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Nightlife in the Cabo Verdean diaspora: the case of Rotterdam City

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Chapter 2: Approaches to space, diaspora and night

Space and Place

In his ground-breaking work *The Production of Space* (1974), French Marxist thinker Henri Lefebvre sought to problematise the notion of space as an undefined yet widely used concept, criticising previous approaches that view space as something pre-given to the world or something to be exclusively 'read'. Instead, Lefebvre proposes that every society actively 'produces' and reproduces space, and that hegemony plays a role in shaping space. In his view, space is not a "passive locus of social relations" (Lefebvre 1991: 11 & 31). Instead, power-relations enable hegemonic powers such as states to determine how space is divided, classifying its various uses according to hegemonic models which control, police and homogenise space (Lefebvre 2009: 188).

According to Lefebvre, space is predominantly produced on three levels; spatial practice, representations of space and representational space (or, alternatively, perceived, conceived, and lived space). Spatial practice can be interpreted as everyday activity and routines, routes and networks. It links daily reality with urban reality and is telling of the way in which people perceive and use space on a daily basis, and how they move through the city. Representations of space are the "conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent — all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre 1991: 38-39). Representations of space reveal certain ideologies and how plans are implemented in space, mostly top-down. To Lefebvre space is incorporated into, and aligned with, capitalist relations of production. It is space as planned. Lefebvre's conceived space encompasses the idea of control: who controls space, who can produce it, and who determines its use, function, or value. Representational space, on the other hand, is "space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, […] the dominated — and

hence passively experienced — space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (Lefebvre 1991: 38-39). Representational space thus speaks about the lived experience in relation to the symbolic meaning and use of space by its inhabitants, such as is observed in protests and art. Indeed, space is socially and politically produced, used, controlled, and managed, but also imagined and lived. This has the effect of producing spaces invested with symbolic meanings and experiences that come from different actors and directions. Space is therefore not a 'finished' product, but continuously contested in what it represents, and in its uses, functions, meanings and (symbolic) values.

Echoing Lefebvre, English geographer Doreen Massey understands the spatial "as an ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification" (1994: 3), emphasising the different experiences of and relations to space according to one's position in society. Massey considers the importance of politics and class in spatial analysis and approaches the concept of space through a social-economic lens. Similar to geographer David Harvey's (1996) views on the power of capitalism to organise space, Massey argues that the globalised economy organises itself and extends spatially, stretching out related social relations (1994 :22). Marking the inception of a period of academic attention towards issues of global mobilities, Massey calls for the multiplicity of space-time and the simultaneous incorporation of the local in the global and vice versa. Even though, as in Lefebvre's work, the role of capitalist processes in the production of space is underscored, Massey also acknowledges the importance of cultural and social factors such as gender and ethnicity in how space and place are experienced. She emphasises the different degrees of mobility that particular social groups have: "some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it" (Massey 1994: 149).Distinguishing space from place, Massey argues that space is "constructed out of interrelations, as the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations and interactions at all

spatial scales, from the most local level to the most global" (1994: 265). Place, on the other hand, should be understood as a meeting point, a point of convergence, "constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus" (Massey 1994: 154). Places and their identities are not so much rooted in history, but rather are established through routes and, as such, are "open and porous networks of social relations" (Massey 1994: 121). Place is viewed as open and ever-changing, dynamic rather than static.

If place is produced out of particular articulations of networks, identities of place are not formed through essentialisms. Instead, following Marxist cultural theorist Stuart Hall's concept of cultural identity, they are "always and continuously being produced" (Massey 1994: 171). This distinction has implications when defining communities and pinning them to specific locations, identities, or cultures, as both individual and spatial identity are continuously negotiated and changing. Massey destabilises the notions of space and place by emphasising the multiplicity of identities contained within place and its shifting character, disconnecting ideas of fixity of community or group identity to place; "what is to be the dominant image of any place will be a matter of contestation and will change over time" (Massey 1994: 121). Even though we cannot deny the unstable dynamics of place-making and the openness and changing nature of spatial identities, I argue that humans and groups are also firmly attached to places by several processes and have a particular relation to place, which is emphasised in humanistic geographical approaches to space and place.

Humanistic geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (2001) argues that humans form relations with spaces through experience and emotional attachment. He distinguishes between the notions of space and place, arguing that space is abstract while place is concrete: "what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. […] If we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause" (Tuan 2001: 6).

Tuan considers space as an "area defined by a network of places", defining space by people's movement through it and through its relation with the "relative location of objects or places" (2001: 12). Place, then, forms itself as people embed values, experiences and knowledge into space, becoming attached to it. As such, it takes time to develop a sense of place, as it is made up of "experiences, mostly fleeting and undramatic, repeated day after day and over the span of years" (Tuan 2001: 183). Out of necessity space is 'arranged' serve life's purposes, or as Tuan puts it, "so that it conforms with and caters to his [humans'] biological needs and social relations" (2001: 34), thus producing place. Tuan somewhat neglects to explain the differentiated experiences of place, especially in relation to gender, race and ability, and instead viewing the attachment of or to place as a biological fact rather than something relational (Tuan 2001: 4). He also focuses on the personal and emotional aspects of the attachment to place. Geographer Tim Cresswell points out that humanistic geographers such as Tuan have created concepts of space "that expressed an attitude to the world that emphasised subjectivity and experience rather than the cool, hard logic of spatial science" (Cresswell 2015: 35). Indeed, Tuan is more concerned with the concrete (sensorial) experience of place and how people attach themselves to place over time. Somewhat contrasting the conceptualisation of place as dynamic, ever-changing and situated within structures of power and networks, Tuan locates the concept of place in terms of an individual's perspective and experience as well as a practice.

