paid acts in Portugal don't play a large gate charged show more than a few times a year and in general there is a limited amount of gate money to be made playing in the country.

Mentioned previously were musicians who, as part of professional mobile labor flows, have come to Lisbon from other parts of Portugal, Europe and internationally. There are also several key international players in *Farra Fanfarra* including foundational figures Stefano Bottai, a performer of *palhaçaria* that served as the band's longstanding primary front person; as well as Carlo Copadoro a saxophonist, tuba player and trumpeter, etc., who played in street bands in Italy including a Milano *fanfare*, *Nema Problema Orkestar*, which also visited Portugal and participated in exchanges with the band. Stefano had studied *palhaçaria* in Barcelona with trailblazing master Django Edwardes, and has travelled around Europe, Asia and South America working as a professional and itinerant *palhaço*. Making Portugal his base, Stefano worked and studied at *Chapitô* an association and school of modern circus performance at the Costa de Castelo, Lisbon. Mariana Schou, *Farra Fanfarra's* current primary *animadora* is from Porto but came to Lisbon to study and perform. Another international member of both *Farra Fanfarra* and *Kumpania Alazarra* over this time who remains a key contributor to the band is trumpeter, flugelhorn player and trombonist "Paul Robert" Hagenaar from Holland. A frequent traveler in Portugal who had previously lived in Porto, Paul Robert was trained among some of Holland's top audition bands and other top international youth orchestras. As one of the principle musical directors of *Farra Fanfarra* since shortly after having joined, he has introduced songs and writing arrangements in addition to running rehearsals and other administrative responsibilities.

The band includes many other internationally trained musicians, as well as musicians with connections to former colonies and as a part of labor mobilities to and from Portugal and international diaspora communities from outside of continental Portugal—including Mozambique, France, the US as well as the Azores and Madeira. Other international members have studied music elsewhere included those living in Lisbon from Holland, Austria, France, Italy, Germany, Israel, Spain, Brazil, Belgium, Poland, Slovenia, and Colombia. Many have come to Portugal as a result of the EU-wide Erasmus and Erasmus + educational exchanges as well as other educational, arts and music mobility programs, which have directly and indirectly brought musicians

to the country. Many of these musicians have participated temporarily in these projects and some have stayed in Portugal to work professionally as key figures in the development of live music.³⁸

National musical encounters of fanfarra bands in Portugal have been commonplace. Farra Fanfarra has participated in these kinds of informal encounters dating back to the bands' founding, and the FFAC has hosted more formalized *fanfarra* band encounters including Brass d'Ferro (2013³⁹ and 2014). Many of the *fanfarras* have promoted band encounters, including *Famalicão da Serra's* Cultural Association's brass encounter, that invites local and national *fanfarras* to perform in the village; *Fanfarra Kaustika* has hosted *fanfarra* encounters in Agueda, *Peña Kalimotxo* or as it is called now, the *Kalimotxo Orquestra* has hosted *fanfarras* and other brass and wind at the *Festival de Lavre*. Playing for Lavre's village *feira* was in fact the reason that the *fanfarra* formed in the first place. Recently, in 2019, Minde was the site of *Brass iT* an association sponsored festival of national and international brass and wind ensembles, including *Kumpania Algazarra*. Jazz Minde festival has long supported brass and wind music, inviting *Farra Fanfarra* to play the festival in 2012.

There is an awareness of the performances and recordings among the *fanfarras*—easily gained from jointly participation in stage concerts and *arruadas* or from keeping up with fellow bands' social media postings—that promotes relationships of collaboration and friendly competition. As a showcase of skill, the encounters are a way to measure individual and group development against others, as well as encouraging camaraderie and developing professional networks among the players who may later be asked to join other musical projects or to substitute a musician for a show. As is the case with any band, members of a fanfarra may want to explore different musical directions or might have other reasons for founding a new brass music, including mobilities for professional goals, as was the case when members of *Fanfarra Sacabuxa* came to Lisbon. In another example, the *Bizu Walking Band* as it was called at its founding, was started by a core group of *Farra Fanfarra* musicians from Cartaxo including Diniz Silva, Rui Machado, e Sandro Félix with other musicians from the region and Ribatejo where there are a number of prominent *filarmónica* and horn projects.⁴⁰ *Bizu's* rehearsals at the *Sociedade*

³⁸ See for example *Associativism and Volunteerism. Manual of Good Practices. Social integration of young migrants through participation 2017*.

³⁹ Espírito Santo 2014 provides a detailed description of the 2013 edition.^{[1][1]}

⁴⁰ Celebrated American jazz saxophonist Wayne Shorter, played in a community filarmónica while living in and spending time in Portugal over his life. Shorter's wife Ana Maria Patricio (who he was with from 1966-1996 when she perished in the tragic TWA Flight 800 accident) was from Aveiras de Cima and Shorter is reported to have rehearsed and played in the *Filarmónica Recreativa de Aveiras de Cima*.

