The Cultural Metaphor Revisited:
Exploring Dimensions, Complexities and Paradoxes through the Portuguese Fado

Christine Sarah Nielsen
Professor
International Business and Strategy
University of Baltimore
Baltimore, USA

Ana Maria Soares
Assistant Professor
Marketing and Strategic Management
University of Minho
Braga, Portugal

Carlos Páscoa Machado
Associate Professor
Economics and International Business
University of Minho
Braga, Portugal

This 2008 manuscript is under review for possible publication in the International Journal of Cross-Cultural Management, special issue on Multiple Views for Enhanced Understandings in Cross-Cultural Management.
The Cultural Metaphor Revisited:
Exploring Dimensions, Complexities and Paradoxes through the Portuguese Fado

Abstract

This article develops the Fado as a cultural metaphor for Portugal while demonstrating the value of the cultural metaphor methodology as a means to deepen understanding of national cultures. Findings yield three major insights. First, the Fado metaphor provides a rich representation of the Portuguese cultural mindset, embraced by the population as an enduring symbol of national identity. Second, the Fado metaphor enables us to incorporate cultural characteristics represented by several traditional dimensions frameworks to elucidate our understanding of significant cultural factors. Third, the cultural metaphor method breaks through the constraints imposed by dimensional research and enables us to understand intra-cultural variations in attitudes, behaviors, and values. Particularly, the identification of cultural paradoxes constitutes a major contribution of this work. Paradoxes described here capture the dialectic nature of Portuguese culture in the areas of Equality and Large Power Distance; Group Orientation and Isolation; Public and Private Space; Perseverance and Fatalism; and Uncertainty Avoidance and Risk-Taking.
The Cultural Metaphor Revisited:
Exploring Dimensions, Complexities and Paradoxes through the Portuguese Fado

Introduction

Cultural identity constitutes a pervasive influence on all dimensions of human behavior, representing a significant challenge to cross-cultural understanding and management. In response, two opposing methodologies (etic versus emic) have been developed, refined and widely accepted over the past five decades as approaches to understanding underlying values and culture’s essential characteristics (Berry, 1980; Sekaran, 1983; Adler, 1983). The strength of the etic method is that it supports broad, cross-cultural comparisons through the application of universal dimensional frameworks. However, these do not capture more complex aspects of culture that are time and context sensitive, nor do they provide insights into the determinants of culture, such as how each is shaped by its unique history and socioeconomic conditions. In-depth exploration of these factors is essential if researchers are to more fully comprehend behaviors in foreign environments (Shenkar, 2004). In contrast, the strength of the emic method is precisely that it does facilitate in-depth, culture-specific description (Triandis, Malpass and Davidson, 1973), thus providing ‘culture-rich’ information (Luna and Gupta, 2001); however, it does not lend itself to cross-cultural comparisons.

Cultural metaphor methodology based on Gannon’s (1994; 2001; 2004) seminal work in the field offers a third alternative: a hybrid method with advantages of both the etic and emic approaches. Although less well-known, interest in cultural metaphor research has grown as the number of countries so characterized has increased over the past two decades (Gannon, 2004). While it has been characterized as an emic approach to cultural analysis, (Gannon, 2008), this research on the Portuguese Fado demonstrates that the metaphor approach offers more: 1) It is grounded in dimensional frameworks as a starting point for analysis; 2) It is embedded in a nation’s historic and current context; and 3) It reveals paradoxes and other complexities that defy classification along traditional dimensional lines. Through cultural metaphor research we move from a static to a dynamic perspective on national culture enabling us to view changes in values, attitudes and behaviors over time and to capture intracultural variations that coexist. Although understanding these features is crucial to progress in cross-cultural research, studies of cultural change at a national level are rare (Leung, Bhagat et al., 2005: 362) and studies of intracultural value variations, which may explain cultural differences more fully than cultural means, are only recently receiving increased attention (Au, 2000). Examination of the “dialectical and paradoxical nature of culture” is crucial to this understanding, yet studies of these phenomenon at the national level are rare (Fang, 2006: 78).

The presence of opposing values and attitudes may be particularly evident in countries that have experienced political upheavals and long-lived economic struggles. One such country is Portugal. Portugal is perhaps the least understood of all European countries. Its dramatic revolution of 1974 which overturned dictatorship for democracy was neither expected nor prepared for by the West. And when it arrived, the majority opinion was that democracy would not last. As U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, remarked in 1974 to Mario Soares, destined to become the democracy’s first constitutional president, “...you will

The authors wish to thank the Fado musicians, singers, historians, ethnomusicologists, and other experts who contributed their insights and suggestions to this work. Full acknowledgment is provided at the end of this paper.
be wiped out in Portugal; ...Portugal is lost to the West” (Soares, 2000: 46). Perhaps of equal surprise to outside observers was Portugal’s rapid economic rise, achieving a growth rate that at one time eclipsed that of the rest of Europe, as it came to be known as the European ‘tiger’ (Page, 2002: 257).

The structural changes that rocked society as a whole had enormous impact at the organizational level as well. Business organizations’ attempts to adjust to associated cultural changes have been more problematic. Recently, foreign direct investment (FDI) is decreasing, representing a “danger in a country where FDI has been critical for market access and industrial diversification” (Castro, 2004). Unfortunately, little research has been done on Portuguese business management or on the cross-cultural management issues affecting Portuguese business performance with its European partners, or with those from the U.S. and Asia (Cunha, 2005).

Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to deepen understanding of the national cultural of Portugal while demonstrating the value of the cultural metaphor methodology as a means to achieve this. Using this method, the Fado emerges as the metaphor that best captures the unique characteristics of Portuguese culture. Fado, generally defined as the Portuguese folk song, is a soulful music usually accompanied by the classical guitar and the Portuguese guitar. However, as our work will reveal, the Fado is far more than such a simple description would suggest. According to Carmo, renowned Fado singer and star of the film, *Fados*, the Fado is Portugal’s deeply rooted social voice (Galilea, 2007).

Research questions will be addressed as we proceed through the metaphor construction process, following the method described by Gannon and Audia (2000). Specifically, we address the following questions. First, does the Fado symbolize Portugal’s cultural mindset? Second, to what extent does the Fado metaphor support Portugal’s cultural profile as described by traditional cultural dimensions frameworks? Third, does the Fado metaphor deepen our understanding of Portuguese culture by capturing complexities and cultural features that have been ignored by traditional frameworks?