The shapes, meanings and values of place are constantly contested, negotiated and changed through natural, political, economic and social processes, as well as through time. Indeed, as Cresswell notes, "places are never complete, finished, or bounded but are always becoming — in process" (2015: 68). This relates to similar conceptions that consider place as something that is performed (Thrift 2006) or created through negotiation and interaction (Pred 1984). Yet, it is clear that humans and groups 'attach' themselves to places (at least

temporarily), stabilising the relation between place and person. These processes of place-making often require the work of memory, which in the context of the diaspora often involve notions of community, nationhood and homeland. These issues will be discussed in the following sections.

Space, place and memory

Humans attach themselves to space and place through various processes which often involve the work of memory. Writing in the 1950s, Philosopher Gaston Bachelard explored the relation between memory and space through the concept of home, arguing that, "all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home" (Bachelard 1994: 5). Memory operates with images by generating maps of past, lived and dwelled spaces. It is, then, through the work of memory and imagination that we create a sense of integrity, belonging and homeliness. Bachelard proposes a methodology of topoanalysis, which he describes as "the systematic psychological study of the sites of our intimate lives", where memories are part of a present in which we know ourselves not through time, but through "a sequence of fixations in the spaces of the being's stability" (1994:8), thus prioritising space over time in the constitution of memory and subjectivity and identifying spaces with feelings such as enjoyment, solitude and desire (1994: 8). The familiarity with and experience of space is what constitutes memories as a spatial phenomenon.

The philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who is Bachelard's contemporary, echoes this. He states that on the collective level "every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework" (Halbwachs 1980: 139). In this sense Halbwachs stabilises the relation between group and place, arguing that a collective understanding of place gives structure to a collective. Likewise, the contemporary American philosopher Edward S. Casey reiterates not the role of home, but the role of place in general for memory:

> Only consider how often a memory is either of a place itself (e.g., of one's childhood home) or of an event or person *in* a place; and, conversely, how unusual it is to remember a placeless person or an event *not* stationed in some specific locale. To be placeless in one's remembering is not only to be disoriented; it is to be decidedly disadvantaged with regard to what a more complete mnemonic experience might deliver. Place serves to situate one's memorial life, to give it "a name and a local habitation." (Casey 2000: 183-184)

The ability of place to be situated in memory comes through its familiarity with a person, being "a container of experiences" (Casey 2000: 186). We become familiar with a place by inhabiting and appropriating it, becoming "sympathetic" to it, or connecting to its "emotionality" (Casey 2000: 192 & 200). Often, the memory of place is provoked by feelings of nostalgia, in which a "place's extraordinary memorability is found" (2000: 201), making it possible to 're-experience' a place. To situate oneself in the world, place serves an important role as memory is generated through and of it.

This premise is equally important when we consider a collective or community's memory of space. As urban planner Michael Hebbert argues, a collective constructs memories around spaces and uses specific spaces or objects in space. Collective memory, he suggests, can be constructed in space both from above — a position of authority and power — and from below — through daily practice:

> A shared space — such as a street — can be a locus of collective memory in a double sense. It can express group identity from above, through architectural order, monuments and symbols, commemorative sites, street names, civic spaces, and historic conservation; and it can

> express the accumulation of memories from below, through the physical and associative traces left by interweaving patterns of everyday life. (Hebbert 2005: 592)

So, collective memory practices in urban space take place on different levels as different groups invest different values, ideas and memories in place. They are thus able to shape collective memories and mobilise accordingly, appropriating parts of a city. It is both a matter of design, for example by placing a monument, or naming a square, as well as a matter of practice, by means of spaces lived in and through by ordinary people.

Sociologist Anouk Bélanger claims that, "how diverse social groups 'remember' the history of a city is crucial in the historical process and therefore in the making of identities in various social spaces" (2002: 72). Applying Massey's idea of power-geometry, she states that "privileged groups […] for example, dominant classes, national, racial, and ethnic groups, along with heterosexual males — are typically in a better position than others to make their representations of time and space 'count'" (2002: 74). It is in this sense that Belanger argues, despite the various memories that run through city-spaces, that certain groups in society are able to claim a particular place and memory more decisively, which often happens through media practices and the work of transnational corporate promoters who sell place by selling particular memories as "*the* memory" (2002: 78-87). It is also in this sense that space can serve to create oppositions between 'we' and 'they', as spaces are appropriated which 'belong' to one and not to the other. However, according to Belanger,

> There are always places and spaces in the city that are invested by groups in ways that escape, at least partially, the orchestration, values, and control of the dominant discourses […]. In addition, the same places and spaces around the city can be invested with different

> experiences and narratives simultaneously or at different times.
> (Belanger 2002: 82)

Rather than resisting authority or power, space in the city is often claimed by minority groups in order to 'place' themselves within society and generate spaces of belonging, and by doing so creating narratives that run parallel to more institutionalised and hegemonic claims to space. This is particularly important in the context of migration, where people are often far removed from the places that are 'their own', and where place-making in places that are at first unfamiliar thus becomes crucial.

