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Interpellation and Urban Transformation: Lisbon's Sardine Subjects

Archie Davies, King's College London (Corresponding author. Email: archie.davies@kcl.ac.uk)

Andrew Brooks, King's College London

Abstract:

Many cities have tried to reinvent themselves, but what role can new material and symbolic traditions play in urban transformations? Here we interrogate how ideology can be spread through a new tactile motif. Geographical work has focused on state-led, event and architecture-based development projects that drive change in the city. We suggest that the aesthetic, the sensory and the behavioural can also be fields through which urban change is driven. In Lisbon the sardine has emerged as a moniker for the city. An informal coalition of state and non-state interests have deployed the sardine to interpellate urban subjectivity, effecting processes of consumption and specifically touristification in the city. Building on the idea of interpellation we argue that both sardine symbols and actual sardines have hailed subjects in the city and the behaviours of residents and tourists have modified in response. Although the sardine is not the prime mover in urban transformation, our fieldwork shows how the affects of a new icon produce effects through invented traditions, street festivals and the tourist economy.

Keywords: Consumption, Interpellation, Lisbon, Urban, Subjects, Tourism

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'A minha vida dava uma sardinha!'

'My life could be a sardine!'

EGEAC, 2015

Introduction

Shared cultural ideologies play a role in the dynamics of urban transformation (Gordon, 2008; Nofre et al., 2017a; Wolff, 2005). Deploying the notion of interpellation to examine urban transformation and touristification in contemporary central Lisbon, this article illustrates how residents and visitors can be hailed to assimilate an idea and alter their behaviour in the city (Althusser 1971). Invented traditions, such as emblems, heritage foods and iconic animals, are not the prime movers in shaping urban life, but here we interrogate how the aesthetic, the edible, and the sensory, can facilitate urban change (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Through the promotion of a certain motif of a city by a suite of interests, including the state, capital, media, church and others who share elements of an ideology, common social processes are promoted. Louis Althusser (1971) wrote of the concept of interpellation as key to the way in which ideologies are social processes communicated through ideas. Interpellation is itself a process, a process through which we encounter cultural values and assimilate them. Ideas are presented and ideologies are communicated – attitudes towards gender, class, race, religion and patterns of consumption – and we become subjects of them. Building on subsequent work by Judith Butler (1997), Linda McDowell et al. (2007) and Paul Robbins (2007) we use and adapt the notion of interpellation to explain the way in which ideas are introduced and influence our lives. Our example focusses on how a fish has been brought to represent a city, and how residents and visitors endorsed this idea. We explore what ideology was communicated, not in a totalising way, but through subtle shifts to urban behaviour.

Since 2003 Lisbon has a new tradition: the sardine. Enlisted as the official symbol of the city's 'Santos Populares' [Popular Saints] festivities in June, the sardine has emerged within processes of booming tourism, urban entrepreneurialism, and rampant gentrification (Mendes 2017). Since being designed and launched by the city council's semi-autonomous cultural arm, EGEAC [*Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural*],

the fish has become a popular symbol for the city's neighbourhood festivals. Each year sardines plaster the city streets in the summer, while sardines are grilled as a traditional food of the festivals. The image changes annually with new designs, only circumscribed by the sardine silhouette. Designs have been crowd-sourced through a public competition since 2011 and EGEAC received 5,168 entries, from 60 different countries in 2017. In 2019 the competition has been extended to have a special section for primary school students. The competition themes are quirky, droll and even surreal. In 2014 it was 'Que sardinha és tu? Which sardine are you?' In 2015 it was the slightly bizarre aspiration: 'A minha vida dava uma sardinha!' 'My life could be a sardine!'

In spite of its evidently humorous intent, in this paper we want to experiment with taking the sardine seriously to think through modes of urban transformation and touristification. The sardine has been called upon to do a lot of work. Going beyond the materiality of oily flesh, the symbol of a sardine's body has become a container for an amalgamation of cultural expression and defined social behaviours. It encourages locals, migrants and visitors alike to behave, experience and consume the city in particular ways. For the thousands of people who submit sardine designs to the public competition it involves passing their creative individuality through the designated outline of the fish. During the Santos Populares, hundreds of thousands of residents are encouraged to embrace the symbol: PVC sardines hang in cafes, from windows and around impromptu grills. Millions of tourists are enticed to consume sardines and purchase sardine-shaped souvenirs: 'The sardine on paper has achieved the same destiny as the sardine on bread: it's become democratic; a fish of the people.' (EGEAC, 2013, 14). Sardine objects abound, both directly modelled on the EGEAC sardine, and spin-offs from it. There are ceramic fish produced by the revitalised *Bordalo Pinheiro* company, countless tinned sardines corpses sold in nostalgic emporia, some complete with attendant sailing caravels, and plentiful cheap 'banal' sardine keyrings, t-shirts and postcards (Peters, 2011).

A surge in tourism is at the sharp edge of central Lisbon's vernacular version of neoliberal urban transformation (Barata-Salgueiro, 2017; Cocola Gant, 2014). Event-led initiatives form part of this reconfiguration and include the 1994 European Capital of Culture (Balas, 2007), the 1998 Expo (Power and Sidaway, 2005), and the 2016-2018 Lisbon Web Summits. Alongside these the EGEAC sardine represents the state's endorsement of the *Santos Populares* as an intensification of civic life, but also as an opportunity for a festival of tourism. Municipal bodies have mobilised the reinvention of traditions to further the commodification of urban life through tourism and gentrification (Carmo and Estevens 2017). EGEAC, along with other social and political institutions, use the

sardine to suggest certain forms of behaviour in the city. Interpellation provides a vocabulary to encapsulate how the sardine is both a constituent part in, and emblematic of, Lisbon's ongoing urban transformation. Using this concept we seek to understand how residents and tourists, by very different means, become subjects who are steered to act in particular ways. To act, that is, like EGEAC's sardines. Interpellation helps us understand how the affect of sardines in the city produces effects: residents' and tourists' subjectivities are partially produced as their actions are imagined and produced by sardines. They are not, as in Althusser's original formulation (1971), experiencing a concrete, individual hail that conveys an ideology, such as being shouted at by a policeman, but the symbolic, visual, olfactory and edible cues of sardines in the city do trigger subjects to respond.