The article is organized into five sections. We begin with an overview of the conceptual framework for cultural metaphor construction, including research purpose and method description. Next, we describe three phases of metaphor construction: 1) Analyzing the national context; 2) Identifying a preeminent symbol of national identity; and 3) Analyzing the metaphor’s basic elements as intertwined with national culture. In the final two sections we provide an analysis of our results and offer conclusions and recommendation for cross-cultural management research and practice.

**Conceptual Framework for Metaphor Construction**

**Research Purpose**

The purpose of this article is to develop a cultural metaphor that will embody the essence of Portuguese national identity, and to use this process as a demonstration of the cultural metaphor methodology. This approach to deeper understanding of a country's national character is essential, as traditional cultural dimensions frameworks have not proven sufficient to the task. The cultural metaphor method is responsive to such a challenge.

**Method**
A cultural metaphor is a national institution, phenomenon, or activity that members of the culture consider of high importance and with which they identify closely (Gannon and Audia, 2000, p. 91). According to Gannon (2004), a cultural metaphor must fulfill the following requirements: 1) Capture in a single image the cultural mindset of a nation; 2) Provide a framework that incorporates relevant cultural dimensions previously identified for the country; and 3) Move beyond the dimensional approach to capture the values, attitudes and behaviors of the culture otherwise ignored.

Generation of a cultural metaphor follows an inductive, structured reasoning process based on the grounded theory approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967). The cultural metaphor evolves over time and is revealed to researchers through in-field observations and insights Gannon and Audia (2000). Gannon (2004: xiv) is cautious to avoid the criticism that the method is a form of stereotyping by clarifying that the cultural metaphor provides a means for making probabilistic statements about individuals within a group and as a entry point for understanding; it is far removed from drawing generalizations without exceptions.

To describe the metaphor development process as purely linear would be a mistake, as researchers revisit past discoveries and assumptions in the light of new information. For example, following initial development the metaphor is to be reviewed by knowledgeable individuals who are invited to suggest alternative metaphors if they disagree with the initial construct. Nevertheless, metaphor development can be loosely described as occurring in three phases (Gannon, 2004): 1) Immersion in the society, traditions, and history of the country; 2) Identification of an institution, phenomenon, or activity as a symbol of national identity; and 3) Analysis of the metaphor's key elements as portraying essential cultural characteristics, including values, attitudes and behaviors. According to Gannon (2004, p. 10), three traditional cultural dimensions frameworks developed by Hall and Hall (1990), Hofstede (1980), Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) are to be utilized as a starting point for analysis; however, the metaphor is expected to expand the researcher's field of view to incorporate other essential features of the society. Likewise, determinants of culture, including political, economic and social processes are included in the analysis to the extent that these reflect the country's cultural mindset or the way that members "think, feel and act" (Gannon, 2004: 11). Following metaphor development, empirical tests may be employed to validate the appropriateness of the metaphor and its characteristics (Gannon and Audia, 2000: 91).

Following the approach outlined above, the first phase of Fado metaphor construction began with discussions held at the Universidade do Minho (UM), in Braga, Portugal during

---

1 Based on our work, we conclude that representation of the Portuguese Bullfight as the symbol of national identity for Portugal lacks consensus. Gannon (2004) contrasts the Portuguese bullfight with the Spanish bullfight in order identify the substantive cultural differences between these two countries, using the justification “Same Metaphor, Different Meanings”. However, the use of the same metaphor for two countries is not consistent with the method’s objective to derive a unique symbol of national identity for each country. “The Portuguese bullfight is not as representative and not so widely appreciated by all of the population; it is not characteristic of just Portugal” Gouveia, D. (2008). Interview. Lisbon, Portugal, June 21.

2 Despite the methodology’s promise as a tool for cross-cultural research, less than 30 national metaphors have been developed, primarily the work of Gannon and his students. Nielsen and Marrioto (2006) applied the method to the study of the Tango as a metaphor of Argentina’s national identity, following the phases outlined above.
International Business Weeks in 2006 and 2007. It was during this period that the co-authors began their collaboration on the Fado metaphor, for the purpose of exploring the Fado and its symbolic force. As the investigation evolved, the Fado metaphor garnered broad support. An extensive literature review drew from a wide variety of sources covering economic, political, and social developments in Portugal over the centuries. Interviews with renowned Fado singers, musicians and other experts were a vital component of our research.

Traditional dimensions frameworks were used as a starting point for describing the Portuguese cultural profile in light of key elements of the Fado. Refer to Table 1 for Portugal's national profile as portrayed by traditional cultural dimensions frameworks.

[Place Table 1 Here]

Phase 1 of Metaphor Development

Analyzing the National Context

The first phase of cultural metaphor development requires immersion in the society, past and present, with the objective to understand how cultural values have been shaped, particularly by the country’s unique history, socioeconomic environment and international influences. Portuguese history is marked by a repetitive pattern of stark contrasts as successive waves of conquerors became the vanquished, as eras of abundance and power gave way to impoverishment.

Over a thousand years this land existed as a feudal, hierarchical society. The lower classes suffered economic and physical hardships including malnutrition, inadequate housing, and ill-health, even during periods when the elites were basking in riches. An extraordinary exception occurred during the Age of Discoveries (15th – 16th centuries) as the nation rose to a position of leadership creating maritime innovations in navigation and ship-building. Daring adventures elevated Portugal to the world’s greatest seafaring power (Page, 2002, p. 126). This colossal undertaking demanded participation across socio-economic classes, not the least of which were the fishermen with seafaring skills and maritime knowledge (Marques, 1991, p. 35). This era created opportunities for the lower classes to participate in the national bounty; tragically, the national leadership squandered its riches.

The 19th century was one of great turmoil. As Napoleon’s forces invaded Portugal in 1808, the royal family and fled to Brazil, leaving the Portuguese to fend for themselves. French invasions were defeated, but at the cost of English domination until 1820. Although the king returned to Portugal in 1821, Brazil’s declaration of independence in the following year represented an irreversible loss of economic and political power to Portugal. It was in this context that the Fado was born.