Diasporic spaces and flows

As can be understood from the section above, place and space are essential in the construction of a collectivity, of shared memory and identity. To produce or claim space and attach specific values, identities, and histories to place and space, the work of memory is essential. Migrant groups or diasporas are almost always a minority within their adopted national landscape, in which a (collective) memory is constructed within a context of other dominant (national) narratives. So how do migrant groups or populations navigate city spaces and construct a collective identity? In what ways are notions of nation and homeland important in the formation of a diasporic community? According to sociologist Avtar Brah, a diasporic community is created through a

> Confluence of narratives as it is lived and relived, produced, reproduced and transformed through individual as well as collective memory and re-memory. It is within this confluence of narrativity that 'diasporic community' is differently imagined under different historical circumstances. By this I mean that the identity of the diasporic imagined community is far from fixed or pre-given. It is

> constituted within the crucible of the materiality of everyday life; in the everyday stories we tell ourselves individually and collectively. (Brah 1996: 183)

Brah not only connects the stories of migration to and from a certain place to the construction of a diasporic community's identity, he also emphasises the everyday life of the places in which migrating people settled and live. He particularly stresses the creation of narratives that occur through memory practices, so that a diasporic community can be imagined.

Experiences of migration are seldom similar, not just when considering issues of gender, race and class, but also due to varying economic and political situations. The diasporic experience is also different for first- and next-generation migrants, for those born abroad or in the diaspora, as it determines whether a diasporic memory has been experienced in 'real life', or through memory practices. In the diaspora, experiences of place are significant for community building and the diasporic experience, and they play an important part in producing and preserving the diasporic narratives that Brah mentions. Even though experiences of migration are multiple, it is in particular places that narratives thereof can come together in a "confluence of narratives", in which some form of togetherness and commonality is sought and produced. A diaspora is not a uniform group with a common story: even though a 'we' is constructed, according to Brah "all diasporas are differentiated, heterogeneous, contested spaces", in which social divisions are negotiated and power-relations determine the construction of the 'we' (1996: 184).

It is in place that a sense of "home" can be created. According to Brah, in a diaspora, home can be a "mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination" but also "the lived experience of a locality", thus stressing the complexity of diasporic place-making, which involves both local and global connections and interrelations. However, according to Brah "it

bears repeating that the double, triple, or multi-placedness of 'home' in the imaginary of people in the diaspora does not mean that such groups do not feel anchored in the place of settlement" (Brah 1996: 192-194). Indeed, the idea of home can be quite distinct between members of a diaspora, yet they use, produce and need a space to generate a sense of home, whether this home is imagined through a place of origin, or in a place of arrival or settlement.

For Brah, the 'imagination' of a community refers to the "social and psychic geography of space that is experienced in terms of a neighbourhood or a home town", as it is experienced through daily practices and encounters, and embedded in "networks of family, kin, friends, colleagues and various other 'significant others'" (1996: 4). Yet Brah also acknowledges that group identity is imagined "in the sense that Benedict Anderson (1983) suggests" (1996: 117). Political scientist Benedict Anderson suggests that the nation is an "imagined political community": "it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (2006: 5-6). Anderson suggests that the creation of an imagined community is possible because of the functioning of 'print-capitalism' as a mechanism of unification and dissemination of language and cultural production during the Industrial Revolution. In the context of the construction of the soon-to-be or recently independent Cabo Verdean nation, I argue that what sets apart the incentivisation of an imagined Cabo Verdean community is the importance of the circulation and distribution not of print media, but of oral and musical imaginations, which are often constructed in nocturnal undertakings.

What can be drawn from the merging of different narratives is that a diaspora is always based on travel, a multiplicity of places. In this sense, as sociologist Paul Gilroy explains, diasporic identity should not be approached through the idea of fixed "roots and rootedness", but instead should be seen "as a process of movement and mediation that is more

appropriately approached via the homonym routes" (1993: 2&19), and which is produced through processes of "creolisation, metissage, mestizaje, and hybridity" (1993: 2), or, as sociologist Stuart Hall puts it, "diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" (Hall 2014: 235). It is important to consider a diaspora not as a single community in place, but through space, taking into consideration global connections, networks and transnational relations (Georgiou 2010), without downplaying the importance of the local context within which diasporic identities develop and establish particular relationships to places in the city in both real and metaphorical ways. These connections are shaped and influenced by transnational or global flows of ideas, cultures and identities, but ultimately expressed and lived on a local level.

According to anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, global cultural flows are structured around five -*scapes*: ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes. The movement of people, media, technology, finance and ideas point towards flows of "cultural material" that move "across national boundaries" (Appadurai 1996: 46). According to Appadurai, this has consequences for the boundaries of group identity, as "groups are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous" (1996: 48). Drawing on and expanding Anderson's view of imagined community, Appadurai argues that scapes constitute "imagined worlds, that is, the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (1996: 33), evidencing a multiplicity of attachments. This is not to say, however, that identifications with nationality, territory, ethnicity, culture, space et cetera are suddenly not relevant anymore in the lives of diasporic groups. We need to consider local-global relations, such as those with the homeland, but we must also acknowledge the political and cultural imaginations that influence the ways in which a collective relates to new places of settlement and navigates diverse cultural worlds. In this context it is important to

emphasise that "histories through which localities emerge are eventually subject to the dynamics of the global" (Appadurai 1996: 18). This is to say: global cultural flows influence local place-making practices through exchanges and flows of images, ideas, technologies, capital, information, goods and people. A framework of -scapes can be useful in understanding both the cultural and political dynamics of place-making that are influenced by global cultural flows, where the production of locality takes places within a global context of cultural exchange. Place serves a double purpose. It is produced through and influenced by global flows, which emphasises the fluidity of what moves through place. If global cultural flows move through the world, it is in places that these flows enter, transform and sediment. It is also in and of place that specific memories, narratives and imaginations arise, particularly those of a community, making possible the fixation of collective identity in particular locations in the city.