This article draws upon participant observation research in Lisbon, specifically the city centre, during the festival seasons and field observations three years apart as well as textual analysis and archival work. In June 2015 we first undertook pilot street questionnaires (25), this scoping phase of research helped rapidly contextualise the role of the sardine in Lisbon, but did not yield satisfactory depth and insight, and the results are not directly presented here. Subsequently, we took a more in-depth qualitative approach through eleven long-form semi-structured interviews (in English). In addition, we interviewed an environmental policy expert, the head of a Portuguese NGO network working on marine conservation (Pong-Pesca), as well as the chief scientist of the Portuguese Fish-Canning Association (ANICP), the designers responsible for the sardine symbol, and, via written exchanges, EGEAC. This interview phase provided narrative commentary, but to further understand the communication of ideology we supplemented this with textual analysis. EGEAC produce a large body of material about the festivals, including programming notes, social media accounts, press packs and additionally we consulted online and archival reporting, and the regional and national governments' tourism strategies. This body of material – along with analysis of the sardines' and festas' visual and experiential transformation of the urban space of particular parts of central Lisbon – is the centrepiece of our empirical sources. Further analysis of the archive of the city's public festivals – in libraries including the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Biblioteca Palácio Galveias and the Gabinete Olipsonenses and online – was subsequently crucial. In June 2015 and again in June 2018 we undertook participant observation of festas in Beco do Rosendo, Largo da Graça and Alfama. This included a focus on public space in the districts of Arroios, Santa Catarina, Mouraria and Chiado in central Lisbon following some of the observational methods outlined in Neal et al, (2015) with similar challenges of positionality and vision. Observations were undertaken at different times including during night-time at the festa sites (Lehtovuori & Koskela, 2013). We also conducted six short, unstructured interviews with festival-goers Throughout May to July

2018, we undertook further ethnographic fieldwork and visited sardine-related tourist attractions, souvenir shops, churches, the gallery of EGEAC sardines, and other key spaces. We paid attention in particular to changing uses and demographics of two large public squares (Martim Moniz and Rossio) and three smaller public spaces (Miradouro da Santa Catarina, the Escadinhas do Porto Carro and the Jardim de São Pedro de Alcântara),

This article follows an unconventional structure. The discussion of Lisbon is foregrounded before our theoretical argument is developed. This structure mirrors our retroductive approach to research. Retroduction, like inductive and *contra* to deductive approaches, does not assume a theoretical position from the outset. Our use of interpellation emerged from analysis of the role of the sardine in Lisbon and our experiences of the festas. In this regard we moved backwards to understand what must be true to enable the social phenomena before us. The retroductive approach differs to an inductive method as, rather than passively fitting the observations to a pre-defined theoretical framework, the research speaks back to theory and always strives to understand what is happening, rather than what should be 'in theory' (Saunders, 2003). This is particularly useful in understanding Lisbon, somewhere still perhaps on the 'borderlands' of anglophone urban theory that warrants research as it differs to the heartlands of theory and social experiences in France, the United States and the United Kingdom, being dissimilar and yet not exceptional (Tulumello, 2015). *A priori* knowledge of Butler and Althusser's mobilizations of interpellation enabled us to move between observations and theory, while questioning the assumptions that underpin their theory. This means we are not trapped by a reactive acceptance of theories of interpellation and their application as a means for understanding forceful processes of subjection. Our observations illustrate that the idea of interpellation needs to be malleable to account for the subtle shifts in ideology communicated through the sardine.

The origins of the fish-borne ideological message are discussed in the next section with the story of how the sardine has become an invented and influential tradition. The third part provides context for the urban transformation of Lisbon. Subsequently, we delve deeper into the notion of subjectivity and situate the idea relative to other studies of interpellation. The focus on an animal means a secondary contribution of this article is to debates on more-than-human geographies and the affect of biota on cities' interconnectivities (Braun 2005; Gandy 2005; Panelli, 2010). In the fifth part we briefly explore how the social-political production of urban sardine subjectivity relates to the living sardines that inhabit oceanic spaces outside of Lisbon and the connections between

urban and marine ecologies. In the conclusion we provide a final comment on how interpellation can be used to understand the ideologies spread through cultural motifs to facilitate urban transformations

Invention of a Tradition

In 2003 the city council of Lisbon launched a bid to find a new brand for the city's month-long summer festivals. Jorge Silva, a graphic designer, responded. He went to the market and bought a sardine. Back at the office, he slapped it on a scanner. The image he produced has, ever since, been the blueprint for branding the city's month-long Catholic *Festas Populares* - festivals revolving around the celebration of Santo António on the 12th and 13th of June (see Figure 2). The fish, through the scanner, morphed from scaley flesh into something much more slippery: a symbol for the city. The sardine has a long history in Lisbon, and in Portugal more generally, but it has not before been used as a symbol of the city. The fish was a staple source of protein for the poor during the fascist Estado Novo (1933-1974), a crucial element of the country's fishing economy and an important culinary icon (Interviews Pong-Pesca and ANICP). The sardine symbol is deeply connected to the actual sardine in the city; the month of June sees the proliferation of the design in the street, in shops and restaurants, and online. EGEAC is promoting the symbol of the sardine but there is an important and tactile materiality at work as well through the consumption of vast numbers of actual sardines: 35 million – or thirteen every second – across Portugal in June (Salvem A Sardinha! 2018). During the festas we saw how the city was temporarily transformed as thousands of people flocked to the streets and eat, with their hands, the grilled sardines. Standing, chatting, revelling in the *rua* while dealing with the messy flesh of oily fish, is a social process that predates 2003, but the essence of this has been captured by EGEAC. The archive of the Festas' programmes do not show the sardine as a visual symbol until the intervention of Silva designers, but it has become codified as a tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). This sensibility is important because the sardine has become – and always aimed to be – a means by which the city imagines itself as a site of socio-natural enchantment, enrolling a particular vision of metropolitan nature (Gandy, 2003) in presenting Lisbon to its inhabitants and visitors alike (Interview, Silvadesigners).
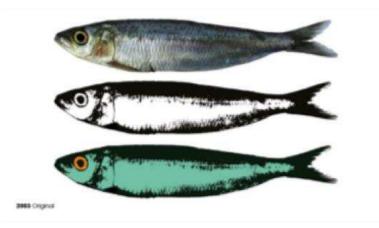
Figure 1: Original Sardine Submission, Silvadesigners (Source: silvadesigners unpublished powerpoint presentation, shared with author)