Filarmónica Cartaxense were a lot closer for them than the hour drive to Sintra, but it also gave them some freedom to explore other musical directions and to create and dominate other repertoire. The members of *Bizu* in *Farra Fanfarra* continued to play for both bands, and given the familiarity of the musicians with one another, the bands have shared *cartazes* (billing in common concerts and festivals) and recruit and borrow members of each group for shows and rehearsals.

The competition between different bands and among musicians is both collaborative and as musicians auto-evaluate themselves, instructive, helping to push the *fanfarras* to develop and evolve. Like *Farra Fanfarra/Kumpania Algazarra* the proximity to Lisbon has also helped many bands including *Bizu*, *Fanfarra Sacabuxa* and *Fanfarra Original Bandalheira* etc. Competition to book shows in the city has caused *fanfarra* and other horn ensembles in Lisbon to raise the quality of their playing, professionalism and performance style. What has helped art however has hurt the bands' economic success, which is a part of broader forces that have lowered *cachets* for performing musicians in Lisbon including as a result of post-crisis austerity policies.

A number of the *fanfarras* and *fanfarra*-style bands play frequently outside of Portugal. *Kumpania Algazarra* is a regular performer on the European festival and club circuit, where it competes on national and international levels with international originals touring bands. Awareness of and competition among *fanfarra* style brass ensembles is not limited to national bands. *Kumpania Algazarra* also represented Portugal at the first *Haizetara* music festival in 2006 a brass music competition and exhibition sponsored by an autonomous cultural organization chartered by the municipal unit of Amorebieta-Etxano (Bizkaia), Pays Basque. Meeting the *Always Drinking Marching Band* (Barcelona) at the festival, *Kumpania Algazarra* travelled to Catalonia where it won first prize at a Barcelona international brass and wind encounter. *Bizu*, when it gave street performances was also invited to and won the Dole (France) festival of *Cirque et Fanfares*. *Farra Fanfarra* has won two of Europe's big global brass festivals and various national *fanfarra*-encounter festivals, including as the "Best International Band" in global brass festivals *Haizetera* (2016) and at the world renowned *Guca* festival in Pancevo, Serbia (2018).

At *Haizetera*, *Farra Fanfarra* saxophonist Mateja Dolsak won the best musician at the festival. From Slovenia, Dolsak plays in a number of other Lisbon projects including *Kumpania Algazarra* and studies and teaches music in Portugal. Like Dolsak, there have been several women musicians in *Farra Fanfarra*, including in the percussion section, as well as in trumpet and saxophone *naipes*, reflecting increases of women musicians in Portugal's *filarmónicas* and musical conservatories. Despite this opening however, a structural element of the *filarmónica* adopted by the *fanfarra* bands in Portugal has been to inherit them as a moreover male dominated musical space.

Gendered naipes still exist in *fanfarras* – even if they are less so than other brass bands once were—in part reflecting sex and gender specific social learning of instruments in Portugal. One of *Farra Fanfarra*'s key members and creative directors is Mariana Schou, for example, the band's popular and prominent long-time frontwoman and *palhaço*. Among global *fanfarras* I have seen women play every instrument and there are many all-female bands. Even as the *fanfarras* have created space to open gender roles for female musicians in Portugal, they yet remain far behind their international counterparts.

Farra Fanfarra has also been contracted to play regional, national and international music festivals throughout Portugal, and are paid for private concerts and club dates. The association also offers public benefit concerts, or other civic minded or civic activity performances and actions. Members of *Farra Fanfarra* also belong to and participate in multiple other arts projects and community public welfare associations aside from the FFAC and make proposals for the band to collaborate. For example, Mariana Schou and *Farra Fanfarra* *animador* Oliverinho are two *Palhaço* Doutores (lit. Clown Doctors) in the Association *Remédios de Riso*, a team of Lisbon based *palhaços* who try to make the hospital stays of children more bearable. Members of the association have worked with the Red Cross and joined with *Farra Fanfarra* to offer a concert for a fund raiser. Recollecting some shows, *Farra Fanfarra* played for Portugal's Cerebral Palsy Association for a concert at an annual party; there was an *arruada* concert up and down the streets of the Baixa supporting an *Associação Sem Abraço* street action handing out condoms and health information as part of an HIV awareness and STD health education campaign. Over the late 2000s *Farra Fanfarra* helped to organize the annual *Marcha de Marijuana* marijuana legalization parade marching from the Jardim de Amoreiras down to *Praça Camões*. The band has also been paid for political campaign performances, almost always for Bloco Esquerda, Partida Socialista or for the Communist Party, (if one considers the *Avante* Festival a political rally, although it may more fairly be classified as a popular national leftist and progressivist music festival and solidarity celebration). The multi-stage performance venue for *Avante!* on the *Margem Sul* bank across the *Tejo* from Lisbon, presents a weekend series of eclectic concerts of well and lesser-known national bands playing in basically every kind of music project in Portugal.