To understand the particular function of the night in the above-mentioned processes, I would like to draw on the idea of 'nightscapes' advanced by anthropologist Thomas Fouquet (2016), who in fact draws on Appadurai's theory on -scapes. In this context, Fouquet delineates that nightscapes can be places of circulation, appropriation and refraction of globalised cultural tendencies, in which the urban night constitutes a privileged site of observation of certain articulations between the local and the global (2016: 5-6). The idea of continuous movements of people suggests that networks become a more important part of daily life, especially considering the context of the diaspora. Spaces of the night, in this sense, have several purposes. They connect, firstly, the people that are dispersing, possibly having settled in yet another location, through which cultural exchanges are possible and encounters with 'the other' are inevitable. It also is, however, a space of re-encounter, between those that dispersed from the same (imagined) world, and through which an organisation of a cultural, ethnic, or political order is made possible, stabilising to some degree the idea of community.

In this thesis the night will be studied from multiple angles. To begin with I will zoom in on some of the more influential works used as a theoretical framework during this research and addressing topics of the night or night spaces.

Approaching the night

Studies of the night are still young. With his concept of the production of space mentioned before, Lefebvre was one of the first to distinguish the night as a specifically produced time-space. Daytime and nighttime spaces are not only accorded different geographical locations in the city, but also different functions, social values, roles and expectations, as well as different imaginations and experiences:

> Space is divided up into designated (signified, specialised) areas and into areas that are prohibited (to one group or another). It is further subdivided into spaces for work and spaces for leisure and into daytime and night-time spaces. The body, sex, and pleasure are often accorded no existence, either mental or social, until after dark, when the prohibitions that obtain during the day, during 'normal' activity, are lifted. This secondary and derivative existence is bestowed on them, at night, in sections of the city. […] In accordance with this division of urban space, a stark contrast occurs at dusk as the lights come on in the areas given over to "festivity", whereas the "business" districts are left empty and dead. Then in a brightly illuminated night the day's prohibitions give way to profitable pseudotransgressions. (Lefebvre 1991: 319–20)

In the quote above, Lefebvre approaches day and night life through a division of city areas, in which different activities take place. As such, at particular times, in particular parts of the city,

spaces become available to particular groups for specific activities. This is not to say that the same spaces cannot have different functions between day and night, but this is simply not emphasised by Lefebvre. What is striking about the quote above is the direct link that is made with transgression, pleasure and sex, which only seem to take place in particular parts of the city. Night spaces are, in this sense, linked to areas of (pseudo)illegality and transgressions which are given no space during daytime. The choice of the term 'pseudo' transgressions implies that Lefebvre views these transgressions as still being embedded within a particular economic structure. Human activity differs at night, and the city seems to permit and profit from behaviours which would be treated as wrongdoings in daytime.

Historian Bryan D. Palmer (2000) also approaches the night from a conceptualisation of transgression, although associating it more with issues of marginality and resistance. The night is a time-space in which, according to Palmer, "marginality might best be both lived as an experience and socially constructed as a representation" and where night can be seen as a "time and place where power's constraints might be shed and powerlessness's aspirations articulated", thus adding a political dimension to the night (Palmer 2000: 6). However, Palmer also emphasises that there is no uniform experience of the night:

> The dark cultures of the night are thus not unified in any categorical history of sameness. Rather, they are presented here as moments excluded from histories of the day, a counterpoint within the time, space, and place governed and regulated by the logic and commerce of economic rationality and the structures of political rule. Night can be understood as lowering curtains on these domains of dominance, introducing theatres of ambiguity and transgression that can lead towards enactments of liberation. But night has also been a locale

where estrangement and marginality found themselves a home.

(Palmer 2000: 17–18)

Although Palmer places the night within a framework of transgression, he indicates in the quote above that the night does not claim a specific role, nor does it imply a one-sided experience. On the one hand, the night is able to function as a space of rebellion and opposition towards the logics of power and capitalism, where cultures of the night are able to form. On the other hand, although transgression is often related to rebellion, Palmer also emphasises less romantic aspects in which the night offers a more straightforward "escape from the drudgeries of the day, the routines that define humanity in specific duties, obligations and tasks" (2000: 13) as well as serving as a space of "demoralisation, defeat and detachment" and even of estrangement (2000: 6-17). The night is indeed used, produced and experienced in different ways and provides a time-space distinct from daytime, whether that might be associated with marginality, resistance, pleasure, or otherwise.

Departing from Lefebvre's theorisation on the production of nighttime spaces, political scientist Robert Williams argues that night spaces are socially mediated as they "do not exist prior to, or apart from, human practices and the attendant social relationships that seek to appropriate, even control, the darkness in its myriad human uses and meanings" (2008: 514). Even though hegemonic forms of authority shape and produce night spaces according to government or business strategies, implying the reinforcement of (capitalist) social orders, in line with Palmer's theory of transgression, William argues that the night can provide a chance for marginal groups to generate spaces of resistance: "ideally communities might come together at night to re-establish human bonds in an attempt to controvert the domination of lived space by technocratic and commodified practices" (Williams 2008: 520), thus representing the night as both controlled from above, as well as holding an emancipatory potential.