In its early years (2003-2009) the sardine was designed professionally and had many different aesthetics, from an 'urban' graffiti style through football and 'multiculture'. However, since 2010 the sardine has been designed through an open competition (interview Silvadesigners). Every year the best designs are selected by a jury. The five winners receive a €2,000 prize and the chosen fish are reproduced en masse and sent to shoal around the city in the form of PVC cut outs and JPEGs. The designs are diverse (see Figure 2) and as Silva wrote 'the simple shape of the fish has proved to be an astonishing recipient for visual paraphernalia encompassing every myth of the Portuguese soul' (EGEAC, 2013: 14). The thousands of entries online demonstrate the justification for this assertion: designs of Eusebio and Cristiano Ronaldo are popular as are interpretations of Lisbon's skyline, street parties, beer bottles, and the green and red of Portugal's flag. The symbol is catching up with another great Portuguese animal icon: 'the Barcelos rooster will have to watch out – the sardine is creeping up to take his place.' (ibid: 14) A strange natural battle is being lined up for the symbolic soul of Lisbon.
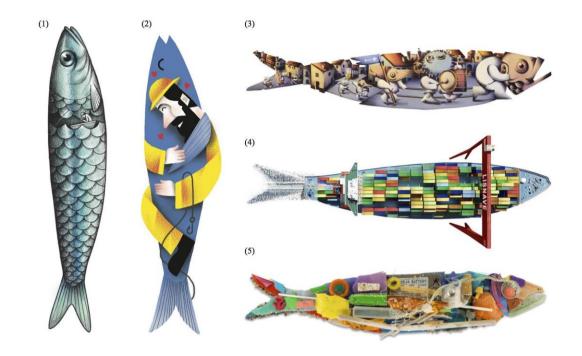
Figure 2. EGEAC Sardine Contest Winners 2018. (1) *Fisherman,* Anna Kočova. (2) *Sardine Love,* Boris Biberdzic. (3) *The arrival of Sardinha's friends,* Arthur Crispim Duarte. (4) *Sardem Sul,* Stefanos Antoniadis. (5) *SARDINEonCARBONfoot-print,* Paulo Alexandre de Magalhães Veiga (Source: EGEAC, 2018)[1]

The sardine has revitalised the festas. As the website for 2017's festival, put it, the city is 'vamping up old, religious and secular traditions with the modernity and spontaneity of today.' The sardine is not necessarily a Christian symbol, though it clearly has many connotations with biblical narratives. Whereas Lisbon's traditional symbol is a sailing boat with two crows, referring to São Vicente, the city's official patron saint, as well as to Lisbon's maritime and religious identity. In June the sardine is associated with Lisbon's other saint: Antonio, the patron saint of the poor, boat-makers, sailors and fishermen. Lisbon's sardines share many of the deliberate features of the creation of cultural tradition (Cócola Gant 2014). Indeed, the (re)invention of tradition is an acknowledged part of the *Santos Populares*. For instance, in the 2017 programme EGEAC write about the fascist history of the marches which form one of the *Festas'* central features: 'Nowadays they are a popular tradition,

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[1] Images reproduced with written permission (05.01.18) from EGEAC

though when they were conceived in the 1930s they were the brainchild of agents connected to the *Estado Novo*. However, the people of Lisbon took ownership of this festivity and made it their tradition, which is the sole reason for its success and longevity.' We might question the smoothness of this telling of Portuguese popular history, yet clearly the sardine is part of this same narrative and subtly communicates an ideology that endorses Catholic practices and the role of the state in civic life.

Despite these signals, neither EGEAC nor any other form of authority has control over the sardine. The invention of the sardine is virtual as well as material. Interviewing a designer at Silvadesigners he emphasised the image's online success, repeatedly searching 'sardinhas' on google.pt during the interview. The EGEAC sardine appears as the sixth return under Images. Pointing at the screen, he said, 'for me, this is the best example - this is public space'. From this perspective, the sardine had become an 'open-source' shape and, consequently, a viral success. As he expanded, 'the sardine will make his own path' mainly because of its intrinsic aesthetic qualities: 'it's a cool symbol, because it is, it's a fish, it has an eye, and a mouth […] it's a happy combination of an easy symbol, and, a happy shape, a simple shape.' The benefit of the sardine was that it could be all things: 'the sardine has both sides. It can be popular, or it can be more conceptual […] you can do everything differently'. Lisbon's sardine motifs are more than mere official symbols or marketing tools. They create a kind of aesthetic vocabulary for the city. Furthermore, the EGEAC sardines are designed with social affect in mind. In his introduction ('sardines like us') to *500 Sardines*, Jorge Silva (2013) connects the sardine with the making of public space, joy and cultural life. The urban crowd of the Festas are to become like shoals of sardines: vibrating, joyful, communal and multiple.

This is where interpellation is an important lens, as the sardine suggests certain forms of discipline, urbanity, consumption, and subjectivity. This urban fish is brought to life through EGEAC's words and designs: the sardine is both a blank slate and a very particular pelagic. In EGEAC's imaginary, to be like a sardine is to be both the entrepreneurial, artistic individual and to follow the crowd: to be both distinctive and homogenous. The sardine has agency in the production of the socio-political space of Lisbon's leisure economy, affecting its participants (sardine sellers, gift shop vendors, festival goers, international students, tourist), materialities and aesthetics (advertisements, merchandise, food and drink, behaviours). Sardines are not a 'prime mover', but are nevertheless an agential part of Lisbon's urban culture.

The sardine embodies, and seeks to reproduce, a specific form of being in the city. 'Interpellation' as later re-conceptualised by Judith Butler (1997) captures how this occurs. Behaviours are promoted by what Althusser (1971) referred to as the ideological state apparatus, the institutions outside of formal state control such as families, churches, schools, mass media, and so on, that transmit the values of the state (1971). Here we refocus the definition of the ideological state apparatus, reflecting the need to extend the rich possibilities in Althusser's work (Wolff 2005), to include institutions that straddle the public and private domain; EGEAC, the city council, *Turismo de Portugal* and *Turismo de Lisboa* [Portugal and Lisbon's tourism bureaus] alongside an informal coalition of non-state ideological interests, including but not limited to businesses such as major brewing companies, retailers, Airbnb 'hosts', and tourist attractions as well as the church. Disparate parts of the ideological state apparatus have used the sardine to promote particular dimensions of ideal residential – artistic, catholic, civil, collective, festive, European – and tourist – consumerism, foody, fun, playful, pleasure, middle-class, relaxed – identity. In contrast to more formal project-based policies of urban transformation within and outside of Lisbon, such as the European Capital of Culture programme (Balsas, 2007; Patel, 2012), the role of the sardine in interpellation is comparatively difficult to pin down: it is distributed through multiple actors and functions at the level of the aesthetic, the sensory and the behavioural. Nevertheless, even as a more slippery, less codified, living, dead or symbolic object it can become a vessel for understanding the dynamics of socio-political change in contemporary Lisbon.

