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Staging Lusophony: politics of production and representation
in theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Culture and Performance

by

Rita Martins Rufino Valente

2017

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2017

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Staging Lusophony: politics of production and representation
in theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries

by

Rita Martins Rufino Valente

Doctor of Philosophy in Culture and Performance

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Janet M. O'Shea, Chair

My dissertation investigates the politics of festival curation and production in artist-led theater festivals across the Portuguese-speaking (or Lusophone) world, which includes Latin America, Africa, Europe, and Asia. I focus on uses of Lusophony as a tactics to generate alternatives to globalization, and as a response to experiences of racialization and marginalization stemming from a colonial past. I also expose the contradictory relation between Lusophony, colonialism, and globalization, which constitute obstacles for transnational tactics. I select three festivals where, I propose, the legacies of the colonial past, which include the contradictions of Lusophony, become apparent throughout the curatorial and production processes: Estação da Cena Lusófona (Portugal), Mindelact – Festival Internacional de Teatro do Mindelo (Cabo Verde), and Circuito de Teatro em Português (Brazil). Located in Portuguese-speaking countries with different experiences of a shared colonial history, these festivals engage

with the notion of a transnational community based on shared Portuguese language and cultural history. Nevertheless, the organizers and artists of all three festivals struggle with the limitations of nationhood, arts policy, globalization, and the fraternal relation among countries that share Portuguese language and historic heritage.

My research approach includes participative, ethnographic methods, which have led to close collaboration with festival organizers and artists as they navigate unequal power dynamics in relationships with other artists and with institutions. Using frameworks from theater, performance, dance, and curatorial studies, I examine how the organizers of these festivals use the notion of Lusophony to mediate between the local context of the festival and its transnational scope. My work contributes to theater and performance studies scholarship that exposes inequitable access to resources and mobility as experienced by artists from a wide range of cultural and social backgrounds.

The dissertation of Rita Martins Rufino Valente is approved.

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Janet M. O'Shea, Committee Chair

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2017

To my Família for their love and support in all things.

Para Creusa Borges pela sua amizade, perseverança e coragem criativa.

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CONFERENCE ACTIVITY

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Introduction

The tip of the iceberg

“A festival is the tip of the cultural and economic iceberg of a country,” said Maurício Paroni de Castro, a Brazilian theater director and the coordinator of the Library and Archival Section of SP Escola de Teatro, during a panel about theater exchange among Portuguese-speaking countries. The panel, which I co-organized as part of my collaboration with the Brazilian theater festival Circuito de Teatro em Português (CTP), took place in São Paulo in August of 2016. Creusa Borges, the Brazilian theater director and founder of CTP, Luísa Pinto, a Portuguese theater director,¹ Maurício Aquiles, the director of International Relations at SP Escola de Teatro, and Teodora Ribeiro, a Brazilian actress and representative of the International Theater Institute in Brazil, also participated in the panel. In the audience, theater companies who presented at the festival, students from SP Escola de Teatro, and theater practitioners and followers of CTP listened attentively, some waiting to contribute to the conversation.

Paroni’s statement was, in part, a response to my presentation about my academic research, which I had just delivered, upon Borges’ suggestion. I had focused on the opportunities that Portuguese-language theater festivals offer to artists, and on the challenges that festival organizers and participants face when they try to organize or participate in these projects. I concluded with a list of solutions that artists have found to overcome obstacles, and pointed to areas of improvement in deepening the alliances among theater artists from Portuguese-speaking countries. Paroni de Castro attempted to offer a big-picture comment about the relevance and

¹ In 2014 and 2015 Luísa Pinto also organized a theater festival called Cena Contemporânea de Matosinhos em Português [Contemporary Scene of Matosinhos in Portuguese], which aimed to promote plays and playwrights from Portuguese-speaking countries.

work of festivals. The Brazilian theater director, who is also a playwright and a dramaturge, and who has an extensive international experience, went on to explain that festivals, being the product of the labor of bodies, narrate, even if not linearly, the state of a nation.²

After working for a theater festival in Portugal for six years, and then spending another six years studying theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries, I agree with Paroni de Castro, but I also think that his proposition can be pushed further. My research, in fact, taught me that festivals narrate not only the state of each of the countries represented by the artists who organize and participate in them, but that they can also provide insights about the participation of each national government and its citizens in a transnational community tied together by a complicated colonial and postcolonial history.

My dissertation examines three artist-led theater festivals: the Portuguese *Estação da Cena Lusófona*, the Cabo Verdean *Mindelact – Festival Internacional de Teatro do Mindelo*, and the Brazilian *Circuito de Teatro em Português*. The three festivals focus on theater from Portuguese-speaking, or Lusophone, countries. I propose that theater festivals like these, which bring together artists from Portugal, Brazil, and African and Asian Portuguese-speaking countries, present us with both the seen and the unseen conditions of theater production in global and transnational contexts between 1995 and 2016. The study of these festivals also reveals tensions between artists' progressive intentions of overcoming the colonial legacies of Portuguese-speaking countries and the obstacles created by national governments and international organizations through policies that regulate the management of culture, race, and foreign relations, and that conceal colonial structures of power. Many of the artists who organize and

² Reactions from other panelists and from the audience to my presentation included complains about the insufficient work of politicians to support the arts on the one hand, and statements about how artists should take upon themselves the challenge of producing and circulating their work without depending on public institutions. A few artists offered ideas as to how to cope with the political, economic, and historic obstacles facing festivals.

participate in Portuguese-speaking theater festivals are ready and willing to overcome divisions created by the colonial past and leverage their common language and commitment to theater to produce and circulate more theater productions. Nevertheless, they continuously come up against institutional limitations which reinforce structural inequality and cause divisiveness within the community of Portuguese-speaking theater artists.

My research explores how, through these festivals, organizers and participants put forward narratives that allow them to tactically grapple with the recent colonial past of their countries. Through the process of festival organizing, stage performances, informal conversations during and after the festivals, and the participation in public panels organized by these festivals, organizers and participants explore alliances and new ways of thinking both about their individual positions and also about the participation of their home countries in colonial history. Through these postcolonial modalities of engagement with the colonial past, artists from Portuguese-speaking countries attempt to move away from institutional mechanisms that reduce them to racialized, political, and economic categories of white/privileged/former colonizer and black/underserved/formerly colonized peoples. Also, my study of on- and off-stage festival activity proposes that festivals and collaborative productions presented by theater companies and artists from one or more Portuguese-speaking countries define a space of Lusophony (the community of Portuguese-speaking countries) on their own terms. These conceptualizations of Lusophony at times overlap and at times defy the institutional Lusophone space defined through policies by CPLP – Comunidade de Países de Língua Oficial Portuguesa [Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries].

In my examination of institutional mechanisms that control individuals' movements (what I will call here *structures of power*) and the procedures artists use to work around them, I am

indebted to the work of thinkers like Michel Foucault (1977, 1994 [1966]), Pierre Bourdieu (1977), Edward Said (1979), and Michel De Certeau (1984) who examine pervasive discourses of power including colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism. Influenced by Foucault's theorization of "discourse," Bourdieu's conceptualization of the "habitus," and Said's study on "orientalism," I use the phrase *structures of power* to refer to overarching modes of institutional domination over individuals, which are not only transmitted explicitly through orders or laws, but also engrained through repeated performance into everyday life. Although I explore these structures of power throughout the dissertation, I specifically dedicate chapter two to exploring how colonial legacies are perpetuated in arts policies across Portuguese-speaking countries. In this chapter, I use the case of Portuguese-speaking countries to expand the link that scholars like Toby Miller and George Yúdice (2002) and Denise Meredyth and Jeffrey Hindess (2001) have established between policies and globalized governmental modes of control and surveillance.

Inspired by De Certeau, whose concept of "tactics" theorizes the ways in which individuals resist institutional control in everyday practices, I propose that artists who organize and participate in festivals about theater from Portuguese-speaking countries apply modalities of behavior to work through prevailing colonial structures of power in their home countries and across the Portuguese-speaking world. My dissertation explores three modalities that citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries employ to deal with the legacies of Portuguese colonialism in the context of transnationalism and globalization, both in their everyday life and also in their artistic projects. I think about these modalities as an intersection between De Certeau's tactics and Joseph Roach's concept of "surrogation" (1996). Roach defines surrogation as a process of cultural production in which, through performance, communities replace traumatic memories with new (surrogate) ones. Performance is at the core of every step of this grueling process, from

the selection and production of the surrogate to the substitution. Surrogation is an imperfect and on-going process as communities find themselves haunted by the memories they want to forget and feel the need to find new surrogates. Artists from Portuguese-speaking countries create their own narratives about Portuguese colonialism and Lusophone transnationalism by replacing the memories of colonization with selected narratives about their countries' role in colonialism, the decolonization process, and the inscription of colonial hierarchies of power in their countries' lives after independence. Festival organizers and participants perform these tactically selected memories and devise postcolonial identity narratives not only on stage, but also in their everyday interactions. Based on observation of interactions among artists, and on my exchanges with festival organizers and participants, I conceptualize the following modalities: Turning to Africa, Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism, and Resisting Globalization.

With Turning to Africa, African Portuguese-speaking artists, especially from Angola and Mozambique oppose collaboration with Portuguese artists, whom they consider to always have a neocolonialist approach in their interactions with African artists. Forgetting the transnational networks across Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and even between Africa, North America and Europe (including Portugal), that enabled the independence of African Portuguese-speaking countries, these artists emphasize African strength, resilience, tradition, and pan-African solidarity. With Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism, Portuguese artists, especially those over fifty, try to rehabilitate the Portuguese presence within Lusophony by replacing the memory of Portuguese colonialism with memories about the resistance movements against the dictatorship (1933-1974)³. These artists often problematically conflate colonialism with dictatorship and try

³ The dates I present above refer to the year in which the 1933 Constitution was approved, implementing the dictatorial regime of Salazar, and the year of the military coup of April 25th, 1974, which put an end to the dictatorship (Dinis 1984). The theater directors that I refer to in this study would have participated in the opposition against Salazar's regime no earlier than the 1960s.

to argue that they were and are allies of citizens from African Portuguese-speaking countries because they opposed António de Oliveira Salazar's dictatorial regime. Finally, many artists across multiple Portuguese-speaking countries adopt Resisting Globalization, replacing the memory and distress about Portuguese colonialism with the urgency of fighting against the Americanizing and homogenizing effects of globalization. Despite the divisive legacies of colonization, these artists privilege the collaboration among Portuguese-speaking artists as a way of protecting the diversity of worldviews and artistic expressions that Portuguese-speaking countries represent in an increasingly transnational world. In chapters one and three, I will further theorize these modalities and examine how artists perform them on- and off-stage, respectively.

Lusophony, Transnationalism, and Interculturalism

My dissertation interrogates discourses and artistic practices located in the historical, cultural, and political interactions among Portuguese-speaking countries, collectively described as Lusophony. Lusophony refers to the cultural and historical heritage shared by Portuguese-speaking countries that were bound by Portuguese imperialism between the fifteenth and the twentieth centuries. The adjective "Lusophone," more simplistically, refers to individuals and communities who speak Portuguese. The concept has been redefined and problematized by institutions and by Portuguese authors, whose narratives can be organized along a spectrum. On one end lie conservative notions of Lusophony, which suggest a benevolent relationship between colonizer and colonized and, on the other, radical and disruptive conceptualizations of Portuguese-speaking "community" that point to histories of violence linking Portugal and its

former colonies. Conservative discourses overlook Portugal's colonization of African and South American territories and instead celebrate a shared cultural heritage, promising cultural and economic exchange. This narrative has been privileged by the Portuguese government and also by the CPLP. In radical discourses, the colonial history inherent to Lusophony is problematized and used to sustain narratives of national sovereignty in former colonized territories, as well as South-to-South transnational (between Brazil, Cabo Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe) and intra-continental (among African countries, despite their official language) solidarity.

Contrasting perspectives on Lusophony appear in theorizations provided by Eduardo Lourenço and Fernando Arenas, and by José Carlos Venâncio. Lourenço claims that Lusophony, being a product of Portuguese imagination, is tied (even if unconsciously) to colonization (Lourenço 2004: 161-172). Arenas, likewise, suggests that Lusophony results from Gilberto Freyre's theory of "lusotropicalismo," which was appropriated by the Portuguese dictatorial regime of António de Oliveira Salazar in order to present Portugal as the nation designated by God to civilize and unite the world (Arenas 2011: 38-39). José Carlos Venâncio, in contrast, approaches Lusophony from an anthropological and political perspective, and argues that Portuguese-speaking countries should unite under their "anthropologic proximity, affectivity and the sharing of an identical aesthetic sensibility" (Venâncio 1996: 155) as a strategy to protect themselves against the homogenizing effects of globalization (see Venâncio & Moreira 2000: 12). Lourenço/Arenas and Venâncio stand at opposite ends of the spectrum on the discourse of Lusophony and its relationship to colonialism⁴. Lourenço and Arenas problematize Lusophony

⁴ Turning to Africa can be directly aligned with radically critical perspectives about Lusophony, while Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism can be aligned with more benevolent understanding of Lusophony. Resisting Globalization, however, hinging on a tactical use of Lusophony (including its romanticized notion of community) can interface with a number of positions along the spectrum of engagements with the notion of Lusophony: from an

by illuminating its links to the colonial past. Venâncio, however, glosses over colonial history as he emphasizes the commonality in cultures sharing the Portuguese language.

Although I do side with Lourenço and Arenas in problematizing conceptualizations and practices of Lusophony that perpetuate colonial structures of power, I will also explore how artists try to reconceptualize Lusophony in response to new regimes of power exercised through economic globalization. For example, I examine how artists like Brazilian festival organizer and theater director Creusa Borges or Mozambican actor Diaz Santana use the notion of community inherent to unproblematized conceptions of Lusophony to create a network to produce and present work outside their own countries. Such a maneuver reveals a tactical conceptualization of Lusophony that is akin to Aihwa Ong's theorization of transnationalism as a transformative space through which citizens resist global stratification (1999), and to Shu-mei Shih & Françoise Lionnet's micro-practices and lateral relations of minor-transnationalism (2005). Comparing the narratives of theater festivals, the intentions behind collaborative productions between Lusophone companies, and their actual practice allows me to complicate, however, the transformative potential of transnationalism theorized by Ong and Shih & Lionnet, which authors such as Christina McMahon have applied to theater festivals (and specifically festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries) (2014). I move away from notions of transformation and re-imagining inherent to the theories of these authors, which do not fully and accurately describe the concrete challenges that artists in Portuguese-speaking countries face. Instead, inspired by Amanda Rogers' theorization of transnationalism in Asian theater (2015), I apply a materialist approach to festival organizing and theater production and pay close attention to how policy, economic circumstances, and political conditions shape dynamics of power within festivals and

unproblematized celebration of heritage that does not acknowledge the colonial past, to a tactical use of Lusophony to work around limitations imposed by Anglophone-centric globalization.

collaborative productions. This approach allows me to problematize the impermanent solutions that artists construct through festivals and collaborative productions.

Like Rogers, I also examine how transnationalism generates (and complicates) new forms of intercultural theater. In chapter three, I analyze four collaborative productions, each of them created by two distinct theater companies from different Portuguese-speaking countries in the context of, or to be presented in, Lusophone theater festivals. Based on the premise that artists in different Portuguese-speaking countries have divergent approaches to theater rooted in and reflecting the ecosystems of their own communities, some of these collaborative projects were implemented with the idea of generating a new hybrid theater. Others focused on revisiting a local author with both local and foreign theater approaches, or on recontextualizing and translating a foreign author into a local context, while pointing to common economic struggles that citizens from the Southern hemisphere experience. My analysis of collaborative productions will situate Lusophone theater in relation to old/Western-based, and new/postcolonial theories about interculturalism. In line with postcolonial, intercultural theater and dance scholars like Cláudia Tatinge Nascimento (2009), Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert (2002), and Royona Mitra (2015), I examine how the ambivalence of Lusophony plays out in each of the four collaborative productions. This analysis allows me to further complicate the insider-outsider binary upon which old theories of intercultural theater have been formulated.

Festivals and Curation

I am not the first to explore the social, political, and economical workings and implications of festivals. My theorization of festivals takes an interdisciplinary approach drawing on the work

of authors in theater, performance, and dance studies, specifically Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991), Rustom Bharucha (2000), Janet O'Shea (2016), and Hélène Kringelbach (2013). I expand on scholarship that analyzes festivals as complex systems of interactions. I also use and aim to contribute to scholarly reflections on notions of community, politics of representation, and how bodies in circulation illustrate or produce new relations between the local, the transnational, and the global.

I explore festivals as complex systems, and I examine them from within as theater scholars Vicki Cremona (2007) and Willmar Sauter (2007) suggest. Cremona and Sauter pay attention to the administrative and production work of festival organization, as this determines the selection and mode of presentation of the festival program to an audience. These authors focus on the audience as a crucial agent in the production of meaning in a festival and of the event as a whole. I focus, rather, on the interactions among festival organizers, participants, spectators, and sponsors beyond the performance stage, interactions that I consider instrumental to a fuller understanding of the cultural and political impact of festivals. Adding to Cremona and Sauter's perspective, I propose that through their modalities of behavior, festival organizers and participants generate networks among themselves. Organizers and participants readjust their modalities according to specific interactions, and to the positions of their interlocutors *vis a vis* Lusophony.

Engaging with the festivals from within, I investigate the political agendas of individuals, classes, and institutions (including national governments) implicated in them. I analyze this intricate web of relations to reveal the workings of the festivals. Also, I examine how festivals are mobilized to participate in global political and economic relations among Portuguese-

speaking countries. Ultimately, I hope to problematize the notion of Lusophony as a fraternal, transnational community of countries, and to further expose its inequities.

Authors who study the relationship between festivals and communities propose that festivals promote bonding among members of a community, and/or reinforce social hierarchies (Bharucha 2000, Cremona 2007, Durkheim 1995 [1912], Fabiani 2011, Falassi 1987, Hauptfleisch 2007, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991, Regev 2011, Sauter 2007, Waterman 1998). Christina McMahon (2014) extends these ideas, exploring the way in which festivals contribute to, reinforce, *and disrupt* a community of countries. In my project, I will supplement McMahon's research. I move away from an essentializing and romanticized perspective of performance as inherently transformative, and instead apply a materialist approach that resonates closer to the work of H el ene Kringelbach on the regional and global circulation of Senegalese choreographers. McMahon engages with Lusophony to specifically approach the theater work that companies from Cabo Verde, Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau present in theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries. My study, in turn, provides a hemispheric perspective on the relationship between theater festivals and ideas of Lusophony, as I investigate the work of festival organizers and participants from Portugal, Brazil, and African Portuguese-speaking countries (Angola, Cabo Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe).

Like McMahon, I explore the relationship between theater festivals and the community of Portuguese-speaking countries. For McMahon, that community can be defined as a group of nations who shares a Portuguese cultural and linguistic heritage. The author proposes that the theater pieces that African Portuguese-speaking artists present at Lusophone theater festivals can empower the African Portuguese-speaking population, and that theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries can contribute to the global circulation of these empowering narratives (2014:

6). McMahon privileges the theatrical analysis of performances that take place inside the festivals instead of looking into the structures of power engrained in the festivals. This leads to an idealized perspective of the festivals and of the theater works themselves. In contrast, I explore the hierarchies that structure relationships within festivals on two spheres: firstly, I study relationships between festival organizers and participants; secondly, I analyze relationships between festivals and institutional sponsors. I examine the bilateral relations between festivals and governmental institutions in Portuguese-speaking countries and how these impact the relations between artists (festival organizers and participants). Particularly, I explore how the cultural policies (in conjunction with foreign relations and racial policies) of nation states and international organizations perpetuate colonial hierarchies of power, which maintain the supremacy of Portuguese artists in the organization of and participation in theater festivals, and in turn diminish the circulation and participation of Brazilian and African artists in these events.

In addition, I analyze the use and transformation of discourses of Lusophony by festival organizers, participants, and institutional partners (particularly national and local governments). Entering into debates of display and representation within festivals, I base my perspective on Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1991) and O'Shea's (2016) examinations of how festivals disseminate imperial and national discourses. These authors trace the relationship between festivals, world exhibitions, and imperialist discourses, a triangulation that helps me complicate my examination of festival Estação, and also problematize Portugal's position in relation to European and Portuguese-speaking countries. I also examine and problematize the relationship between the Cabo Verdean festival Mindelact and the Portuguese Cultural Center of Mindelo. Finally, I analyze the complex ways in which the cultural, racial, and foreign policies of Brazil have determined the success or failure of CTP in different years.

Inspired by O'Shea's (2007), Waterman's (1998), McMahon's (2014), and Rogers's (2015) arguments that, by enabling the circulation of certain bodies and interrupting others, festivals participate in the mediation of relations between the local, the transnational, and the global, I suggest that festivals are an effective place to observe current changes in political and economic relations among Portuguese-speaking countries. By examining festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries, one can identify trends in how countries use the fraternal notion of Lusophony to transform or enhance political and economic relations among themselves. We can also observe how festival organizers and participants tactically hijack a benevolent notion of Lusophony and integrate it into their postcolonial modalities, which I defined above. Especially through funding and institutional partnerships, the political and economic relations between governments impact festival curation.⁵

I hope to demonstrate that festivals can be spaces in which organizers and participants disrupt existing narratives and produce new understandings about the culture and history of communities. Authors who reflect on the challenges of representation in ethnographic museums often emphasize the partiality of representation of a culture in an exhibition (Clifford 1997, Karp 1991, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Roberts 1993, Roberts 1994: 37-55, 57-77, Vogel 1991). Applying this reflection to theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries, I suggest that, like in museums, the curatorial criteria of festivals inevitably produces partial representations of the aesthetics, themes, and concerns of theater practitioners from the various Portuguese-speaking countries. Accordingly, I suggest that festivals impact the production and circulation of knowledge and values about the theater developed in each of the Portuguese-speaking countries. In addition, I propose that the inevitable selection of theater

⁵ I apply the concept of curating to the work of festival directors to indicate that festivals, like exhibitions, hinge on an overall concept that the artistic director conceives for the event and that frames the selection of artists.

companies can reinforce colonial structures of power – especially if organizers don’t speak openly about the fact that their festivals can only feature a fraction of the theater produced in Portuguese-speaking countries, and that the selection of artists often depends on arts funding and visa policies. For example, colonial hierarchies and conservative notions of Lusophony play themselves out in a theater festival when the majority of foreign companies invited are from Portugal and/or from the rising post-colony Brazil. This creates the illusion that these countries have more, or perhaps better theater, which then feeds into the perception that these countries are the “natural” leaders of the community. I acknowledge that festival organizers do not have absolute control over the representations of culture, and their subsequent impacts on perceptions of leadership among Portuguese-speaking countries, when showcasing theater companies. Festival directors grapple, for instance, with the uneven transnational mobility of citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries. This means that, for instance, companies from African and Asian Portuguese-speaking countries have more difficulty than Brazilian or Portuguese troupes in acquiring travel visas, and thus have unequal representation in events.

I observed the inequalities in global circulation during my exploratory fieldwork trip to CTP in 2013. Here, Mozambican artists described the obstacles they face when they travel to Brazil. A Cabo Verdean actor, who has lived in Portugal for 15 years, narrated the extensive bureaucratic processes he has to go through to maintain his legal status. One of the members of the festival’s team, who is Brazilian, described the difficulty of traveling to the US or to European Union countries, even as a tourist. Finally, I witnessed that a theater company from Timor failed to participate in the festival because they did not manage to get the visas they needed to travel to Brazil. The artists had not only to get visas to enter Brazil, but also visas to pass through the other two countries where they had travel layovers. I found a corroboration of

these observations in McMahon's book (2014), where the author describes the difficulty that African Portuguese-speaking artists have to travel internationally.