Since the turn of the millennium, more critical studies on nighttime economies (NTE) have begun to emerge. According to urban ethnographer Dick Hobbs et al., urban governance has become more directed towards economic growth, where cities become "sites of consumption and leisure" (Hobbs et al. 2000: 702), promoting nighttime activities as part of a modern urban image. Leisure and pleasure go hand in hand to form the dominant environment as part of pragmatic commercial imperatives in modern cities' nighttimes. This goes hand in hand with the repurposing of certain city districts such as city centres, in order to allow for these new economic impulses and the exploitation of new, commodified spaces while suppressing any alternative experiences of these spaces (Hobbs et al. 2000: 711-714). Indeed, as urban geographer Paul Chatterton and sociologist Robert Hollands argue, as corporate ownership of city-centre venues and spaces grew, this growth "squeezed out many alternative, subordinate spaces, meanings and practices" (2002: 96). Audiences with enough resources are targeted for nightlife activities while those with less purchasing power are excluded, "leaving the urban fabric at night increasingly socio-spatially divided with little interaction between night-life groupings in discrete geographical settings" (Chatterton and Hollands 2002: 112), and thus creating homogenised and uniform experiences and nighttime spaces (Chatterton and Hollands 2002; Hollands and Chatterton 2003). This is particularly important in the context of this research as it highlights how, within an environment of commodification and commercialisation, night spaces in the city become (in)accessible to particular groups such as migrants. This influences how these groups are (or are not) able to navigate the nighttime city and produce community nighttime spaces. On the other hand it is important to emphasise that alternative spaces also exist and arise to form part of a cultural infrastructure that answers the demands of audiences not considered mainstream, whether associated with issues such as income, ethnicity, age, sexuality or otherwise, and which can become an important source of

identity transformation (Gallan 2015). Indeed these alternative spaces are very much the centre of many migrant communities, as will become clear in this work.

Geographer Robert Shaw points out that the sole focus on nighttime economies and the emphasis of an economy based mainly on pleasure, leisure and intoxication falls short of studies on the 'urban night'. Engaging with Deleuze and Guattari's conceptualisation of assemblage, he instead proposes to approach the nighttime city as an "affective atmosphere" created through assemblage; the city is continuously produced and constructed "through practices and the movement of materials", bringing together "people, objects, ideas, affects and discourses" (2014: 87-93). The idea of assemblage contributes to an understanding of how space and identity cohere and interfere at night. Take, for example, a night out; bodies collide, music flows and conversations are struck, creating a flow of impulses that work one's imagination and generate a sense of belonging together with those encountered. Approaching the urban night as an assemblage helps us to see the connections between objects, spaces and people, contributing to an understanding of how space and identity cohere. The divisions between daytime and nighttime spaces are not always clear-cut, and could perhaps be seen more in terms of continuities: space in the same 'geographical' location changes when dark falls, both in terms of its function (often, but not always established through politics), and in the way it is experienced and narrated.

In the humanities, approaches towards the night have largely been centred on the history of the urban night in a handful of large cities such as London, Paris, New York and Berlin (Sandhu 2007; Walkowitz 2012; Hae 2012; Schlör 2016; Beaumont 2016). Theoretically diverse, these texts seek to apprehend the experiences and perceptions of the night by various actors throughout history, ranging from authorities to night wanderers. Cultural scientist Joachim Schlör explores these multiple experiences and perceptions of the night in the cities of Berlin, Paris and London from 1830 to 1930. He investigates how

different actors such as the police, sociologists and night-walkers, along with moral authorities such as "church people, city fathers, guardians of morality of various provenance" (2016: 19) have represented the night, and highlights which elements are still present in the imagination of the night today. According to Schlör, the most common images of the night are "on the one hand the nocturnal city as a celebration, as the place of pleasure and entertainment, and on the other the nocturnal city as the place of terror, of threatening danger" (2016: 14). It seems to be a common notion, both in popular cultural expressions and in academia, that the concealing nature of darkness can serve as both a liberation and a threat. Our contemporary imagination is ridden with images that have been created throughout time. These imaginations of the past are still relevant today, according to Schlör: "the history of night hands down stories that seem unfinished: arguments about security, morality and the accessibility of the cities still condition social discourse today" (2016: 327). Images of the underworld, of criminality and of entertainment all inform our experience of the night.

Both imagination and reality create images of the night which accompany the nighttime reveller. Schlör rightly points out that the experience of the city varies greatly between different groups in society, emphasising the concept of non-simultaneity, where "various groups within a society, within a city, for example, develop different conceptions, forms of perception and behaviour regarding (not only) the night, on the basis of their respective experiences and living conditions" (2016: 25). These questions of perception and experience, which are fundamentally rooted in issues of security and morality, are represented in larger issues of accessibility: "for whom — when, with what rights, and with what restrictions — is access to the nocturnal city open: to whom does the night belong? Who can dispose of it?" (Schlör 2016: 29.)