The sardine, as an invented tradition, draws upon an existing ideological apparatus. It packages and reproduces elements of urban social life and culture – food practices, street life, urban festivities, tourism – emphasizing some parts and downplaying others, leading residents and tourists to modify their behaviour and, in this sense, to become subjects. In the hands of EGEAC the sardine becomes a means of constituting individual subjectivity through what McDowell et al. (after Althusser) term processes of 'call and response' (2007). People respond to institutional calls. These *interpellate* [or interrupt] existing, or create new, patterns of production, consumption, leisure, and expression. Change, including artistic, creative and even seemingly hedonistic behaviours occurs within the strictures of the existing ideological state apparatus. Individuals are interpellated to freely choose their subjection, as Richard Wolff (2005, 226) explains 'individuals are shaped by [Ideological State Apparatuses] to believe that their conformity to the needs of capitalist class structures is something quite different, a life path freely chosen by an independent and autonomous subject.' By considering these forms of interpellation the idea of sardine subjects can provide a vocabulary for understanding urban cultural practices within the broader

transformation of contemporary Lisbon. Following our retroductive process, interpellation will be further explored in part 3, before this we contextualise the broader urban transformation of Lisbon to enable us to 'speak back' to theory.

Lisbon: Tourism and Gentrification

Two decades ago central Lisbon was losing it's population to the surrounding metropolitan area. In a pattern familiar to European cities, compounded by deep economic crisis, the historic core was being depopulated and small businesses were in decline (Guimarães, 2018). Recent efforts have seen the city promoted as a global-level metropolis through urban regeneration, against a background of austerity (Tulumello, 2015). By the end of the 2000s Lisbon had begun a process of transformation, the most important, but not the only driver was a boom in tourism linked to the emergence of low-cost flights and new online platforms for accommodation booking such as Airbnb. The city has undergone a process of 'touristification': a reorientation towards tourism achieved through neoliberal strategies (Barata-Salgueiro et al. 2017). One example of this is in the transformation of retail markets which have been gentrified to serve tourists, the signal case being the Ribeira market redeveloped by the TimeOut company that became a gastronomic icon of the city, while seeking to retain an aura of authenticity from it's working class history (Guimarães, 2018). Critical Portuguese geographers such as Luís Mendes, Ana Carmo and André Estevens describe a broader-based 'commodification' of Lisbon, in which public space is increasingly privatised, and local policies are directed towards such flagship events and tourist promotion. However, they make clear that these transformations have not been accepted passively by Lisbon's residents; Carmo and Estevens, in their case study of the historic central neighbourhood of Mouraria, show how claims to citizenship function as forms of resistance (2017). They show, too, how the popularity of the sardine is co-extensive with the ongoing transformation of Lisbon, a post-fascist, post-imperial city (Sidaway and Power 2005).

Portugal's capital has been 'the European city break par excellence for some time now; the new Barcelona, if you will' (Kale, 2017) and won the 'World's Leading City Break Destination' in the 2017 World Travel Awards. It has also been named 'the coolest capital city' (Dunlop, 2017), a centre of 'cutting-edge street art' (Dixon, 2011) and 'Europe's best work-and-play capital' (Morrison, 2016). Whether or not Lisbon is a 'better city break' than Barcelona, or the 'best' capital of its kind, remains open to interpretation, but what is beyond dispute is the dramatic growth in visitor numbers. In 2003, the year when the sardine was first used, there were 2,783,486

million overnight visitors, 37% of whom were domestic tourists (Instituto Nacional do Estatística, 2004). By 2016, Lisbon received 6,294,700 million tourists per year, 22.5% of whom were Portuguese followed by Spanish (13.3%), British (9.0%), French (6.8%), Chinese (4.3%) and Germans (3.7%) (Instituto Nacional do Estatística, 2017). International tourists nearly tripled in 13 years. Alongside tourists, Lisbon has recently and suddenly, since around 2015, become a centre of attraction for 'international students, middle-class foreign pensioners and startuppers' as well as international real estate groups and Airbnb (Tulumello and Colombo, 502, 2018). Portuguese and Erasmus students are a key driver. The night-time economy of Lisbon centred on Bairro Alto and its appeal to university students as well as tourists is a key part of the 'broader public and private-led strategy of internationalization of the city' (Nofre et al. 2017a; p.330). Nofre et al. (2017a) go as far as to place 'studentification' alongside tourisitifcation and gentrification as urban processes of extreme neoliberalization. The night-time city is orientated towards students, local middle classes, european tourists and wealthy foreign residents as urban space becomes designated for certain groups with few alternative marginal spaces that break down social barriers. Erasmus organisations use specific bars in Barrio Alto to manage and promote particular forms of consumption for the most significant group in the city's rental housing market (Nofre et al. 2017b). The socio-economic transformation of the city has spread out from the historic urban core. Exclusionary forms of developments including *condomínios fechados* (enclosed condominiums), luxury flats, student and other short-term lets (Tulumello and Colombo, 2018), and their new inhabitants link Lisbon to global networks of capital and mobility and displace the working classes from historically mixed neighbourhoods. High-income migrants drive this process while other less wealthy migrants – Brazilians, Eastern Europeans, Lusophone Africans and South Asians – continued to arrive in Lisbon throughout the crises period and into the tourism boom. They work in the secondary labour market and are overrepresented in the least attractive low skilled and insecure jobs, including the service sector roles that make up tourism employment (Esteves et al. 2018).

The correlation between a surge in visitors, the wider transformation of the leisure and retail economies and the new geographies of exclusion, displacement and labour and the life of the sardine symbol is no indicator of causality, but the sardine has certainly become part of the material culture of Lisbon's booming tourism and leisure economy. Particularly in the summer, the peak tourist season, it is a ubiquitous aesthetic appearing everywhere from souvenir tea towels to tour buses, street-side beer adverts (Figure 3) and the gastronomy section of the official *visitlisboa* website. The virtuality of the sardine has enabled its internationalisation, a process in line with state strategies to drive increased international tourism. The regional and city governments' joint report – prepared by

Roland Berger Strategy Consultants – outlined the strategic plan for tourism from 2015-19 and identified young international city break-ers as a key market for downtown Lisbon. In so doing they proposed to segment the city into three marketable, territorialised packages: Bairro Alto, Cais do Sodré and Santos as 'Lisboa Jovem' ('Young Lisbon'), Baixa Chiado as 'Lisboa Trendy' and Alfama, Castelo and Mouraria as 'Lisboa com história' (Plano Estratégico para o Turismo na Região de Lisboa 2015-2019, 19-25). These neighbourhoods are major sites of the Festas in June and are also at the forefront of gentrification in Lisbon - particularly that led by artists, students and tourists, above all in the form of Airbnb stays (Cócola Gant, 2016; Malheiros et al, 2013, 114, 131; Mendes 2011; Barata-Salgueiro 2017). Interviewees, included two former residents of Mouraria and Magdalena who had left the neighbourhoods, citing nosy neighbours, too much tourism and the density of housing, and tourism revenues have rapidly transformed these territories. The vitality of central Lisbon's tourist economy led to it being crowned the 2015 'European Entrepreneurial Region of the Year' (Morrison 2016). The obvious counterpoint is increasingly uneven development and violent processes of socio-spatial division driven by tourism-led gentrification in an experience similar to that of American and British cities (Mendes 2008; 2017; Smith 2010). Directly connecting this 'entrepreneuralism' with the restructuring of urban space Carmo and Estevens argue that 'today, Lisbon is a city of paradoxes and contradictions, along with other European cities. Arguably, a city that is made for capital, not for people' (2017: 414).