Embodying ideals of communitarianism, fairness and equality *Avante*-like *Boom Festival* and *Salva a Terra*, and other attempts to mount eco-sustainable arts encounters—is a festival that celebrates the horn collectives' own civic-minded orientation and political and intellectual aesthetic. This is a spirit of encounter shared by the *fanfarra* bands.

3. Political Causes, protests, and *fanfarra* bands: local and international contexts. ^[SEP]As pointed out above, *Farra Fanfarra* participates frequently in concerts and street performances as part of a broader civic engagement project

to promote human and civil rights for marginalized groups in Portugal. According to Kiko Amorim, an objective of these street bands was always to participate in local political marches and to take an activist stance in national politics and in issues effecting local communities. When Portugal faced the deepest governmental cuts, wage reductions and unemployment during the early 2010s global financial crisis in the country, members had been active organizers and key participants in political protests in efforts to support associations and local communities to call attention to and address local causes of social and economic inequality. The voluntary association made up of the collective of brass musicians in *Farra Fanfarra* and *Kumpania Algazarra* has frequently collaborated with organizers of both guerilla and state sanctioned social justice causes. The band has also been hired directly by political parties and has been contracted to play at national day celebrations, as well, including Portuguese language celebrations and musicians participation in concerts and collaborations with migrant mobile labor communities in post-colonial contexts and among Portuguese migrant communities in the Diaspora.

The spectacle mounted through these political interventions, be they officially sanctioned or guerilla protest concerts, can help ensure a protest or event gets in the news. In a more professionally produced political party performance, including these bands is a part of putting on a PR or news event. As with all street performances, the *fanfarras* and horn musicians have significant input into the logistical and performance aspects of such events. This generation of well-educated citizens have spent the first part of their lives since the adoption of the Euro preparing for professional careers and now face dubious job prospects. The kind of professional work sought in the communities of post-college educated citizens in Portugal's cities and rural areas is simply not available in the country given its professional and productive output. Further exacerbating these processes has been the sell-out of historical residential neighborhoods in the city center, as the tourist economy has forced local residential communities to become too expensive for long term residential renters to remain. Exploding Air B n B property buy ups, and a speculative real estate market driven by financing from outside of Portugal has been a factor causing values of local properties to more than double in the space of ten years. Urban municipal zoning policies governing how properties are sold also include rules about how music is presented, played and financed in the city, and the rules do not favor the preservation of associational and unlicensed local live musical performance, a tradition in the city for generations. Given the civic role of these events and their governing community organizers, the production of local culture, and participation in civic life have been greatly stressed and dramatically altered. During the crisis many migrant musicians left Portugal, but even before the crisis, for too many of Portugal's talented young citizens, those opportunities were better pursued outside of the country.

The fanfarra associations and their musicians, along with many other social and cultural associations in Portugal took an activist role in the popular political marches over the period. The crisis in Portugal and integration into the Eurozone fomented a more rigorous taxation system and internationalization of the city space. At the same time, it provided the young residents with few opportunities for their own professional development beyond secondary education. The austerity transition to a more robust taxation and regulation regime was the condition of Portugal's acceptance to the financial bailout. Intended to solve unemployment it only exacerbated economic and social inequalities that existed in Portugal prior to the crisis.

These musicians and other young people belonged to the so-called *Geração à Rasca*, a generation of youth in Portugal with an insecure future. Many young and old musicians helped to support broader popular protests in Lisbon and other urban centers around the country during the financial crisis, including a major protest manifestation on March 12, 2011; as well as other largescale marches in the subsequent period—which brought more individual marchers than had been seen since the 1974 overthrow of the dictatorship.

Negotiating the terms of the crisis and the structural economic limitations on professional work as a musician in Portugal is a challenge at every pay-scale. The related ongoing transforming mass commercialization of tourism in Lisbon, fed by international economic speculation at the expense of the city's residents, affected *Farra Fanfarra* in specific ways.⁴¹ The band originally left Sintra for Lisbon in an agreement with *Bacalhoeiro Colectivo Cultural* shortly after the residential and artists collective opened, to hold rehearsals and store gear at the space in exchange for a few concerts a year. Bacalhoeiro was located in what was then a largely abandoned stretch of the Lisbon riverfront along *Rua dos Bacalhoerios* from *Campo de Cebola* to *Tereiro de Paço*, and was a key local sponsor promoting community events. The neighborhood included an important historical square around the Casa dos Bicos—once owned by the Afonso do Albuquerque, architect of Portugal's global trade empire in India; and today the location of the Saramago Foundation, housing the papers of the Nobel Laureate. Prior to the crisis, this was a less travelled part of Lisbon, which had a number of neighborhood cafés, even as they also served some tourists. With an increase in tourism in general and especially an increase of cruise ships nearby, many of these establishments found economic success pivoting away from supporting a more local and residential clientele to increasing international tourism and factors previously examined related to exploding property values. The whole neighborhood was targeted for substantial renovation as part of Lisbon's municipal waterfront