Festival organizers focus more on honoring the artists' visions of their work by providing them with the technical needs they require than on how festivals participate in the representation of cultures, disciplining of knowledge, or constraining of bodies. In contrast, museum curators are aware of the ethical and political dangers of curation, as indicated by the extensive scholarship on representation and display of non-Western cultures in ethnographic and art museums (Clifford 1988, Clifford 1997, Karp 1991, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Ogbecchie 2010, Ramírez 1996, Roberts 1993, Roberts 1994: 37-55, 57-77, Vogel 1991, Witz 2006). In festival studies, only a few authors address this topic (O'Shea 2016, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991, Fabiani 2011, Bharucha 2000, English 2011, Regev 2011). Applying debates from museum and curatorial studies about representation of non-Western culture to theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries, I address the ways in which theater festivals represent cultures from different Portuguese-speaking countries. In particular, I illuminate how festivals contribute to the production and dissemination of values about aesthetics and modes of production of theater in these countries.

I bring into the study of festivals the debate about the role of festival directors, and how they impact the representation of cultures, and of artists, within festivals. Authors in curatorial studies extensively discuss the role of the curator in contemporary Western and non-Western arts (Buren 2010, Graham & Cook 2010, Heinrich & Pollack 1996, Martini & Martini 2010, Ogbecchie 2010, Ramírez 1996, Raqs Media Collective 2010). With these inquiries in mind, I demonstrate how the modalities assumed by festival directors impact festival organizing. The director's tactical engagement with history, with collective memory about Portuguese

colonialism, and with Lusophony inform the curatorial criteria of the festival. The representation of culture from each Portuguese-speaking country is reflected in the overall narrative that the festival organizers create around their project, and in collaborative productions as well.

I find the concept of curator as a “culture” or “cultural broker,” theorized by Sylvester Ogbechie (2010: 1) and Mari Carmen Ramírez (1994: 23), particularly helpful to my study. These authors describe how, much like bankers and managers of financial values, curators of contemporary non-Western art act as mediators of transactions between non-Western artists and communities and buyers in the Western contemporary art market. Curators determine the value and visibility of artworks and artists through their selection of what and whom they represent and introduce into the art market. Ogbechie and Ramírez suggest that these curators use Western selection paradigms, which generate misconceptions of art practices from non-Western countries and regions. I apply the concept of curator as a “culture” or “cultural broker” to examine differences in how cultural values inherent to theater from different Portuguese-speaking countries are represented and produced. Here, I also draw from authors who discuss the representation of non-Western cultures in festivals. I propose that festival directors such as João Branco use the Western canon to validate their events and/or national culture in the eyes of both the Lusophone and the global community.

Methodology and Methods

My dissertation utilizes an interdisciplinary methodology in which I assemble tools from anthropology (participant observation, interviews, intertextual analysis, and narrative and rhetorical analysis); theater, dance, and performance studies (performance and semiotic

analysis); and history (archival research). I develop my approach from the work of authors who integrate methods from dance or performance studies with anthropology and/or history to study bodily practices inside and outside proscenium stage venues, museums, and festivals (Foster 1995, 2011, Novack 1990, Savigliano 1996, Taylor 2003, Desmond 2011, Martin 1995, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991, Conquergood 2002, O'Shea 2007, 2016, and McMahon 2014). In cultural studies, Fernando Arenas' interdisciplinary methodology applied to the study of Lusophone cultures also frames my research (2003, 2011). I incorporate and extend the methodologies of these scholars as I construct my own interdisciplinary approach to examining both the formation and circulation of modalities of engagement with Lusophony, and also the bilateral relations of formation and transformation between these modalities and the curatorial criteria and narratives of festivals in Brazil, Portugal, and Cabo Verde.

I studied festival events primarily through participant observation, interviews, and archival research. Embedding myself in theater festivals through close collaborations with festival organizers (especially in the case of CTP), I collected information about the curatorial criteria and overall narratives of theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries. I also used participant observation to examine the relationship between festivals' curatorial criteria and narratives, and the modalities of engagement with Lusophony used by festival organizers and participants. I investigated how festival organizers and participants performed these modalities verbally, and through their on and off-stage practices as well.

I am not the first to explore the relationship between bodily practices and structures of power using participant observation. Like Bourdieu (1977) and Luce Giard (1998), I used participant observation to examine everyday life practices and community life. However, unlike these authors, I focused on professional interactions among festival organizers, participants,

spectators, media professionals, and sponsors that took place in offices, restaurants, theater lobbies, and communal spaces in hotels, as well as on stage. Like Sally Ness (1992, 1996, 1997), Desmond, Novack, and Savigliano, I used participant observation to study interactions among festival organizers, participants, and audiences both inside and outside presentational spaces. Fabiani uses this method to study the interactions among presenters, artists, and spectators in festivals as I did, but he focuses on the impact upon the reception of performances. Unlike Fabiani, I focused on the workings of the festivals.

Christina McMahon uses participant observation to study theater festivals in Brazil (FESTLIP), Cabo Verde (Mindelact) and Mozambique (Festival d'Agosto) (McMahon 2014: 8-9, 27-32). However, my use of participant observation differs from hers in important ways. I did not privilege the observation of performances. Instead, I paid equal attention to the preparation, implementation (inside, behind, and outside the stage), and aftermath of the performances. I expose the structures of power that envelop the presentation and reception of performances, and I propose that these structures become part of the festivals' criteria through the sponsoring relations between festivals and governmental institutions, as well as through cultural, racial, and foreign policies that determine the funding of festivals and the privileges of circulation for festival participants. I also explore how festival organizers and participants from different Portuguese-speaking countries work around or try to leverage structures of power through a focus on African resilience and Pan-African solidarity, an unproblematized mix-up of Portuguese colonialism and dictatorship, and an emphasis on Lusophony as an alternative for circulation and professionalization beyond the globalized, Anglophone performing arts circuit.

Like Novack, Martin, Savigliano, Ness, and McMahon, I participated in and observed my arenas of study as more than a spectator. In Mindelact, I participated in and observed the festival

as a guest and as an occasional helper of the communication team. At CTP, I took roles of increasing responsibility. In 2013, I joined the production team for the first time as a volunteer production assistant. In 2014 and 2015, I collaborated closely with Creusa Borges, the director of CTP, as a grant writer and as an assistant for the curatorial and production teams. In 2016, I kept my role as grant writer and production assistant, while fully joining the festival's curatorial team. Borges considered my literacy in politics of representation an effective way to bring a more critical perspective into the selection of artists and into the conceptualizing of the festival's narrative. Active participation in the festivals provided me with access to interactions that spectators usually do not witness. I immersed myself in the festivals' environments, and observed and experienced interactions with and among organizers, spectators, participants, sponsors, and media during their preparation, implementation, and aftermath.

Interviews were central to my research. Through interviews, I collected four kinds of information: 1) how festival organizers, participants, spectators, and institutional partners articulate the themes and criteria of festivals, 2) how these subjects and organizations conceptualize and/or receive performances, 3) how they perceive relationships among organizers, participants, and audiences, and 4) how they understand the relationship between the festivals and broader local, national, and international political and economic contexts. Scholars who study dance (Novack 1990), festivals (McMahon 2014), and mega-events (Apter 2005) use interviews to collect performers' and organizers' perspectives on the histories of their artistic practices, and on the relationships between key-players (individuals and/or institutions) in those contexts. In my research, I not only interviewed performers and festival organizers formally, but I also engaged in informal conversations (and semi-formal interviews) with spectators and with representatives of institutional sponsors. In addition, I interviewed artistic directors of festivals

and members of festival production teams, and I tried to talk with as many members of the theater companies presenting work at the festivals as possible. I opened the range of interviewed subjects to widen the spread of perspectives on three topics: 1) the work of festivals and companies, 2) the interactions between the two, and 3) the relationship between these and public and private institutional sponsors. I used the information I collected during interviews and the interactions I observed and participated in off stage in conjunction with an analysis of collaborative productions to theorize the three tactical articulations of memory about Portuguese colonialism and Lusophony.

As do authors who study festivals (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991, McMahon 2014), large-scale events (Apter 2005, Benedict 1983, Breckenridge 1989, Greenhalgh 1988, Leprun 1986, Santos 1998, Santos and Costa 1999, Hammergren 1996), museums (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991 and Bennett 1995), and dance and theater performances (Novack 1990, Savigliano 1996, Desmond 1999, Taylor 2003), I used archival research to contextualize theater festivals in the broader social, political, and economic milieu of Portuguese-speaking countries. Through this contextualization, I deepened my understanding of the environments that frame the use of more or less conservative or radical perspectives of Lusophony by festival directors, artists, and sponsors. Archival research specifically compounded an instrumental component of my examination of *Estação da Cena Lusófona*, a festival that ended in 2003. Not only could I not observe and participate in this festival, but sufficient access to former organizers and participants was not feasible, since they are currently scattered around the globe. Therefore, I based my examination of *Estação da Cena Lusófona* on video and audio documentation, and on ephemera of the festival, along with interviews with a few select organizers and participants. Similarly to McMahon and Taylor, I examined archival materials of the Portuguese, Cabo Verdean, and

Brazilian festivals to explore slippage between verbal articulations of the narratives and criteria of festivals and aesthetic and dramaturgic views of collaborative productions by their theater directors, as well as the audience's reception of both. Unlike McMahon, however, I examined these gaps to reveal how organizers and participants use the notion of Lusophony, and how that useage transforms the themes, criteria, or aesthetic approaches of festivals and performances.

I analyzed source materials using methods from dance and performance studies, anthropology and sociology, and history. I employed performance and intertextual analysis to examine interactions among organizers, participants, and sponsors. I utilized narrative and rhetorical analysis when exploring the contents of my interviews, cultural policy, and arts funding documentation.

When scholars apply performance analysis to festivals, they tend to focus on the meanings produced by performances and overlook other events and occurrences during and surrounding festivals, such as press conferences or informal gatherings (see, for instance, McMahon 2014). I departed from this approach and drew inspiration from performance analysis as used by Jane Desmond in the examination of lu'aus and theme parks in Hawaii, and from Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's and Sylviane Leprun's approaches to exhibitions. I applied performance analysis to examine how festival organizers and participants perform their own conceptualizations of Lusophony in circumstances as diverse as panels and roundtables, informal occasions, and collaborative productions.

Since festivals rest on complex systems of interactions that involve individuals, diverse sets of artistic expressions and collective memories, and governments and policies, I also applied intertextual analysis to my examination of Estação, Mindelact, and CTP. Intertextual analysis consists of examining how an object or phenomena materializes within a milieu of analogous

objects or phenomena. For instance, Cynthia Novack applies intertextual analysis to examine how social and concert dances forms, which became popular before and during the emergence of contact improvisation, informed the values produced by that dance (1990: 22-51). I drew inspiration from Novak when I explored the implications of cultural, foreign relations, and racial policies in the development of Estação, Mindelact, and CTP, and as I sought to understand how these festivals became key players in the network of Lusophone theater festivals.

Narrative and rhetorical analysis examines how individuals structure their oral and/or written verbal communication and how they apply figures of speech to convey a message. Michel Foucault (1994 [1966], 1977), Michel De Certeau (1984), and Roland Barthes (1977) use narrative and rhetorical analysis to underscore the mechanisms of production of discourses about the body in law, science, history, and on the stage. Inspired by these authors, I applied narrative and rhetorical analysis to explore my interviewees' response structure, word choices, and figures of speech to understand how they framed their activity as organizers, participants, spectators, and representatives of sponsor institutions in the context of the curatorial narratives of festivals. I also used narrative and rhetorical analysis to examine how (through laws, grants, and recommendations) governments, foundations, and international organizations produce notions of culture and art. This approach allowed me to explore the relationship between these same notions and contemporary national and regional identities, specifically Lusophony. Inspired by theories of ethnographic representation in postmodernity (Clifford & Marcus 1986, Clifford 1988, Ong 1999, Abu-Lughod 1991, Appadurai 1996, and Grau 1999), I approached the writing phase of my project as part of its analysis. I used writing as a self-reflexive and critical tool through which I kept questioning my position in relation to the experiences of my informants. In its form and content, my project should materialize as a new cultural object that (re)presents the cultural

processes of construction of postcolonial, fluid, national-transnational identities in Portuguese-speaking countries.

Case studies and criteria for their selection

My dissertation examines three case studies, which I selected based on their roles in the network of theater festivals focusing on Portuguese-speaking countries, their locations and conditions of production, and the ways in which their organizers positioned themselves in relation to notions of Lusophony. I chose festivals whose histories allowed me to understand the development of a network of Lusophone theater festivals since 1995. I also picked festivals located in countries that played different roles in Portuguese colonialism, had different independence processes, and where cultural policies developed differently as well. This allowed me to compare 1) the influence of different Portuguese-speaking countries' colonial and postcolonial histories on the modalities adopted by festival organizers and participants from different Portuguese-speaking countries, and 2) how national and supranational policies impact festivals' conditions of production. By studying festivals that started, developed, and, in the case of Estação da Cena Lusófona, ended, between 1995 and the present, I can track nuances and transformations in modalities of engagement with Portuguese colonialism and Lusophony by festival organizers and participants over 20 years. I can examine how those changes impacted both the festivals' narratives and criteria, and also the productions that artists presented.

Estação [Station or Train Stop] was founded in 1995 as part of a larger theater exchange project called Cena Lusófona [Lusophone Scene].⁶ Cena Lusófona, a project that encompassed not only the festival Estação, but also workshops, collaborative productions, a publication, and support to academic research, was directed by the Portuguese theater director António Augusto Barros and started as a governmental proposition. It later evolved into an autonomous, non-governmental, non-profit association. Estação was organized six times between 1995 and 2003, in Mozambique (1995), Brazil (1996), Cabo Verde (1997), Portugal (1999 and 2003), and Sao Tome and Principe (2002). Based on Portugal and directed by a man who engaged with Lusophony without feeling the need to acknowledge the colonial past because he and other Portuguese artists who participated in Estação did not support Salazar's dictatorial and colonial regime, the project was at times criticized for its narrow views on Lusophony, theater, and collaborative practices.

Mindelact was founded in 1995 by members of the Grupo de Teatro do Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo [Theater Group of the Portuguese Cultural Center in Mindelo] in Mindelo, Cabo Verde. João Branco, a Portuguese theater practitioner who moved to Mindelo in the early 1990s, co-founded and has directed the theater company and the festival since their inception. In part due to the renewed enthusiasm for theater that Branco allegedly brought to Mindelo, and to the spreading word about the creation of Cena Lusófona, Mindelact started as a one-time event and quickly developed into one of various projects organized by a non-profit arts organization named after the festival. Mindelact changed over the years from a local festival to an international event that had a brief emphasis on theater from Lusophone countries. Today, although the festival invites artists from all over the world, most works presented at Mindelact

⁶ António Augusto Barros, director of Cena Lusófona explained to me in an interview that he chose the name "Estação" to convey that the festival should be a time of pause and reflection about the past and present of the organization, and also a time to define or redefine next steps to the future of Cena Lusófona.

come from Cabo Verde and other Portuguese-speaking countries. The expansion of the festival's scope followed the development of governmental narratives about a cosmopolitan Cabo Verdean identity. Due to the double citizenship and central position of power that João Branco enjoys in the Cabo Verdean theater community, his institutional affiliation with the Portuguese Cultural Center, and his good connections with the political elites, Mindelact has been criticized for not always fulfilling its mission of representing and supporting the Cabo Verdean theater community.

Circuito de Teatro em Português (CTP) was founded in 2003 by theater director, producer, and actress Creusa Borges with the support of her theater company, Dragão 7. The first of three Brazilian theater festivals focusing on theater from Portuguese-speaking countries, CTP started as a showcase of Portuguese and Brazilian theater companies in Brazil, especially in the city and state of São Paulo. In part due to a temporary connection with Cena Lusófona, the festival invited the first African Portuguese-speaking theater company to present at the festival in 2010.⁷ Since 2011, CTP hosts artists from Portugal, Brazil, and all five African Portuguese-speaking countries. Companies from East Timor presented in the festival twice between 2012 and 2016. CTP does not benefit from strong institutional ties. Instead, the project clearly reflects the impact of a mostly neoliberal Brazilian cultural policy, created out of Borges' pragmatic decision to reach out to other Portuguese-speaking countries (particularly Portugal) to increase international touring opportunities for her theater company and for other troupes from Brazil and African Portuguese-speaking countries. Borges copes with the colonial legacies of Lusophony, which she finds problematic, by focusing on the professional benefits that supporting a transnational community of Portuguese-speaking artists brings to theater companies from formerly colonized countries. She also considers that encouraging such community benefits artists from Portuguese-

⁷ The company was Elinga Teatro, from Angola.

speaking countries because it constitutes a form of resistance to the homogenizing and Americanizing effects of Globalization.

Beyond introspective inquiries and the scope of Portuguese-speaking countries: the lessons we haven't learned

My dissertation results from my interdisciplinary training in performance and cultural studies, in conjunction with a decade of experience in arts management and curating. My interest in festivals started in 2006 when, as a theater major at the University of Evora in Portugal, I was invited by one of my teachers, director of the performing arts festival Escrita na Paisagem, to join the production team as a volunteer. During the six years that I spent working in Escrita na Paisagem, I developed an increasing interest in the tasks of curating and producing artists' work, and in running a non-profit. In addition, my work with Escrita na Paisagem allowed me to observe the complex relationships connecting art making, policy and politics, and economy. I theorized about these relationships in my final project for the Performance Studies MA at NYU.

At the UCLA Department of World Arts & Cultures/Dance (WAC/D), I refined my research interests as I explored theories about politics of representation in cultural, performance, and dance studies. After a preliminary visit to the archives of Cena Lusófona in 2012, where I also interviewed the director, António Augusto Barros, I decided to dedicate the next four years of my doctoral studies to examining the construction of postcolonialism, transnationalism, and intersectionality in theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries. The topic not only aligned with my academic training and professional experience, but also allowed me to investigate the crumbling of the Portuguese colonial empire and to access perspectives on the history of

Portuguese colonization and independence of Brazil and African Portuguese-speaking countries, none of which I had ever encountered as a Portuguese citizen born thirteen years after the end of António Oliveira Salazar's dictatorial and colonial regime. Underlying my research project, then, is an impulse, shared with some Portuguese scholars and artists born in Portugal after April 25, 1974,⁸ of interrogating the history of my country and narratives about Portuguese identity that were presented to me since primary school. As part of my process, I also questioned the politics of my own identity and engagement with Lusophony as a Portuguese woman now living in the United States.

My dissertation, however, has implications that go beyond both my introspective inquiries and the scope of Portuguese-speaking countries. For the past three decades, scholars in theater, performance and dance studies, anthropology, and critical race studies have problematized notions of globalization, postmodernity and postcoloniality in relation to new roles of nation-states, the development of transnational alliances, and the production of new, fluid subjectivities. These cultural processes do not conform to North American and Western European experiences of globalization, postcolonialism, and postmodernity. They demand that scholars reinvent their methodological and theoretical approaches to respond to a new challenge of representation. With my project, I hope to contribute to the imperatives of finding new modes of understanding and of representing diverse experiences of globalization and post-colonialism. Indeed, my analysis of the work of theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries and of the experiences of festival organizers, including my own, allows me to de- and re-territorialize theories of globalization and postcolonization that have been focused on former English and Spanish-speaking colonial empires. Expanding on Abu-Lughod, and Shih and Lionnet's notions of the "particular," I focus

⁸ April 25, 1974 is the date of the "Revolução dos Cravos" [The Carnation Revolution], the military coup that put an end to Salazar's regime and initiated the process through which Portugal recognized the independence of African Portuguese-speaking countries.

on seldom-theorized experiences of globalization to reveal a new perspective on the current implications of colonialism, and to expand on concepts of transnational circulation of culture in the postcolonial era.

My study also contributes specifically to research on festivals because I move away from large-scale, widely sponsored festivals in Western Europe and North America, events which the majority of festival scholars still choose as case studies. I decentralize this paradigm and expand on the understanding of connections established among festival organizers, participants, spectators, and institutional sponsors by focusing on small-scale theater festivals in Brazil, Portugal and Cabo Verde. These festivals are organized by small, private organizations; their funding comes from national governments, state agencies, and partnerships with private sponsors. Through a comparative analysis of festivals in which subjects must negotiate the paradoxical ties that bind Lusophony, globalization, and colonialism, I hope to offer a new perspective on festivals and on interactions within cultural, political, and economic spheres at a local, national, and transnational level. Also, I explore the idea that history infiltrates festivals through the bodily practices of all individuals involved, both on and offstage. My study of the tasks of the organizers of these small-scale festivals allows me to illuminate how individuals and organizations navigate discourses of Lusophony *vis a vis* the colonial pasts of their nations, the postcolonial narratives of national identity, and the practical needs of presenting and hosting work from outside their own countries.

Finally, my dissertation pushes us (scholars, in general, and North American academics in particular) to rethink the engagement of academia in response to the alarming, political moment experienced currently around the world. I write this introduction in a moment when our collective inability to effectively name and expose systemic oppression and inequality within and

beyond the walls of academia has contributed to a turn to right-wing populist governance in various countries around the world. I propose that my study of theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries can contribute to the naming and exposing of the same structures of exploitation and oppression, rooted in colonialism and imperialism, that are perpetuated within neoliberal policy and institutional discourses, and that conceal a neoimperialist agenda under narratives of globalization and international and supranational collaborations. These same policies and discourses, as Noam Chomsky explains, have led to the economic precarity of working class and encouraged sentiments of xenophobia, sexism, and racism, which we now see reflected in the election of Donald J. Trump as president of the United States (Chomsky 2016a, 2016b). Similar divergencies pushed events like Brexit in the UK, and rise of the right-wing in countries like France, Germany, the Netherlands, Turkey, India, the Philippines, Brazil and other Latin American countries. While the powers and policies of countries in the Northern hemisphere crumble, neoimperialism and neocolonialism renew themselves to continue silencing the voices and needs of citizens from the Southern hemisphere. My dissertation also shows that, while citizens from the Southern hemisphere experience enormous obstacles of institutional oppression, they also develop networks and tactics through which they resist and subvert imperialist and colonialist oppression.

Chapter breakdown

This dissertation explores the impact of colonial legacies and of Lusophony on the politics of representation of theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries in three chapters. The first chapter, “Performances of forgetting and remembering: framing Lusophony through theater

festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries,” problematizes the conventional notion of Lusophony in which Portuguese-speaking countries are brought together into a fraternal community that shares the same language and the same cultural references. Although Lusophony might seem to offer an alternative to the homogenizing and Americanizing effects of globalization, Lusophony is, itself, predicated upon and, according to some scholars, perpetuates, a problematic past of colonial exploitation and oppression, which in fact served as the initial model for economic globalization. I then theorize three modalities through which festival organizers and participants engage with Lusophony and its colonial legacies. I suggest that Portuguese festival organizers and participants use the modality of Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism to explain that their investment in Lusophony is not rooted in neocolonial or neoimperialist impulses. Citizens from African Portuguese-speaking countries and Brazil use the modalities of Turning to Africa and Resisting Globalization, respectively, to differentiate themselves *vis a vis* the strong Portuguese presence in both the organization of and participation in these festivals. Through the Resisting Globalization modality in particular, artists from Brazil (and some from African Portuguese-speaking countries as well) use Lusophony to create networks that compensate for a lack of support for artistic activities in their home countries. Through these same networks, theater artists who perform only in Portuguese try to create alternatives to a performing arts circuit dominated by the Anglophonization of artistic expression (in both language and cultural references). I map how the modalities selected by artists from Portuguese-speaking countries transformed over 20 years, and how they influence the narrative that festival organizers create to justify how their projects engage with Lusophony.

The second chapter, “Governmentality, cultural citizenship, and circulation: the impact of national and supranational cultural policy on theater festivals,” explores the effects of

Portuguese-speaking countries' cultural policies on the development of Estação, Mindelact, and CTP, as well as those policies' entanglements with foreign relations policies and racial politics. I show how notions of culture, the relevance given to engagement with other Portuguese-speaking countries, and the funding mechanisms inscribed in the cultural policies of each country all influenced the creation and continuation of each festival in two ways. First, festival organizers who are more critical of the concept of Lusophony have to make concessions and adapt their narrative to fit a less problematized narrative dictated by policy. Second, asymmetries in cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries create an imbalance in how much each one is represented in the festivals. Artists from Portugal and sometimes artists from Brazil can mobilize funding to participate in festivals more easily than artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries. Also, visa policies in these countries make it easier for artists to travel to other Portuguese-speaking countries. For these reason, artists from Portugal and Brazil apply and/or are invited more often to participate in festivals. In contrast, artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries have to deal with less funding to travel abroad and more restrictive visa policies. They often have to develop a clientele system to mobilize both funding and accelerate their visa processes. To make sure that African Portuguese-speaking countries are represented in their festivals, organizers like Creusa Borges have to sponsor the travelling of African artists, which puts more pressure on their limited budgets. An examination of cultural policies in seven countries on three continents allows me to show how national policies participate in a globalized control of circulation of bodies of color.