Figure 3. Beer advert featuring sardines (Source: authors' own image)

New work by critical geographers has explored consequent processes of displacement and urban transformation. Drawing on empirical research in Barcelona, Agustín Cócola Gant has conceptualized the impacts of Airbnb and tourist-led gentrification as 'collective displacement': a loss of residential life (Cócola Gant, 2016). Luís Mendes, working in Lisbon, has highlighted the nexus between tourism and real estate speculation in the context of austerity urbanism, in transforming the socio-spatial dynamics of central Lisbon. The novel forms of tourism-led gentrification in Lisbon have been matched by new ways of thinking through gentrification and middle class precarity, using a provocative Portuguese translation, 'nobilitação urbana' (Mendes 2012). Crucially for this paper, Mendes identifies tourism - and particularly the idea that Lisbon needs to 'compete' with other cities - as crucial factors in gentrifying Bairro Alto. These processes, of course, are not without resistance, and housing movements (such as Habita), communities (Carmo and Estevens, 2017), political parties (such as the Bloco de Esquerda and the Partido Comunista Portugês) and social movements (Mendes 2008, 2017) in Lisbon have sought to counter the hegemonic narrative promoting tourism and urban regeneration.

There is, therefore, a great deal at stake in understanding how tourism and gentrification function in Lisbon. The sardine is one way into an understanding of the role of 'culture' and the state in these processes. Tourism and the city's public investments in urban festivals are key players in the international diffusion of images of Lisbon (Santos, 2004: 127). Waitt describes an 'almost worldwide deployment of festivals as a contemporary urban regeneration tool of neoliberal governance through the conjunction of business, play and fantasy' (2008: 513). The sardine is an abstract update to the history of the use of such images outlined by Ward (1998: 65-98). Attending to Kottler et al's (1993) analysis the 'place attributes' of a city are ever more important in the race for the attention of footloose consumers (Mendes 2011), the sardine therefore seeks to intensify Lisbon's 'uniqueness' as quintessentially Portuguese food (Tellström et al, 2006; Bessière, 1998), the sardine helps the city market itself using a symbol embedded in place and history (Harvey, 1989; Bell and Valentine, 1997; McClinchey, 2008).

The longer history of the *Santos Populares* has been to channel difference between neighbourhood (bairros) identities. The songs and banners defining the different neighbourhoods stand for marked territorial identities within the city. There are two core parts of the traditional festivities. The first is a competition between the neighbourhoods for the prize for the best parade. Annual contests contribute to the product of an image of Lisbon

as a city of neighbourhoods (see Cordeiro, 2003). The second are the twelve concurrent weddings which take place in the church of Santo António, in a televised event. The festival also represents tension between popular power and the power of the city to negotiate the identity of Lisbon, and the state builds connections with the clebrations and urban and tourism policies (Cordeiro, 2015). EGEAC promotes both the neighbourhood and religious elements of the *Santos Populares* seemingly without the tourist audience directly in mind. Much of the promotional material about the parades and weddings, for instance, is not translated into English, in contrast with information about many other events under the banner of the *Festas*. In the 2017 programme, for example, the sections relating to the popular marches and other more 'traditional' elements of the *Santos Populares* have brief English glosses, explaining their relevance, but are not translated. The sardine, concurrently, is less closely articulated with these more traditional events, though it remains part of the aesthetic. The audience for these elements of the Festas - more associated with the Catholic church - is more obviously a portuguese one. However, it is in part through the sardine that the city council translates the festivals' scale from neighbourhood to city.

During June an informal economy springs up, particularly in old, central neighbourhoods such as Alfama, Madragoa and Mouraria, but also in neighbourhoods where tourists tend not to venture, such as Campolide and Benfica. These are not, in their essence, invented traditions for tourists: they are a long-standing part of neighbourhood life. Locals establish stalls and grills to sell beer and – of course – grilled sardines. Here, again, is a reason for the sardine's presence and popularity: it becomes a source of additional neighbourhood socio-economic activity in the summer months. Rather than encouraging a displacement of the working class the festas play a role in a more complex form of gentrification (Burnett, 2014). A food associated with the poor is being commodified and marketised to a broader audience of residents and tourist whilst still making appeals to working class identities and traditions. Nevertheless, the growing gluts of tourists which flow through the city are driving this informal economy to new heights, and in many neighbourhoods altering its texture, purpose and meaning.

Producing sardine subjects

Interpellation

How do Sardines interpellate urban behaviour? Firstly, we need to expand the discussion of interpellation, before relating it to urban transformation and then understanding how this retroductively applies to Lisbon. Interpellation is a kind of hailing that attempts to strengthen a particular aspect of the identity of those addressed and to reconfigure their social practices (Patel, 2012). Louis Althusser's original (1971), example of 'interpellation' has a policeman shouting across the street 'hey, you'. A person then turns around, assuming that they were hailed. They identify with the claim upon them, change their behaviour and become a subject. The process of turning towards this interpellation confirms the individual as a 'concrete subject' (Platt 2014). Interpellation has been used to explain how people relate to ideology. Subjects are constituted in and take meaning from social relations, rather than identity being the inherent attribute of the individual (Wolff 2005). Interpellation has been influential in work on labour to express how managers create idealized stereotypes of workers, who in turn internalise those characteristics and confirm to established patterns of behaviour (Burawoy 1978, McDowell et al. 2007). Yet interpellation has attracted criticism for its totalising nature. As Althusser's original exploration had it, 'the existence of ideology and the hailing or interpellation of individuals as subjects are one and the same thing.' (Althusser, 2006; 700) This is to say that in Althusser's conception of subject formation through interpellation the ideological apparatus is already in place. When developing the notion of interpellation, Judith Butler (1997) questioned Althusser's original scene and argued that the policeman's hail 'promises identity' rather than creates identity, and someone turns towards the hail only because they are complicit in this constitution of identity, which we return to later. As Butler stresses, there is the 'permanent possibility of *misrecognition*, that is, the incommensurability between symbolic demand (the name that is interpellated) and the instability and unpredictability of its appropriation' (1997: 96). That is to say that the concept of interpellation as we are using it is not a notion of wholly achieved or totalizing subjectification. It is, though, a means to interpret the relationship between power and subject formation, in this case, in the context of processes of touristification under neoliberal urbanism.