---

3 At the 2007 International Business Week at UM, Nielsen’s presentation on “The Cultural Metaphor: Understanding the Essence of National Identity” closed with the question, “Is the Fado metaphor the essence of Portuguese national identity?” Portuguese students were enthusiastic in their support, including characteristics that demonstrated its appropriateness, including saudade, a way of feeling that is difficult if not impossible to translate into other languages, but describes a sense of melancholy, loss and loneliness, yet with an underlying strength to prevail or overcome.
Phase 2 of Metaphor Development

Identification of a Preeminent Symbol of National Identity

The birth of the Fado represents an expression of Portuguese national identity, which has become a preeminent symbol of its cultural values – a mindset deeply rooted in its political, economic, and social history. The evolution of the Fado can be divided into five chronological phases: 1) Pre-Fado influences; 2) Early Fado; 3) Fado expansion and fissure along class lines; 4) Fado under dictatorship; and 5) The contemporary period.

1. Pre-Fado influences The origin of the Fado is a subject of great controversy. One theory exposes the Fado’s roots in gallant medieval lyrics and romantic poetry of troubadour songs (Barreto, n.d.). Some claim an even earlier influence from the time of the Moors, in a distinctive, quavering effect characteristic in the singing of some Fados (Cook, 2003). Another theory proposes that the Fado song was born during seafaring adventures (Carvalho, 1903). Another suggests that the Fado evolved from dance music carried back to Portugal by the retinue of Brazilians and Afro-Brazilians that accompanied the royal family’s return in 1821.

The beauty of the Fado is that it has been created through a melding of all these experiences, becoming embraced over time by all social classes that share Portuguese national identity. As Gallop (1936) concludes, Fado is a “synthesis, stylized by centuries of gradual evolution…”

2. Early Fado: Born in an Age of Turmoil (1830s – 1860s) Whatever disagreement exist concerning its roots, most historians agree that the Fado was born in Lisbon during what was once called the saddest quarter century of Portuguese history (Stephens, 1891).

The Fado was sung and danced in the lower class districts of Lisbon, in working-class taverns, brothels and in prisons. In these venues Portuguese called ‘Fadistas’ (sailors, traders, fishermen, other laborers and the unemployed) intermingled with prostitutes, freed Blacks and recent immigrants (Pimentel, 1904), providing fertile ground for the blending of African, Brazilian and traditional Portuguese music (Vernon, 1998). They found their common plight vastly outweighed their differences. Lacking participation in the nation’s political arena, the Fado became their vehicle for shared expression, an outpouring of everyday joys and sorrows, and of shared aspiration for power. Through the Fado Portugal’s lower classes found their social and political voice.

3. Fado’s Expansion and Fissure along Class Lines (1870s – 1925) While two decades of economic expansion and relative political stability led to Portugal’s standing as “the most advanced society in southern Europe” (Page, 2002, p. 217), this prosperity was not extended to the lower classes (Marques, 1991, p. 119). The Fado spread quickly as wandering Fado singers linked the working class of cities and rural areas (Museu Nacional de Etnologia, 1994). As the tone of the lower class Fado became more militant, it moved underground (Broughton, 2007).

---

Meanwhile the emerging middle class flocked to theaters in Lisbon to be entertained by musical reviews including Fados cleansed of bawdy, political content; the middle class promptly claimed this sanitized version as their own (Vernon, 1998). Likewise, a gentrified form of the Fado moved into the homes of the aristocracy (Museu Nacional de Etnologia, 1994). By 1890 the Fado was a national phenomenon, but its content and meaning was split along class lines.

The constitutional monarchy collapsed in 1910 (Marques, 1972, p. 74-75). The ensuing period of Republican government offered hope for political representation and improved conditions; however, the middle class and the elites perceived progress to be at their expense (Marques, 1972, p. 138). Virulent attacks were launched against the Fado’s continued performance in taverns and other lower class venues (Vernon, 1998, p. 20).

4. Fado under Dictatorship (1926 to 1974) By the mid 1920s Portuguese national debt reached untenable levels. A coup was staged and the government fell. The Junta installed Oliveira Salazar, the “economic guru”, as Minister of Finance and then as Prime Minister of a dictatorship that would endure half a century (Marques, 1991). Known as the New State this autocratic regime gave priority to stability, conservative values and the role of the Catholic Church. Social cohesion across classes, or at least the perception of it, would be mandated. Salazar’s vision of the ‘new’ Portugal was tied to its proud past. Any negative commentary was regarded as subverting this vision of a highly moral national identity (Monteiro & Pinto, 1998). A strong and repressive propaganda apparatus was organized (Pinto, 1998) and censorship exercised (Ramos do Ó, 1992). Pervasive presence of the Secret Police was marked by civil rights abuses and imprisonment (Marques, 1991, p. 151).

According to Fado historian Rui Vieira Nery, the regime “didn’t trust Fado” so it set out to emasculate it (Broughton, 2007). All Fado lyrics, recordings and publications had to be submitted to the censors. However, following World War II the regime radically changed its strategy toward the Fado. It became a regime-endorsed propaganda tool and was elevated to Portugal’s national song (Broughton, 2007). Many Fado poets turned their talents to themes of family honor and nobility of spirit (Vernon, 1998, p. 21). Fado shows in a growing number of “typical” Fado houses were designed to present a “socially dignified” image of the lower classes (Museu Nacional de Etnologia, 1994, p. 41).

The sixties and early seventies were marked by a deteriorating situation as the emergence of independence movements in the Portuguese Africa colonies drained the national treasury and led thousands of young Portuguese men to their deaths. The futility of this situation led to the fall of the regime in 1974.

5. Contemporary Period: Rejection and Rebirth (1974 to the present day) After two years of turmoil in which the Socialists and the Communists vied for power, a “true pluralist democracy” was established with a democratic union movement, political dialogue and a market economy (Soares, 2000, p. 49).

Fado experienced a period of decline as it had been “tainted” by the former regime. Younger intellectuals and sophisticated audiences didn't want anything to do with a musical expression so strongly associated with the dictatorship. “Needless to say, music forced down the throats of a resentful population can’t possibly be considered hip.” (Raub, 2007: 65) Those who relied on the Fado for their living experienced a period of economic decline
(Broughton, 2007). Large numbers of “typical” Fado Houses closed down (Museu Nacional de Etnologia, 1994, p. 54), while those known for Fado vadio (meaning vagrant or disreputable) became more popular, representing the “lost, radical tradition” (Broughton, 2007).