In chapter three, "Haunted stages: collaborative theater productions in Estação, Mindelact, and Circuito de Teatro em Português," I examine collaborative productions (or co-productions) created between theater companies from different Portuguese-speaking countries. These

productions are directly commissioned by the organizations that produce Lusophone theater festivals and/or are created with the specific intent of being presented at Estação, Mindelact, CTP and other festivals with the same focus. They occupy a cherished position in Lusophone theater festivals because they are considered concrete results of the networking opportunities that these festivals provide to artists. The co-productions commissioned by Cena Lusófona or Mindelact were also meant to reflect each festival's narrative about Lusophony. I analyze four co-productions. *A Birra do Morto* [*The Deadman's Tantrum*] was created by the Portuguese company A Escola da Noite and the Mozambican company Mutumbela Gogo, and it was commissioned by Cena Lusófona and presented at the first incarnation of Estação, in 1995. *A Nova Aragem* [*The New Wind*] resulted from the collaboration between the Portuguese company Chão de Oliva and the Mozambican company Lareira Artes, and was presented at CTP, among other Lusophone festivals, between 2014 and 2015. *As Virgens Loucas* [*The Crazy Virgens*], also commissioned by Cena Lusófona, was directed by the Portuguese director Cândido Ferreira and performed by the Cabo Verdean company Grupo de Teatro do Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo [*Theater Group of the Portuguese Cultural Center of Mindelo*], and it was presented in Mindelo at Mindelact in 1996. In 1997, at the joint incarnation of Estação and Mindelact, Mindelact sponsored a re-mounting of the co-production. Finally, *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* [*May God Pay You Back Twice as Much*] compounded an informal collaboration between the Brazilian company Dragão 7 and the Mozambican company Lareira Artes, and it was presented at CTP and other Lusophone festivals between 2014 and 2016.

This selection of theater works reflects the overwhelming involvement of Portuguese organizations and artists in Lusophone co-productions and the consequences of that historically frequent involvement in the development of the projects. In *A Birra do Morto*, *A Nova Aragem*,

and *As Virgens Loucas* I examine how different Portuguese directors choose to acknowledge or deny any responsibility, as Portuguese citizens, to address the history of colonization as they deal with the potential reenactment of colonial structures of power in the context of collaborative production. I also analyze whether African artists feel triggered by Portuguese leadership in these productions, and whether they therefore try to interrupt administrative and artistic processes with demands to increase their participation in these processes, or whether they instead focus on how these projects will allow them to increase their professionalism and international circulation, notwithstanding the occasional reiteration of colonial structures of power. In addition, I inquire about how the modalities selected by different participants determine the outcome of the co-productions. Finally, I analyze the bilateral relations between the conditions of production surrounding each piece and the modalities used by co-production participants.

In the case of *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*, I examine an exception to co-productions between Portuguese-speaking theater companies. This project resulted from exchanges between Brazilian and Mozambican artists without the interference of Portuguese organizations. In addition, and unlike the other three co-productions, *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* resulted from the circulation of ideas and shared conceptions of Lusophony between citizens from two formerly colonized countries. The production's creative development and rehearsal process did not replicate the stages of colonialism, as did *A Birra do Morto* or *A Nova Aragem*. Yet, the production brought to the fore inequities in living conditions between Brazilian and Mozambican artists. The asymmetries between the conditions of living and artistic production of Brazilian and Mozambican artists allow me to complicate the notion of Global South and further explore the concept of transnational south-south alliances as an alternative to the economic neoimperialism that hides behind globalization. Overall, an analysis of the four co-productions allows me to

engage in and complicate theories of interculturalism. I also raise questions about the ethics of collaboration and representation in joint theater productions, as well as in the curation of Lusophone theater festivals.

In my conclusion, I explore the broader implications of the core ideas I theorized in this project. In particular, I propose that we can use the lessons learned from the experiences of artists who organize and participate in festivals that focus on theater from Portuguese-speaking countries to navigate the current political moment. I identify and explore three areas of action, some of which require further inquiry: 1) the handling of memories of the colonial past *vis-a-vis* the production of postcolonial identity narratives, 2) the workings of policy in perpetuating inequality, and 3) collaborations and alliances.

Chapter One

Performances of forgetting and remembering:

Framing Lusophony through theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries

Introduction

In the beginning [of the Q&A] I was kind of upset with that thing about language... I told myself “Boy, why are we all here, talking about this shit about Portuguese-speaking countries ? No one likes this crap! Organizing this shit is fucking hard, and no one likes it...” [...] But now I am inspired! [...] In the next meeting of [...] [Portuguese-speaking countries] that I am going to organize, I am going to propose [...] that each country brings their [native] languages. You don’t need to present in Portuguese...

With this statement, Creusa Borges, artistic director and founder of *Circuito de Teatro em Português* (CTP), closed one of the panels she asked me to organize for her festival in 2014. In light of the fact that CTP coincided with Black Consciousness Month [Mês da Consciência Negra]⁹, Borges wanted this panel to address racial bias, especially toward black women, in Brazilian theater. For one hour, Borges (Brazilian of African, Native Brazilian, and European descent), the Afro-Brazilian actress Dirce Thomaz, and the Mozambican actress Silvia Mendes¹⁰ gave detailed and candid accounts of the challenges they face pursuing careers in theater. These challenges ranged from stigmatization by their families and pressure from their husbands to have

⁹ “O Dia da Consciência Negra” [Day of Black Consciousness] was first proposed by the activists group “Grupo Palmares” from Rio Grande do Sul, who identified November 20th as the date of the murder of Zumbi dos Palmares. Zumbi was a leader and hero of black people’s resistance against slavery in Brazil, who was killed by the colonizers in 1695. In 2011, President Dilma Rousseff officially institutionalized November 20th as “O Dia Nacional da Consciência Negra” [The National Black Consciousness Day]. The holiday should raise awareness for the need to debate and fight against racism and racial bias in Brazil. To celebrate the holiday, municipalities develop cultural and educational activities throughout the whole month of November, which culminate on the week of the 20th. For this reason, November is now called “O Mês da Consciência Negra” [The Black Consciousness Month] (Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial 2015a, 2015b; Portal Brasil 2013a, 2013b).

¹⁰ Silvia Mendes performed at the festival in the play *A Nova Aragem* (a co-production between the Portuguese cultural association Chão de Oliva and the Mozambican theater company Lareira Artes).

a steady income and to put care of the children and the house first, to the lack of equal access to roles when performing in a play with mixed casts.

In the quote above, Borges was responding to an inflamed discussion about the colonial heritage of Lusophony and the role Portuguese language plays in the relationships among Portuguese-speaking countries in the colonial and postcolonial eras. This debate was imposed on the panelists by Angolan filmmaker and arts activist Aristóteles Kandimba, who asked to speak as soon as we opened the panel to questions from the audience. With a patronizing and condescending tone, Kandimba ignored the topic of the panel and instead tried to explain to Borges and the rest of us that we should focus on the oppression perpetrated by the Portuguese colonizers upon African peoples during colonialism. He also expressed his disbelief and disappointment at the prevalence of racist colonial practices in Brazil, despite the fact that the country has been independent from Portugal since the nineteenth century.

After this polemical statement, the audience for the panel (members of the companies that participated in the festival and some of the festival organizers) attempted to contradict Kandimba, whose position was further supported by Angolan actor Meirinho Mendes. The Portuguese artists became enraged at Kandimba because of his simplistic perspective about the participation of the Portuguese people in the colonial process. They asserted that many Portuguese people had fought against the Portuguese colonial and fascist regime like the citizens of the African colonies did. Other participants (Portuguese, Brazilian, and African) thought it did not make sense to get stuck in the conflicts of the colonial past and argued that the Portuguese language is the vehicle through which artists from various countries (including African countries) can come together, collaborate, and expand their work opportunities. In the ninety minutes that followed, and in collaboration with the spectators, Borges tried to lead a discussion

that addressed Kandimba's concerns without disregarding the initial theme of the panel.

Frustrated by the fact that the audience seemed more interested in Kandimba's topic than in the debate about black women artists, and seeing that the discussion was not going to evolve into a productive resolution, Borges called off the panel.

Borges was especially upset with Kandimba because he did not acknowledge his position of privilege as an upper-middle class Angolan man; in fact, he seemed to hold onto that position as a way of building his authority. Borges perceived that his critique of Brazil hinged on the narrative of Angola as one of the African super-powers and an emerging economy in the global market – in other words, Angola as a better country than Brazil. Kandimba criticized Brazil, declaring that the country was behind in racial politics, without acknowledging the political censorship practiced by the Angolan government, led by President José Eduardo dos Santos, nor the shady business dealings in which the Santos family has been involved. In addition, Kandimba not only ignored the topic of the panel, but he also declared that he did not believe an alliance among women was possible in contemporary society. Finally, although Borges did not explicitly mention anything about it, I believe that she was uncomfortable with the fact that an upper-middle class man, young enough to be her son, spoke to her, a working class woman with more life experience than him, as if she were a child. Nevertheless, considering the responses of other participants, Borges recognized that it could be productive to revise the politics of representation of the project so that it could better account for the cultural diversity and complexity of Portuguese-speaking countries.

In this chapter, I examine three main positions that were voiced during the debate: “Turning to Africa,” “Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism,” and “Resisting Globalization.” As I will attempt to demonstrate, none of these political stances about how to deal with the aftermath

of Portuguese colonialism constitutes a perfect solution. There are two main reasons for this. First, each position includes different individual and collective memories of colonization and decolonization, in which subjects' individual paths intersect with collective national and/or class memories. Second, each of these positions fails to account for, and to a certain extent silences, the experience of the subjects who sustain the other positions – an attitude that can be considered a reenactment of colonial oppression.

Based on these stances, I propose that Lusophony presents a problem of intersectionality¹¹. While specific to the Portuguese-speaking context (from the perspective of the identities at stake), this problem raises broader questions about how contemporary subjects deal with simultaneous and contradictory levels of oppression and privilege that they acquire from circulating within and across various social groups and transnational networks. Drawing from my experiences at CTP (São Paulo/Brazil, 2014) and Mindelact – Festival Internacional do Mindelo (Mindelo/Cabo Verde, 2013), and from documentation tapes of Estação da Cena Lusófona (Maputo/Mozambique, 1995), I will demonstrate how festivals become stages of confrontation between antagonistic positions that are forced to coexist within Lusophony. Examining the doubts and anxieties of the participants in these festivals helps make concrete how the (apparent) contradictory overlap of colonialism and globalization deeply affects the lives of citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries.

I will start my analysis by engaging with Joseph Roach's theory of performance and memory to explain how the discussion that took place at CTP can challenge a conventional and romantic notion of Lusophony. Then, I closely examine each of the stances taken by artists, not only at CTP, but also at Estação da Cena Lusófona and Mindelact. In my analysis, I look into the

¹¹ Here I define intersectionality as the convergence of categories of identity (gender, class, race) in one individual, which makes him/her more vulnerable to structural oppression (see Crenshaw 1991 and Collins 2002²).

historical and social contexts in which each of these positions is grounded. I delve into the colonial history and decolonization processes of African Portuguese-speaking countries, Brazil, and Portugal through the lenses of performance and dance studies theory, sociology, and philosophy, and engage with scholarship that explores case studies in other African countries, Asia, and the US. My interdisciplinary and intercultural approach allows me to articulate common challenges facing artists at the turn of the twenty-first century.

When discussing “Turning to Africa,” I call upon theories of *Négritude* and Pan-Africanism to demonstrate how the independence of African countries, and even the notion of unity among African countries, hinges on international circulation and alliances. Also, I look into the study of cultural elites in African countries and in Asia to demonstrate that, like other cultural elites of formerly colonized countries, the artists defending the position of Turning to Africa in Portuguese-speaking countries use the discussion about racism and colonialism to conceal their privileged relationship to political power, and their access to material and economic resources that allow them social mobility and class privilege.

In my examination of “Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism,” I analyze the relationships between mourning, nationhood, and colonial oppression. I complicate the position of Portuguese artists using two sets of theories. First, I examine the stance in Portuguese scholarship about the impact of the Portuguese dictatorship on Portuguese postcolonial identity. Then, I borrow Anne Anlin Cheng’s theorization of race in the US through the Freudian notion of melancholia. Based on these two perspectives, I propose that in their attempt to appear as allies to citizens of African Portuguese-speaking countries, Portuguese artists avoid engaging with the history of Portugal as a colonial power.

In “Resisting Globalization,” I discuss the benefits and limitations that transnationalism can offer to artists who struggle with international mobility. Referencing Amanda Rogers’ theory of transnationalism and performance, and Rustom Bharucha’s work on the challenges of intercultural theater collaborations, I demonstrate how, in Portuguese-speaking countries as well, transnationalism and interculturalism can offer artists new possibilities of circulation and professionalization while also concealing privileges that are ultimately grounded in colonial hierarchies. Keeping theories of performance, transnationalism, and interculturalism in mind, I complicate Borges’ idea that a theater practice engaged with the relationships between Portuguese-speaking countries is conducive to healing from the trauma of colonialism for both colonizers and colonized. In my discussion, I raise questions about representation and relations of power in artist-led festivals. Particularly in the case of Brazil, theater festivals focused on Lusophony raise questions about the impact of the country’s independence process and official narratives of national identity, which stem from a romanticized idea of miscegenation, on representation and power relations.

I close chapter one by looking into a fourth position on Lusophony, one taken by the artistic director of Mindelact, João Branco. His position is a transactional engagement with Lusophony. I propose that Branco’s openly instrumentalizing use of Lusophony can be seen as an attempt to diminish the significance of the colonial past of Cabo Verde and frame theater practices in the country as part of an international community that includes, but also expands beyond, the Portuguese-speaking countries. Nonetheless, I will also contend that Mindelact’s detachment from Lusophony helps Branco occlude his position of privilege within the Cabo Verdean theater scene and that it perpetuates colonial hierarchies of power. Branco’s case raises questions about the power of the performing arts curator, a topic I will continue to explore in

chapters two and three. Overall, I hope to demonstrate that Lusophony is not a universal experience, just as colonialism and globalization are not either. Festivals, being meeting points for people with different experiences of colonialism, Lusophony, and globalization (experienced individually or through collective memory), can undermine the notion of Lusophony as a fraternal community of countries. At the same time, these festivals expose how Lusophony is one of many transnational spheres in which citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries circulate, and a space where these same spheres (often bearing antagonizing positions) intersect.

Remembering and forgetting

The debate about language politics and politics of representation in Lusophony raised by Kandimba at CTP foregrounded three positions adopted by citizens of Portuguese-speaking countries to cope with the consequences of Portuguese colonialism in the global era. Kandimba and Meirinho Mendes, both Angolan citizens, argued that the only way for African Portuguese-speaking countries to recover from colonialism is to reject Portuguese language and recuperate their native languages and cultural practices. Portuguese artists attempted to nuance the notion of the Portuguese people as evil colonizers, pointing out that Portuguese people, like the peoples from the former Portuguese colonies, suffered under the colonial and fascist regime and fought against it as well. Finally, Borges, along with other Brazilian and Portuguese artists, argued that Portuguese colonialism is a part of history that cannot be erased; thus, it is important to move on and to use Portuguese language as a way of being competitive and creating alternatives in the Anglophone, US-led market.

The rough correlation between ideologies and citizenships in each of these positions exposes intersections of narratives of national identity with those of collective memory from various racial, gender, and class groups, both amongst themselves and with individual experiences. Indeed, this episode illustrates how Lusophony (impossibly) masks the existence of various experiences of colonization and of various memories of colonization and decolonization processes, which contradict and even try to silence each other. It is a competition for the survival of ideologies and identities. Joseph Roach's theory of performance and memory, in particular the concepts of "surrogation" and "vortices of behavior," can help illuminate the complexity of Lusophony expressed in this episode. Also, his theory can help us reflect on the consequences of artistic projects that adopt the premise that a shared language and historical heritage can be the base for fraternal relations among countries, and can serve as a foundation for building an artistic community.

Roach defines "surrogation" as a collective process of cultural production, dissemination, and recreation that hinges on selective memory. The construction of collective memory is based on shared performances of substitution, through which a group attempts to recreate the memories it wants to preserve. Through that same process, the group attempts to erase the moments of its history that it wants to forget. Performance constitutes a method through which communities recreate their histories and their identities. These performances can happen within the community or they can be presented to outsiders. The surrogation process continues indefinitely, since the recreated memories never perfectly fit the histories that communities want to tell about themselves. Communities are, thus, constantly engaged in the process of seeking recreated memories that will allow them to best convey their histories and identities (Roach 1996: 2-3).

The positions voiced at CTP can, therefore, be understood as products and parts of the continuous surrogation processes of the various communities involved in the colonization, decolonization, and postcolonization of the former Portuguese empire. Each intervention can be regarded as a micro-performance in which the subjects take upon themselves the task of actively participating in their communities' processes of forgetting and selectively remembering parts of their histories. The debate at CTP became so heated, in fact, because each micro-performance exposed, to members of other communities, aspects of their own history that they had actively attempted to forget and recreate in their surrogation processes. The position of Turning to Africa recalled, for the Portuguese, a history of oppression and exploitation imposed by their ancestors upon African peoples. The position of Resisting Globalization asked those who defend Turning to Africa to forgive and forget the colonial past (to which they seemed to hold onto as validation of their stance) and to consider situations in which African individuals (including themselves) were actually perpetrators of oppression, instead of victims.¹² Finally, those who attempted to nuance the role of the Portuguese people in colonialism and emphasize the political alliances between Portuguese and African peoples reminded the supporters of Turning to Africa that *Négritude*, Pan-Africanism, and twentieth-century European leftism are mutually constituted.

The selective remembering and forgetting that artists from Portuguese-speaking countries engage in to produce their narratives and micro-performances show a parallel with Michel de Certeau's concept of "tactics." Certeau defines "tactics" in contrast to "strategies." Whereas "strategies" are institutional practices meant to control individuals, "tactics" constitute fragmentary, everyday practices through which individuals circumvent and sometimes undermine institutional structures of power (1984: 35-39). The stances of Portuguese-speaking

¹² It might also be argued, depending on the personal history of the individuals who subscribe to this position, that for those who came from middle- and upper middle-class families whose members worked in the administration of the Portuguese empire, the colonial system was the base of their status of privilege.

artists appropriate and mingle official histories with individual and collective memories, allowing participants to own both their own individual histories and also their communities' participation in the history of Portuguese-speaking countries. Individuals use their stances as an anchor when navigating the complicated "vortex of behavior" that, as demonstrated during the debate at CTP, Lusophony simultaneously compounds and conceals.

A "vortex of behavior," also theorized by Roach as part of his study on memory and performance, consists of a point of convergence of forces that create a space of performance and, thus, of production and disciplining of collective memory and identity. Vortices of behavior exist on various scales. They can be local places that gather people who seek to fulfill certain needs or desires, such as "the grand boulevard, the marketplace, the theater district, the square, [or] the burial ground" (Roach 1996: 28). Vortices of behavior can also be wider transnational spaces of circulation ("Circum-Atlantic,"¹³ also theorized by Roach, is an example). These spaces appear to provide individuals with an arena for transgression, or escape, while constituting, in fact, grounds for the disciplining and institutionalization of behaviors and histories. Transgression can happen, however, when communities take advantage of the busyness of these locations to adapt and transform institutional practices into new cultural practices. Playing with words, Roach calls these seamless transgressions "behavioral vortices" (1996: 29).

The positions voiced during the debate at CTP demonstrate that Lusophony as a vortex of behavior is dependent on the convergence of three forces: 1) the prevalence of colonial structures of power, 2) pressures of global capital and transnational Western politics, and 3) the need to

¹³ In Roach's theory, the "Circum-Atlantic" consists of a geographical and historical location encompassing the diasporic movement and histories of violence and genocide of Black and Indigenous populations between Africa, America, and Europe. This concept denies the centrality of Europeans and European culture in the construction of narratives of modernity in African and American countries. Instead, Roach proposes that those narratives were produced within those continents through practices of surrogation that allowed diasporic communities to deal with the displacement and violence of colonialism (1996: 4-5).

create postcolonial subjectivities. These forces produce Lusophony as a large-scale vortex that encompasses a variety of smaller-scale points of convergence, in which various communities produce memories that contradict those of other communities who are nevertheless also included within Lusophony. The discussion initiated by Kandimba turned CTP into a mirror of Lusophony as a vortex of behavior that attempts to conceal the heterogeneity of positions that it simultaneously encompasses.

At this point, I should pause to recall a similar discussion, which I watched on tape at the archive of Cena Lusófona. The debate documented on that tape happened in 1995 (twenty years before the debate at CTP), at the first year of Estação da Cena Lusófona, in Maputo, Mozambique. The discussion happened during the First Forum of Cena Lusófona; the organizers of Cena Lusófona decided to take advantage of the festival to organize a meeting of all the partners involved to discuss the goals and the activities of the project, which was completing its probation year. This episode becomes relevant to our discussion because, although there were artistic projects and festivals that encouraged the reunion of and collaboration among artists from various Portuguese-speaking countries during the 1980s, the first Estação and Forum organized by Cena Lusófona gathered theater artists and institutional representatives from all (at the time) seven Portuguese-speaking countries for the first time. By comparing and contrasting the specific arguments voiced by subjects in each of the three positions at Estação and at CTP, we can analyze how the relationships among citizens from various Portuguese-speaking countries has evolved in the past twenty years, and how their thinking about Lusophony might have changed. Ultimately, we can question whether or not there is a historical heritage *shared* among Portuguese-speaking countries – and how far the *sharing* extends.

Turning to Africa

Kandimba's position is an illustration of Turning to Africa, put forward as a solution to the challenge of overcoming the trauma of Portuguese colonialism. In his view, governments and citizens of African Portuguese-speaking countries should seek cultural alliances with other African countries and explore the wealth of their traditional cultural practices and languages, which remained uncorrupted even as they were forbidden and silenced by the Portuguese colonizers. Angolan actor Meirinho Mendes and Mozambican theater director Elliot Alex advocated similar standpoints when I interviewed them at CTP in 2014 and 2013, respectively.

Without denying the value of Borges' project, Meirinho Mendes argued that Angolans should give priority to the cultures and languages of rural and hinterland Angola. According to Mendes, there is a purity and an originality – an aesthetic force, even – to these practices that he finds refreshing for theater. Also, they can teach Angolans who live in big cities (Luanda especially) and foreigners more about the heritage and identity of the Angolan people. Meirinho Mendes is committed to organizing encounters and festivals that foster theater in the rural regions of Angola, so that the groups who live there can present their work in Luanda (the capital of Angola) and abroad, and disseminate their cultural practices.

Elliot Alex conveyed a slightly different stance: the need to emphasize rural languages and cultural practices in order to demonstrate that “Africa is one,” that the borders imposed by the European colonizers only partitioned “pieces of land, but not peoples and their cultures” (Alex 2013). For this reason, Alex explained, he does not consider himself Lusophone; he feels more affinity with peoples from other countries surrounding Mozambique, such as South Africa, Swaziland, and Zambia. The Portuguese language – for Alex as for Kandimba – is important as

an instrument or a vehicle of communication with peoples from other countries, and with peoples from other regions of their own countries who speak different national and regional languages. Portuguese language does not, however, constitute a reservoir of, nor serve as a producer of, a collective, transnational identity; it is rather an instrument for national and transnational communication.