Althusser's original conception of interpellation has been used to explain how cities are culturally characterised. Kirin Patel (2012) used the concept to analyse the European Union's European Capitals of Culture programme. A close-knit advocacy group of transnational experts shape policy and cities respond and fall in-line with the ideas, the ideologies, the social processes promoted through the Union's flagship cultural project. In contrast, Platt (2014) has developed an example centred on Liverpool, where injurious speech and negative interpellation within the media first established unwanted myths around the city. Subsequently, when Liverpool was awarded the 2008

European Capital of Culture, the city was rebranded following the EU cultural model and tried to shake off any negative connotations associated with the city's 'brand'. Yet how much Liverpudlian residents respond to such new discourses is open to question. Nevertheless the EU rebranding exercise becomes a tool that justifies regeneration through gentrification. Lisbon was itself a European Capital of Culture in 1994 and experienced extensive programs of urban transformation as cultural policy become a means of displacement in the 1990s (Balsas, 2007; Mendes, 2011; Cócola Gant, 2014).

These examples show interpellation at work in constitution of place identity at the scale of the city. Operating on an individual scale Paul Robbins (2007) argued that the cultural importance of turfgrass in North America was such that they produced 'lawn people': subjects who acted in ways mediated by the requirements of maintaining lawns: an invented tradition inherited from europe. Lawn people mow, fertilize and administer pesticides. If we read our example with and against Robbins (2007) it illuminates some commonalities as well as important differences in the co-production of urbanity. When EGEAC took on the idea from Silvadesigners, the notion of people engaging with the sardine was a vision born out of an idealized stereotype of urban life. In its early years this began to take material shape, but the role of the sardine transformed when the competition opened to the public. At that point the sardine began to broaden and deepen its influence. People appeared to heed the call to imagine themselves as sardines as thousands submitted designs, pouring out their ideas and identities into the format of the sardine. Sardine symbols were used around the city. Through this wider engagement with the sardine the fish went beyond a branding tool to become a more complex part of Lisbon's social world. We can posit that the sardine has a role in the process of identity formation by promoting stereotypes of ideal behaviour in Lisbon's leisure economy. Major social and political institutions including EGEAC (as well as other parts of the ideological state apparatus) propose individual subjects' identities through the image of the sardine. As with Robbins' turfgrass lawn people, subjects responded to an invented tradition. Being a lawn person is a major preoccupation in suburban America. The same intensity is not associated with people's relationship with sardines in Lisbon. Encounters with sardines can be ephemeral, especially for individual tourists. Visitors may not even see, let alone eat a real sardine. Nevertheless the sardine symbol is a ubiquitous and distinctive part of Lisbon's urban space and leisure economy that has a cumulative impact.

Here we turn back to Judith Butler's revision of interpellation, which is most useful in our analysis precisely because the power of the sardine is comparatively weak. Her more nuanced use of interpellation is helpful as

residents and tourists in Lisbon are part of a voluntary constitution of identity. EGEAC may want people to become 'sardine people', to paraphrase Robbins, but Silva's design is evidently not able to transform urban life on its own. As our own observations of the Festas underscored, a rigid conception of interpellation cannot fully explain the streetlife which occurs in Lisbon in June. The geographies of the Festas are highly differentiated: those in the downtown areas (near Bairro Alto, for example), are very different from those in less touristic and gentrified neighbourhoods, and temporality shapes how the festas intervene in urban space. Licencing is informally relaxed to allow locals to establish stalls and grills to sell beer (Interviews, residents). Furthermore, expressions of community and neighbourhood festivity cannot be delimited or captured by an analysis which focuses on interpellation by the ideological apparatus of the integral state: family, neighbourhood and community social life plays out beyond, and in many ways oblivious to, commodifying and disciplining forces which attempt to capture its pleasure. Nevertheless, Lisbon's sardine is a partial embodiment of ideal behaviours, particularly for tourists. A patchwork of interests (the catholic church, silvadesigners, *turismo portugal*, beer companies etc, who all use the image of the sardine) do want residents and tourists alike to experience Lisbon in a particular way. The sardine helps hail certain kinds of behaviour and consumption.

The ideology of the sardine subject that the ideological state apparatus promotes affirms individuals' subjectivity around ideas of independence and autonomy. Yet there is a twist: although individuals are interpellated as free subjects, there is an ideological reversal at work as the beliefs, actions and social institutions they adopt confirm to the needs of the capitalist class structures. Part of individuals' acceptance of their subjection can be seen in patterns of consumption (Wolff 2005). Walter Benjamin's work (1999) on the arcades draws into the same frame of analysis consumption, aesthetics and subjectivity. His insights have helped underpinned a vibrant body of work on the geographies of consumption. However, our intention in deploying the concept of interpellation is to emphasise that in the case of the sardine it is not just a matter of consumption, as this is one part of a broader set of dynamics of urban life, culture and subject formation. The sardine, for instance, can structure and represent the experience of a temporally specific use of urban space. Embodied performances of class, gender, and Portuguese identity by visitors, workers and inhabitants alike are partially constructed through a response to the sardine object while being underpinned by a political economy of structural changes, neoliberal institutions and policies, material inequalities, and new patterns of migration. We do not take these processes to be fully achieved, but propose interpellation as a way of moving beyond thinking of urban symbolism as merely branding.

In the next section we use the idea of interpellation to think through forms of engagement by different groups, and their becoming – or not – as sardine subjects. Firstly, sardine designers have a strong engagement as they proactively produce themselves as sardine subjects; secondly tourist and festival economies (both their producers and consumers) are material invested in sardine subjects, but remains more disparate than the sardine can fully encapsulate, and thirdly residents, who are too diverse to be understood as sardine subjects: indeed, their difference reveals the fundamental aporias embedded in the idea that 'minha vida dava uma sardinha!'