During the first fifteen years of the democracy new legislation made Portugal one of Europe’s “most socially enlightened” countries (Page, 2002, p. 257). After spending “...a long time with its back turned to the continent” Portugal joined the European Economic Community in 1986, “one of the most important decision taken by Portuguese political leaders in this century (Costa, 2000, p. 7). The European Union’s financial support over the past decades provided a major economic stimulus and political integration has strengthened Portugal’s national identity at home and abroad (Soares, 2000, p. 50). Meanwhile, Fado is experiencing resurgence in its popularity having eclipsed its standing at the height of its “Golden Age.” Interestingly, this renaissance of Fado at home is due in no small part to the attention the music has gleaned outside Portugal. “The recent Portuguese interest in Fado is the result of a process of recuperation that started after the Portuguese revolution of 1974. After that, the most important moment for growing interest was the one-year event “Lisboa 94” when Lisbon was the European cultural capital and Fado was shown as the authentic local music genre” (Tilly dos Santos, 2008).

Stage 3 of Metaphor Development: Analysis of Metaphor Elements

The final stage of metaphor construction centers on an analysis of the extent to which the Fado’s basic elements (music, lyrics, kinesics, and participants) are intertwined with Portugal’s cultural characteristics. This analysis of the Fado provides strong support for some cultural dimensions outlined by traditional frameworks; however, it also reveals complexities and paradoxes that are not easily categorized within a polarizing dimensional system.

Music

Fatalism and Perseverance The etymology of the word Fado connotes the concept of Fate and a sense that one’s destiny is irrevocable. A fatalistic mood is even darker, conveying a hopeless future. Fado music captures this feeling, but in many cases carries the piece to a resolution indicating an underlying strength to endure and to overcome. There are three types of the traditional Fado Castiço: Menor, Mouraria and Corrido (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, 1994). The Fado Menor tends to have the slowest rhythm, composed in the minor mode often carrying a deep sense of sadness and defeat; however, the Mouraria and Corrido are in the major mode and tend to be played with a “lively and lightened” rhythm (Nery, n.d.). Fado compositions may include both major and minor keys as the piece moves from verses to the chorus, providing an alternative demonstration of the dialectic between sorrow and joy, pessimism and hope.

Uncertainty Avoidance and Risk-Taking By the late nineteenth century a second major category of Fado emerged, Fado Canção (Fado Song). Both Fado Castiço and Fado Canção allow for some improvisation or estilar (styling): the former allows more vocal styling; the latter, more instrumental. However, both have fixed rhythmic and harmonic structures (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, 1994: 133-135). Phrasing and music rhythm are shaped by ancient poetic forms. Quatrains of seven syllables predominate. Sometimes the decimal, a quatrain glossed in ten-line verses, is used (Ribeiro de Almeida, 2008).
**Time Orientation Honoring Tradition** The Portuguese guitar is descended from an early European stringed instrument imported from England during the eighteenth century (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, 1994). Over time Portuguese craftsmen in Coimbra, Porto and Lisbon introduced distinctive alterations and enhancements (Vernon, 1998). This twelve-string, pear-shaped guitar is the traditional accompaniment to the Fado soloist, either as a trio or in some combination with a viola (known elsewhere as a Spanish guitar), and sometimes with a base guitar. But it is the timbre of the Portuguese guitar that gives the Fado its unique, plaintive trill. Portuguese finger-picking allows rapid stroking and clear, distinct sounds. “When you sit down and prepare to listen, it is worth reminding yourself that what you are about to hear is not, in any way, a revivalist experience but the product of over a century and a half of unbroken tradition, innovation and practice” (Vernon, 1998: 14).

Five major themes from medieval songs (Barreto n.d.: 43) can be found in Fado music types. According to Colvin (2008), the Corrido draws from the *Chansó*, a noble song; *Contenses*, controversies between two singers, and *Cantiga de Escárneo e Maldizer*, songs of mockery or criticism; the Mouraria tends to emphasize *Sirvente*, a song of praise and customs; and *Plang*, a song of lament; while the Fado menor is a *Plang* a song of lament. Moorish influence is audible in the “quavering effect” and saudade, “a constant theme in Arab poetry”.

**Control** The pattern of interaction among the performers is one of shifting control and counterbalance. The musicians introduce the piece, establishing its tone and tempo. Then the lead is passed to the singer for the main part of the performance (Vernon, 1998). Often this performance is interspersed with short melodies (*contracantos*) led by the first guitar, and a conclusion in which the musicians take the lead (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, 1994: 137-138).

**Lyrics**

Fado lyrics tell stories that cover the full range of human experiences. Often sad, the emotional charge of the Fado is so strong that a full range of passionate feelings are unleashed; even cheerful Fados may leave listeners crying (Valverde, 1999). Emotional *catharsis* is a strong characteristic of the Fado (Carmo, 2008).

**Group Orientation and Isolation** Saudade is a unique word in the Portuguese language that conveys a complex mixture of emotions including sadness, nostalgia, yearning for the unattainable, and longing for the departed or those left behind (Vernon, 1998: 3). This recurring theme is inextricably linked to the emotions of the Fado. On its surface the word connotes isolation and abandonment; however, deeper analysis demonstrates that it is inseparable from the strong value that the Portuguese place on belonging with their loved ones, families and social class. Fado carries the aspiration that if saudade can be shared, it can be conquered. This sense is eloquently captured by Ribeiro (n.d.) in the Fado, “Já me deixou” (It left me already):

*Saudade was with me
And through the sound of my voice
In its oldest Fado...
It walked the city with me
Until some moments ago...

...It went out the door
While seeing you come back to me...
Saudade isn’t always sad
Saudade isn’t always tears and pain
If you return as much Saudade
as I have for you
Saudade doesn’t hurt so much, love...