⁴¹ This situation has itself been the cause of some local protest and has included horn musicians as well.

development project, and in a situation typical of many other urban development dislocations in Lisbon and elsewhere, local lease holders raised rent and sold properties or leases on rental agreements that put them beyond the capacities of local wage earners. Even as the associations have sought out other parts of the city in which to thrive and push back against local uses of public spaces, the cultural life of the local residential communities has been challenged through these transformations and have implications for civic participation rights, including uses of public spaces in decisions over sustainable and just economic development. The band's rehearsal space would remain in Lisbon for some more years at another association space, Arte e Manha, on Avenida Duque Loule, before this space was also shut down for violations of newly imposed city noise and public meeting ordinances as a result of its' broad late-night popularity. Eventually *Farra Fanfarra* moved into the band's and *Kumpania Algazarra's* current rehearsal space in Fontanelas, Sintra. The armazem is an extraordinary location but it is situated in a rural aldeia of Sintra. These urban processes on rural culture have had a counterintuitive effect in some cases, as *Farra Fanfarra* returning to Sintra had the effect of further integrating the association and its cultural support back into Portuguese smaller population rural spaces.

The many working musicians in *Farra Fanfarra* play in many different projects, take up teaching, and are lifelong students of music and music theory. Their own orientation with these economic forces⁴² and the already precarious state of mounting a professional musical career or raising a family was stressed during the crisis and by the current Portuguese music market—raising the stakes of their civic action and participation. In more recent years the band and *Farra Fanfarra Associação Cultural* projects have increasingly participated in human rights, educational and civic initiatives, in conjunction with international associations located outside of Portugal as well. The *fanfarras* in general are enthusiastic supporters of travelling international musicians as well as performing and plastic artists and other global brass bands. Given *Farra Fanfarra's* profile in Lisbon and connections and collaborations of many of the members, it is often a first

⁴² There are a couple of dark jokes that make the rounds at Farra Fanfarra told by Vinicius Magalhães, a trombonist from Mozambique who grew up in Portugal and has lived for long stretches working in different parts of England. In addition to *Farra Fanfarra*, Vinicius is a key member of one of Portugal's first widely popular Afrobeat bands *Cacique '97* as well as other horn ensembles in Portugal. Talking about musicians' professional prospects, Vinicius always gets a knowing laugh when he asks: "Question: What's the difference between a musician and a family sized pizza.....? Answer: A family sized pizza is enough to feed a family." Or in his other version of a similar sentiment: "how do you make a musician leave your doorway...?" "You pay him for the pizza."

point of contact for international bands and individual musicians looking for places to play music. The local bands help arrange local contacts and spaces to set up shows, arrange loaner instruments for the visitors (especially the not-so-easily transported sousaphone) and often provide beds and transportation.

One interesting project mounted in 2009/10 was hosted by *Farra Fanfarra* and *Kumpania Algazarra* musicians as well as the *Weather Report* cultural association, creating a joint band with the other ensemble and musicians from Tel Aviv. An early *Farra Fanfarra* musician living in Portugal, Michael Ben Yosef, worked to bring over musicians he played with back in Israel, for some concerts in Portugal. The *Balmaaschaan Warehouse Orchestra* as the collaboration band called itself shared common repertoire, taught one another songs and created a joint repertoire of klezmer, *gadwa* (Arab quarter tone scale system), and global Balkan repertoires. The band played their own concerts in and outside of Lisbon, including a joint concert hosted at the weekly Cais do Sodré show of the band *King Mokadi* (in which several *Farra Fanfarra* musicians play) in an encounter sharing songs with the night's habitual musicians.⁴³ I also went to a post-Midnight mass/Christmas dinner concert held at the *Weather Report* in Sintra that included performances of *Kumpania Algazarra* and the *Balmaaschaan Warehouse Orchestra* in concerts that started after midnight dinner and then lasted past dawn of December 25.