Types of sardine subjects

i.   Competition-Entrants:

The breadth and scale of the public involvement with the sardine competition is the most visible instance of the symbol's effect. A curated selection of sardines are exhibited in a central gallery in Baixa Chiado, funded by the Millenium bank, and also presented online (EGEAC, 2018). For thousands of amateur and professional designers the sardine has become a tool for their own creative expression. The designs run from the bizarre to the nationalist, and from the surreal to the political. The immense fecundity was attributed by Silvadesigners in large part to its flexibility as a medium for unique designs. A sardine subject can express their creativity within the familiar fish silhouette giving rise to a spectrum of commercial, playful and subversive designs. At first glance this appears different to the form of interpellation of a lawn person, who is a conformist who subscribes to an established pattern of socio-cultural behaviour and produces a uniform lawn (Robbins 2007). Yet, despite some renegade designs, the whole point of the sardines is distinctiveness within total homogeneity. A kind of parody of consumption-based conformism that gives rise to a commodified aesthetic (Silva 2013: 2018). In that respect their share an essential characteristic with American lawn objects: they are both sustained by and reproduce capitalist social relations.

ii. The Tourist and Festival Economy:

EGEAC's discursive construction of the *Santos Populares* – in programmes, visual identities, online branding and cultural production – proposes a certain kind of tourist and leisure consumption. The sardine offers itself as enchanting souvenir objects (Ramsay, 2009), through EGEAC it is also a vector to consume a certain version of

Lisbon's urbanity: outdoors, warm, festive and open. One of the key promises of the sardine is a taste of the real city. The sardine encourages a specific type of recreation, suggesting that Lisbon is a place to enjoy the good life and become part of a liberated, relaxed, quirky, joyous, even sexualised urbanity (Interviews).

The *Santos Populares* festivities, like most urban festivals, are ostensibly the polar opposite of work. Yet the material history of each sardine consumed is one of hard, often racialised, labour in fishing and canning (Amorim, 1998; Frikes, 2009). The festas themselves, while constructed as a space-time of leisure and freedom (Hughes, 1999: 125-30) are also sites of labour for people – often migrants – who work in the streets as, for example, vendors and cleaners (interviews, immigrants and Associação Renovar a Mouraria). The street festivals, like many such urban events (McClinchley, 2008), have always had a commercial association – the programmes from the first half of the century are full of adverts – since 2003 the reinvention has gone hand in hand with increasing touristification. Beer adverts from Portugal's two major brewing companies *Sagres* and *Super Bock* become almost as ubiquitous as the sardine as they pitch their brews as the perfect accompaniment (Figure 3).

The notion of 'culture' is central to the Festas and the sardine symbol: EGEAC's core task is promoting 'culture' and the Festas are characterised as '*cultura na rua*': 'culture in the street'. To be a good sardine subject, therefore, is to partake in this ideological conception of 'culture', which includes street parties and consumption, but not unrestrained hedonism. The sardine is the perfect for this disciplining: you can be whatever you like, within the form of the sardine, which is just like every other sardine. The fun of the Festas, as a product to be consumed, therefore, is constrained. Good sardines remain part of a shoal: they buy in to a manufactured night time economy and an established consumer practices. For the city-break tourist or international student their response to sardines will be fleeting, but the collective effect on millions of visitors has a cumulative impact upon the city, not least because many residents also engage in the sardine leisure economy.

iii. Residents:

We are not making the claim the sardine has some kind of transformative power for the majority of Lisbon's population. Overwhelmingly residents have a weak relationship with the EGEAC sardine, even when they are in the street celebrating the *Santos Populares*. However, the sardine symbol can inform our understanding of the relationship within the city between homogeneity and difference. Conceiving of the residents of Lisbon as a

homogenous group - as a shoal of sardines - is profoundly simplifying. It suggests a crushing homogeneity which does not exist. Different groups have different access to public space and urban cultural festivity and the sardines channel such exclusions (Nofre et al. 2017b). To be a sardine subject, as we have argued above, is to be distinctive but fundamentally homogenous. The city in fact, though, is built out of difference. A key event organised by EGEAC aimed at diversifying the Festas is the '*Festa Da Diversidade*' [Festival of Diversity]. In 2015 the posters promoting this event recognised the sardine's homogenising symbolism: 'Lisbon is not only the sardine. It is also all the other fish'. EGEAC, therefore, were implicitly accepting that the sardine-person is normatively white and European. Certainly, they cater to a particular audience: the traditional elements of the Festas are largely practised by Catholic, white European citizens, and the beer, sardines and dancing in the streets predominately appear to be enjoyed by Lisbon's white middle-classes and tourists (Interviews with Immigrants and Associação Renovar a Mouraria and observations).

Figure 4. Screenshot from 2015 Festa da Diversidade Facebook Event: 'Lisbon is not only the Sardine's: it is also all the beers' / snails' / fishes'

Quite evidently, not everyone is interrupted, or interpellated, by EGEAC's sardine. Here the aporias of Lisbon's post-coloniality raise their heads. Portugal's historical geography is intimately tied to the Atlantic. That the sardine is found in this ocean further enables its use as a symbol for an imagined cosmopolitanism:

> Europe, Africa, and America: three continents separated by the Atlantic Ocean, but also connected by it. Down the centuries, it has been both feared and revered, but one thing the Atlantic has always been is a towering presence in the history and identity of those who live by its waters. Inspired by this idea of ocean crossing and the meeting of shores, lands, and cultures, we propose a journey of discovery and rediscovery, in search of the traces of common experiences and imaginations, where the poetry of words attains new rhythms.

This banal language, taken from the 2017 Programme for the *Festas Populares* is indicative of a mode of thinking about the Atlantic colonial past which has many manifestations across literary and political discourses, as well as everyday life, in Portugal. This is a sanitised Atlantic to which counter-cultures are readily available - from Lisbon's urban music cultures of batida and kuduro, to the work of scholars of the lusophone Black Atlantic (Naro et al., 2007) - but for EGEAC the ocean is figured as a neutral space of contact. EGEAC mobilize the common trope of Portugal's history of 'discovery'; an analgesic euphemism for colonialism embedded in Lisbon's public space above all through the Salazarist *Padrão dos Descobrimentos*, the Monument to the Discoveries, in the imperial riverside quarter of Belém (Power and Sidaway 2005). The discourse of multiculturalism relies on an anaestheticisation of Lisbon's place in imperial history by presenting it as an Atlantic city in which its oceanic-imperial geography is one of 'connectivity' and 'towering presence.' The sardine here re-enacts a particular mode of forgetting of the brutal histories of imperialism which, as explored for instance in Margarida Calafate Ribeiro's work, is a crucial underpinning of contemporary Portuguese - and indeed European - society (Calafate Ribeiro, 2016).