**Uncertainty Avoidance and Risk-Taking** Another misconception of Fado is that it is essentially a song of complaint, a song of resignation and inaction. An example is a Fado dated end of the 19th century, by the Count of Arnoso reinforces this view (Barreto, s.d., p. 503):

*In this life one is not taught
To weep, to be sure...
As soon as one is born,
One starts crying on one’s own...*

But an overriding fear of the unknown is strongly contradicted by the Portuguese pride in risk-taking as demonstrated by these fado lyrics by Galhardo (n.d.):

*When the sea was a riddle,
the ancient men were afraid
to go there and shipwreck,
but Prince Henry, the Navigator,
with his first caravels,
scoffed at the mighty storms.*

While a sense of resignation to poverty and misfortune is one Portuguese reaction expressed through the Fado, it is not the only theme. The dynamic nature of Portuguese behavior moves from resignation and accommodation to subversion and outright revolt; all are characteristic of the Portuguese people. In fact, the militant nature of Fado was evident by the late 19th century, when several politically committed Fados were sung (Broughton, 2007):

*May 1st
Forward! Forward!
O soldiers of freedom!
Forward and destroy
National borders and property*

According to Colvin (2008), “Fado has always been subversive. And even during eras of censorship of repertoires that criticized regimes, favoring of repertoires that promoted the regime’s values, there was always a subversive undercurrent or, at least, a potential for subversion, in all three styles. Particularly, under the Estado Novo, the Fado’s glorification of the past constitutes a subversion of the regime’s progress.”

**Fatalism and Perseverance** Closely linked to the sentiments above is the dialectic between fatalism and perseverance, with the fatalistic view suggesting that one’s actions are futile and the future is hopeless. It is true that many Fados focus on inexorable odds. A noteworthy example is “Povo Que Lavas no Rio” (You who wash clothes in the River), with lyrics by de Melo (Homem de Melo, n.d.):
You who wash clothes in the river
And fashion with your axes
My coffin with its planks
Somebody may defend you
May buy the plot you hallow
But your life – no thanks!

However, the history of the Portuguese people refutes such an abysmal interpretation. In light of the country’s history, it is remarkable to note that “Portugal and Portuguese have proven remarkably resilient to the strains of dictatorship and democracy” (Bermeo, 1998: 272). Fado lyrics provide numerous examples exalting perseverance through times of great adversity (Colvin, 2008) as we see in this example, “Mouraria:”

The life I have been enduring
singing happy or sad
my fados (fates) have varied
but my singing has been steady...

Large Power Distance and Equality The hierarchical nature of Portuguese religious and political society pervades Fado lyrics. God, kings, nobility, and the disparity among social classes all play a part in reinforcing this concept. However, far from acceptance of the status quo, Fados suggest power structure reversals. During periods of civil unrest and revolution the pendulum swings away from hierarchy toward equality. For example, as the winds of Liberalism swept across Europe in the early 19th century, leading to the Portuguese revolution of 1820, people aspired to new political ideals, which were expressed fiercely in Fado lyrics of the time (Barreto: n.d.: 175):

José Augusto “Peludo”

To destroy the monarchy,
Have in the world equality
Are two points sublime
For which strives Society!

In peacetime, a significant number of Fados have portrayed the poor as the “best” of society morally and in other ways. During the Salazar dictatorship criticism of the nation’s political structure and Fado lyrics were censored. To accommodate this intrusion, some Fados had two sets of lyrics, one for censors, and another set that could be sung behind closed doors. Another subversive approach was to use subtle or codified language to represent a challenge to the status quo. Public attack on the higher classes erupted once the regime had been overthrown (Cook, 2003: 28).

Human Relations over Task Achievement A predominant theme in Fado lyrics speaks to the priority of human relationships over materialism. A leading example is found in the ‘Mora em Alfama lá no Beco da Cardosa (She lives in Cardosa Alley in Alfama) by Rodrigues (n.d.):

They experience a deep sense of peace and love
They go through the joys and sorrows of life in a spirit of graciousness
Happiness that no money can buy

According to Colvin (2008), there are many fados canção that favor family values over material values.
People Capable of Good and Evil  The roles of women in the Fado extend from sinner to saint. It is not surprising that in a traditionally Catholic country like Portugal women’s relationship and identification with the Virgin Mary are featured in Fado lyrics; a profile of the saintly mother whose life was to serve her family and society was promoted during Salazar’s dictatorship (Cook, 2003: 24-25). Duas mães (Two mothers) provides a clear example of a mother who is always ready to help those in need, even though she is poor (Cook, 2003: 25):

...If she could
She would work miracles
Like the Virgin does...

At the other extreme is the depiction of women as prostitutes, drawing from the context of Fado’s earliest days. Some suggest no redeeming features while others carry the sense that is was the harsh environment leading women astray (Colvin, 2008). In “Malmequer Pequenino” (Little daisy) we hear:

That woman has sinned
she became a fadista out of love
her fate has taken her so far
that God lost sight of her

The potential for this range of human behavior extends to men as well. Conde (1900) captures the complexity of human emotions involved:

Your love for me, I feel it,
I read passion in your face,
I know you are good and love me!
He is false, bad and worthless,
But only for him do I care,
Only him and nobody else! (Barreto, s.d., 403)

Time Dimension Honoring Tradition Many Fado lyrics connote a proud sense of the past. The “Fado Português” (Portuguese Fado) by Régio (n.d.) is a leading example:

Fado was born one day
When the wind was quiet
And the sky reflected the sea
In a ship’s rail
In a sailor’s chest...

The full span of Portugal’s story is kept alive through the Fado (Branco and Barreto, 1960), as these lyrics by Galhardo (n.d.) demonstrate:

Think, my lords, of the Lisbon days gone by
Of the Crusades, of the waiting for the bulls
And the Royal bullfights
Of the feasts, of the secular processions
Of the early morning street vendors
Which will never return again
A casual observer might conclude that the Fado’s communicative powers are limited to its music and lyrics – not through body movements and behaviors related to interpersonal space. A common expression is, “In Fado it is the words that dance.” However, this interpretation would miss the many subtle forms of nonverbal communications that are an integral part of the Fado. Fado requires a very special ambiance in order to be sung. “Fado cannot be seen or heard, it simply happens” (Ribeiro de Almeida).

**High Context** Fado is a highly emotional music. The psychological and physical setting in which Fado takes place is of paramount importance, including the atmosphere, low lights, use of silence, and expressed emotions. Valverde (1999) stresses that in Western cultures the display of emotions, especially by men, is frowned upon. However, Fado lyrics, sound and performance simultaneously allow men and women alike to express their emotions. Silence is valued as a way to show respect for the fadista, particularly at the beginning of his or her performance. At this time there must be silence in the room, and listeners may vehemently signal those that do not follow that rule “Silence! Fado is going to be sung!” Unspoken cues lead listeners into active participation. In especially heart-felt moments in which Fado singers excel, listeners may shout their appreciation with approving exclamations such as, “Ah, Fadista!” Listeners may be encouraged to sing along on the choruses of some of the more cheerful Fados.