Because the night is seen as a time-space of transgression and disorder, the uncontrollable darkness of the city night also forms a threat to those who seek to have control

over security and morality. The night is more heavily policed and controlled, and this has the effect of determining the appropriate place for people to be during those times, while surveillance increases on the nighttime streets (Schlör 2016:41). Street lighting was an important instrument of control over city spaces by authorities (Schlör 2016: 69). When nocturnal activity increased in cities as a result of improvements in street lighting in the late seventeenth century (Schlör 2016; Beaumont 2016), authorities began several new discussions relating to their newfound power over previously uncontrolled spaces: on the closing times of venues to control night spaces, on the harmfulness and moral danger of night work and the continuous activities in the metropolis, as well as on the growing leisure and entertainment industry. The night was not only attacked by light to pursue order, but nighttime activities were illuminated and could be morally judged and observed.

In *Night Walking: A Nocturnal History of London* (2016), literary scholar Matthew Beaumont argues that certain groups are observed differently at night, revealing much about who 'belongs' to the city. In contrast to the rich, the poor are often seen as a threat at night, with authorities criminalising their presence on the street. Particularly women alone at night have historically been observed with suspicion: "they are either predators, in the form of prostitutes; or the predated, the potential victims of sexual assault. In both, cases, they are denied a right to the city at night" (Beaumont 2016: 3). Even though times have changed, our moral compass of the night has often not. Narratives of the night observed by authors such as Schlör and Beaumont capture the development of moral views on the metropolitan city, noting that nighttime activities do not only take place in hidden, marginal and estranged places, but are part of a day-to-day or day-to-night life, of common lifestyles and routines which are observed and judged by several actors. Experiences of the night reveal a multiplicity of stories, images and beliefs. Indeed, at night as one finds workers cleaning the desolate streets of the city's business district, a few blocks away a pleasurescape arises in

which people mingle and collide, dance and get drunk. The night might at once be a space of transgression and subversion for the marginalised and oppressed, and at the same time a space anxiously governed and controlled by authorities. While the night, especially in its connection with the social conceptualisation of darkness, is often linked to malicious activity, danger and other 'shady' concepts, it also plays host to friends, communities and strangers coming together in places inaccessible or differently accessible during the day.

Music and the nighttime city

Much of this research focuses on life at night and in the after-hours, and particular attention is paid to cultural expressions that take place in nighttime spaces. This includes those spaces where music is played, danced to and sung, in various formats and ways, from traditional celebrations to modern parties. The next section therefore tries to understand the processes of belonging and community building that occur in music spaces, what the importance of music and culture at night is, and how place-making and music are connected.

Ethnomusicologist Christopher Small emphasises the different ways in which music is experienced, from orchestras in concert halls to someone walking down the street with their headphones on. By this he emphasises the meaning not only of music, or its content, but also of its performance. Music should be seen as something that is actively 'done' and 'performed' rather than passively listened to with meaning pre-assigned. Music involves interaction. These meaning-making processes and practices happen through what Small calls musicking: "to music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practising, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing" (1998: 9). As such, musicking can be seen as a social ritual in which an identity is negotiated and performed: "those taking part in a musical performance are in effect saying — to themselves, to one another, and to anyone else who may be watching

or listening — *This is who we are*" (Small 1998: 134). Furthermore, Small emphasises that through musicking meaningful relationships are established, affirmed and celebrated in place, for example between people and a community. Indeed, as Geoff Stahl emphasises, relationships between music, space and place exist on "many scales and dimensions", extending into "spaces of performance and listening, the spaces notes fill and the spaces between the notes, and the spaces associated with production, distribution and consumption of music" (Stahl 2022: n.pag).

In the context of the diaspora, sociologist Rolf Lidskog argues that music can have various functions: "it can allow people to understand themselves, form and maintain social groups, engage in emotional communication, and mobilise for political purposes, among other functions" (Lidskog 2016: 24). As will become clear in this study, many of these functions are at work simultaneously. In the diaspora, identity formation is often inherently political, linked to particular historical moments that involve ideological struggles. As Lidskog points out, "musical performances are places where marginalised cultures find public expression and contribute to the construction of a particular community", thus seeking out both particular places and performances through which a collective identity can be constructed and where members can generate a "diasporic consciousness" (2016: 32&31). The choice of music is indeed an important component through which multiple identifications are possible. In the context of migration, ethnomusicologist John Baily and geographer Michael Collyer argue that particular music genres have a ritual role and are as such maintained over time (2006: 174). At the same time, newer generations often modify traditional practices. As such, music practices serve different goals and groups:

> Music may be used to recreate the culture of the past, to remind you of the place from which you come, but migration can lead to cultural innovation and enrichment, with the creation of new forms which are

> indicative or symptomatic of the issues facing the immigrant, and which help one in dealing with a new life in a place of settlement and in the articulation of new identities. This is especially typical of the second or third migrant generation, born and brought up in a new land. (Baily and Collyer 2006: 174)

Through music, then, migrants are able to reflect on their position in a host society, while also negotiating an identity that is linked to places abroad. At the same time the cultural identity of a group can be expressed through music either inwardly or outwards, to confirm and celebrate this identity towards their community, or to society more broadly (Baily and Collyer 2006: 175). In *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place* (2003), geographers John Connell and Chris Gibson emphasise the various global and local connections between place and music practices, approaching music spatially, as "linked to particular geographical sites, bound up in our everyday perceptions of place, and a part of movements of people, product and cultures across space" (2003:1). The authors approach the connection between music and place (and identity) through the idea of 'fixity' and 'fluidity', where music cultures, for example, can settle in certain places, creating a sense of place, while at the same time being part of (or resisting) a network of global cultural, economic, and technological flows (2003: 9-14). More locally speaking, however, the authors argue that music can also be thought of as "a mechanism by which the 'cultural baggage' of 'home' can be transported through time and space, and transplanted into a new environment, assisting in the maintenance of culture and identity" (Connell and Gibson 2003: 161–63).