At the First Forum of Cena Lusófona, Mozambican participants showed a similar defensiveness toward Portuguese artists, including the festival organizers. At the Forum, Mozambican theater artists, journalists, and writers expressed their discomfort with the pre-production process and with the program of the festival itself. According to them, the Portuguese organizers did not acknowledge the specificities of Mozambican theater, and ignored the contributions of Mozambican artists and scholars in the field of cultural production in African Portuguese-speaking countries, Mozambique in particular. Gilberto Mendes (Gungu Teatro) and Manuela Soeiro (Mutumbela Gogo) argued that in both the directing of co-productions between Portuguese and Mozambican theater troupes and also the lineup of companies invited to present at the festival, the Portuguese organizers imposed the European canon upon the Mozambican artists and audience. The Portuguese organizers seemed to pay no attention to specificities of theater within Mozambique and across the African Portuguese-speaking countries. They disregarded the work that Mozambican theater companies were developing with local communities to produce a theater that reflected the stories and aesthetics of Mozambican culture, inaccurately generalizing it as “African theater”.¹⁴

¹⁴ In interviews conducted by Christina McMahon about the first *Estação da Cena Lusófona*, the artists Gilberto Mendes and Manuela Soeiro described the attitude of the Portuguese organizers as “neocolonial” (McMahon 2014: 54). Similarly, David Abílio, a Mozambican choreographer also interviewed by McMahon, complained about the lack of involvement of Mozambican artists in the organization of the festival (see McMahon 2014: 54).

Mia Couto, the renowned Mozambican writer, also left a word of caution about the politics of representation of *Cena Lusófona* in general, and of *Estação* in particular. Couto urged the Portuguese organizers to rethink their use of the term “Lusophone” applied to the theater produced in Portuguese-speaking countries. In the term “Lusophone” the suffix “Luso” refers to that which is related to Portugal. Therefore Couto was concerned that using the adjective “Lusophone” to qualify theater in Portuguese speaking countries would imply that theater forms developed in those countries were mere variations of a singular (Portuguese culture-based) theater form, when in fact they should be regarded as different, legitimate theater forms. Also, the writer pointed out that there was an imbalanced representation of the theater of African Portuguese-speaking countries and of Brazil in *Estação*, because the number of Portuguese companies who presented at the festival was much higher than the number of companies from other Portuguese-speaking countries. Another Mozambican theater artist also raised the issue of language, questioning the anthropologists who were going to collaborate with *Cena Lusófona* (and who presented their research proposals at Forum) about whether or not they were accounting for cultures that exist in Portuguese-speaking countries, but that are not based in Portuguese language, in their studies. The artist was implying that the Portuguese scholars were ignoring these cultures because they were not grounded in Portuguese language or culture.

The position of Turning to Africa voiced by Angolan and Mozambican artists at *Estação* and CTP is based, to a certain extent, on the ideologies of African leaders who fought for the independence of French- and Portuguese-dominated territories in Africa between the 1930s and the 1970s. Recalling the colonial cultural assimilation, economic exploitation, and political oppression that took place during the colonial period, these artists try to justify a need to return to their cultural African roots, and also call for the reinforcing of political and cultural alliances

across African nations. Soeiro, Gilberto Mendes, Couto and other Mozambican artists at Estação, as well as Kandimba and Meirinho Mendes at CTP, criticized the use of Portuguese-language and the theater collaborations coordinated by Portuguese artists as a potential return to colonial cultural assimilation and its perverse effect: the creation of second-class citizens who believe in their inferiority and, thus, in the civilizational power of the European colonizers. The issue of cultural assimilation as key to colonialism was widely addressed by Léopold Sédar Senghor in Senegal, and by Amílcar Cabral in Cabo Verde and Guinea Bissau, during the independence struggles of Francophone and Lusophone African colonies.

Senghor and Cabral understood culture as key to colonization and de-colonization and, with some nuances, they both defined culture as an encompassing term that went beyond arts and letters. Senghor offered a more abstract concept of culture than Cabral, who grounded his notion in Marxist theory. For Senghor, culture consisted of the spirit of a civilization, an expression of the modes of thinking and knowing, the mythology, and the moral values of a people. The arts, in turn, were an expression of a people's culture. For Cabral, culture encompassed habits, rituals, language, arts and literature, lifestyles (and habits of consumption), and moral values. Cabral argued that culture consists of "the result, with more or less awakened consciousness, of economic and political activities [...] [and social relations]," and that it varied, therefore, upon class (Cabral 1980: 141). Cabral also defined culture as "the vigorous manifestation, on the ideology and idealist level, of the material and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to be dominated" (Cabral 1980: 141).

In relation to his notion of culture, Senghor insisted particularly on the concept of *Négritude* as central to the future of African nations. This concept was first created by the Martinique poet Aimé Césaire in 1930, and it was further developed by Césaire, Senghor, and Léon Damas. For

these men, the concept of *Négritude* was a weapon to fight against cultural colonialism. Senghor's notion of *Négritude* is as complex as it is controversial, and it has been heavily criticized for its essentialist foundations (see Castaldi 2006: 48-49, 55-56). Senghor expanded on *Négritude* in various writings throughout his long life. A condensed version of his theorization on the concept can be found in his 1988 contribution to the series *Ce que je crois*. Here Senghor defines *Négritude* as an action of rooting oneself into black culture and identity against the disenfranchisement created by colonial assimilation. Senghor argued that Africa was the cradle of humanity and that *Négritude* was the product of the resilience, ingenuity, and sensibility of an extremely ancient African people who were at the forefront of the prehistoric development of the human species and who continued contributing to the development of humanity through cultural and biological miscegenation (1988: 98-99, 108-113, 137-139).

Cabral found in Senghor's work a wake-up call for Africans to regain awareness of their identity.¹⁵ Cabral argued, like Senghor, that the fight against colonialism should start with Africans delving into their culture. He often declared in his speeches and writings that since culture was at the root of colonial practices, the fight against colonialism was an act of culture, and that only by re-discovering African culture (and identity), could Africans regain awareness of their agency and truly free themselves from European domination (1980: 138-154). Meirinho Mendes, Gilberto Mendes, and Manuela Soeiro seem to argue, on the one hand, that the need to turn to rural communities in Angola and Mozambique is because these communities hold the traditional African culture, but on the other hand, that they also need to be educated about the value of their own culture. The attention these artists pay to rural communities seems to be

¹⁵ About Senghor's *Anthologie de la Nouvelle Poésie Nègre et Malgache de la Langue Française*, Cabral wrote: "... Things I had not even dreamed of, marvelous poetry written by blacks from all parts of the French world, poetry that speaks of Africa, slaves, men, life and human hopes... Sublime... infinitely human... The book brings me much and, among the many things, the certainty that the black man is in the process of awakening throughout the world" (Davidson 1980: xxii).

implicitly influenced not only by Senghor's concept of *Négritude*, but also by the attitude that leaders of independence movements in African Portuguese-speaking colonies held toward the working class (most of which lived in rural areas).

Influenced by Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tze-Tung; Cabral in Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde, Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel in Mozambique, and Agostinho Neto in Angola all called for a return of African culture to the working classes, who were particularly vulnerable to colonial exploitation and assimilation. As Cabral explained in his speech, "National Liberation and Culture," only when the working class recognizes that they have been inculcated with the culture of the colonial, imperialist, and capitalist elites, which does not serve their interests nor their position of struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, can they take ownership of their native and class culture. This is the first step to participating in the struggle against Portugal to regain ownership of their territory and to build a national culture that synthesizes and "conserve[s] the positive cultural values of every well-defined social group, of every category, and to achieve the *confluence* of these values into the stream of struggle, giving them a new dimension – the *national dimension*" (1980: 147).

The position of Turning to Africa attempts to recall the violence of colonization and holds European peoples accountable for that violence, while simultaneously emphasizing the superior strength and resilience of African peoples and the crucial role that a sense of African culture and identity plays in the fight against exploitation from the West. While focusing on the African continent, this position forgets and occludes (as Roach would suggest), the transnational context behind the formation of these ideas and the transnational alliances that made the anti-colonial fight possible. In fact, a close examination of the paths of Amílcar Cabral, Agostinho Neto, and Eduardo Mondlane reveals the critical importance of transnational circulation involving Africa,

Europe, the Americas, and even Asia in the formation of revolutionary ideas and on the implementation and consolidation of the independence movements they founded. Moreover, such examination shows that the African Portuguese-speaking leaders took part in a long history of transnational circulations that were constitutive of movements such as Pan-Africanism and the New Negro and the Harlem Renaissance.

Indeed, in his memoir, *Pan-Africanism from Within*, Guyanese T. Ras Makonnen explains that the formation of black internationalism hinged on the fact that people from the British African colonies had the opportunity to travel to the metropolis of the British Empire, London, where they had contact with the imperial and colonial centers of power and with people from other countries. Only thus were they encouraged to rethink their positions, and the positions of their countries, as well as to form alliances that they would not likely have formed at home (Edwards 2003: “Inventing the Black International: George Padmore and Tiemoko Garan Kouyaté”). The situation described by Makonnen also applies to the formation of the *Négritude* movement mentioned above; Senghor, Césaire, and Damas also met in Paris (French colonial metropole). Finally, Brent Hayes Edwards provides another example in his book, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism*. Here, the author explores how France played a crucial role in the Black Renaissance and in the international black movement as a point of convergence of “African Americans, Antilleans, and Africans” (Edwards 2003: “Prologue”). The army was a place of encounter between African Americans and black soldiers from the French colonies fighting for France, and also with African workers and Caribbean students that stayed in Paris after the First World War. The US soldiers who returned home also took the experience of these encounters back with them. Finally, some African Americans, many of them artists, stayed in Paris; the city provided the most exciting and vibrant

cultural and intellectual environment at the time and it was a critical centerpoint of the “New Negro” and the Harlem Renaissance movements, not because of the absolute number of people who would travel there, but “because it allowed boundary crossing, conversations, and collaborations that were available nowhere else to the same degree” (Edwards 2003: “Prologue”).

If London and Paris were the meeting points for the foundation of Pan-Africanism, *Négritude*, the New Negro, and the Harlem Renaissance movements, Lisbon was the meeting point for the formation of the anti-colonialist movements of African Portuguese-speaking countries. It was in Lisbon that Amílcar Cabral, Eduardo Mondlane, and Agostinho Neto met, as university students, and it was in Lisbon that they came into contact with the *Négritude* movement, as well as with Marxist theories. In the capital of the Portuguese empire, they experienced fascist oppression, which added to their awareness of their families’ economic efforts to afford their education, and of the exploitation and oppression experienced and observed in the colonies. In short, it was in Lisbon that these men became fully aware of their condition as *assimilados*¹⁶ and where they decided to use the privileged education that they received in Portugal to initiate the struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

First Cabral, Mondlane, and Neto participated in Portuguese student organizations that opposed the fascist regime; then, in an attempt to search for their own non-assimilated identity, they founded the Center of African Studies at the Clube Marítimo [Sailing Club] of Lisbon. In Lisbon, Cabral, Mondlane, and Neto understood the affinities between the African anti-colonialist and the Portuguese anti-fascist movements, and in their speeches at home they often

¹⁶ “Assimilado” [assimilated] was the legal term used by the Portuguese government to designate the individuals who were born in the colonies, from one or two Indigenous parents, who were alphabetized, followed the Portuguese life patterns and professed Catholicism. The “assimilados” were legally considered second-class citizens, which meant that their Portuguese citizenship could be revoked by the state (see Ferreira & Soares da Veiga 1957).

encouraged their supporters to understand that the struggle for independence was not a battle of races, but classes. The enemy was not white people in general, but the colonialist, imperialist, and capitalist elites; hence, they welcomed the participation of Portuguese citizens who lived in the colonized territories to support the struggle for independence (Andrade 1980: xviii-xxxv).

Through transnational circulation during the 1950s and 1960s, Mondlane and Cabral, especially, consolidated their ideas, founded the liberation movements of their home countries, and gathered international support against Portugal. Mondlane left Lisbon in 1952, when he realized he could not advance more in his education. Instead of returning to Mozambique, however, he continued his path of transnational circulation, which was essential to the consolidation of his ideas and to the formation of FRELIMO – Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [Mozambique Liberation Front]. He completed a Ph.D. in anthropology at Northwestern University, during which he deepened his knowledge on Marxist revolutionary writings.¹⁷ After his Ph.D., Mondlane went to Harvard on a fellowship, and was later hired as a “Research Officer in the Trusteeship Department of the United Nations” (Shore 1983: xxiv). There, he formed a close relationship with Julius Nyerere (president of Tanzania), who offered him support for an independence movement in Mozambique. Nyerere’s support would play a crucial role in the organization of FRELIMO and in Mondlane’s understanding of the importance of solidarity among independence movements in Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies. In 1962, after leaving his job at the UN and accepting a position in the Department of Anthropology at Syracuse University, Mondlane founded FRELIMO and was appointed president. The foundation of FRELIMO was inspired by the independence of Tanzania, and encouraged by the

¹⁷ Mondlane was also influenced by Fidel Castro, Yugoslavia and the October Russian Revolution, Ho Chi Minh, and the struggles of Vietnam against France and the US. Mondlane, like Samora Machel after him, did not simply apply the theories that they were reading to the reality of Mozambique. They tried to adapt them to the needs and aims of the people. Mondlane was always clear that the liberation of Mozambique should focus on the self-determination of the Mozambican people (Shore 1983: xxix).

continuous support of Nyerere and other pro-independence Mozambican groups in exile.

Mondlane returned to Mozambique in 1963 with his family. He was assassinated by PIDE¹⁸ six years later, and Samora Machel took his place as the leader of the independence movement.

Transnational circulation also played a key role in Cabral's path as a leader of the Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verdean independence movement. After completing his studies in agricultural engineering in Lisbon, Cabral tried to return to Guinea-Bissau to start leading the independence movement in that country, and in Cabo Verde. In 1955, however, the Portuguese government prohibited Cabral from staying in Guinea; he was only allowed to visit his family at specific times. Cabral took advantage of his work travels to other African Portuguese-speaking countries to support their emerging political resistance groups.¹⁹ In one of his visits to his family in Guinea, in 1956, Cabral presided over the meeting of the foundation of PAI – Partido Africano da Independencia – União dos Povos de Guiné e Cabo Verde.

During the four years that followed, Cabral travelled for work between Portugal, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. In 1959, after the violent response of the Portuguese authorities to a PAI-led uprising of workers against colonialism, Cabral, supported by Sekou Touré (leader of the independence movement and first president of Conakry), transferred the headquarters of the PAI to Conakry. After that, taking advantage of the rise of independence movements throughout Africa and encouraged by the UN resolutions against colonialism (released in 1960), Cabral

¹⁸ PIDE – Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado [International Police for the Defense of the State] was a secret political police organization that operated under the supervision of Salazar to protect the regime against the actions of organizations deemed illegal by the government (in particular the Communist Party). PIDE operated in Portugal and in the colonies and applied coercive and summary methods of surveillance, incarceration and execution (Infopédia 2015).

¹⁹ For instance, the Angolan independence movement, MPLA – Movimento para a Libertação de Angola [Movement for the Liberation of Angola], which Agostinho Neto founded in Lisbon in 1956, with the support of Angolan workers in the Portuguese capital and in Luanda, greatly benefited from Cabral's efforts to consolidate the anti-colonialist struggle among African Portuguese-speaking countries.

initiated a tour of various countries and international organization meetings to participate in the liberation movements of Africa and to strengthen his own movement.²⁰

In 1961, when the independence war between Portugal and the colonized territories in Africa began, Cabral intensified his international travels to build alliances and gather support from Western and non-Western countries and institutions. His destinations included Cuba, the US, Sudan, Russia, and Italy (see Andrade 1980). Between 1971 and 1972, Cabral participated in African Union summits, and continued to establish diplomatic contacts in European countries. He also led various initiatives to bring the United Nations Special Mission to Guinea-Bissau to demonstrate that Portugal did not have any control over the country, and that PAIGC was the rightful representative of the country. His efforts resulted in the recognition of the party by international organizations that also condemned Portuguese colonialism. Cabral was assassinated in 1973; to this day, it is unclear whether he was killed by PIDE or by members of his own party (see Andrade 1980 and CODESRIA 2010).

Supporters of Turning to Africa position seem to make a significant effort to demonstrate the originality, not only of African cultures, but also of the African struggle against colonialism. Failing to acknowledge the transnational nature of the African liberation movements, these subjects drive attention away from two important details about the African liberation movements of Portuguese-speaking countries: 1) there was collaboration and shared ideals between the African and the Portuguese revolutionary movements, and 2) there were divergences within the parties and within the societies of the African Portuguese-speaking countries, which constituted serious obstacles to the work of independence revolutionaries. Cabral, Mondlane, Neto, and

²⁰ In January 1960, Cabral participated as a delegate in the second All-African People's Organization conference; in August of the same year, Cabral visited China with a delegation of PAI to request military support from the People's Republic of China, which was granted not only to PAI, but also to MPLA. Finally, in October 1960, Cabral led a clandestine meeting in Dakar to prepare the final stages of the plan towards the independence from Portugal (Andrade 1980: xxv-xxiv).

Machel all approached these topics in the speeches they delivered in party meetings, as well as in addresses to the population (see Cabral 1980, Neto 1972, and Salvador 1974).

Kandimba and Meirinho Mendes at CTP, just like Manuela Soeiro, Mia Couto and other Mozambican artists and intellectuals at the Forum of Cena Lusófona, emphasized the oppression caused by Portuguese colonialism and expressed their concerns about whether Portuguese artists were using (what the African artists perceived as) their position of privilege as Europeans and former colonizers to attempt to assimilate, once more, the African Portuguese-speaking countries. While foregrounding their concerns about and accusations of Portuguese neo-colonialism, these individuals failed to acknowledge their privileged position in terms of class and political connections. Also, they did not address their mobility within and especially outside Africa, which provided them with the distance to think about their countries and about their continent, and to present their theater without being censored by the governments of their home countries. This point was brought to my attention by Borges in the case of Kandimba and Meirinho Mendes, and by António Augusto Barros (director of Cena Lusófona) and Fernando Mora Ramos (a close collaborator of the Portuguese organization), in the case of Manuela Soeiro and Mia Couto.

In the days that followed the debate about Lusophony at CTP, Borges and I talked extensively about the discussion initiated by Kandimba. During those conversations, Borges conveyed that she was upset because Kandimba criticized her country without acknowledging that in Brazil he probably had more freedom of expression than in Angola. She was also uncomfortable with the fact that Kandimba heavily criticized the Portuguese artists, while presenting himself as well-traveled and cosmopolitan, and currently living in Amsterdam. Kandimba spoke against the Europeans in the room and implicitly criticized Borges for taking

the side of the Portuguese colonizers, while simultaneously displaying strong European (and even neo-colonial) influences as part of his personal history and attitudes: the fact that he was named after an Ancient Greek philosopher (Aristotle), his dressing style (khaki pants, fitted long-sleeve black shirt, scarf around his neck, and a European-style cap), and his condescending and imposing behavior (an attitude that Meirinho Mendes and he assigned to the Portuguese in the ways that they usually deal with African cultures). For Borges, I believe, this was an unspoken display of class privilege, which was not acknowledged.

Borges was also troubled and confused by Meirinho Mendes' behavior, given the fact that he accused the Portuguese artists of going to Africa and imposing their language and culture upon African artists (as during the colonial period), while he was the one behaving in an entitled fashion during the debate. Meirinho spoke over other participants and dismissed the experiences of the black women in the panel. In addition, during the festival, he had demanded attention constantly and made unreasonable requests to the organizers everyday. His cultural entitlement also came across during the interview I conducted with him days before the debate. In this interview, Meirinho Mendes told me about the importance of (re)educating Angolan people (especially in the hinterland of Angola) about their culture through theater. As an example, he talked about the work that he and Rogério de Carvalho developed with the actress Dulce Conceição for the show *As Formigas*, which they presented at CTP. Meirinho Mendes talked about Conceição as if she were a blank slate, whom he and Rogério de Carvalho found in the province of Namibe, and on whom they worked for five years, turning Conceição into an articulate woman who is now more outgoing and able to discuss theater and culture. Meirinho Mendes declared that through his work with Conceição, just like an arts encounter project he is trying to implement in the Northern region of Angola to revive national and regional languages,

he contributed to the rescuing of Angolan traditions, helping Angolans regain ownership of their own culture and stories. He explained that with this work, he was exploring new African theater aesthetics that moved away from the conventional formats “that the colonizer left us,” and taking them to the hinterland of Angola (Mendes 2014). Mendes declared that he wanted to purge African and Angolan cultures from European paternalism. Nevertheless, given his narrative about his projects and the people with whom he collaborated, I question if he is not engaging in the same behavior that he criticizes.

I want to suggest that with their suspicion towards Portuguese artists, and their emphasis on returning to their African roots, the supporters of Turning to Africa attempted to erase the cultural hybridization implied in the concept of Lusophony, which is, itself, the result of Portuguese colonial miscegenation. Here I apply Diana Taylor’s distinction between “mestizaje” and “hybridity.” “Mestizaje” refers to a cultural process initiated by the mixing of human races via “interracial, heterosexual sex,” and is historically located in the colonial period (Taylor 2003: 94). “Hybridity” refers to the engineered crossing of species; borrowed from botany, this term is applied mostly in post-colonial theory, where interracial mixing is used as part of the political project of creating transnational, diasporic identities (Taylor 2003: 93, 103, 108). Like Taylor, other scholars in the fields of dance and performance studies and post-colonial studies have explored the concept of cultural hybridization and/or the responses of cultural elites to that concept and to colonial miscegenation. Juxtaposing the position of Turning to Africa with these scholars’ claims allows us to argue that African cultural elites from Portuguese-speaking countries who subscribe to that position participate in a larger debate about the complicated mutual constituency of Western and non-Western cultures. This, in turn, further illuminates the

processes through which individuals from African and Asian countries and diaspora engage with that complicated debate when constructing their own subjectivities and social positions.

Kandimba, Meirinho Mendes, Soeiro, and Gilberto Mendes used the cultural roots of their countries to resist Lusophony, which operates as a dangerous cultural hybrid that, as Taylor points out, invisibilizes the violence of the colonial past (the rape, the pillage, the displacement through slavery, racism). As Sally Ness highlights in relation to Philippine Igorot culture (1997), cultural hybrids can also conceal internal colonialism; indeed, Kandimba was particularly concerned that, in Brazil, the narrative of fraternity promoted by Lusophony concealed the psychological wounds of internal colonialism that he witnessed while travelling in Brazil for his documentary project. “I have never seen so many insane people [...], so many people with psychological issues. [...] Racism can make people go insane,” Kandimba said during the debate. Nevertheless, in their attempts to expose the violence of Portuguese colonialism and fight its perpetuation through Lusophony, the Angolan and Mozambican artists at *Estação da Cena Lusófona* and CTP tactically forgot the European roots of their approach as well as the social positions of privilege from which they spoke.

Subscribers of *Turning to Africa* re-enact the move of African and Asian cultural elites of the 1930s and 1950s, explored by Francesca Castaldi (2006) and Susan A. Reed (2010). Castaldi, whose research focuses on Senegal, and Reed, who studies the Sri Lankan context, examine how cultural elites argued that by recuperating the traditions of their countries’ rural communities, they could fight against the cultural assimilation of colonialism. The supporters of *Turning to Africa*, however, like the elites in the first half of the twentieth century, did not recognize that their idea of turning to rural communities in search for an essential or original identity to resist

European assimilation is, in fact, a product of European “romantic nationalism,” which they absorbed through their urban, European culture-based education (Reed 2010: 6-9).

In addition, supporters of Turning to Africa do not acknowledge the ways in which they silenced and othered rural populations, whom they felt the need to teach about their own cultural traditions (see Meirinho Mendes and Manuela Soeiro above). Moreover, especially in the case of Kandimba and Meirinho Mendes, they were quick to take the role of representatives of their countries’ cultures, without acknowledging the absence of representatives of the native communities they considered instrumental to their originality. For instance, Conceição, whom Meirinho Mendes presented as an example of the “deep” Angola (the “woman of the desert,” as he would call her sometimes), was not even present as a spectator of the panel.²¹

During my conversations with Borges, she also spoke of her discomfort with Mendes’ connection to Angolan political power. In a panel on cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries that I also organized for CTP, in the interview I conducted with him, and in private conversations with Borges, Mendes consistently criticized the lack of policies, resources, and freedom of expression in Angola, and he declared that working with Fundação Sindika Dokolo allowed him to make art without engaging with Angolan politicians or with the lobbies of private Angolan sponsors. He explained in our interview that Sindika Dokolo is one of the more conscientious arts patrons of Africa, and that he is not connected to any political party in Angola. Dokolo was born in the Democratic Republic of Congo and his fortune, which he dispenses through his foundation, was largely inherited from his father, who owned banks in Congo. Mendes never mentioned during the interview, or in public conversations, that Sindika Dokolo is, in fact, the husband of Isabel dos Santos, the daughter of the President Eduardo dos Santos.