Bands such as *Farra Fanfarra* and *Kumpania Algazarra* have travelled extensively outside of Portugal on similar exchanges as well. *Farra Fanfarra* participated in various exchanges in Italy with street horn bands as a result of connections between players in the two countries. In a trip to North America, *Farra Fanfarra* was hosted by Providence's *What Cheer Brigade*, for a joint performance at *Nick a Nees* to help expenses for the Portuguese band's two-week New England tour. Calling themselves a "punk-brass band" *What Cheer Brigade* itself won the people's choice for best international band at the Haizetera music festival in 2010 and then won it again at the 10-year champions reunion. Interestingly, Greg Moore, also has some influence and contact with *What Cheer Brigade* which still plays one of his arrangements. After leaving Portugal, Moore gave workshops in Boston and Providence, and would be a key figure in the founding of the US Honk Festival movement, which has in recent years been a part of the spread of community-based walking brass bands in multiple and North American and growing international cities. *What Cheer Brigade* in Providence also has had at least two

⁴³ The six-year running weekly Lisbon musicians jam night was forced to end as a result of new municipal rules governing the cultural production of music in Portugal.^{SEP}

Luso- American musicians from the local Portuguese community who trained at Portuguese *filarmónicas*⁴⁴

Most of the musicians in *Farra Fanfarra* have themselves took part in international music encounters, and studied in various parts of the world, but through the concerted efforts of the FFAC, the opportunities for these kinds of encounters have also increased. The association arranges funding and creates structural relationships with other international associations to mount joint projects that promote youth educational mobility, and civic and human rights.

The projects of *Farra Fanfarra* are numerous and have brought the musicians over the past several years on multiple exchanges with students from Serbia, Israel, Germany, Albania, Italy, as well as other associational collaborations supporting the band in other parts of Europe, South America and North America.

Many of these international encounters are put together by the band on a shoestring, and funded from multiple sources, with the hope of at least making a little bit of money. Many have included the participation of different kinds of foundational cultural support, with many recent activities sponsored by EU integration funds for associations and cultural and educational mobility through Erasmus, Erasmus+ and other institutional collaborations.

One such trip brought *Farra Fanfarra* to Gozo, Malta for the program “Small Towns, Big Ideas” an EU project promoting international EU contact among smaller EU municipal units. *Farra Fanfarra* – representing rural Sintra – played in several concerts along with other more and less traditional walking horn bands and street performers from small villages in Sicily, outside of Rome, and Estonia, in Gozo to play a concert and perform in several *arruadas* with local brass marching bands in rural community commemorations on the small Maltese island – who despite its size, has a prominent and proud tradition of *filarmónica* style community based marching brass bands. Exposure to these divergent performative styles within the genre, assists musicians’ training and professional development, and with the bands housed in common living spaces, sharing meals and travelling jointly around the island for special government sponsored programs, it allows for more sustained and intimate opportunities for contact. Through the encounter, participants engaged with one another—ostensibly about music—but also effectively through a program that constructed broader in-group definitions of the “local” in terms of their common experiences – and not based on their discrete community geographies. The inclusion of the bands marching through the streets of the small island insured that the public would

⁴⁴ The band also founded Pronk, intended to be an independent local civic protest-oriented street brass festival. In an example of the collaborative nature of these encounters, Farra Fanfarra is working with other fanfarras in Portugal to help support the Providence band’s tour of Portugal post-covid.

also take part in these cultural reconfigurations implicated in efforts to internationalize insular, rural EU spaces. *Farra Fanfarra* has also taken part in international projects among Portuguese migrant settlement communities in New England. The multiple performances and workshops the band put on in these communities reconfigured local definitions of Portuguese identities and by challenging local migrant community conceptions of what constitutes “traditional” Portuguese cultural production.

Since 2014 the FFAC has had a longstanding international association collaboration through *Erasmus+* with the *Roter Baum* youth association in Berlin (and also Dresden), involved in various projects with this and other international cultural associations in projects funded to foster EU mobility education—and support broader EU- wide cooperation and integration through social justice projects. As part of “Roots and Ways of Cultural Diversity in Music” *Farra Fanfarra* met with other European associations to perform in Berlin’s *Karneval der Kulturen*, a celebration of multi-cultural diversity and human rights expressed in a parade through the city that brings out millions of spectators and is broadcast live on national television stations throughout the country. On a float built by *Roter Baum* and a participating theater association of international artisans, *Farra Fanfarra animadores* and musicians joined with some local musicians, multiple international associations and the youth at the center to collaborate, organize, rehearse, and perform the musical and choreography components for the German association’s televised performance at the *Karneval*.

Roter Baum is a youth center in Marzahn-Hellersdorf, a town in former East Berlin that was the locality of a prominent German refugee center and residential community, which faced threats from increasing violent right-wing anti-migrant and anti-refugee protests and neo-nazi activities. The youth center sought to create a safe space for young people in the community of all backgrounds and citizenship status; and used these musical and artistic encounters to embody the spirit of inclusion and social justice promoted by the *Karneval der Kulturen* as part of their programmed activities and services. Working with the international associations, the projects brought these talented artists and musicians to the association to take and offer workshops, put on concerts and other programs, and jointly take part in local cultural events. The float, choreography and musical performance, the group created was a knee play critical of “fortress Europe” that promoted understanding and cooperation with both refugees and migrant mobilities. Broadcast on television across Germany, the production represented Marzahn-Hellesdorf as part of public responses that broker civic, political and economic inequalities across national and other categorical identities.