Besides performance and other music practices, the narratives found in lyrics are a significant part of the meaning-making process of music practices. As such, they also play an important role in creating or imagining particular places. According to cultural sociologist Andy Bennett, music "plays an important part in the narrativisation of place, that is, in the

way in which people define their relationship to local, everyday surroundings" (Bennett 2004: 2) both through its practice and consumption. In this context it is important to consider that music "plays a significant part in the way that individuals author space, musical texts being creatively combined with local knowledges and sensibilities in ways that tell particular stories about the local, and impose collectively defined meanings and significance on space" (Bennett 2004: 3). As such, lyrics 'translate' the city into a narrative, and conflicting narratives coexist and compete, weaving together to form the fabric of a place.

Cabo Verdean scenes and music

Musical production and performance are deeply associated with the history of Rotterdam's Cabo Verdean diaspora and will form a key focus in this thesis. Indeed in Rotterdam spaces associated with nighttime cultural production have had a particularly strong link to music practices, as venues for sharing and playing music as well as producing it. Moreover, the spaces I investigate in this study have been crucial for the construction of a common collective in which shared histories and experiences are conveyed, often transmitted through music. Since the start of migration to Rotterdam, Cabo Verdeans have organised themselves musically, particularly in the night. Among other things, Rotterdam is where the first Cabo Verdean music label, Morabeza Records, was founded, whose connections with the city's community will be covered in depth in the coming chapters. An extensive night scene also emerged, with bars, cafés and nightclubs frequented by Cabo Verdean workers, sailors and migrants. Up until today nightlife remains an integral element within the Cabo Verdean community. Therefore in the next section I will examine the literature about Cabo Verdean music scenes, focusing on what has been written about music, identity and performance, and on the various musical genres that play a part in Rotterdam nightlife.

The importance of music and performance for processes of identity formation and maintenance is emphasised by several authors (Carling and Batalha 2008; Braz Dias 2008). Amílcar Cabral (1924-1973), leader of the independence movement of Cabo Verde and Guinea-Bissau, placed great emphasis on the value of culture, and particularly music, in the independence struggle against Portugal. Even after independence, popular music was still an important way "of disseminating the competing imaginations and narratives of both postcolonial nations" (Cidra 2018: 434). Indeed, as social anthropologist Juliana Braz Dias emphasises, "music has allowed the Cape Verdeans to contradict, reaffirm or simply complement the official history of the country — including the history of its multiple emigration streams" (2008: 174). At the same time, music is "an essential tool in the formation of the idea (and feeling) of what it means to be Cape Verdean, and aids in the adaptation of Cape Verdeans to foreign lands, as well as in their re-adaptation when they return to the homeland" (Braz Dias 2008: 174), thus becoming an important instrument that helps negotiate the identity of migrants, both pre- and post-independence. In the context of the Portuguese Cabo Verdean diaspora, anthropologist Rui Cidra argues that

> Musical performance, along with the professional milieu of musicians, plays a significant role in the social gatherings of musicians, friends and fellow Cape Verdeans in homes, cultural associations and other public spaces, such as cafés and restaurants, of the Cape Verdean diaspora in Portugal. Musical practice in these performative contexts results from a relationship established with music and dance that organises social life and leisure activities. Music, poetry and dance become special links with the country of origin as significant ways of ensuring survival and emotional and intellectual 'well-being' within a migrant context. (Cidra 2008a: 201)

It is important to notice that in the spaces where music performances take place, important processes occur of "identification and memory configuration" (Cidra 2008a: 190). These processes materialise not only in specially designated music venues, but in all places that can be transformed into a performance space, whether that might be a sports canteen or a nightclub. What will become clear in the coming chapters is that most Cabo Verdean spaces are linked in some way to music, which has become one of the main instruments for constructing a sense of belonging and community. There are differences in the way the first generation and succeeding generations use music or have access to particular cultural symbols. Indeed, while both older generations and youth enjoy "multiple forms" (Sieber 2005: 146) of music, whether (Cabo Verdean) hip-hop or more traditional genres, geographer Jørgen Carling asserts in the Dutch-Cabo Verdean context that

> Dutch-Cape Verdean youth who wish to assert their Cape Verdean identity do not have easy access to 'Cape Verdean culture' as a system of values, beliefs and practices. Many turn to more accessible cultural systems with elements of 'colour' (as opposed to Dutch whiteness) and 'resistance'. These are as diverse as capoeira, reggae, hip-hop and gangsta rap. (Carling 2008: 92)

Even though cultural forms such as the ones mentioned above are more accessible to later generations, and are indeed actively engaged with, many still also engage with music styles which might be considered more traditional, as well as with more modern 'Cabo Verdean' genres. It should also be emphasised that Cabo Verdean youths are also still able to engage with Cabo Verdean culture, albeit in re-worked forms, through more accessible cultural forms such as hip-hop. In this study, different forms of music and entertainment will be discussed, emphasising various different forms of contestation and negotiation of diasporic identity, both contemporary and traditional, and through first and later generations.