²¹ Again, such move is not exclusive to the context of Portuguese-speaking countries; Sally Ness narrates a similar process when discussing the dance piece *Igorot* by the Filipina choreographer Agnes Locsin (see Ness 1997: 81).

Isabel dos Santos, like her father, is a powerful entrepreneur whose fortune has unclear sources. Like Borges, I was confused and conflicted about Mendes' position within the Angolan theater and political scenes. Later, I came to rationalize it as a tactical approach to politics and institutional relations. Yet, the fact that he did not speak about the connection between Dokolo and the dos Santos family makes me think that he knows he is not as disconnected from political power as he claims or wishes to be.

During our interview, Meirinho Mendes described himself as an artist who did not want to be tied to any organizations, political parties, or theater directors; he likes to collaborate with different people at different times. When I asked him what that looked like, he explained that he engaged with politicians while keeping a certain distance. He acknowledged that, in Angola, a cultural project will only happen with the approval and financial support of the government, so artists have to engage with politicians and with private sponsors. To work with politicians is essential, but artists cannot become hostages of political power; they also have to take risks – and that is what Mendes tries to do. Talking about his relationship to political power in Angola as tactical, Mendes showed a nuanced perspective about his position as an artist, and about the complicated nature of dealing with institutional power in order to make artistic work possible.

Interestingly, Meirinho Mendes also conveyed a tactical and nuanced stance about Portugal and about the role that that country played in his artistic education. He declared that, despite the many Angolan critiques about Portugal's role in the formation of Angolan culture and citizenship, the country was “very important, because it opened doors to what I am today [...], and to what I have been able to achieve” (Mendes 2014). Mendes explained that in the 1990s, there was no arts education in Angola, and that many people who wanted to pursue a career in theater (or in other arts) in those days moved to Portugal. At the time, Mendes declared, the arts

were important in Portugal and there was governmental funding for artistic activities. Mendes seems to have applied the same tactical and nuanced approach to his life in Portugal as to his relationship to Angolan politicians and foundations; unfortunately, during the debate, as well as during CTP in general, he did not seem to keep in mind the same outlook to understand the work of Portuguese and Brazilian artists (including Borges' own work in the festival).

Based on my interviews with António Augusto Barros and Fernando Mora Ramos about the debate that took place in 1995 at Estação, Manuela Soeiro, director of the theater company Mutumbela Gogo, and Mia Couto, the acclaimed Mozambican writer, seemed to use their critique of the Portuguese organizers to conceal their relation to FRELIMO. In Soeiro's case, that connection assured the position of decision-maker in the theater scene in Mozambique. Barros and Mora Ramos explained that the implementation of Estação da Cena Lusófona in Maputo in 1995 unintentionally destabilized the hegemony of the two major theater companies of Mozambique's capital: Mutumbela Gogo (managed by Soeiro), and Gungu (directed by Gilberto Mendes). The critiques of these two Mozambican artists at the Forum of Cena Lusófona, according to Barros and Mora Ramos, were a manifestation of their discomfort at the *status quo* being disrupted. Barros explained that Soeiro, in particular, was angry because she wanted to have control over the program and budget of Estação (which she probably would have been given, had the project been funded by the Mozambican government). The Portuguese organizers, however, did not let her have it (Barros 2012, Barros 2015).

Mora Ramos, who was critical of both Soeiro's and Barros' positions, might provide a more nuanced perspective on what happened. Mora Ramos was born in Lisbon, but he spent his childhood and adolescence in Mozambique. Given his awareness of the cultural complexity of the country, Barros invited him to conduct a workshop with local artists and theater enthusiasts,

and to then lead a co-production with the theater group Casa Velha (a smaller theater collective that did not have political connections). Based on his observations of the implementation process of Cena Lusófona in Maputo (not only the festival, but also a co-production between Barros' and Soeiro's theater companies, which was presented at the festival), Mora Ramos explained to me that, to a certain degree, the critiques of the Mozambican artists of the Portuguese organizers were fair. Barros, as the director of Cena Lusófona and as theater director of the co-production involving his and Soeiro's troupe, could have given more space to the participation of Mozambican artists. Barros was too strict when implementing his view of the project and when directing the co-production with Mutumbela Gogo. This was due to his personality and to his *modus operandi* as a theater director, but more importantly, it was a consequence of his lack of preparedness and knowledge about the history and cultures of Africa, and of Mozambique in particular. Also, from Mora Ramos' perspective, Barros' project was too ambitious and did not account for Mozambique's struggles and how they influenced the temporality of life in the country. Nevertheless, Mora Ramos also condemned the fact that Soeiro and Mia Couto used the flaws of Barros' project to promote themselves as protectors of Mozambican national culture while concealing their own positions of privilege:

Mutumbela Gogo was a standard bearer for the regime [...]. [Manuela Soeiro] was closely related to FRELIMO's elite, she had her influences in there. [...] [And Mia Couto], can we say that he is Mozambican? Is he? [...] I don't know... he is a very privileged Mozambican [...]. He goes to the inaugurations of the Pestana Hotels with Joaquim Chissano²²... He is **the** writer, isn't he? [...] He is an institution and he is respected for that isn't he? Now, all of that is very ambiguous... He is a guy with impressive inventiveness, but then, man!, there he is, living in his condo behind high walls [...], and with his keys [Ramos 2015].

²² President of FRELIMO after Samora Machel, and president of Mozambique between 1986 and 2004 (Enciclopaedia Britannica 2014).

In short, Mora Ramos declared: “the people that were [...] [criticizing Cena Lusófona] would be considered to be oppressors by others; they would be considered a *new bourgeoisie*...” (Ramos 2015). Here Mora Ramos (like Cabral, Mondlane, Machel, and Neto) tried to demonstrate that the categories of oppressor and oppressed, or (neo-)colonizer and colonized, are not inherent to citizenships or races, but rather they relate to class privilege and to dynamics of power. The complicated dynamics of power within colonialism shape one of the arguments used by many of the festival participants whom I saw aligning with the position that I shall explore next:
Nuancing Portuguese colonialism.

Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism

Kandimba’s intervention at CTP also triggered responses from Portuguese artists. While acknowledging Portuguese colonialism’s devastating exploitation, oppression, and acculturation of Brazilian and African populations, these artists tried to nuance the position of the Portuguese people themselves within the colonization process. Focusing on the twentieth century, Portuguese theater directors José Leitão and João de Mello Alvim and technician Artur Rangel declared that Kandimba and Meirinho Mendes should be aware that the Portuguese government (and not the Portuguese people in general) was to blame for colonialism. The colonial and fascist regime led by António de Oliveira Salazar oppressed and exploited not only the African peoples of the colonies, but also the Portuguese working class and any individuals who opposed the regime. Similarly, the 1961-1974 war between Portugal and the pro-independence armies of the colonized territories in Africa, and also the destructuring decolonization process that followed, threw Portuguese society into chaos as it did the societies of the African Portuguese-speaking

countries. Portuguese families were separated and destroyed by the war, as many young men were forced to go to battle while many others escaped into exile (some fled to France, for instance, where they were considered war refugees by the French government and the United Nations). Those who stayed in Portugal to fight against the regime and argue for the independence of the colonies were often imprisoned and tortured by PIDE. Both Africans and Portuguese were freeing themselves from a colonial and dictatorial regime at that time.

Alvim and Leitão, in particular, made clear that they rejected the term “Lusophony.” Like Couto at Cena Lusófona’s Forum, they did not think that the word evoked a group of countries that share linguistic and cultural affinities and, thus, collaborate on political and economic issues. Leitão explicitly said that this was a colonialist term that allowed some classes of Portuguese society to continue imposing neocolonial attitudes and practices upon other Portuguese-speaking countries. Framing colonization as a struggle of classes instead of a struggle between countries and races, a perspective rooted in left-wing ideologies, the Portuguese artists seemed to align themselves with African leaders like Amílcar Cabral and Eduardo Mondlane.

The position of Portuguese participants at the Forum of Cena Lusófona echoed the attempt to put Portuguese colonialism in perspective, but only to some extent. Maybe because the participants had even less historical distance from the colonial war and the decolonization process than did the participants at CTP, their stances were more radicalized. Only a few acknowledged the concerns expressed by the Mozambican artists, and agreed that there should have been more courtesy from the Portuguese organizers in incorporating the participation of Mozambican troupes in the conception and organization of the festival and co-productions. Nevertheless, most Portuguese participants pointed to their individual experiences of opposition to the fascist regime as proof that they were against colonialism and that they did not have

neocolonialist intentions. Some artists, including Barros, who became impatient with the debate, suggested that the worries of the Mozambican artists were founded on prejudices that did not apply to *Cena Lusófona*, its organizers, and the Portuguese guests. These participants claimed that, unlike the Mozambican artists, the Portuguese participants (and, to an extent the Portuguese people in general) had already overcome the colonial past and were ready to pursue a future of equity among Portuguese-speaking countries. They argued that the Mozambican artists had to solve their prejudices and traumas of colonization internally, so that the project of *Cena Lusófona* could move forward.

I identify slight differences between CTP and *Estação* in the behavior of Portuguese artists who participate in collaboration projects with artists from other Portuguese-speaking countries. At *Estação da Cena Lusófona*, with a few exceptions, Portuguese participants tended to distance themselves from colonialism as if it was not their problem. From the Portuguese artists' point of view, they themselves were over colonialism and fascism, but the African artists were not, and still needed to get rid of the feelings of resentment against the Portuguese. Unlike the Portuguese artists at CTP, in *Estação da Cena Lusófona* Portuguese artists did not stop to acknowledge the suffering that Portuguese colonization caused to the African nations. I propose that this contrast is due to the fact that *Estação da Cena Lusófona* happened two decades after the independence of the Portuguese colonies, while CTP took place thirty-nine years after. When the debate at *Cena Lusófona* happened, the trauma of colonialism and decolonization was still very fresh. Also, the stances of Portuguese participants (particularly Barros) might have been tainted by the conflict between the organization of the festival and Manuela Soeiro.

However, the Portuguese participants at CTP did not fully address the responsibility of Portugal in the colonial domination and suffering of African people either. By assigning the

responsibility of colonialism to the Portuguese government, and implying that Salazar's administration was not constituted by lawful representatives of the Portuguese people, the Portuguese participants in CTP flipped the accusations made by the Angolan artists. With a universalizing attitude, the Portuguese artists suggested that African and Portuguese people were equally exploited and oppressed by colonialism.

The position taken by Portuguese artists at CTP and Estação brings us to the complex debate undertaken by Portuguese philosophers and social scientists about the impact of Portuguese colonialism, dictatorship, and decolonization on Portuguese postcolonial identity and on Portugal's relationship to the former colonies. Foregrounding the idea that African and Portuguese citizens share an experience of oppression and exploitation by the Portuguese government, the Portuguese artists seem to align with Boaventura de Sousa Santos' theory that Portugal's semiperipheral condition brings the country economically and culturally closer to its former colonies than to Europe. Unlike other Western European colonial powers, Portugal was not only a colonizing country, but also (although indirectly) a country that was colonized and dominated by other European countries (in particular the United Kingdom). Situated at the margins of Western and Northern European imperial powers (the center), Portugal served as a mediator between these and the colonies (the periphery). In Boaventura de Sousa Santos' view, the Portuguese, who were subjugated by Western European powers, identified with the subalternized peoples of the colonized territories (Santos 2002: 11-12, Santos 2013⁹: 153-155). Based on the theories of José Gil and Eduardo Lourenço, however, I propose that such an interpretation negates Portuguese responsibility for the oppression and exploitation of colonized peoples and, ultimately (even if indirectly), ignores Portuguese participation in a collective attempt to deny (and forget) that Portuguese colonialism ever existed as such.

Based on historical events and travel literature, Boaventura de Sousa Santos proposes that the Portuguese attitude towards the colonies was structurally ambivalent, which deeply impacted the construction of Portuguese identity and culture. Santos suggests that Portuguese culture became a “borderland culture” in the nineteenth century, due to the Portuguese government’s failure to institutionalize a national culture, and to the political and economic pressures and exoticizing gaze of countries to which Portugal was economically subjugated (Santos 2002: 10).²³ Santos defines “borderland culture” as a structure without content; a culture that, like a sponge, absorbs, integrates, and transforms the various cultures it comes into contact with (in Portugal’s case, the cultures of the colonies) (Santos 2013⁹: 155-161)²⁴. This situation led the Portuguese to simultaneously identify and disidentify with the peoples of the colonies. Portugal needed the colonies to substantiate the value of its culture, identity, and policies. The connections between Portugal and its colonies were not only created by the Portuguese, but also imposed and sanctioned by European powers. For Boaventura de Sousa Santos, it is unclear where the Portuguese initiative ended and the external imposition of other European countries began (Santos 2002: 10-12, 24-25, 28-30, and Santos 2013⁹: 155).

²³ Santos analyzes several accounts from “Northern European travelers, traders, and monks” (2002: 21) in which the Portuguese are described as “barbarian” (which was the way Portuguese traders, travelers, and knights, or literates hired to provide accounts about the travels, would describe the colonized peoples) (see Santos 2002: 21-24). Santos explains that before the second half of the eighteenth century, accounts that praised and criticized the Portuguese (as “civilized” or “un-civilized”) circulated alongside each other. After that, with the dominance of the United Kingdom over Portugal, the negative accounts increased. The fact that the Portuguese mingled with non-Western (particularly African) peoples was regarded as a weakness of the Portuguese character (see 2002: 25). According to Santos, the Portuguese did not only take part in the creation of the African mulattos, they were also seen as racially mixed themselves by Northern European countries. In different accounts, miscegenation would be used to justify the strength and weakness of the Portuguese people (see Santos 2002: 28). In British accounts, the Portuguese were always racialized through miscegenation. Many times the authors were not able to identify the Portuguese under any taxonomy, or they categorized the Portuguese people as non-white (see Santos 2002: 28).

²⁴ Santos also referred to Portuguese culture as “cafreolized.” According to Santos, “cafreolization,” unlike miscegenation, consisted of a double assimilation: of the colonizer by the colonized and of the colonized by the colonizer (see Santos 2002: 26-27).

Boaventura de Sousa Santos's theory provides us with a nuanced view of the relations of power that have shaped Portuguese identity, as well as Portugal's relationship with African countries. Nevertheless, and as other scholars have noted, the author fails to account for the perspective of the colonized peoples (Khan 2006: 1-26). Santos' description of Portuguese culture as a hybrid that welcomes inputs from other cultures does not account for the violent practices of miscegenation and cultural assimilation that the Portuguese undertook in the colonies for five centuries. Emphasizing the economic and political dependence of Portugal to European powers seems to relieve Portugal of its responsibility for colonialism. Perhaps inadvertently, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, like the Portuguese artists at Estação and CTP, participates in the same colonial practice that Eduardo Lourenço and José Gil claim produces a structural problem in Portuguese society, identity, and culture: the narrative of non-existence.

Lourenço and Gil suggest that the Portuguese did not mourn the loss of the colonial empire, a fact that haunts the Portuguese imagination and jeopardizes relationships with former colonies. In the essay *Situação Africana e Consciência Nacional*, written between 1961-1963 and published in 1976 (two years after the end of the dictatorial regime), Lourenço lays out his proposition on the relationship between Portuguese identity and colonialism. Lourenço proposes that, because Portuguese identity rests on a mythology that emphasizes relationships with the outside world (the colonies), colonialism has always been conceived of as a fraternal (non-colonial) phenomenon. According to Lourenço, Portugal is paralyzed by an idealized understanding of the past that was first constructed in the nineteenth century. Lourenço proposes that the Portuguese people suffer from a "hypertrophy of national consciousness" (2014: 125); they seem to be stuck in the notion that the country has been able to survive multiple threats to its autonomy because it has a destiny, given by God, to accomplish. Portuguese people conceal

their anxiety about their nation's sovereignty in the notion of miracle (this, in turn, deeply impacts the consciousness of the nation, generating its "hypertrophy"). Lourenço proposes that colonization was an attempt by Portugal to escape from a persistent state of political and economic fragility. For Portugal, in contrast with other European countries, colonization was not a supplement to the national economy and to its political and social stability; instead, it was the core of Portuguese subsistence and national consciousness. The Portuguese people needed the "other" to sustain themselves, but the myth reversed that reality: the Portuguese myths declare that the "other" needs the Portuguese. In this way, the Portuguese identity myth justifies colonization as a Portuguese "vocation" that serves the colonized peoples. Portugal developed an "innocent colonization" in which the Portuguese people do not recognize colonization as a problem, and deny its brutality (Lourenço 2014: 125-146).

In various texts written after the military coup of April 25, 1974, which led to the end of the Portuguese dictatorship and colonial regime, Lourenço explores how the negation of colonialism infiltrated the decolonization process (Lourenço 2014). The author points out how Portuguese politicians described decolonization as a non-problem and, eventually, treated it as if it never happened. Focusing almost exclusively on rebuilding Portugal after the termination of the dictatorship, Portuguese politicians showed no intention of addressing the decolonization process in the African countries, nor of treating it as an issue that concerned the Portuguese people. For Lourenço, this implied that the problem of colonization never existed for Portugal. The author explains that, because colonialism became a core aspect of Portuguese identity, it was difficult for the Portuguese to think about solutions for the colonial war (or for the decolonizing process). Portuguese people did not recognize colonization as a problem because being a colonizer was not understood as a practice but as a way of being. Hence, to think of abandoning

the colonized territories was like canceling Portuguese identity. In a text written ten years after the military coup, Lourenço points out that the topic of colonization and decolonization simply vanished from Portuguese society, as if colonialism never happened (2014: 256-269). Like Santos, Lourenço explores the perverse identification of Portuguese people with the African colonies. However, Lourenço does not explain it as a consequence of external pressures against which Portugal was unable to fight. Instead, the author suggests that the narrative justifying the identification of the Portuguese with the African colonies was conceived to alleviate the anxiety of recognizing Portuguese colonialism as such.

Gil, like Lourenço, relates the impunity of Portuguese colonialism to the misinformation and infantilization of the Portuguese people – a consequence of the media censorship and information control implemented by Salazar's regime. Gil, moreover, relates this impunity to a fear of inscription (i.e. taking action, asserting one's position through actions or writing) cultivated by the dictatorship, which was engrained in the decolonization process and persists to the present day (2004: 15-22, 33-42). Lourenço and Gil expose the fact that the Portuguese never took responsibility for colonialism, and never dealt with the fractures that the colonial process and the dictatorship inflicted on Portuguese and African Portuguese-speaking societies. The Portuguese people's irresponsible attitude, which Lourenço and Gil point out, might help explain the frustration and urgency expressed by Kandimba and Meirinho Mendes when addressing the issue of Portuguese colonization at CTP, as well as Soeiro's, Gilberto Mendes', and other Mozambican artists' mistrust towards *Cena Lusófona* and festival *Estação*.

The notions of mourning and grief that Lourenço, particularly, uses in his scholarship, have also been applied by authors who analyze the consequences of unresolved inheritances from the

colonial past in other countries. Anne Anlin Cheng, for instance, uses the Freudian notion of melancholia to examine how Asian American populations cope with racial oppression in the US. Cheng develops her argument based on a reworking of Freud's concept of melancholia,²⁵ which she also complicates by arguing that melancholia is predicated upon a paradox: the melancholic subject denies the loss, but at the same time ensures the exclusion of the lost object by nurturing her/himself with the haunting of the lost object (Cheng 2001: 9).

Cheng proposes that the concept of melancholia encapsulates the ambivalent emotions produced by the conflict between US national identity (grounded in values of racial mingling, inclusion, and opposition to colonial and imperialist European values) and its policies that actually produce racial exclusion. The author argues that the dominant (white) American identity is melancholic, being grounded in ambivalent feelings towards the racialized subject: it simultaneously desires and is repulsed by the "other" (Cheng 2001: 10-12). Cheng's theory allows us to locate the Lusophone case within a larger debate about colonial oppression in the post-colonial period; the case of Portuguese-speaking countries, in turn, becomes relevant to how racial melancholy operates in an international context.

The case of Portuguese-speaking countries, and the position of Portugal in the de-colonization process as theorized by Lourenço and Gil, asks us to consider what happens when a former colonial nation refuses to mourn the loss of its empire and, in that process, denies the mourning process to its own citizens as well as to the postcolonial countries. Can the refusal to mourn be considered a strategy to maintain a position of dominance over formerly colonized territories? As in the US, the debates about race and racism in Portuguese-speaking countries are long-lasting and far from being resolved. The case of Portuguese-speaking countries can help us

²⁵ Freud defined melancholia as an unhealthy form of grief in which the subject does not accept the loss and the need to substitute the lost object, but instead needs the feeling of loss to nurture that sense of grief. The subject simultaneously loves and hates the lost object (Cheng 2001: 8-9).

understand that the racial dilemma that Cheng describes in the US is, in fact, an international phenomenon. The case of Portuguese-speaking countries also illustrates how intersectionality, and also the lack of acknowledgement of privilege and power as relative and contextual, stand in the way of solving racial questions.

As Lourenço and Gil demonstrate, Portuguese colonialism was constantly denied as such (what Gil calls the “non-inscription”), framed instead as a core aspect of Portuguese identity (this, in turn, generates the country’s “national hypertrophy,” according to Lourenço). The loss of the colonial empire, and the entire colonial past, remains mostly unproblematized and unacknowledged by Portuguese governments. This lack of acknowledgement, in turn, denies Portuguese citizens the opportunity to process their feelings and experiences related to colonialism, experiences that range from life in the colonized territories and abrupt reintegration into Portuguese society to (often forced) participation in the colonial war. Portuguese colonialism and the decolonization process have been denied, or pushed away and forcefully forgotten, instead of being dealt with. Authors such as the French historian Michel Cahen even argue that the concept of Lusophony and its materialization in the organization CPLP constitutes an attempt on the part of Portugal to keep a hold on its already lost empire (Cahen 2010). Similar to the North American melancholic relationship to race described by Cheng, Portuguese society is caught between 1) the longing to return to Africa and a fascination with Brazilian and African cultures, 2) feelings of fear and disgust towards the emigration of citizens from Brazil and African Portuguese-speaking countries to Portugal, and 3) disdain for the political conflicts that have taken place in African Portuguese-speaking countries.

Given this complex relationship between Portugal and its colonies, the debates at CTP and Estação da Cena Lusófona signal that Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism was a response to both

the grievances of African artists and also to the inability of the Portuguese to mourn the loss of the colonial empire. The position of *Turning to Africa*, in turn, allowed the Angolan and Mozambican artists to fight against the invisibilization and internalization of racial discrimination that, from their point of view, Lusophony perpetuates. Artists like Kandimba, Meirinho Mendes, Gilberto Mendes, Manuela Soeiro tried to call the attention of Portuguese, Brazilian, and other African artists to the fact that racial injury is systemic and transnational, and that in *Estação* as in *CTP*, Lusophony did not provide relief for their suffering – instead, it increased it. I believe that Kandimba, in particular, wanted to mobilize his audience to recognize their participation in systemic racial oppression. Unfortunately, he got caught in his critique of Brazil and Portugal, and in the lack of acknowledgement of his own position of privilege.

The position of *Turning to Africa* can be seen as a response to melancholia, which Cheng defines also as a “structural, identificatory formation predicated on – while being an active negotiation of – the loss of self as legitimacy” (2001, 20). In their need to assert an African identity, Kandimba and Meirinho Mendes also denied the possibility of agency that melancholia can offer to racialized subjects. Cheng argues that the concept of melancholia can illuminate new perspectives of agency for the racialized subject, being simultaneously “a *sign* of rejection and a psychic *strategy* in response to that rejection” (2001: 20). Cheng proposes that melancholia can be a strategy developed to cope with an adverse situation: “internalization of dominant oppression might not signal pure conformity on defeat but rather point to new ways of thinking about what agency means” (2001: 21). As I will indicate in the next section, melancholia of race can shed light on the position of Brazilians toward race and toward Portuguese colonialism – in their case, internalization of racial oppression might be a mode of agency. Kandimba and Meirinho Mendes reject this possibility, as they are too invested in affirming an identity; they

cannot accept that “identity’s instability and its indebtedness to dis-identity” can also be an act of agency and a strategy to *claim* an identity (2001: 22). Kandimba and Meirinho Mendes’s inability to understand this possibility caused their disagreement with Borges at the debate.