“Music for Human Rights” was an even more ambitious *Roter Baum* and *Farra Fanfarra* collaboration project that brought musicians and artists though the *Erasmus+* program for production, musical performance, and

human rights workshops rotating among each of the countries, creating mixed bands and exchanges among participants from Berlin, Germany; Pancevo, Serbia; Banja Luka, Bosnia Herzegovnia; Torino, Italy; Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, Israel; and Fontanelas (Sintra) Portugal. Each association in turn hosted the others for weeklong events in their respective communities. Events were varied, but always involved attempts to use music training, arts workshops, and concert production as part of a broader philosophical encounter with human rights to reach across various categorical divides, including nationality, ethnicity, race and religion. At the end of the week, the bands played headlining concerts at the *feira da igreja*, São Pedro de Sintra local church's annual summer festival. Members of the FFAC were volunteers and organizers of the visit, with *Farra Fanfarra* providing a free public performance on the final night of the festival.

For EU policymakers, these association-to-association projects help shape local public presentations that are intrinsically and explicitly diplomatic exercises. Stimulating these encounters includes the building of EU funds to meet strategic objectives for economic and political integration and playing for these small community audiences across Europe, the *fanfarras* and fanfarra style bands announce the cultural and personal exchanges facilitated by the Schengen.⁴⁵ The musicians' themselves talk about these encounters in terms loftier aims, however, and use them to widen their own participation in global professional contact networks. Their open approach to repertoire selection and performance style makes them popular as they assist local community-based engagements with broader mobilities of labor, tourism and capital, that have left communities of labor migration and the EU's disparate economies confronting broad social, political and economic inequalities.

As discussed above, the public, supported by local political administrative units responsible for promoting culture, have repurposed local town and community *festas*. The *fanfarras* have become such an important part of this transformation in part, because they themselves embody the transformations of village life. Performance spaces in village *festas* still include filarmónica bands as well as *ranchos folclóricos*, and popular *pimba* music, however, the emergence of *fanfarras* demonstrates how these rural spaces continue to be points of global encounter and represent one important part of renewed lively local association civic and cultural activities.

These associations have been increasingly relied upon as the vehicle for national and local projects as part of Portuguese state and EU internationalization project promotion, while serving in local contexts as conduits of global brass and wind cultural production. Receiving EU funding through these associations, the brass, wind and percussion musicians perform as part of the institutional

⁴⁵ See for example the efforts of the EU's Jacques Delors Institutes guiding mission facilitating cultural exchanges and political and bureaucratic integration.

integration of the confederation. As Lahusen points out, the associations “do not form or represent civil societies as a whole, yet are of importance for institutionalizing related action forms, social roles, collective objectives and identities. The assumption therefore is that the Europeanization of civil societies is under way through the establishment of a more consistent field of civic associations – both on the supranational level of the EU institution, and in view of cross-national networks of private organization” (Lahusen 2006, 121).

The institutional power of these associations creates a vehicle of civic agency for members that transcends local contexts for EU wide and international forms of civic activism. It is at this personal level of agency however, that the encounters have meaning to the musicians, and through the human connections and the opportunity to participate in a global craft. Farra Fanfarra’s participation in these projects was discussed by trumpeter Sandro Felix, who participated in nearly all of the association’s exchanges over the course of the past 5 years. Discussing “integration” and “connection” to other parts of the world and the EU he said, “there are some parts of the EU that are less EU than other parts... or... from a Portuguese perspective... had a very different way of talking about some of the issues.” Speaking specifically to exchanges in and with musicians from Serbia, and Bosnia Herzegovina, as well as Israel, he continued, “for example, the way they talk about religion or migration or who they are, differed greatly from Portugal where we think about migrants. There are problems here, [with the treatment of migrants in Portugal], but... I don’t know how to say it... it’s just *mais facil* [easier].” For Sandro, no matter where it is played, “music creates a common language that overcomes difference. When we are making music none of this difference matters, because we are participating in something together, if it sounds good, it doesn’t matter what nationality you are, you are going to like it, and that creates solidarity independent of whatever your point of view. It’s equal and positive for everyone. Music creates positivity, makes an incredible union and promotes friendship and equality.”

Sarmiento (2007) reads the emergence of many of the larger summertime music festivals in Portugal and the transformation between folklore music to the more internationalized forms of music produced at them as an important feature in the opening of Portugal to the world in the post *25 de abril* period, including increasing the country’s access to ever more diverse international acts. He also points to how the modernizing tensions between Portugal’s rural populations and its more urbanized and internationalized youth culture (which pit traditional forms of cultural expression against emerging norms of social comportment) are mediated and expressed through these international music festivals (*ibid*:13-14). How the emergence of an independent consumer class in modern Portugal—people with specific tastes in music and money to spend on it—have been a driving factor behind many of these transformations leads Sarmiento to point out how private companies and municipal authorities have

a prominent role in shaping definitions of Portuguese music based on which performers are invited to play at the festivals. (*ibid*:7). Similarly, this process reflects the decision to bring *fanfarra* style bands to play at these events, in which the public performance of music becomes driven by commercial considerations and transforming definitions of Portuguese cultural production in a phase that Boiko has termed “post-folklore” (cit. in Baumann 2010).