“The expression of the face and, at times, the movement of the singer’s hands lend greater dramatic sense to the interpretation of the song, so that one might even say that the Fado is a way of feeling” (Barreto, n.d.: 7). Singers close their eyes and throw their heads back in postures that suggest strength and defiance in the face of adversity. Many female singers wear dark clothes and shawls around their shoulders as a way of honoring tradition.

**Human Relationships over Task Achievement** The most popular performance spaces are Lisbon’s Fado Houses, tucked away in the older, working class neighborhoods. These are intimate spaces where people gather closely together to share the Fado experience. This environment encourages a sense of personal connection among the participants.

**Large Power Distance and Equality** In many taverns, restaurants and clubs, anyone can sing the Fado. Amateurs and locals can stand out and sing one or two Fados and many Fadistas have started their careers like this. “It’s not uncommon for taxi drivers to roll in, sing a few Fados, then get back into their cabs and speed off the night” (Raub, 2007: 72). Class distinctions melt away as people from various economic and social backgrounds share in the experience.

**Polychronic** Attitudes toward time and people are interwoven in this cultural dimension. Time is viewed as fluid and flexible in the Fado venue. “The Fado does not have an internal chronology and exists as something which has defeated and escaped time… This lack of temporality is reinforced by the fact that the Fado is performed mainly at night. For night is a time of rupture…and liberation in relations to work and the complex, institutionalized network of day-time social relationships” (Brito, 1994: 34).
The Participants

Enthusiasts stress that “Fado is in the air,” in the unspoken, shared experience of the participants. Traditionalists believe that Fado can not be created by the performers alone; it only exits when all three of the partners - singers, musicians and listeners are intently engaged. Characteristics of the Fado participants and the representative qualities of historic and contemporary icons capture many of its enduring qualities.

Group Orientation and Isolation During a Fado performance there is a deep sense of communion. In fact, Fado requires a “Trilogy: vocalists, instrumentalists, and listeners,” remarked Carlos do Carmo (2008). However, it is possible to be physically present, but to still be isolated outside the aura of the Fado. “Fado is when the guitarists and the singer are all thinking the same thought at the same time,” according to José Lúcio, renowned musician and Portuguese guitar expert (Ribeiro de Almeida, 2007).

Human Relationships over Task Achievement To traditional Fado fans, achieving fame and fortune as a professional singer, detracts the individual from real Fado. They believe that once a singer achieves fame and recognition, singing before large audiences in concert halls and amphitheatres, they are no longer true fadistas (Gray, 2008). This view is illustrated in following quote by Alfredo “Marceneiro,” a beloved Fado singer who began his adult life as a carpenter and who was posthumously awarded one of Portugal’s highest honors for his contributions to the Fado: "My biggest regret, to do with Fado, was to record my songs. The records came to industrialize Fado. Fado should not be sold. I sing because my soul commands it, I sing as if I am praying" (Rodrigo Duarte, n.d.).

Large Power Distance and Equality In the mid-nineteenth century the doomed love affair of a poor fadista, Maria Severa Onofriana, with the Count of Vimioso, who deserted her to maintain his aristocratic standing, “gripped the public imagination,” and “catapulted” the Fado onto the broader social stage, appealing across classes (Vernon, 1998: 9). Severa became an iconic symbol of the Portuguese yearning for equality and acceptance. The first fado singer who survived in collective memory, she attained a near-mythical status after her death. This first historic icon of Fado was the theme of novels, plays and of the first Portuguese film to feature sound (Sucena, 1993).

Uncertainty Avoidance and Risk-Taking “In Portugal, life is a risk,” remarked Fado singer Julieta Estrela (2008). Contemporary performers represent Fado's new direction. Some are maintaining a fine equilibrium between tradition and innovation, using styling and the special timbre of their voices for distinction. Others are “reinventing” the genre as Fado is becoming popularized and internationally known (Halpern 2004). One example is the Fado singer, Zé Perdigão, who remarks, “I apologize to the traditionalists for my audacity” of singing fado without being from Lisbon and in a different way (Coimbra Amaral, 2008). Many Fado singers from this new generation are performing abroad and become recognized in foreign countries before being recognized in their home country.

Fatalism and Perseverance “Fado, as life itself, would encompass both fatalism and perseverance in face of adversity,” declared Carlos do Carmo (2008). An inspirational example is Carlos Paredes, "Man with a Thousand Fingers," one of the better internationally known guitar players of his time. As a member of the Portuguese Communist Party during the 1950s-60s, he was imprisoned for opposing the Portuguese dictatorship, some of this time spent in solitary confinement. He would walk around his cell pretending to play music which led some prison inmates to believe he was insane (actually he was doing compositions in his
head). This same strength of perseverance is present in the life of Mariza, born Marisa dos Reis Nunes in Mozambique from a black mother and a white father, she moved to Portugal at the age of three. Mariza has been called “one of Europe’s biggest stars” in the field of World Music (Music Week, 2004). She energizes the genre by daring to test its boundaries. According to Mariza, Fado songs are about “melancholy, death, fear, sadness, love, lost love, jealousies, happiness. Everything is there” (Tscioulcas, 2005: 51).

Hierarchical Groups One of the principles governing the interaction among Fado performers is a hierarchy which affects the musical aspects of the performance and implies social and economic differentiation among them, with the soloist (fadista) recognized as the “dominant figure”; the Portuguese first guitar accompanying the soloist; the second Portuguese guitar following the first; and the Spanish guitar and the base guitar providing the background “grounding” (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, 1994: 128-140). The politics of power were a defining feature in the life of Amália Rodrigues, known as the “Queen of Fado” and the individual most influential in popularizing the Fado worldwide. Her ascendance to international celebrity in the 1940s unfortunately coincided with the rise of the Salazar dictatorship (Lewis, 2007). She became viewed as an instrument of the dictatorship, and in no small part through her voice the Fado became associated with this power.