Resisting Globalization

The position that I name “Resisting Globalization” can be found especially in Borges’ stance. This position acknowledges the oppression of Portuguese colonialism while at the same time proposing that the peoples of Portuguese-speaking countries should focus on overcoming colonial trauma (“healing” from it, as Borges often says). In addition, she proposes that citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries should unite to respond to the danger of cultural homogenization via American economic dominance, which spreads through globalization. From Borges’ standpoint, personal feelings about Portuguese colonization should be put aside to privilege the celebration of a mixed Brazilian identity, formed from the encounter between Europeans, Africans, and Native Brazilians.

Her view suggests that Portuguese language should be used to foster cooperation among different nations and races. Here, there seems to be a point of contact between the positions of Resisting Globalization and Turning to Africa, as some supporters of the latter (like Meirinho Mendes and Elliot Alex), seem to agree with the idea that Portuguese can be a *lingua franca* within multilingual countries (which is the case of Angola and Mozambique). These positions diverge, however, in the level of relevance that should be given to Portuguese language as *lingua franca*, *vis a vis* national and regional languages. For subscribers of Turning to Africa, Portuguese language is a tool of communication or translation between communities with

different native languages, without any other political or cultural implications. For supporters of Resisting Globalization, Portuguese language should be appreciated and cultivated as a *lingua franca* and, moreover, as a means to build a cultural, political, and economic coalition that can serve as an alternative to Anglophone culture and to the North American domination of politics and markets.

During the debate, Borges insisted on the political and economic benefits of using Portuguese language as *lingua franca*. As in previous conversations that she and I had about this topic, she emphasized that Portuguese language is the fifth most widely spoken language in the world, and that people from other countries come to Brazil to learn it. Portuguese language can thus be a way of taking part in world events and of fostering a competitive position in economic markets. Borges' insistence on the world market stems in part from her experience of and *need* to circulate transnationally to survive as a theater artist. Because her plays (as it happens with most Portuguese-speaking theater troupes) are text-based, the understanding of the performance hinges on the comprehension of what is said on stage. The company does not have the knowledge or the means to hire someone to translate their plays into English, or to create subtitles, and they are not well-known enough to be invited to perform in international venues that have the resources to translate and subtitle a show. Performing in other Portuguese-speaking countries allows the company to find new audiences and, most importantly, new sources of income: foreign venues, internationalization grants sponsored by the Brazilian government and Brazilian private companies, and small contributions from theater festivals.

Some African artists took Borges' side during the debate; Portuguese language allowed their companies to perform outside of their own country where, instead of inviting and paying artists to present their projects, venues charge companies for the use of their facilities. During the

debate (and in other public and private conversations as well) members of the Mozambican troupe Lareira Artes and of the Cabo Verdean troupe Craq'Otchod shared that touring in Portuguese-speaking countries through festivals like CTP allowed them to escape the grip of what these artists described to me as a monopolized national theater scene.²⁶ Touring in festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries allows these artists to come closer to the status of professionals – those who earn money and public recognition from their artistic activity.

Portuguese artists who attempted to nuance the position of Portuguese people in colonialism also seemed to agree with Borges. For these artists, touring in Portuguese-speaking countries allows them to dodge systematic cuts in arts funding in Portugal, while simultaneously gathering cultural capital that they can put to use when applying for festivals in Portugal and abroad, and for the few funding opportunities still available in their own country. Also, this position takes pressure off the Portuguese as the people responsible for the problem of colonization and therefore mainly responsible for finding solutions to it.

Borges' view, seconded by African and Portuguese artists, points to a larger trend in theater, where artists use transnationalism to increase opportunities for performing and for doing so internationally. Transnational communities constitute niches that allow performers to gain the status of international artists, while avoiding the language and cultural constraints of globalization. In her recent book, *Performing Asian Transnationalisms* (2015), for instance, Amanda Rogers examines how artists from Asian ethnic minorities create transnational networks to take part in the international performing arts circuit and avoid the limitations of their national theater scene. Rogers' study and the use that Portuguese-speaking artists make of transnationalism point to how these tactics transform globalization itself – from an

²⁶ This concurs with Mora Ramos' comment about the position of Manuela Soeiro and with some conversations I had with local artists in Cabo Verde.

unified/homogeneous English-speaking sphere to a multitude of smaller transnational spheres whose members are constantly working to expand their horizons. Festivals, as Rogers and I argue, play a central role in the expansion of transnational spheres and in opposing the idea of a culturally homogeneous world.

The position of *Resisting Globalization through Lusophony* also compels me to revisit Rostum Bharucha's notion of interculturalism – the exchange between cultures of different countries (Bharucha 2000: 8-9), and his theory about the relationship between interculturalism and globalization in the performing arts. Bharucha looks into the Indian context and proposes that, if well-known artists create intercultural works to participate in multinational globalization, less well-known artists whose work will not be commodified by governments or corporations use interculturalism as a strategy to resist globalization. Indeed, Borges and the artists who participate at CTP recognize that the global performing arts market is not accessible to them, so they join forces to create intercultural projects like CTP which allow them to create a transnational performing arts circuit within which they can circulate.

Borges aims to turn the performing arts circuit of Portuguese-speaking countries into a market, so that she and other artists can earn a living through their art, instead of depending on sponsorships from government or private institutions. Nevertheless, she opposes the idea of adopting a corporate business model or even marketing strategies and an image that conforms to corporate standards. Borges has told me this when comparing CTP to another theater festival of Portuguese-speaking countries based in Rio de Janeiro – FESTLIP. Even though Borges recognizes that FESTLIP embraces marketing strategies and the creation and promotion of a corporate image to attract the media and celebrities from the entertainment industry also based in Rio de Janeiro, Borges would rather keep CTP as a “family” business, even if the image and

promotion strategies of her festival are less sophisticated and, thus, less able to capture the attention of the media and entertainment industry. She wants CTP to be a meeting of theater practitioners across Portuguese-speaking countries and would rather spend her efforts and money making sure that the project produces meaningful results for the artists who participate rather than enhancing its visibility. However, as Bharucha also points out, *Resisting Globalization* requires a certain level of privilege – one has to be in a situation where one can choose to resist (2000: 44). Borges is not always in that situation, and she has to make concessions, as I will explore in more detail in the next chapter.

The core problem of Borges' use of Lusophony as a way of healing from the colonial past and resisting globalization, from my perspective, is that she does not offer a clear notion of what form overcoming or healing from colonialism would take, nor whether this overcoming would exoticize African, Afro-Brazilian, and Brazilian indigenous artists. Does healing from colonialism through Lusophony mean acknowledging and integrating the colonial heritage in the cultures of each Portuguese-speaking country? Or does it mean to “forgive and forget” colonialism altogether? And what would moving forward from colonialism look like at a national (and even transnational) level? The closest I got to a concrete example of a tactic to overcome colonialism was Borges' personal definition of healing from colonialism and the role that theater can play in processes of healing in Brazil and among Portuguese-speaking countries.

In an interview I conducted with her in 2013, I asked Borges to elaborate on this notion of healing from colonialism. Borges framed the concept with her experience as a theater practitioner in Brazil where, she maintained, the “theater of healing” is extremely important. She explained that Brazil still needs a theater that allows for the “catharsis of an enslaved and hurt people” (Borges 2013). As we see in the quote above, Borges defines healing as a form of

“catharsis”: the resolution of a problem initially presented by a play, which relieves spectators from the pressure of that problem while compelling them to think of themselves as social agents who are also responsible for it. Then Borges went on to explain how healing operates at CTP; here, her explanation became a little bit convoluted, as she was trying to explain something that she feels is extremely urgent, and that she is searching for in her work as an actress, a theater director, and a curator, but that she cannot yet fully articulate. As she admitted later in the interview, her concept of healing is utopic, demanding a radical change of mindset from the current capitalist and neocolonialist system.

From Borges’ perspective, CTP is a space of healing because it allows artists from the various Portuguese-speaking countries to remove themselves from the difficult social and political realities of their countries (especially in the case of African Portuguese-speaking countries) and inhabit a space where they can talk openly about the social and political problems of their countries (and, in a sense, relieve themselves from those problems).

The cure, that catharsis of happiness and what not that comes at the end... When I see the participants from Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, who came here through a joint effort undertaken by myself and other people from here [Brazil], institutions from here, they came here without being paid anything, they didn’t have money to buy even [a bottle of] water... [...] So, the cure comes through the satisfaction and possibility that Circuito creates for the [participants from the] countries that need that [support]. Otherwise they wouldn’t ever be able to travel from their country and tell us how things are there, what is happening there [...]. So, this meeting is a stage of exchanges of news, and it is very rich in cultural exchanges, which is the goal of the meeting itself [...] [Borges 2013].

Also, CTP becomes a space of healing when it gives people back their humanity and/or allows them to experience a new country and cities, and a new context of theater production. It seems to me that, in Borges’ understanding, healing from a collective trauma (colonialism) cannot happen without individual healing.

[T]wo members [of a company from São Tomé and Príncipe that] came to the festival [once] told me: ‘Thank you very much for making feel **human** [emphasis in Borges’ voice]!’ They have never experienced that... [...] Then I felt the relevance of this meeting, the possibility it offers to take someone, sometimes, from that place where they are living (a temporary hell, a difficult situation) and come here to experience something good. This allows that human being to see something good in their life. And that makes life more important. And it is that importance of life that that person is going to pass on to those that could not have the same experience they had [Borges 2013].

Because in her explanation of the concept of healing Borges referred mainly to Brazil and African Portuguese-speaking countries, I prompted her about what might be the role of Portugal in the healing of other Portuguese-speaking countries. In her response, Borges tried to put in perspective the historical positions of the Portuguese and Native Brazilians, when the Portuguese first arrived in Brazil; she explained that we cannot judge an event that took place five centuries ago with a contemporary mindset. Borges proposed that Portuguese-speaking countries should not relate to each other based on the mindset of five hundred years ago, when Portugal was a colonizing power, and when Brazil and African Portuguese-speaking countries were colonized territories.

I think that the encounter [between the Portuguese and the native Brazilians] was wonderful. It could have been different. Humanity would have had to meet anyway. I can understand the violence of the encounter that took place five hundred years ago [...] [;] I imagine what it would be like for me today... I feel native Brazilian, descendent from native Brazilians, [but even I] if I see a native Brazilian chief in front of me, I am afraid. I imagine what it would have been like when five hundred years ago a man with a beard, fully dressed, met a naked man without a hair on his body; the strangeness that those two human beings, those two men, must have felt... [...] I understand the violence of this first moment... the strangeness, the not knowing.

[...]

I don't think of Portugal as the villain, today; I think there are other countries among us that are villains [today] like Portugal was in the 1500, right? So, this is what I think: slavery was a very dark moment [in our history]... But the whole world was dark then and there was a lot of violence everywhere. So I think that now we have to heal from that, from that discourse, because we can't... I can't just keep accusing the Portuguese, today, about

something they did 500 years ago or 200 years ago. It was five hundred years ago but it lasted much more than that right? [Borges 2013].

As we can see in the quote above, Borges does not hide her ambivalence toward Portuguese colonization; she seems to be considering her own emotional response to the exploitation and violence inherent to colonization, and making what she considers to be a rational move toward overcoming the colonial past. This rationalizing process is inherent, I believe, to all the positions I theorize in this chapter; through this rationalizing process, individuals articulate (and create) the link between their individual stories and the collective histories of their communities. What I find particular to Borges' process is her ability to bring up the nuances in the relationships among peoples from different countries, and her belief that true healing from colonialism demands a radical (even utopic) structural shift in mindset for all the groups involved. The true healing demands that human beings (whatever their nationality might be) renounce unequal power relations. Otherwise, Borges proposes, the past will keep repeating itself and peoples who were formerly colonized will act as colonizers upon other peoples. As an example, Borges pointed out Brazil's neocolonial attitude toward African countries – evidence of the fact that the healing from colonialism hasn't yet happened.

[T]oday, when we speak of the colonizer, we are talking about the colonizer that arrived and today the colonized, and those who descend from the colonizers are the ones who have to heal themselves from that mentality and understand that they are not the colonizers anymore. You want an example? [...] [T]hat discourse of going to Africa to save the African, of going there, again, imposing [ourselves]... It can't be like that. Today we have to be careful with the way we help others. Help generates violence. [...] I can't go there [to an African country] and say "I am here to save you from all your problems," because I won't do that. [...] Because this is how things work, what happened, happened, we can't go back. There isn't a way... There isn't anything you can do! That's how it happened! When I say "healing" I mean, again, the healing of the human being her/himself, [healing of] mindsets [which] have to change. We can't think like we did five hundred years ago. That's all. The position of the European [citizen] towards Africa, right? Even [the position

of] Brazil towards Africa... Brazil, today, is inside Angola, for instance, the Brazilian companies [are in Angola] with the same attitude of the Americans who are in Brazil, and whose attitude we criticize. [...] Because we [Brazil] are developing and what not, we end up doing the same thing [developed countries do with developing countries]. So... we have to be wary of that. Of respecting the other, the culture of the other [...]. You can help, but you have to give the other space so that s/he can develop her/himself, by her/himself. Of course that talking in this terms is utopic, but I have to speak up for this mindset, and it is this is the mindset I believe in [Borges 2013].

In sum, healing, in Borges' view, requires learning from the negative consequences of colonial relations, and shifting from a mindset that is grounded in unequal relations of power to relationships that foster compassion for others and respect for their cultural specificities. Theater collaborations and meetings like *Circuito de Teatro em Português* can constitute forums to implement this healing process at a micro-level.

In the quote above, when Borges mentioned “going to Africa to save the African,” she was also thinking of cases like the co-productions of *Cena Lusófona* where Portuguese directors go to African countries to implement theater projects where they seem to make all the decisions, making the African participants uncomfortable (as in the case of Manuela Soeiro). In conversations with me and with African and Portuguese theater directors and artists, Borges expressed her concern about the attitude of Portuguese theater directors who conduct collaborative (supposedly intercultural) projects in African Portuguese-speaking countries. In these contexts, theater directors take advantage of having more financial and material resources than their African colleagues to impose on them their views of the projects. Indeed, to this day, collaborative projects between Portuguese and African Portuguese-speaking artists have always been directed either by Portuguese artists based in Portugal or in African Portuguese-speaking countries, or by African Portuguese-speaking directors based in Portugal. African theater directors living in African Portuguese-speaking countries haven't had yet the opportunity to

direct a collaborative intercultural project. This illustrates the uneven power relations that exist among Portuguese-speaking countries, where Portuguese (and to some extent Brazilian) artists have the privilege of mobility and African artists depend on their Portuguese and Brazilian colleagues, who organize co-productions and festivals, to circulate.

Borges' critiques of the attitude of Portuguese directors in African Portuguese-speaking countries echoes Bharucha's critiques of Western artists who conduct cultural exchange projects involving non-Western artists. Portuguese theater directors, like the European and North American artists described by Bharucha, use intercultural theater exchange projects to maintain their position of privilege and assure that they benefit from the intercultural project. In this situation, non-Western artists feel silenced and made aware of their vulnerable condition (Bharucha 2000: 2-3) – just like Soeiro, Gilberto Mendes, Kandimba, and Meirinho Mendes described during the debate. It seems that Portuguese artists use their position of disadvantage relative to their European and North American colleagues (because of the economic situation of their country and the result of that in less arts funding) to establish relationships with other disadvantaged artists in Africa and Brazil, participating in their festivals and inviting them to co-productions. Nevertheless, when these same artists are invited to participate in theater festivals like CTP or when they are in charge of co-productions, they feel the need to assert their position of privilege by making demands or offering unsolicited advice about how to run a festival (in the case of CTP), or by imposing their aesthetic views on the theater projects (in the case of co-productions).²⁷

Borges reacts to the attitudes of Portuguese artists the same way that Bharucha responds to European and North American “interculturalists,” by proposing an attitude of humbleness and

²⁷ My intention here is not to demonize the Portuguese theater directors as the “bad colonizers”; there are more nuances to this discussion that I don't have the time to explore here, but which I will discuss in more detail in chapter three.

learning from the vulnerable groups (Bharucha 2000: 3). Borges, for instance, refuses the idea of conducting co-productions in African Portuguese-speaking countries and suggests that African artists should come to Brazil, instead. She hopes that by inverting positions of mobility, she can also reverse the vulnerable position of African artists. Nevertheless, even in her project, to which she invites African artists to participate, she cannot get around the limitations imposed by the festival format, which, aside from the limitations imposed by funding, presents other obstacles to the attempt to withdraw from a position of power. This was an uncomfortable situation that I had to confront as well as I helped Borges organize CTP in 2014 and 2015.

Festivals demand a selection of artists, which put Borges and I in the position of power to choose who participated and who didn't. In other words, we chose who got to travel, have the privilege of circulating, and have the privilege of collecting symbolic capital from that mobility, and who did not. The fact that artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries (with the exception of Angola) cannot usually mobilize domestic funding to pay for their travel expenses makes them more dependent on the festival. In these circumstances, they inevitably arrive as the individuals who are being helped, and who exchange labor for the possibility of participating in the festival.²⁸

Also, the festival model implies a conceptual framing, an explanation about who the invited artists are, why they are important, and (in the specific case of CTP) what their relevance to discussions about Lusophony is and what the importance of discussing Lusophony in Brazil is. Inevitably, our voices, our points of view, recorded in applications for funding, press releases, and promotional materials, supplant the voices of the artists – which is particularly delicate when

²⁸ The case of CTP raises issues about migration in the age of globalization, addressed by Bharucha and Rogers. I will return to this topic in chapters two and three and analyze how mobility in the context of festivals is entangled with the institutional relations and foreign policies of Portuguese-speaking countries and transnational organizations. This analysis will expand on the notion of migrant and relativize issues of power relations inherent to being mobile or enabling the mobility of others.

we are trying to be humble about our position and to make the artists (especially the African artists) visible and heard. I suggest that the limitations of festivals in implementing honest intercultural theater exchanges can also help explain the difficult relationship between African and Portuguese artists at Estação da Cena Lusófona. I will further explore this topic in chapter three, when I analyze co-productions developed between Portuguese and African Portuguese-speaking theater companies, which were sponsored and presented in Estação da Cena Lusófona, CTP, and Mindelact.

The festival model challenges Borges' notion of healing, which I had trouble understanding in concrete terms. Besides an attitude of compassion and understanding toward other Portuguese-speaking peoples, including the Portuguese, Borges could not articulate how the process of healing would take place. She seemed to suggest that healing could happen organically through collaborations among Portuguese-speaking peoples. Artistic collaborations in particular (like those fostered by CTP) would be a starting point, as they would allow individuals from the various Portuguese-speaking countries to acknowledge one another's humanity. Based on Borges' position, *Resisting Globalization* seems to hinge on an attitude shift in which one would focus on the construction of an egalitarian postcolonial present-future, instead of reinforcing the violent colonial past. This stance, however, begs the question: "Should colonialism just be forgotten?" I suggest that the lack of concreteness about what to do with the colonial past reflects the absence of debates at a governmental and civic level, within and among Portuguese-speaking countries, about what colonialism means, how it manifests presently in each society, and how it might impact current relations among governments and citizens of the various Portuguese-speaking countries. The focus on the present and future, which underlies *Resisting Globalization*, seems to be a way of erasing the past. Here, I suggest, we can see how

the Portuguese discourse on the non-existence of colonization, theorized by Lourenço, and the Portuguese attitude of non-inscription, examined by Gil, are ingrained in the postcolonial lives of Portuguese-speaking nations.

Given its utopic nature, the notion of healing and Resisting Globalization through Lusophony comes dangerously close to Gilberto Freyre's theory of Lusotropicalism, which proposes a trace of colonialism in the formation of Brazil as nation. With "Lusotropicalism," Freyre argued for the exceptionality of Portuguese colonization, which he characterized by the extraordinary ability of the Portuguese to mingle with and foster interracial connections among different peoples. From Freyre's perspective, Portugal set the path for Brazil's "racial democracy" (Arenas 2011: 5). This theory was used during the Brazilian and Portuguese dictatorships to conceal the unequal relations of power that underlie miscegenation and the fact that Brazil was a settler colony where independence was led by a white elite that continued exploiting black and indigenous populations. In Portugal, Lusotropicalism was used to support the idea of a non-empire.

When Borges explained her notion of healing, she suggested that "a lot of good things happened [during colonization] as well, such as the mingling of all these peoples [...]; when we mingled, that's when the healing started" (Borges 2013). In her attempt to root the utopic idea of collaboration and humanist understanding among Portuguese-speaking nations to Brazilian miscegenation, Borges' notion of healing dismisses the traumatic, exploitative, and violent dimension of colonialism. Borges' understanding of miscegenation as part of the healing process, also gestures to the historical and political link between Brazil and Portugal, which can help explaining why, for instance, Borges and Kandimba have such different views about how to address Portuguese colonialism and racial relations within Portuguese-speaking countries.

The first difference to consider between the independence processes of Brazil and African Portuguese-speaking countries is the historical distance from colonization: Brazil has been independent from Portugal since 1822 (one hundred and ninety three years), while the African Portuguese-speaking countries have only achieved their independence from Portugal since 1975 (40 years). The colonization experience of African Portuguese-speaking countries is longer and at the same time more recent. Although Portuguese political presence in and economic exploitation of African territories dates back to the late 14th century, and was particularly strong starting in the 16th century (see Thornton 2012: 5-28, 60-99), the Portuguese colonial enterprise in Africa was more aggressive starting in the late 19th century, after the independence of Brazil.

As the Portuguese historian Valentim Alexandre explains, the Portuguese elites depended on the empire economically and ideologically. When Brazil became independent, Portugal turned to the African territories in an attempt to sustain the empire; to renew the empire focusing on the African colonies allowed the country, according to the politics of the time, to preserve its identity and sovereignty, as it would allow the country its economic autonomy (Alexandre 2000: 181). This notion was perpetuated through Salazar's autocratic and colonial regime, from which the African nations became officially independent only in 1975.

Besides the historical distancing, another key aspect that differentiates Brazilian and African Portuguese-speaking countries' independence processes is the role native and Portuguese populations played in each case. While in African Portuguese-speaking countries, the independence process was led by Africans, in Brazil, a settler colony, independence was undertaken by a Portuguese and Portuguese-descendent elite²⁹. Moreover, the independence

²⁹ The elite of Brazil was constituted by two groups: 1) people who immigrated from Portugal, some of whom took high positions in administration and were counting on going back to Europe; others integrated public administration and the military, they fulfilled itinerant positions or tried to build their own fortunes through economic trade; and 2)

process of Brazil actually started with a reversal of power roles between Brazil and Portugal, in which Brazil became the metropolis of the empire, and Portugal became, to a certain extent, a colony. As the historian Maria Manuela Lucas explains, the Independence of Brazil was a process initiated right after the Portuguese Royal Family installed itself in Rio de Janeiro, after the second invasion of Portugal by Napoleon in 1808. The regent prince D. João de Bragança implemented measures to open the economic trade of Brazil with other nations, encourage industry, and establish administrative, legal, and political structures similar to those of an autonomous state. In 1815, a law officially implemented the kingdom of “Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves,” which made Brazil rise to the same status of Portugal. In fact, between then and 1822, the decentralization of the administration from Portugal to Brazil, caused an inversion of power between colony and colonial power – Brazil was the new center of the empire, and the elites were developing their own political and economic interests, that started diverging from those of Portugal. When Portugal reestablished its independence, after the defeat of the Napoleonic invasions, D. João VI returned to Portugal, leaving his son, D. Pedro, as regent of Brazil. The king wanted to limit the powers of his son and reestablish the dependence of Brazil to Portugal. Nevertheless, D. Pedro and the elites did not accept the return to the status of colony and, in 1822 the prince led a rebellion against Portugal, declaring the independence of Brazil (Lucas 1998: 245-266). The dominant role of the Portuguese and Portuguese-descending elites in the independence of Brazil meant that the country grounded its notion of nationhood in European

the “Filhos da Terra” [Children of the Land], powerful land owners, some of whom descended from the first colonizers (Lucas 1998: 245-266).

culture. Indigenous and African communities continued to be exploited and assimilated, and Portuguese language remained the official language of the country.³⁰

Borges' notion of healing and of theater as healing raises questions about representation of the healed subjects (in the case of CTP, African artists and spectators from the suburban working class, surrounding São Paulo), and about the relationship between healer (artists or festival organizer) and healed subjects. Borges claims that CTP heals by providing African participants with a positive experience and with the rare chance of travelling to another country to tell their stories (which would otherwise remain unheard). She grounds her statements on her observation of the participants around her and on their explicit declarations of gratitude. In other conversations, Borges told me about her perspective of theater as an education and self-empowerment tool. She considers that through theater people gain communication skills and confidence. Also, attending theater performances from other Portuguese-speaking countries allows Brazilians to make contact with cultures that intersect their own; this can compel people to reflect on the origins of their own culture. Borges speaks from experience as a working class woman who gained social mobility through theater, as a theater educator who has seen her students (actors and non-actors) become more articulate and more confident about their bodies, and as a spectator of performances by African Portuguese-speaking artists in CTP and other festivals – performances in which she found points of contacts between African and Brazilian cultural expressions, aesthetics, and acting technics.