What is interesting in this case is that the *fanfarras* have turned many of these ideas on their head. For example, although youth culture is paramount in driving national music production, the transformation has come about in a much more circulatory flow of sounds and performance expectations, as cultural production moves from rural spaces to urban spaces as much as it does the other way around. The *fanfarras* also represent a different model for overcoming the modernizing tensions between rural and urban contexts, given that the bands have a clear connection to rural and traditional village forms of cultural production and social organization.

Another related factor is how Portugal’s presence in the EU has broadened categories of migrant and local identities as Portuguese themselves move back and forth and international migrants/tourists come to and from the country, which have affected both the creation and conceptions of Portuguese cultural production. Rojek and Urry (1997) treat this as a problem of the global mass production of music with connotations for the homogenization of cultural forms, a concept that this paper challenges. Baumann (2010) offers a nuanced understanding of music production in relation to globalization—calling attention to tensions inherent between local cultural production and its relationship to broader economic and political considerations. Citing Hannerz’ (1995) discussion of cultures that are “no longer anchored in a particular region” and Appadurai’s (1990) dimensions of global cultural flows, Baumann points out how ethnic, media, technological, economic and ideological constructions lead to a local experience in which tourism and migration raise issues of multiculturalism, with local identities shaped through complex repertoires of images and narratives that emerge to challenge and structure inequality. These local identities are situated in pluralistic and democratizing processes brought about by situations of broad cultural contact.

The concentration of acts one finds at international music festivals for a fixed time are replicated in the kinds of musical production one encounters in a city throughout the year. Such musical scenes act as “pioneers in propagating the peaceful side, developing new, creative forms of behavior that lead to mutual respect between different cultures and to breaking down culturally determined prejudices” (Baumann 2001, 9-10) It is a notion that has particular resonance for Portugal’s place in local, regional and global power hierarchies in this post-Democratic, post-colonial, post-EU period, as complex local identities emerge in contexts of increased migration (including intra-EU migration and migration among the Lusophone sphere)

and tourism, confronting new definitions of territorial belonging and civic engagement. International acts from Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America etc. are commonplace on Portuguese television, radio, and its stages. That these styles have been absorbed by local audiences and performed by local musicians' shapes what constitutes local musical production, even definitions of "traditional" forms. There is a tension between traditionally oriented music and music made for a broader public's "global" consumption (into which also fits the local performance of migrant music) – that is between universal and particularistic understandings of cultural identity. Baumann terms the process "transcultural encounter:" migration and travel have made the world smaller, but against a common wisdom that perceives globalization as homogenizing, this smaller world is also simultaneously far more diverse.

Several studies have examined related phenomenon in Portugal, for example, in relation to Lusophone African migrants. Evora (2006) points to associativism among Cape Verdean associations (in which music and dance production form part of local activities) pointing out the importance of music and dance for community integrative functions, both in the projection of ethnic identities while also working to promote local belonging. Miguel *et al*⁴⁶ in a study of Lisbon performances by migrants of *Kola San Jon*, a Cape Verdean rural cultural practice encompassing music, dance, and cultural artifacts, examines how folklore music and dance is used to mark social identity and as "resistance" in moments of cultural contact for subaltern and minority groups. A Pioneer and leading researcher in the study of popular music in Portugal, Castelo Branco and Freitas Branco (2003) discuss folklorization and the broad importance of music and dance among Diaspora communities and in the construction of local identities through the practice of these older cultural forms.

The *Fanfarras* highlight transformations in migrant forms as they adapt to local situations in the process of creating new forms. This is consistent with McDonnell's (2008) overview of how Portugal's *Buraka Som Sistema* has transformed traditional Angolan *Kudoro* rhythms, integrating them with electronic and synth house music so that the beat has a broad appeal in Portuguese and European dance clubs. The new sounds have interestingly also made a return to Angola where the collaborative music has also become influential and popular, as Angolan audiences are also interested in hearing newer forms of folk-trad music, adding another layer of complexity to

⁴⁶ Ana Flávia Miguel, Isabel Castro, Flávia Duarte Lanna and Alexsander Duarte: "Quatro estudos de caso sobre a música e a identidade em Portugal, Cabo Verde, Moçambique e Brasil". Paper presented at *II Jornadas de Estudiantes de Musicología y Jóvenes Musicólogos*. Madrid, 2010.

analyses of political uses of material culture in post-colonial mobilities. Vanspuawen (2010) similarly discusses the swirl of musical collaboration among Portuguese speaking migrants and Portuguese residents in Lisbon emphasizing the use of such collaborations as they are employed to advance politically constructed “Lusophone identities” in CPLP contexts. Associativism is a part of creative intercultural endeavors in which political considerations create connections, however the musicians themselves consciously articulate what they are doing.