Discussion

It is clear from the preceding analysis that cultural characteristics of the Portuguese people are revealed through Fado’s music, lyrics, kinesics, and participants. The Fado metaphor offers support for Portuguese seven cultural dimensions as portrayed by traditional frameworks, but it does far more. At a deeper level analysis of the Fado’s elements leads to the discovery of five national paradoxes that defy classification along dimensional scales. Also, several additional cultural values are revealed that provide a more nuanced interpretation of the Portuguese character. Table 2 provides an overview of Portuguese cultural dimensions as revealed through the Fado.

Fado Metaphor Support for Traditional Cultural Dimensions

The value placed on human relationships is a core theme running through the Fado metaphor. This substantiates Hofstede’s (1983) description of Portugal as a feminine society that values human relationships more than materialism and task achievement. In general, the traditional gender roles played out in the Fado scene are representative of this dimension also. This focus on people, particularly those with whom you are bonded by trust and long-term relationships, is also consistent with the polychromic nature of Portuguese society. People are not held hostage to time. Equally strong is the portrayal of the Portuguese as a high context culture. A substantial portion of shared understanding is conveyed by subtle cues and nonverbal behaviors.

Likewise, characteristics described in the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) are supported here. Portugal is a hierarchical society where being in control is valued. National identity can not be fully understood without examining Portuguese pride in its traditions and historic accomplishments.

The Fado Metaphor Reveals National Paradoxes and Complexities
One of the more surprising results of this study is the extent to which traditional frameworks fail to represent accurately the full picture. Table 3 summarizes paradoxes and complexities of Portuguese culture revealed through the Fado metaphor.

[Place Table 3 Here]

**Equality and Large Power Distance** As Fang (2006) points out, cultural characteristics are dynamic, not static. They are responsive to dramatic events and long-term struggles. This suggests that several static measurements of Portugal’s cultural characteristics are called into question. For example, Hofstede (1983) described Portugal as a nation in the “Large Power Distance” cluster, with a fixed view of power unequally distributed among society’s members: with the family structure, the workplace, social institutions, and the political sphere. While it is true that the power dimension is prevalent in the Fado metaphor, it is the tension between the unequal power structure and the desire for equality that is most important. The idea that everyone should be treated equally, independent of personal relationships or political position, under the rule of law, is captured in the universalistic pole of the Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner’s (1998) Universalism Particularism dimensional framework. Research on this dimension over time has led to recent surprising results that Portugal is now the most universalistic of 24 European countries (Nawojczyk, 2006).

**Uncertainty Avoidance and Risk-Taking** Closely linked to the power hierarchy is a desire for security and equilibrium. According to Hofstede (1983) Portugal is classified as a risk-averse country. Supporting this view is the traditional attitude of appreciation for styling as a means of artistic expression, but distaste for large-scale change or innovation. However, assuming that the Portuguese are risk averse would not be accurate. Recent research suggests that the value the Portuguese place on Uncertainty Avoidance has declined since Hofstede’s study (Fidalgo, 1993). Even in the past, this tendency toward risk aversion was overturned when harsh social conditions reached a tipping point. As Hofstede (1991) remarks, in such societies pressure builds toward a “trigger point” by this time inequalities have grown into abuses so severe that they can no longer be tolerated.

**Perseverance and Fatalism** The dynamics outlined above are linked to emotions expressed in the dialectic between fatalism and perseverance, two dramatically different attitudes, each of which takes its turn at the forefront and leads to a range of behaviors from inaction to subversion to outright defiance and revolt. As the pressure builds, the Portuguese benefit from an emotional escape valve, the catharsis that comes from communicating and sharing your life’s struggles with others who will understand. Another means used to avoid or delay active response to an unsatisfactory situation is the use of accommodation. This passive coping behavior emerged in this study as significant and characteristic.

**Group Orientation and Isolation** The Fado metaphor suggests that while people long for strong group affiliation and people’s behavior is motivated to attain this, a pervasive attitude is one of loneliness and isolation, an undercurrent of yearning to belong. So Hofstede’s (1983) conclusion that the Portuguese are a collectivist society, in which people perceive the unit of society as the group, comes through as superficial.

**Private and Shared Space** The Portuguese value a shared space for interpersonal communication and group interaction. The singers’ custom of shutting their eyes as they sing symbolizes an escape from the public, shared space in which the Fado takes place into their own private world.
Conclusions

We have developed a cultural metaphor for Portugal and demonstrated the value of the cultural metaphor methodology as a means to achieve this. Our findings yield interesting insights into three guiding research questions. First, the Fado metaphor provides a rich representation of the Portuguese cultural mindset, embraced by the population as an enduring symbol of national identity. Socioeconomic and political determinants played an important role in shaping this national culture, and these forces are intertwined with the sustained presence of the Fado on Portugal’s national stage.

Second, the Fado metaphor enables us to incorporate many cultural characteristics represented by traditional dimensions frameworks to elucidate our understanding of significant cultural factors. In this light, the dimensional approach provides a useful starting point for more in-depth exploration. While the Fado metaphor provides substantial support for some of Portugal’s cultural dimensions as depicted by traditional frameworks, the metaphor encourages us to move beyond these to explore a far more complex national profile that is time and context sensitive.

Third, in this paper we have demonstrated how the cultural metaphor method adds to our understanding of culture by overcoming limitations associated with use of either the etic approach or the emic approach alone. The Fado metaphor breaks through the constraints imposed by dimensional research and enables us to deepen our understanding of the attitudes, behaviors, and values upon which the nation is built and those which are prevalent today. Particularly, the identification of cultural paradoxes constitutes a major contribution of this work. Paradoxes described here capture the dialectic nature of Portuguese culture in the areas of Large Power Distance and Equality; Group Orientation and Isolation; Public and Private Space; Perseverance and Fatalism and Uncertainty Avoidance and Risk-Taking. These paradoxes have emerged as a revealing synthesis of the Portuguese culture.

Benefits to Practitioners in Cross-Cultural Management

A manager would be wise to consider national paradoxes when seeking a ‘first best guess’ about a society’s values, attitudes and behaviors. For the Portuguese, there are five worthy of consideration. Although more complex that the traditional polar dimensions assigned to the Portuguese, these paradoxes will better prepare the manager for success.