While Borges considers that artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries find solace in CTP, she also seems to perceive African Portuguese-speaking artists as healing agents for

³⁰ Between the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil, in 1500 and the end of the 18th century, Tupinambá (the language spoken by the Native Brazilian populations living in the coast) was used as the language of the colony, along with Portuguese language, which was spoken by missionaries and administrators. In 1757, however, Marquês de Pombal forbade the use of Tupinambá, and institutionalized Portuguese as the official language of the colony. Since then, Portuguese has been the official language of Brazil (A Língua Portuguesa 2006).

Brazilians. For bringing cultural practices and stories from their countries (which are different but feel strangely familiar to Brazilians from Afro-Brazilian descent or who are interested in Afro-Brazilian culture) these artists become objects of fascination and exoticism for Brazilian spectators (especially artists and academics) and the organizers of the festival. In CTP, I suggest, African artists in particular become agents, objects, and beneficiaries of healing. Nevertheless, I never heard African artists speak of themselves in those terms. I heard their statements of gratitude for the efforts of CTP's team in organizing the festival and providing artists with the opportunity to circulate internationally, but I never hear any artist say that they felt healed or that they were contributing to the healing of others through their art. The seemingly vulnerable position of African Portuguese-speaking artists in CTP as guests whose trip is often entirely sponsored by the festival, makes Borges give herself permission to talk on the behalf of these artists and speak of experiences that say less about the African participants' or spectators' experience of CTP, and more about what she feels the festival offers her and Brazilian artists like her.

The complicatedness surrounding Borges' notion of healing raises broader questions about representation and relations of power within Brazilian artistic practices. The BPI – Bailarino-Pesquisador-Interprete [Dancer-Researcher-Performer] method devised by Graziela Rodrigues, for instance, constitutes another example in the Brazilian context of how artists engage with groups they consider underserved, placing these in an ambivalent position of agent/subject and object.³¹ In BPI, as in Borges concept of healing, groups who are perceived as underserved are

³¹ The BPI work process proposes that performers should conduct ethnographic research in marginalized groups and learn from their resilience – their ability to transform pain into joy. The ethnographic work allows the performer to collect material that s/he will use in her/his own process of self-discovery and transformation, and in creating movement for a performance piece. According to Rodrigues, in BPI artists do not appropriate culture, because they do not explicitly represent situations from fieldwork on stage; the fieldwork should provide the performer with materials for her/him to use on a path of personal discovery. In addition, Rodrigues claims that BPI breaks away from ethnocentrism and colonialism as performers acknowledge their position and how their life paths led them

placed in an apparent position of power – as facilitators of healing or knowledge, but then they are moved to the background of the healing or learning process, becoming instruments. In Borges’ concept of healing, as in Rodrigues’s BPI method, the resilience and resistance of groups who are perceived as underserved (African Portuguese-speaking artists and spectators, for Borges, and marginalized groups for Rodrigues) become raw material for the organizers’ and artists’ internal processes, and there is no full reciprocity.³² Borges’ and Rodrigues’ examples illustrate how relations of power originating in the colonial period emerge in contemporary artistic processes, challenging the artists who are invested in breaking from colonial practices and Eurocentric perspectives.

Borges’ understanding of miscegenation as part of the healing process from colonialism in Brazil might illustrate how for urban, racially mixed Brazilians, miscegenation can be a mode of agency in Anne Anlin Cheng’s terms – internalizing racial assimilation to cope with racial discrimination and colonial oppression. Nevertheless, this position comes dangerously close to Lusotropicalism and its fascist ramifications; also, it brings up questions about the place of indigenous people in Brazilian society and culture. Miscegenation can be used to conceal internal colonialism³³ and to justify cultural appropriation of Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian practices

there. In addition, all relationships of power – between performer and theater director, performer and other performers, performer and subject of study, and performer and character are subject to negotiation (see Campos & Rodrigues 2015 and Höfling 2016).

³² Resisting Globalization and Turning to Africa seem to share a similar approach to indigenous cultures, which are taken as raw material for artistic, social, and political engagements, and as legacies that must be protected by external agents.

³³ The notion of internal colonialism was developed by Latin American scholars in the attempt to understand why, after the Second World War, countries in Asia and Latin America were not enjoying steady economic growth like the US. André Gunter Frank set the foundations for the concept as he explained the underdevelopment of Latin American countries as a result of structural inequalities imposed by capitalism. Pablo González Casanova used the term “internal colonialism” for the first time, linking the structural inequalities that Gunter examined to colonialism. Casanova proposed that internal colonialism happens when the domination of a country by an outside force disappears and the exploitation of natives by natives starts to occur. Internal colonialism, according to Casanova, takes place within a culturally heterogeneous context created by colonialism, where a society with its own set of

(see for instance Teles dos Santos: 2005). In the position of Resisting Globalization, ultimately, concerns about globalization and advocating for the potential of transnationalism can conceal racial oppression and internal colonialism at home.

Conclusion: Transactional engagements with Lusophony

The positions I have outlined in this chapter do not exhaust the debate over the colonial and postcolonial relationships among Portuguese-speaking countries, and they are far from providing definite solutions to the challenges that festival organizers and artists from these countries cope with as they navigate national, transnational, and global spheres. These positions indicate, however, that personal experiences of colonialism, decolonization, and postcolonization among members of Portuguese-speaking countries are particularly formative of the festivals' curatorial narratives. In concluding this chapter, I want to consider yet another position which emphasizes how the festival organizers' experiences of colonialism and Lusophony impact the curatorial narratives of their festivals. Distinct from *Turning to Africa*, *Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism*, and *Resisting Globalization*, this fourth position is an instrumentalized use of Lusophony that takes advantage of the in-betweenness inscribed in Cabo Verde's geographic position, as well as in the country's creole culture. The analysis of this fourth stance, which is taken by a Portuguese immigrant in Cabo Verde, also opens a discussion of how festival organizers use their intersectional identities when negotiating institutional partnerships.

The debate at CTP changed the organizers' approach to the curation of the festival. For 2015, the organization encourages artists to present theater performances in native languages. By

classes exploits another society. In the case of Latin America and Africa, Casanova suggests that the creoles and the upper classes replaced the Europeans in exploiting native and rural populations and, with this change, the racial and class struggles initiated with colonialism extended into postcolonialism (see Gutiérrez 2004 and Casanova 1965).

doing so, CTP's organizers hope to acknowledge and gain a deeper understanding about the cultural diversity of Portuguese-speaking countries; they also hope to facilitate new points of contact among these countries in addition to Portuguese colonialism and language. The shift in CTP's selection criteria could only happen, however, because the position of the organizers toward Portuguese colonialism and Lusophony could accommodate that change. When a similar debate happened at the first Forum of Cena Lusófona, the organizers chose to dismiss the criticism of African artists and continue privileging Portuguese language as the axis that brought artists together. The personal stance and experience that festival organizers have regarding the history of Portuguese colonialism, and regarding Lusophony, structures the curatorial narrative of their festivals. Another example can be found in how João Branco's understanding of Lusophony and Portuguese colonialism translate into the curatorial narrative of the theater festival he directs: Mindelact – Festival Internacional de Teatro do Mindelo (Mindelo, Cabo Verde).

Mindelact was founded in 1995, with a local scope. Since 1997, when the festival was organized with the third *Estação da Cena Lusófona*, Mindelact has also been hosting European, African, and South American artists. I became aware of Mindelact during my first visit to the archives of *Cena Lusófona* in 2012, when I also conducted an interview with António Augusto Barros. On that occasion, Barros mentioned Mindelact as an example of a theater festival in an African Portuguese-speaking countries with which *Cena Lusófona* partnered with the intent of providing curatorial and technical support, and visibility. In the interviews I conducted with João Branco, in 2013 and 2014 in Mindelo, he acknowledged the key role of the collaboration with *Cena Lusófona* to the internationalization of Mindelact; 1997 was the first year when the festival received artists from other countries – artists from Portuguese-speaking countries who were

partners of Cena Lusófona. Nevertheless, for Branco, the decisive years for the growth of the project were 1998 and later, when the organizers carried out an international program without the help of a foreign structure.

Branco's view on Lusophony and how engagement with it can benefit Mindelact is transactional and almost dispassionate. Lusophony constitutes one of many spheres that Mindelact organizers can engage with in order to bring innovative theater approaches to Cabo Verde that can inspire and nurture the theater practices of national artists. Again, this became clear as Branco described the impact of the cooperation with Cena Lusófona, during one of our interviews:

We opened our eyes, we tried to learn as much as we could [...] with the people that were here working, and then we followed our own path, with our own feet. In fact, that is one of Amílcar Cabral's mottos: 'Learn to stand on our own two feet, and to think with our own heads', that's exactly what we did [...] [Branco 2013a].

Branco's reference to Cabral lends a patriotic tone to his narrative of the role Mindelact festival plays in Cabo Verde, and in the context of the cultural association that organizes it: to foster the development of Cabo Verdean theater. Cabral's quote suggests that Mindelact participates in the construction of Cabo Verdean national identity as a post-colonial sovereign nation. For Branco, however, this view does not stem from resentment toward colonialism and the potential neocolonial nature of Lusophony, as seems to be the case for the Angolan and Mozambican artists mentioned above. Instead, Branco is more concerned about keeping his curatorial options open, especially given the historical role of Mindelo (as a port city, a space of economic and cultural exchange) and the geographic location of Cabo Verde "between Western Europe, Africa, [...] and South America" (Branco 2013b).

Although sharing some features with the positions I outlined previously, Branco's stance on colonialism and Lusophony and the way in which it translates to his thinking about Mindelact is a distinct position to be considered. Like subscribers of *Turning to Africa* and *Resisting Globalization*, Branco argues for an instrumentalized or tactical use of Lusophony. The community of Portuguese-speaking countries offers him a network that he can tap into in order to bring foreign theater artists to his festival. Bringing Portuguese-speaking artists to the festival allows Branco to overcome the obstacle of language (most spectators of the festival speak Portuguese and/or Cabo Verdean creole), while keeping the international scope of the festival. Similar to *Resisting Globalization*, but unlike *Turning to Africa*, Branco is more interested in focusing on the present and future of Cabo Verde rather than on the colonial past of the country. In fact, a feature particular to Branco's position is his commitment to his country – Cabo Verde, rather than to a transnational community – African countries or Lusophony. Although his stance has political implications, Branco does not engage in explicit political discussions about Portuguese colonialism or the potential neocolonial character of Lusophony and the implications of both for theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries. He might not feel the need to engage in these discussions because he thinks of Mindelact both as an international festival and, thus, beyond Lusophony, and also as a national festival – designed for and by Cabo Verde artists.

I propose that Branco's position, along with his narrative about Mindelact and the practices that sustain it, replace and thus occlude other narratives about the pervasive effects of colonialism on Cabo Verde's place in international politics and economics (as a so-called "developing" country). As I will further explore in the next chapter, Mindelact participates actively in carving out a particular geopolitical and economic position for Cabo Verde as country

that relates to, yet does not belong to Africa, Europe (European Union in particular), and South America.

Finally, privileging the artistic and identitarian interests of Cabo Verde in his narrative allows Branco to emphasize his Cabo Verdean identity and tactically conceal his intersectional identity as a member of the Portuguese diaspora and a born member of the Portuguese artistic class. Branco was born in 1968, in Paris, where his parents probably went to escape the Portuguese dictatorship. He completed high school and part of his undergraduate education in Portugal, and in the early 1990s he moved to Mindelo, where he has been living since. Eventually, Branco acquired Cabo Verdean citizenship. As I will also examine in the next chapter, Branco uses his intersectional identity tactically to gather social and cultural capital and establish artistic and institutional partnerships that put him in a position of advantage within the Cabo Verdean (and even Lusophone) theater scene. I propose that he stands as an example of how subjects can take advantage of the surrogation processes of the different communities they belong to in order to serve their individual interests.

In this chapter, I attempted to foreground the complexity of identities and political relations within the community of Portuguese-speaking countries, all of which inform the curatorial narratives and debates taking place at theater festivals organized in those countries. The complicated nature of these positions shows that both the opposition of global south-global north and also the potential of south-south alliances, emphasized by authors like Bharucha (2000), require nuancing. The differences in standpoint between those who support Turning to Africa and those who want to focus on Resisting Globalization, for instance, calls our attention to the need to acknowledge that power inequality operates within each of these spheres. This manifests in the discomfort of Brazilian artists when thinking about collaborations with African

Portuguese-speaking artists, and in the feeling of affinity nurtured by Portuguese artists who attempt to nuance Portuguese colonialism (and who feel marginalized as part of the Global North).

Chapter Two

Governmentality, cultural citizenship, and circulation:

The impact of national and supranational cultural policy in theater festivals

Introduction

Theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries offer artists a forum where they can discuss the effectiveness of cultural policy and funding for the arts. Artists also take advantage of festivals to develop strategies to overcome the obstacles created by policy in their home countries. At Circuito de Teatro em Português (CTP), in 2014, I witnessed how theater festivals play a central role in enabling both art-making and the circulation of artists in a panel on theater exchange policies in Portuguese-speaking countries³⁴. The artists that participated in CTP that year – from African Portuguese-speaking countries, Brazil, and Portugal, shared their contributions to the promotion of theater exchange among artists, especially artists from Portuguese-speaking countries. These efforts constituted, in part, attempts to compensate for the lack of effective cultural policies for theater in their home countries. Of the eight theater companies represented on the panel, six were responsible for organizing a festival or at least helping to organize a festival. Artists take time away from their creative projects to organize festivals because they recognize the central role these projects play in expanding artists' networks, exchanging knowledge, and increasing the possibility of presenting work in other countries.

The panel convened at CTP illustrates how, through festivals, artists attempt to overcome the limitations of national foreign policies and of supranational cultural policies. Artists from

³⁴ I organized this panel asked by Borges.

countries located in Africa, South America, and Europe presented the challenges they face; in particular, these include a lack of funding, infrastructure, and legislation to support international circulation. Also, they interrogated Tadeu di Pietro (Director of Studies for the Supervision of Cultural Policies for the Brazilian Ministry of Culture) about measures in Brazilian cultural policy that can help mitigate these limitations for Brazilian theater practitioners, and for foreign artists involved in Brazilian projects. Brazilian artists presented specific complaints about the lack of efficient policies for the touring of artists and transportation of sets to and from festivals. All artists provided suggestions on how to change the existing policy so that it responds to the needs of artists and, ultimately, creates the conditions to accomplish goals that the Brazilian government itself has set for the Brazilian cultural sector at a national and international level.

In the paragraph above, I introduced a term that I have not used so far, and which requires clarification: “supranational.” In this chapter, I use the adjective supranational to refer to organizations of nation-states (cohesive units, defined by their territorial borders, political sovereignty, and imagined cultural belonging) that came together to support common values, needs, and actions. The regulations produced by these organizations tend to override decisions made by national governments. Examples of supranational organizations that I will refer to throughout the chapter are the European Union (EU), the United Nations (UN), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). While the concept of transnationalism can be applied to movements of and alliances among individuals, civic groups, and organizations, supranationalism is used to qualify entities consisting of but also extending beyond distinct governments and nation-states.

As they did at CTP, artists shared their experiences of how national and supranational cultural policies impact their art at both Mindelact and Estação da Cena Lusófona. And also like

CTP, Mindelact and Estação offer organized events through which they hope to intervene in their countries' cultural policies. In this chapter, I examine the development of cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries and how festivals and artists interface with these policies. I contend that contemporary cultural policies in the Atlantic are developed from a colonial and imperial history; contemporary cultural policy therefore perpetuates colonial and imperial, social and cultural hierarchies and the consequent inequalities created by those hierarchies.

Moreover, my analysis demonstrates that twentieth and twenty-first-century cultural policy in the Atlantic, and the related history from which it develops, does not fall neatly into pre-established models offered by current cultural policy studies. Although Portuguese-speaking countries, like other nation-states, grapple with colonial histories and global economics, they constitute exceptions to rules offered by cultural policy scholars, in part because analysts' models in cultural policy tend to divide countries into dichotomous categories that oppose North American and European countries to South American and African countries. The first group of countries is qualified according to the degree that they are market-driven; these countries are further categorized into interventionist and non-interventionist. Cultural policies in the second group are described as following socialist ideals as a way of grappling with colonial legacies. Examining how theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries interface with national and supranational cultural policies, and comparing these policies to those of their continental neighbors, reveals not only that cultural policies tend to be discriminatory, but also that the manifestations of bias depend on the historic, economic, and political context of each country.

The case of Portuguese-speaking countries helps to destabilize conventional narratives of cultural policy. Frequently artists, academics, and audiences mistake cultural policy for arts funding, and use these terms interchangeably. However, arts funding is only one aspect of

cultural policy. Arts funding refers to the amount of the supranational, national, federal, regional, or municipal budget allocated to support the production and circulation of original artistic work.

Cultural policy can be defined as the laws (with their underlying philosophy) that regulate and implement a national, regional, and/or local government's, or a supranational organization's, concept of culture and arts. Cultural policy also establishes the goals that such concepts of culture and arts are expected to achieve in relation to defining national, regional, local, or supranational identities, and the roles that culture is expected to play in the political, economic, and social life of citizens. The term "culture" in the context of cultural policy (and in this chapter) is used in the non-anthropologic sense, to signify "arts and letters." Cultural policy might be explicitly articulated in strategic plans, or it might be implicit in legislation conceived by a government or a supranational organization to regulate heritage, artistic creation, and community cultural activity. Cultural policy includes, but does not pertain exclusively to, funding for the arts. It also concerns the creation of copyright laws, and the creation of national cultural institutions such as museums, theaters, and libraries. Ultimately, it can be argued that even a conscious choice made by governments *not* to regulate cultural activities and artistic production constitutes a cultural policy.

As we will see in my analysis of cultural policy below, countries might have an explicit cultural policy but have insufficient or no direct and/or indirect funding for the arts; this is the case, for instance, in many countries in Southern and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Africa.³⁵ Alternatively, there are countries that do not have an explicit cultural policy, but do provide (even if in insufficient amounts) direct or indirect funding for the arts; for instance, the US. Finally, a smaller number of countries both have explicit cultural policies and also provide

³⁵ Direct funding means that there is a portion of the budget that is distributed for artists and cultural institutions, according to national, regional, or local legislation. Indirect funding refers to the legal mechanisms implemented by a country, region, or municipality to bolster the funding of the arts by private organizations and individuals.

direct funding for the arts; the most notable examples are Western European countries such as France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Portuguese-speaking countries can be located in between the first and second categories, a case that is seldom analyzed in cultural policy studies.

The study of cultural policies and theater making in Portuguese-speaking countries pushes us (scholars, artists, and policy-makers) to reconsider existing policies in the Americas, Africa, and Europe, and the roles *we think* they play in our lives. Moreover, a nuanced analysis that results from comparing cultural policies across Portuguese-speaking countries, and between these and other countries in Africa, America, and Europe, can shift conversations away from simplistic considerations (which countries have the least effective cultural policies and what artists are the most discriminated against), and toward a deeper understanding of how the context-specific inequality experienced by artists in different countries constitutes a sign of systemic oppression.

I start this chapter by laying out debates in cultural policy. I examine how cultural policy changes along with governmentality, and with notions of nationhood and citizenship. I also describe two models of cultural policy analysis. I will not only apply these models when analyzing cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries and their impact in the work of festival organizers and theater practitioners, but I will also complicate them. In the rest of the chapter, I organize my analysis geographically. Because I am tying contemporary cultural policy in the Atlantic to the colonial legacy of Portuguese-speaking countries, I will start with Brazil, the first of the Portuguese colonies to become independent in 1822, and then move on to the African Portuguese-speaking countries, which became independent between 1974-1975. I will end with Portugal. In my conclusion, I compare and contrast cultural policies and conditions of

theater making in Portuguese-speaking countries with other countries on the same continents. I aim to nuance conventional understandings of cultural policy in different countries, and shed new light upon dynamics of power in theater making in the twenty-first century.

Frameworks for analyzing cultural policy

Artists from Portuguese-speaking countries struggle with obstacles in cultural policy at three levels: national, transnational, and supranational. National cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries constitute part of the attempt to create postcolonial identities that remove countries from their colonial legacy. However, the only tools that these countries have at their disposal come from supranational organizations that abide by the interests of the most politically and economically influential countries, the US and the Western European nations, replicating an imperial model. Portuguese-speaking countries have attempted to create and implement a supranational cultural policy; however, the reach of these policies is limited by the specific interests and concerns of elites in various other countries.

If governments of nation-states conceive of cultural policies as part of their participation in the supranational political and economic communities from which they wish to benefit, artists must juggle their own interests with the political and economic interests of their countries of origin. National governments and artists of peripheral and semiperipheral countries, in particular, grapple with global changes in cultural policy characterized by the increasing weight of a neoliberal economic model, which includes a more subtle and engrained form of

governmentality and management. For theater practitioners, festivals are a response to the pressures of neoliberalism in art-making.³⁶

Toby Miller and George Yúdice (2002), and Denise Meredyth and Jeffrey Minson (2001), explain that the historical legacy of cultural policy raises two main problems for contemporary cultural policy, not only in European and North American countries, but also in African, Asian, and Latin American countries. Via colonization and later through the regulations of supranational organizations, countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America adopted Western models of cultural policy and inherited their problems as well. The first problem concerns the balance between public and private, which was disrupted by the methods of governmentality initiated in the sixteenth century.³⁷ The core questions that governments and citizens have to contend with are: *who is responsible for funding cultural production – the state or the citizens?* and *in what circumstances do arts production and cultural activity contribute to the common good (that should therefore be funded by the state), and in what instances is it a matter of personal taste (that should be regulated by the market)?* (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 15-21). The second problem concerns the definition of citizenship itself. Contemporary debates on cultural policy focus on the right of citizens to produce and access cultural objects and expressions and, most importantly, on how to define citizenship. The notion of citizenship created in the

³⁶ A detailed analysis of the entangling of art-making, capitalism, and neoliberalism can also be found in Bojana Kunst's book *Artists at Work: Proximity of Art and Capitalism* (2015).

³⁷ Miller and Yúdice (2002), and Meredyth and Minson (2001) agree that through the regulation of the management of bodies, included cultural policy, states make up citizens. Following Michel Foucault's theory of governmentality and bio-power, Miller and Yúdice suggest that since the sixteenth century, in France and other Western European countries, cultural policies have been playing a crucial role in regulating society and managing citizens through explicit and unspoken rules regarding the relationships between culture, art, and education. These rules, represented in laws as well as in educational programs and in museum exhibitions, determine the taste (set by the elites) and conduct of citizens in public and private contexts. The rules learned in public contexts are internalized in private (at home), influencing the ways in which individuals carry themselves, and generating a policing and self-policing of conduct. The blurring of lines between public and private parallel the dispersal of policing from the central power to the population. Culture and education are engaged as instruments in the creation of self-regulated, productive, and patriotic citizens, who are effective workers and consumers (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 3-4).

eighteenth century, which grounds it in a country/territory, has been challenged by increasing migration movements, by “liberal individualism”³⁸, and by social movements supporting multiculturalism, which are spearheaded by ethnic and racial minorities (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 26-27).