The *fanfarras* supply a counter-perspective to notions that outside marketing influences and global performance styles results in the decimation of older forms of local cultural production. While reflecting economic globalization, increased mobility, and flows of international cultural production to rural spaces, the bands have nonetheless adapted, repurposed and invigorated community-based music making as a way to structure and dynamize social relations that promote economic participation and civic engagement. Whatever the sounds played by various kinds of bands, *fanfarras* among them, the community-based music association stimulates and supports local cultural production, assists government and local private commercial interests, and are a part of a collaboration that offers support for local economic activity. Post-EU changes to Portuguese political and economic integration into the EU shape these bands role in community-based music-making and reflect notions of co-existence in pluralistic democratic spheres. Performing as local bands in local spaces they nonetheless anti-essentialize fixed identities – as their community participation, aesthetic and reception helps them to broaden the definition of tradition and local expectations of musical production. The bands help to democratize public spaces and support local and regional economies by participating themselves in the civic life of the communities in which they perform. These newer expressions of community based musical production re- write rules for authenticity and supply material cultural wherewithal as part of narratives to remake older constructions of local, regional, and national identities. This music production in Portugal is difficult to cleanly characterize when compared to forms of music that are pre-occupied with the reproduction of official discourses of identity (Holton 1995). This is not “fakelore,” however, it is something new that has deep personal resonance to audiences; and in which community based local cultural production has the relevance to support political and civic action. It is a notion that has particular resonance for Portugal’s place in the new European order, as complex local identities emerge in contexts of increased migration (including intra-EU migration and migration among the Lusophone sphere) and tourism. The bands and their affiliated associational organizations aid local communities to think about, confront, and adapt to reconfigured definitions of territorial belonging; and are catalysts of civic participation to address inequalities, human rights, and social justice.

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Appendix

The organized and associational musical schools of musicians studying in Portugal among *Farra Fanfarra's* musicians in this 2012 snapshot demonstrates the breadth of their filarmónica and conservatory training. *Filarmónicas*: Banda Filarmónica “Os Aliados” de S. Pedro de Sintra (various), Banda Filarmónica de ACULMA, Banda Filarmónica “12 de Abril” Travassô (Águeda), Banda Filarmónica do Mucifal, Banda Filarmónica de Pêro Pinheiro, Banda Filarmónica de Sines, Banda Filarmónica União Lapense, Banda da Casa Pia de Lisboa (various), Sociedade Filarmónica Providência, de Vila Fresca de Azeitão, Sociedade Filarmónica Palmelense Loureiros, Sociedade Filarmónica União e Progresso de Abrigada, Sociedade Filarmónica Lealdade Pinheirense, Sociedade de Instrução Musical Quinta do Anjo, Sociedade União Musical Alenquerense, Sociedade Musical União Recreio e Sport Sinnense. Conservatórios: Academia Nacional Superior de Orquestra de Lisboa, Conservatório Nacional de Lisboa, Conservatório Regional de Coimbra, Conservatório Regional de Setubal, Conservatório Calouste Gulbenkian Aveiro, Conservatório da Covilhã, Conservatório de Santarém, Conservatório Escola Profissional das Artes da Madeira, Conservatório de Alkmaar (Hollanda), Conservatório Régional de Paris (França) Conservatorio Tartini, Trieste (Italy), (USA) Berkeley College of Music, Boston (USA). Jazz schools: Escola de Jazz do Barreiro, Escola de Jazz HotClub de Portugal (various), Escola de Jazz JB Jazz (various), Escola de Jazz Luís Villas Boas HCP, Escola de Jazz do Seixal, Escola de Música de Cascais Escola de Musica Leal da Camara, Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa, Escola Profissional de Artes da Beira Interior, Escola de Música da Baden/Viena (Áustria), Oulun Konservatorio (School of Pop-Jazz) (Finland) Falmouth Public Schools brass and wind orchestra (EUA). Professional orchestras: Orquestra Gulbenkian, Orquestra da Câmara Portuguesa, Orquestra Ligeira de São João de Areias, Big Band Escola de Jazz do Barreiro, Fanfare Onderling Genoegen de Krommenie (Holanda), Orquestra Escolar e Companhia de Teatro de Baden (Áustria) and also a tunido playing in the Tuna Templária. Educational degrees in the study of music include Licenciaturas: Escola Superior de Musica (Lisboa); Ciências Musicais, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (various); Musica Moderna, Lusiana; Música na Comunidade; and a Mestrado in Ciências Musicais, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