Cabo Verde is mostly known abroad for its popular *morna* music, which reached international audiences thanks to Cabo Verde's most famous singer, Cesária Évora (1941-2011), as well as for the slightly faster *coladeira*. But the islands have proven a fertile ground for the development of various music styles. Even though some music styles such as *batuko* and *funaná* arose on specific islands first, these styles have now spread and been culturally appropriated as true Cabo Verdean music genres. Other genres, such as *zouk*, developed in the diaspora but are still regarded as part of the nation's culture. An extended discussion on the genres mentioned above is beyond the scope of this introduction, but they will be further examined in the coming chapters.

This section will predominantly focus on two styles, morna and coladeira, which have historically played a major role in the narrativisation of nation and diaspora worldwide. The instrumentation of coladeira is very similar to morna, but its lyrics are often quite different: "in contrast to mornas, coladeiras are more critical, and are often very humorous, sarcastic and irreverent, and they usually focus on the behaviour of certain individuals and everyday situations" (Braz Dias 2008: 177). The differences between the two styles are further explained by Braz Dias as follows:

> *Morna* was originally closely linked to the musical experiences of the inhabitants of the Cape Verdean islands of Brava, Boavista, and São Vicente. However, a primary feature of the *morna* as frequently noted by Cape Verdeans is that it later spread across the entire archipelago and out to the communities of the diaspora. Today it is generally identified with the Cape Verdean population as a whole.
> The *morna* was traditionally performed by a string ensemble and vocalists. The lyrics are sung almost exclusively in Creole. There are nonetheless, some *mornas* that are composed in Portuguese. *Morna*

> lyrics deal with emotional themes such as love, emigration, the suffering caused by separation, *sodade*, the bonds with the homeland and the cruel destiny of Cape Verde and its people. (Braz Dias 2008: 177)

Even though morna is linked to particular islands, the later development and dissemination of the genre is strongly connected to the development of the Cabo Verdean music industry in the diaspora. Rotterdam played an important role in this process, particularly after the establishment of Morabeza Records in 1965.

The homeland has always been a major theme within Cabo Verdean music both on the islands and elsewhere. As a country that has known large-scale emigration for centuries, this inevitably became a major subject, and artists frequently seek to reconnect emotionally to the homeland left behind because of emigration. Lyrics often reflect the missing of loved ones, friends and family, their birthplace, and lives left behind. As such, many authors have identified *saudade* or *sodade* as one of the key themes which much music, and particularly morna, is centred on. Sodade is:

> An emotional state of longing, nostalgia and incompleteness caused by the loss, distance and lack of something or someone. The word, untranslatable according to Portuguese and Creole language speakers, stems from its strong emotional burden and polysemy. (Cidra 2015: 311)

If mornas often focus more on sentiments of loss and hurt, and are centred more on the feeling of sodade, then by contrast coladeiras then:

> Point out the harsh realities of life abroad; they talk about working hard, and about the problems between themselves and the native population and even among Cape Verdeans in the diaspora communities themselves; and, mainly, they talk about the delusions faced by the Cape Verdean emigrants who do not end up finding everything they had dreamed of once they are abroad. (Braz Dias 2008: 183)

The local migrant experience becomes a major theme in the Cabo Verdean music of the 1970s and 1980s. The experiences relayed through music came particularly from those musicians who settled or moved between several of the Cabo Verdean diasporas in Europe. The music of this era often relates to struggles of daily life and work, where issues of illegality, citizenship and mobility are brought to light.

Simultaneously, music starts to express the relation with the homeland from the perspective of those in the diaspora, and vice-versa. As sociologist Doris Pires summarises:

> Music from Cape Verde ridicules returned migrants, their showiness, extravagance, the old men with money and young women, the behaviour of left-behind women of migrants, the delusion of the migrant. In the Netherlands, themes of new wealth and homesickness start to appear. (Pires 2006: 120, translation added)

Written in centres of the diaspora — Boston, Lisbon, and particularly Rotterdam since the 1960s and 1970s — music became an important medium through which the sentiments of migration are translated in verse and transmitted towards audiences around the world, whether through records and CDs, live performances or DJing practices. Particularly in the diaspora's

urban centres, lyrics also narrate and unveil how the cityscape is navigated and experienced, both during the day and nighttime.

Life in Rotterdam has been sung about by Cabo Verdean artists in many ways, and has become a key theme in Cabo Verdean music. Songs capture the experience of migrants in the urban city, of the hardships encountered particularly in work life, but also the fun times in nightlife leisure venues. They capture not only *how* life took place, often illegally, with many migrants struggling to find work, but also *where* life took place: on ships, in cafes, bars, clubs, boarding houses, streets and squares. Critical visions of nightlife are present in the music of both male and female performers, on the behaviour of Cabo Verdeans in various (night) spaces and the relation they should maintain vis-a-vis the receiving society. Music can in this sense become a commentary on what and who does or does not belong to a specific group or collective. In the diaspora, these processes often relate to membership and processes of belonging involving both communities related to the home country — such as the diasporic community — as well as to the receiving society and its various social groups. At the same time, music can give insight into the ways in which migrant communities give meaning to different space-times. Recognising that city spaces are socially produced (Lefebvre 1991) as well as acknowledging the diverse imagination of a diaspora (Brah 1996), the constellations drawn up in music produce an understanding of how the Cabo Verdean community in Rotterdam is imagined, experienced and produced by its members, in particular in its relation to night spaces' potential of transgression, resistance and emancipation (Palmer 2000; Williams 2008).