Sardine ecologies

In this penultimate section we turn from the urban to the urban ecological. This requires thinking through the sardine much more concretely as part of an Atlantic political ecology threatened by overconsumption. Urbanization mobilizes plants and animals as much as humans and there have been calls to expand the scope of social geographies to encompass these interconnectivities (Gandy 2005; Panelli, 2010). Despite this, geographical work has still said relatively little about "the myriad 'nonhuman' things from which cities are composed" (Braun 2005, p. 635). Sardines are enrolled in and shape social processes both ideologically and materially. Despite Lisbon being a maritime city, the waters beyond the beach and breakers are at the edge of everyday consciousnes.

Lisbon's Tagus estuary is an important, yet vulnerable habitat for sardines (Rodríguez-Climent et al. 2017). The urban political ecology of the dead or virtual sardine in the city is physically segregated from the living ecology of wild sardines in the oceans.

Silva started with a fresh fish, but neither tourists nor all but a handful of residents, see the hidden geographies of commercial fishing and processing that deliver boxes of iced fresh fish-corpses or neat cans of preserved sardine fillets to the consumer. Nevertheless the consumption of sardines, and sardine symbols has not been without resistance. Environmental NGOs have pushed the city and national governments to restrain sardine consumption, and to encourage the taste for other fish - such as mackerel - through campaigns and advocacy (interviews). The Iberian sardine stock abundance is at its historical minimum and part of a globally threatened marine ecology (Rodríguez-Climent et al. 2017). There are fishing bans in place, filtered through the European Common Fisheries Policy's framework. In spite of this it seems that the fragility of the sardine's survival remains peripheral. Certainly this was the case when it began. As Silva (2013; 14) wrote, 'Long may it last on our plates… and on our streets' [ellipsis in original version], seeming to forget that its existence is contingent on its actual survival in the Atlantic.

This pressure appeared to lead to a change in discourse 2018. The slogan that year was "Salvem a sardinha! Save the Sardine!" CML and EGEAC (2018) "asked for calm from fishermen, moderation from consumers." How the sardine design competition would in fact save the sardine remains opaque, although in parallel the government sponsored efforts continue to encourage people to eat other species of fish (Interviews). The choice of prize winners has certainly taken an apparently critical turn and gives an insight into the preoccupations of the sardine's chaperones.

Two of the winners feature classical, nostalgic representations of the Portuguese sardine and fisherman (see figure 2). In both the fish and the human are imagined in close communion, man [sic] becoming fish, fish becoming man, rather than in a relation of hunting and killing. This is of course a familiar figuration. One designer, Boris Biberdzic, refers to 'forming a truce and reducing overfishing'. Another entrant shows a surreal representation of the festas harking back to the discussion above in its imagery of the attendees of the public festivals as themselves fish-like, sardine people.

The last two designs, however, pick up the narratives of this paper. One, by Stefanos Antoniadis, features an image of a sardine-boat themed according to the dock-works in Cacilhas, on the other side of the Tagus from central Lisbon. The 'LISNAVE' crane it deploys is a distinctive part of the Lisbon landscape, seen from the many vantage points of Lisbon's hills: the 'miradouros'. Gathering on miradouros, particularly at sunset, is a key part of urban life, and an absolutely central tourist activity. Visitors line up to photograph the urban landscape from these high sites. EGEAC suggest that the crane sardine is a counterpart to a 'picturesque' aesthetic of the city, which they here connect with gentrification. The engagement by EGEAC with these pressing concerns is interesting. They are attempting to shift the sardine towards a reflective figure of the city that can challenge as well as propagate its processes. However, the analysis is confused: certainly gentrification is associated with the picturesque streets of Alfama, but it is more deeply connected with a process of tourism promotion in which the aesthetics of the dock landscape is a crucial part. Indeed, many of the spaces of vanguard gentrification in the centre of Lisbon - Alcântara, for example - are precisely in the dock neighbourhoods. This, of course, is a common feature of neoliberal urban regeneration. Suggesting that promoting the dock landscape is somehow a challenge to tourism-led gentrification is a stretch.

Finally, one of the sardines has been designed with an ecological message. It shows a fish made of plastic. This sardine raises the highly current issue of marine pollution. This is surely welcome, but the festas themselves systematically produce vast amounts of plastic waste in the form, above all, of disposable, branded plastic beer glasses (though some of the neighbourhood festivities in 2018 had started plastic glass return schemes). However, the environmental analysis is, also, slightly confused. The threat to the sardine itself - and, it is worth repeating, the slogan this year is 'Save the Sardine' - is much less plastic pollution than it is overconsumption. It is certainly difficult to harness the (lack of) charisma (Lorimer, 2007) of fish species to foster conservation movements (Gupta et al. 2014). The sustainability theme has been retained for 2019, but it remains to be seen whether the limited official engagement - despite the slogan - with conservation will be, perhaps at best a missed opportunity, and at worst a disingenuous co-opting of a socio-environmental politics associated with the sardine. Such critical force as the sardine is being endowed with is relatively superficial. It largely evades the question of how the Lisbon sardine might itself by embedded in, and productive of, urban and ecological transformations.

Conclusion: Interpellation and Urban Transformation

Thinking through the creation of sardine subjectivity through interpellation is a way of understanding some - and by no means all - of the recent urban transformations in Lisbon. Our paper has explored the power of a cultural-natural motif in spreading an ideology and facilitating urban transformation. Urban research needs to look beyond the physical transformation of cities through architectural and event-based projects to understand the other subtle ways in which the wider ideological state apparatus, including, crucially, cultural organisations like EGEAC, hail residents and visitors to behave in new ways. Ideologies are not just communicated through the hard-concrete power of authority or the concrete transformation of cityscapes, but also through the suggestions of new ways to live, eat, consume and behave in the city. There may not been a single authority that communicates such ideas. Both EGEAC and Silvadesigners emphasised the wider mobilisation of the sardine by diverse agents, but when an informal coalition of state, media, corporate, civic and religious actors are invested in the reproduction of a specific aspect of culture it can have an affect that produces effects among subjects that helps transform the city. Urban theory needs to take seriously the slippery elements of urban nature's mobilization as urban culture. This can include symbols, foods and living non-humans, all can be affective agents in the transformation of cities. Thinking with interpellation has provided us with a tool to do this, and look at the cumulative impact of tenuous conformity by a mixed shoal of citizens and visitors in contemporary Lisbon. This is not to say that everyone who encounters Lisbon's sardines becomes a sardine subject, but that neither are these urban fish mere ephemera: they are woven into the fabric of central Lisbon's neoliberal transformation.

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