Equality and Large Power Distance In an organizational environment the Portuguese value a democratic climate with shared or consultative decision-making. In many situations it would be a mistake to assume that the workforce, particularly younger workers, would prefer a strong, hierarchical leader with a top-down approach to communications and information flows. Among older employees and in times of crisis, a more directive leadership style might be expected and preferred.

Group Orientation and Isolation Group orientation is strong among the Portuguese. Utilizing work teams for task accomplishment for a range of endeavors would be consistent with cultural values. The manager should be aware, however, of an undercurrent of speculation that the team is viewed as temporary, that bonds will be broken and that the employees will find themselves on their own, looking out for themselves. Managerial actions that provide evidence of sustained support for work teams, even through difficult periods, would serve to heighten long-term performance.
Private and Shared Space Consistent with the group orientation, physical space for team work is essential and should provide support for interpersonal interactions. Individual stalls with temporary walls would not be preferred. Team workspace should be complemented with private offices.

Perseverance and Fatalism An organization’s full potential can be realized if the dedication and hard-working characteristics of the Portuguese are channelled toward objectives. This will occur if the employees whole-heartedly share the conviction that the organization’s goals are not only achievable, but also meaningful to them. Short of this, the employees may drift to a more fatalistic attitude and use other means to get by without truly investing their energies, such as accommodation or in the worst case, subversion.

Uncertainty Avoidance and Risk-Taking Desire to avoid risk-taking is strong among the Portuguese, but not universally true. Traditionally, the people have appreciated styling, flourishes and embellishments. All of these characteristics bode well for artistic design-related activities. Beyond this, a new generation is becoming more experimental and creative. Still the manager would benefit by encouraging brainstorming and innovative thinking among employees, showing support for them even when good ideas fail.

Implications

Clearly, additional research is required. Further studies to exploring paradoxical metaphors within national cultures would enhance understanding of observed cultural variations and their implications for social organization and cross-cultural interactions. Also, empirical studies to search for correlations between the dependent cultural variables and events or trends in the socioeconomic and political environment could prove valuable.

To generalize from our study, the cultural metaphor method offers a powerful tool for extending and deepening our understanding of national cultures. It does not replace, but substantially supplements traditional cultural dimensions frameworks. One limitation is the difficulty of testing the validity of cultural metaphors; in the past such tests have been restricted to qualitative measures, such as the level of consensus shared by members of society about the metaphor. Despite such challenges, as research intensifies its focus on comprehending national cultures at their deepest levels, evidence presented here suggests that the cultural metaphor research method offers a promising path for experimentation and development.
Table 1  
Portugal's National Profile Portrayed through Traditional Frameworks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Framework</th>
<th>Traditional Cultural Dimensions</th>
<th>Portugal’s Value System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hall and Hall (1990)</td>
<td>Low Context (Explicit Information-Sharing) vs. High Context (Implicit Information-Sharing) Monochronic (linear approach, task-orientation) vs. Polychronic (circular approach, multiple activities simultaneously, relationship oriented)</td>
<td>High Context Polychronic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hofstede (1980)</td>
<td>Large Power Distance vs. Small Power Distance High Uncertainty Avoidance vs. Low Uncertainty Avoidance (Risk-Taking) Individualist vs. Collectivist (Group-Oriented) Masculinity (Task/Achievement Orientation) vs. Femininity (Human-Relations Orientation)</td>
<td>Large Power Distance High Uncertainty Avoidance (Very High) High Group-Oriention High Human Relations Orientation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Portuguese Cultural Dimensions Revealed through the Fado

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Framework</th>
<th>Portugal’s Value System Revealed through traditional frameworks</th>
<th>Portugal’s Value System Revealed through the Fado metaphor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hall and Hall (1990)</td>
<td>High Context</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polychronic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kinesics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kinesics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hofstede (1980)</td>
<td>Human Relationships over Task Achievement</td>
<td>Lyrics, Kinesics, Participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961)</td>
<td>People Capable of Good &amp; Evil</td>
<td>Lyrics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hierarchical</td>
<td>Music, Lyrics, Kinesics, Participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Controlling</td>
<td>Music, Lyrics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time Orientation Honoring Tradition</td>
<td>Music, Lyrics, Kinesics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Paradoxes and Complexities of Portuguese Culture Revealed through the Fado

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Paradoxes</th>
<th>Values Providing Nuance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equality and Large Power Distance</td>
<td>Accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty Avoidance and Risk-Taking</td>
<td>Catharsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Orientation and Isolation</td>
<td>Style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perseverance and Fatalism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private and Shared Space</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradoxes</th>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Catharsis</th>
<th>Style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equality and Large Power Distance</td>
<td>Lyrics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty Avoidance and Risk-Taking</td>
<td>Music, Lyrics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Orientation and Isolation</td>
<td>Lyrics, Kinesics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perseverance and Fatalism</td>
<td>Music, Lyrics, Kinesics, Participants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private and Shared Space</td>
<td>Kinesics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values Providing Nuance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>Lyrics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catharsis</td>
<td>Music, Lyrics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style</td>
<td>Music, Lyrics, Participants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


Conde, C. (1900). Lyrics


Galhardo, L. (n.d.).


Ribeiro, A. (n.d.). Já me deixou (It has already left me).


Acknowledgements:

Fado experts who contributed to this research

Carlos do Carmo, Fado singer and star of the film Fados
Interview: Lisbon, Portugal, June 18, 2008

Michael Colvin, Assistant Professor of Hispanic Studies with expertise in Fado music and Fado in visual culture, 1931-1974.
Personal communication: August 15, 2008

Julieta Estrela, Fado singer and owner of the Fado Maior
Interview: Lisbon, Portugal June 18, 2008

Pedro Félix, researcher with expertise in ethnomusicology
Personal Communication: August 13, 2008

Daniel Gouveia, Publisher and Fado expert, with toureiro (bullfighter) training
Interview: Lisbon, Portugal, June 21, 2008

Rui Vieira Nery, historian, musicologist, and author
Interview: Lisbon, Portugal, July 30, 2008

José Lúcio Ribeiro de Almeida, musician and Portuguese guitar expert
Interview: At the Fado Maior, May 5, 2007
Personal communications: August 5 and 13, 2008

António Tilly dos Santos, researcher with expertise in old recordings, repertoire and phonography
Personal communication: August 13, 2008