To accommodate changes in the notion of citizenship, Western countries developed three forms of citizenship: political (the right to vote and to demand representation and physical protection from a national government), economic (the right to work and to have health and retirement benefits assured by a national government), and cultural. Cultural citizenship, which is entangled with political and economic citizenship, is based on the notion of the subject’s ethical incompleteness. This perspective stems from the mode of governmentality developed between the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries that conceived individuals as dependent on the state (and the elites) for aesthetic and ethical guidance. Thus, cultural citizenship establishes the rights of subjects to access education that encourages them to self-manage and improve creatively, aesthetically, and artistically. The aesthetically and ethically informed subject can then become a knowledgeable participant in national politics, and a productive contributor to the national economy. The notion of cultural citizenship remains problematic because of its roots in colonialism and imperialism, which set up the pattern of annexing and assimilating dominated territories and peoples into the political, economic, and cultural system of the colonial power (see Miller & Yúdice 2002: 27-28).

³⁸ Miller and Yúdice define “liberal individualism” as the understanding that individuals are fully formed citizens who are able to make their decisions without the intervention of the state. “Liberal individualism” manifests in migration movements when individuals migrate and adopt another country’s citizenship to increase their social and economic capital (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 26-27).

In the postcolonial era of globalized economy, new supranational forms of citizenship have been encouraged by organizations such as the EU, MERCOSUL,³⁹ and NAFTA,⁴⁰ which are formed through political alliances and economic agreements among multiple countries. The regulations produced by these organizations, in the context of trade agreements, tend to become more important than national laws (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 28). When abiding by supranational regulations, national governments lose control over legislation that regulates the production, circulation, and consumption of entertainment goods and arts and letters by national citizens. Similarly, governments lose control over the ways in which individuals define themselves in relation to the nation. The notion of national citizenship is disturbed by the transnational and supranational identification claimed by increasingly mobile citizens. Next, I will explore how supranational policies and notions of citizenship raise new challenges for nation-states and their cultural policies.

Cultural policy constitutes a powerful tool for constructing identity and a sense of community at national, regional, local, and, more recently, supranational scales. Through cultural policy, nations, regions, and coalitions of countries declare their cultural identities in an attempt to produce and preserve unity, identity, and sovereignty (especially in the cases of nations and regions). Cultural policy, conceived to achieve these goals, emerges amidst the decentralization or centralization of power (see Miller & Yúdice 2002: 21-24). For instance, African countries, under the influence of supranational organizations like UNESCO and OAU, centralized the creation and implementation of their cultural policy from the moment of independence until the 1990s. Centralizing decisions about culture was a strategy to produce and control narratives about national identity. An opposite example occurred in Germany after World War II. To avoid

³⁹ Mercado Comum do Sul. It can also be called by the Spanish acronym MERCOSUR – Mercado Común del Sur.

⁴⁰ North American Free Trade Agreement.

a resurgence of a right wing authoritarian state, culture became the responsibility of various distinct districts (the model used during the Weimar republic).

Cultural policy is entangled with the creation of a national or regional taste through the production of public memories that support contemporary policies about civic habits and the arts. National, regional, and supranational governments take in their hands the articulation of the past (heritage) to justify constructions of national identity through their policies, and through the long-term goals that such policies might be set to achieve. Brazilian cultural and racial policies applied between the 1930s and 1970s, celebrating miscegenation as the crux of Brazilian identity, constitute an example of a strategy applied by a national government to produce identity. UNESCO's classifications of material, immaterial, and natural world heritage, and their applications in the regulation of physical sites and embodied practices, are an example of how supranational organizations regulate what constitutes culture and, ultimately, what defines the civilized world.⁴¹

Since the formation of supranational organizations after World War II, through the 1990s, countries have had to negotiate the differences between cultural policy, heritage, identity and sovereignty as defined by national legislations, and supranational recommendations and policies handed down from UNESCO, EU, OAU, and MERCOSUL. Peripheral and semi-peripheral countries are eager to join or acquire more predominant roles in organizations like UN/UNESCO and the EU to consolidate their economic and political power at a global scale. Nevertheless, when working with supranational organizations, peripheral and semi-peripheral countries find themselves in a conundrum: how to maintain a cultural policy that expresses national identity and sovereignty, while simultaneously abiding by the recommendations and policies produced by

⁴¹ For a critique of UNESCO's policies on world heritage, see Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's "World Heritage and Cultural Economics" (2007: 161-202).

supranational organizations which follow the interests and neoliberal models of the US and Western European countries? As we will see in the case of Portuguese-speaking countries, the concessions made by governments to perform their belonging to supranational organizations create a disjuncture between what national cultural policy says and what it does (or how it is implemented). This, in turn, creates obstacles to artistic production in these countries and, more broadly, disrupts individuals' sense of belonging as cultural (if not economic and political) citizens of transnational communities and/or of communities governed by supranational organizations.

The application of cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries, resulting from a negotiation between national interests and supranational recommendations, illustrates a contradiction between cultural rights and citizenship. Such a contradiction mirrors the disparity that Barry Hindess identifies in relation to human rights and citizenship. Hindess contends that while human rights protect all citizens, national governments have the responsibility of securing those rights for the citizens of their country, while they can deny those same rights to citizens from other countries, assuming that each country is responsible for taking care of their own citizens (see Hindess 2001: 92-103). Hindess claims that more than protecting individual's rights, citizenship constitutes a means to split the world population into manageable groups of docile subjects who are submissive to their country and also to the hierarchy that distinguishes rich/developed and poor/underdeveloped countries. Supranational organizations and their policies simultaneously perpetuate the managerial division of the world's population while concealing it under the illusion of free circulation and universal rights, which, in fact, only benefit a small subsection of the world's population. Similarly, although Portuguese-speaking countries produce legislation for culture according to the recommendations of UNESCO, EU,

OAU, and MERCOSUL – legislation that includes the exchange between cultures and the free circulation of individuals, festival organizers and artists of these countries still find multiple obstacles to the creation and presentation of their work when they try to circulate in other countries that belong to the same supranational organizations.

Models for the analysis of cultural policy

Authors in cultural studies and policy have developed models for the analysis of cultural policy in an attempt to expose and problematize the limitations I outline above. Miller and Yúdice’s analysis of cultural policy hinges on the dichotomy of West (US and European States) versus African, Latin American, and Asian postcolonial countries. The authors classify Western countries’ policies as “culture-capitalist,” and dominated by neoliberal ideas. The authors propose a second dichotomy, within Western states: interventionist (or, in the authors’ words “*dirigiste*”) and non-interventionist (or, in the authors’ words “culture-capitalist” [2002: 16]). The interventionist state, at the level of cultural policy, determines the aesthetic and cultural values that should be preserved independently of public recognition, and enacts these values through the laws of the market. The European (especially French) approach to cultural policy constitutes an example of interventionism in this context. The non-interventionist state, on the other hand, lets the market regulate cultural production based on the law of supply and demand – the US is the clearest example of the non-interventionist state according to this model (2002: 15-16).

Kim Eling, who studies French cultural policy with a focus on the second half of the twentieth century, proposes a different model. Applying a network approach developed by

British scholars R.A.W Rhodes and David Marsh,⁴² Eling complicates the conventional view (supported by Miller & Yúdice's model) of the French government as being highly interventionist in cultural policy. Eling demonstrates that French cultural policy results from collaborations between policy-makers and particular scholars, thinkers, and artists. The author exposes the inequality in access to resources among artists that results from these collaborations. Eling's model allows us to complicate the global trends in cultural policy, which Miller and Yúdice identify, by examining the interactions between individuals and groups involved in the creation and implementation of cultural policy.

Miller and Yúdice classify the cultural policies of postcolonial African, Latin American, and Asian countries as mostly socialist, except for those enacted by dictatorial governments between 1940-1970 in certain Latin American countries.⁴³ The authors then group countries geographically and historically (not in a dichotomy, as they did with the US and European countries): Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Miller and Yúdice suggest that postcolonial countries faced similar dilemmas as they transitioned from colonial to postcolonial regimes. These countries share the experience of being pushed to embrace neoliberalism. Nevertheless, the processes of transition in each group of countries, and the results of those transitions, diverge depending on the political and economic dynamics in each region.

⁴² Rhodes and Marsh propose that policy results from negotiations between five types of "policy networks": "Policy community," "Professional network," "Intergovernmental network," "Producer network," and "Issue network" (1992: 183 cited by Eling 1999: 31). Rhodes and Marsh organize policy networks along a five-category spectrum: "membership" (from very exclusive to very inclusive), "integration" (from very intense, high-quality interactions, and high levels of agreement between members to intermittent interactions and variable levels of agreement between members), "resources" (from good to limited members' economic resources and knowledge or expertise), and power (from balanced to uneven dynamics of power between members) (1992: 187 cited by Eling 1999: 32).

⁴³ The authors define socialist cultural policies as those that provide a "non-market cultural provision" alternative to Western cultural capitalism, by "proclaim[ing] an egalitarian, worker-oriented world" (2002: 108). Unlike critics of this approach suggest, socialist cultural policy differs from totalitarian cultural policy, which is based on "chauvinistic nationalism and the heroization of conquest and domination" (2002: 108). The authors recognize that since the 1970s, postcolonial countries have been moving from socialist to neoliberal approaches to cultural policy.

Miller and Yúdice's dichotomy-based model provides us a starting point for understanding general trends in cultural policy at a global scale, as well as the links between these trends and the political and economic histories of various countries. When it comes to describing and analyzing cultural policies of individual countries in detail, however, their model falls short. Miller and Yúdice's model cannot account for countries that fall in between the dichotomies of Western "culture-capitalist" countries/postcolonial countries, and (within the first category) interventionist/non-interventionist states (2002: 16).

For instance, in twentieth-century Portugal (as in Spain, Italy, and Eastern European countries) cultural policy was at the mercy of changing political regimes (from dictatorships to socialist regimes) – a situation that Miller and Yúdice's model does not consider. In addition, given their peripheral position within the European Union and their limited economic and political resources, both Southern European countries like Portugal and also Eastern European countries founded in the aftermath of the fall of USSR faced political and economic pressures from supranational organizations to which they attempted to belong in order to acquire global economic and political leverage. Their experience comes closer to that of postcolonial countries. As in Latin American, African, and Asian countries, Southern and Eastern European countries grapple with the challenge of creating cultural policies that maintain a national identity and create a sense of national union, while simultaneously abiding by the regulations of supranational organizations. Cultural policies of supranational organizations like UNESCO and EU pressure vulnerable countries to protect their heritage through monetization and creation of tourism industries, while leaving the arts at the mercy of the neoliberal market. I notice this pattern in all Portuguese-speaking countries.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ The impact of UNESCO has been particularly salient in African Countries, while EU's policies produced an impact in Portuguese cultural policies and economy.

Cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries and their impact on art-making and festival organizing

Brazil

In the US and in Latin American countries, the notion of ethical incompleteness in cultural policy protected the hegemony of the bourgeois class. The taste and lifestyle, as well as the economic and political interests, of this group were held as the standard for the complete citizen. The notion of the incomplete citizen was used in cultural policy as a means of assimilating and silencing minority and underserved populations. Examining cultural policy in postcolonial Latin American countries, Miller and Yúdice contend that these countries successfully produced a hybridized cultural policy that integrated European, African, and Indigenous values, and of artistic and community practices. The hybrid cultural policies, and the community-based artistic practices and arts they encouraged between the early twentieth century and 1970, constituted Latin America's own take on modernity and, therefore, a sign of its independence from Catholicism and from European Enlightenment and Positivist philosophies (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 115-119). Nevertheless, as I suggest in this analysis of the Brazilian case, the hybridism of Latin American cultural policy needs to be further problematized.

Since the country's independence in 1822, and during the period of nearly two centuries preceding an explicit neoliberal turn, cultural policy in Brazil reflected the government's struggle to create a sense of national unity. The national government also struggled to produce an identity that distinguished the country from its former colonizer, while simultaneously reflecting the European upbringing of the political and cultural elites. Unlike Miller and Yúdice, I contend that

cultural hybridism was not a fully successful strategy for developing the identity and culture of Brazil as a sovereign nation. Providing the illusion of moving away from European notions of nationhood and culture, hybridism contributed to perpetuating the hegemony of the Euro-Brazilian elites over working class, Afro-Brazilians, Indigenous communities, and other racial, ethnic, and economic minorities. Juxtaposing cultural and racial policies from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we understand that hybridism in cultural policy, hand-in-hand with *mestiçagem* (miscegenation) in racial policies, perpetuated the colonial role of the state as a civilizing agent – “civilization” being synonymous with European cultural practices and white skin.

After independence, and until the 1930s, Brazilian cultural and racial policies explicitly privileged European standards, which were imposed onto Indigenous, African, other racial minority, and working class populations as a way of civilizing them. The first arts and letters infrastructures (theaters, libraries, arts academies) were established in Brazil during the stay of the Portuguese Royal family in Rio de Janeiro, between 1808 and 1821. Creating arts and letters institutions in Brazil not only produced a familiar environment for the court, but also enforced the status of the Portuguese as civilizing agents in Brazil. Portuguese elites emulated European (especially French) values and aesthetic standards; these were reflected not only in the arts institutions founded and in the artistic objects privileged at the time, but also in the notion of the state as a patron of the arts (see Brant 2009: 45-72).

After independence, the state kept its role as main patron of arts and letters, and continued following French standards. The education system, accessed only by elites, was also founded on the European model. Indigenous, Afro-Brazilian, racial minority, and working class values and practices were disregarded. The elite’s and state’s privileging of European values and aesthetics

while rejecting the values and practices of Indigenous, Afro-Brazilian, racial minority, and working class people mirrored the racial ideologies of the time. As Adailton Silva *et al* explain in their history of Brazilian racial policies, negative stereotypes about non-European (especially enslaved black) communities crystalized in a racial ideology based on scientific racism in 1870. This racial ideology was developed and naturalized, with some changes, between the last decade of slavery in Brazil and 1920. Scientific racism was replaced by the “valuing of miscegenation” and by the “whitening thesis” in the late 1880s, when the Republic was established and the liberal values of fraternity and equality were disseminated. As Silva *et al* explain, the “whitening thesis” constituted “a way of reconciling white supremacy with the attempt to gradually make black people disappear, since their presence was considered a threat to the country” (2009: 21). During the 1920s and 1930s, miscegenation was perceived as the path toward producing a gradually whiter, civilized population and, consequently, a decisive contribution to developing the country.

In the 1930s, the Brazilian government followed what Miller and Yúdice consider to be the French centralized model of cultural policy. Cultural policies served to produce citizens that could turn Brazil into a fully developed, modernized and industrialized nation, like Western European and North American nations.⁴⁵ Racial policies changed along with cultural policies as part of a new, more subtle form of governmentality. The state concealed its Western, colonial, civilizing mission under the celebration of Brazil as a racial democracy, united by miscegenation. Silva *et al* claim that the ideology of racial democracy did not eradicate or even

⁴⁵ During this period, as part of a strategy of industrializing and modernizing the country, the government encouraged the development of audiovisual industries, created cultural institutions to boost arts production and the democratization of access to artistic objects throughout the country, and founded the Modern Art Museum of São Paulo and the São Paulo Biennial to bolster the creation of an art market (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 129-130).

mitigate racial inequalities in Brazilian society, since it negated the very existence of racial discrimination (Silva *et al* 2009: 21-22).

Hybridism and racial democracy might have seemed a successful enough solution to representing the country in the eyes of the Brazilian political elites. Nevertheless, regulators and elite artists did not do more than appropriate and romanticize working class, African, and Indigenous values, aesthetics, and practices, integrating them into European (especially French) approaches to the regulation of culture. The communities whose artistic practices were being used to produce new Brazilian art, or nationalized and regulated by the government, had very little to no say in the ways in which they were being represented.

During the military dictatorship (1964-1985), President Jânio Quadros transferred the supervision of arts and letters from the Ministry of Education to his own office. Despite the implementation of policies for democratizing access to artistic production, this period was marked by censorship and by the persecution of artists whose political views contrasted with those of the right-wing government (see Calabre 2009). Similarly, the government silenced discussion on racial inequality in Brazilian society as a means of maintaining social and political stability. To protest against the concealing of racial discrimination, race activists joined protest movements that demanded the return to a democratic state (see Silva *et al* 2009: 22). During the 1980s, the military dictatorship softened its grip; municipal governments created assessment groups to monitor and develop measures against racial discrimination, and to promote black culture. In addition, new civic movements emerged to celebrate Afro-Brazilian heritage and culture and to denounce racial discrimination.

In 1985, President José Sarney implemented the first Ministry of Culture of Brazil, and the first tax-deduction law – Sarney Law, as a way of supporting the arts (see Brant 2009 and

Calabre 2009). In 1988, Brazil's new Constitution declared that the state must assure citizens' access to and participation in artistic production and community-based art activities. However, the central government did not implement specific measures to enact this decree, and the municipalities became increasingly responsible for the role of promoting and protecting artistic production. Since then, there has been a growing disengagement in arts funding on the part of the state. In 1990, President Fernando Collor downsized the Ministry of Culture to a State Secretariat. In 1991, Collor reformed Sarney Law into Rouanet Law, establishing the Plano Nacional de Apoio à Cultura (Pronac) (see Calabre 2009). With these measures, Brazilian cultural policy fully embraced neoliberalism.

Beginning in 1988 and through the 1990s, the government implemented anti-discrimination laws. In addition, the government founded the Fundação Cultural Palmares, which worked with the Ministry of Culture to raise awareness about, preserve, and celebrate Brazilian black heritage. According to Silva *et al*, these measures were ineffective. The government only made new efforts to solve racial inequality when pressured by civic movements and organizations (2009: 27-30).

Under the administration of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the culture sector experienced a period of stagnation. Although the new government re-established the Ministry of Culture in 1995, it did not revise or implement new cultural policies. Instead, the Ministry of Culture focused on refining laws for arts funding through tax deductions. The Ministry of Culture developed studies to support the claim that the business investment in the arts was profitable, and it also offered incentives for companies to invest in artists. On paper, the Brazilian cultural policy model increasingly resembled the US model, in which civil society takes responsibility for supporting artistic production and communal creative expression.

However, these reforms were mainly rhetorical and moved by the financial interests of business sponsors (which often involve global capital organizations such as the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank) (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 132-133). Indeed, the changes in patronage laws created deep asymmetries and distortions within the artistic community, as businessmen took advantage of the government's tax deduction program to promote private, commercial, projects.⁴⁶ Inácio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff's administrations recognized the negative impact of 1990s cultural policy and produced several plans to reform it. These plans have not yet been approved, due to resistance in Congress.

During my fieldwork in 2013 and 2014, I witnessed the challenges that small arts organizations like Borges' face if they wish to benefit from the tax deduction program. They have to compete with other projects of great commercial value, which easily mobilize media attention (such as Broadway musicals, and mainstream circus shows). They also have to compete with projects promoted by private businesses, foundations, and even municipalities. These larger organizations have more human resources and bargaining power with which to find sponsors and offer them benefits in exchange for support. In addition, businesses and big corporations who

⁴⁶ The tax deduction program established at the time, and used to this day, promotes inequality among artists; to understand why, one has to understand the complexity of the process that artists have to go through to be eligible to use this funding mechanism. The first step is to submit a proposal, which entails several documents and filling out a long online form. Once the application is completed and submitted, the proposals are analyzed by the Secretaria de Fomento e Incentivo à Cultura [Office for Cultural Promotion and Incentive], which determines if the project is eligible. If the project passes this review stage, it is sent to be evaluated by the institution (within the Ministry of Culture) that supervises the activity of the artistic sector that the project belongs to. This institution deliberates about the project and produces a review that is then sent to the Comissão Nacional de Incentivo à Cultura [National Committee for Culture Incentive], which then recommends whether or not the proposal should be approved. Finally, keeping this recommendation in mind, the Secretary of Cultural Promotion and Incentive makes a final decision on whether or not the project should be approved (Ministério da Cultura da República do Brasil 2014).

Having a project approved under the tax deduction program does not necessarily mean that the project will be supported. It simply means that the artist or organization whose project was approved has the permission from the government to contact potential sponsors and negotiate a sponsorship in which they can offer tax deduction as compensation to sponsors, who will get investment back by writing off the donation amount on their taxes. Many artists start contacting sponsors before or during the application process, but if the decision from the governmental agencies takes too long (and too often it does) the potential sponsor might lose interest and/or choose to support another project that has already been approved.

qualify to be sponsors through this program use the tax deductions they receive to fund their marketing departments. Businesses look for big artistic productions that can give them larger visibility in the media, and then profit from the tax deduction they get, based on the investment they make in the project. The recent history of Brazilian arts funding policy impacted Borges' company from the very beginning. Even when it receives funding from the federal or state government, or from institutions like banks, the company has to rely on ticket sales to survive. Also, all members of the company have other jobs, more or less related to artistic practices.⁴⁷

Using Lusophony to frame festivals and artists' gatherings brings general practical benefits to artists like Borges. The most immediate benefit is that artists all share the same language – Portuguese, which facilitates communication and an understanding of the performances, which usually feature Portuguese-language texts. Borges started expanding the geographic scope of her company's circulation in 1998, when she started reaching out to Portuguese theater companies to establish partnerships. She established contact with the theater company Art'Imagem, from Porto, which organizes two theater festivals every year. Not only did she arrange for her own company to participate in these festivals, Borges also sold them shows by other Brazilian companies. The collaboration with Portuguese festivals became particularly profitable when Portugal transitioned from its old currency (escudo) to the euro. In her collaborations with Portuguese theater companies, Dragão 7 and other Brazilian companies represented by Borges are now paid in euros, which converts to a much larger sum in Brazilian currency (Reais or R\$).

Nevertheless, even with money from these projects, the company does not have a stable income. In addition, the collaborations with Portuguese festivals do not usually cover airfare.

⁴⁷ Borges works as a theater producer and agent for other theater artists, whose shows she books for theater festivals and venues in Portugal and Brazil. Other members of the company work as dubbers - they perform with other theater and dance companies, work as storytellers, or work in business theater [teatro empresa]. "Teatro empresa" in Brazil refers to theater projects that artists or theater companies develop for businesses who want to use performance to convey information during a training session or for an advertising campaign (in life events or in video).

Dragão 7 has purchased tickets that they only paid for after returning from their tour, using their honoraria money. If something had happened to the troupe and they could not perform, they would have risked falling into debt, and that would have put their professional activity at risk as well.

In the early 2000s, in fact, Dragão 7 suffered an accident during one of their trips to Portugal. Because they did not have money to pay for the airfare in full, they had to book the most inexpensive tickets, and repay their travel agency when they returned. In that trip, Dragão 7 had a layover in Cabo Verde and got involved in a car accident which killed one of the actors and injured others. Unable to proceed with the trip, the company had to return to Brazil with no money and a very large debt to the travel agency (R\$50.000). To pay for this debt, Borges not only had to take several jobs outside the theater realm, but also had to invest even more strongly in her partnerships with Portuguese companies. Based on Dragão 7's trips to Portugal, Borges consolidated her contacts and started organizing tours for these Portuguese companies in Brazil; this initiated what would later become Circuito de Teatro em Português.

With the election of Lula da Silva in 2003, Brazil saw the implementation of new racial and cultural policies that aimed to reduce discrimination against and celebrate the heritage of Afro-Brazilian communities, and to promote the overall social and economic development of the country. Although the measures proposed by Lula's administration (and followed by Rousseff's) were grounded in socialist ideology, I suggest that Lula and Rousseff's administrations also embraced the international neoliberal approach to governmentality. They tried to adapt this approach as a way of addressing the concerns of Brazilian society, while simultaneously taking steps toward becoming an economic and politically developed nation that could fully participate in supranational organizations alongside Western nations. As Peter Fry suggests, if the new

policies seemed to shape a narrative of national identity that finally moved away from Portuguese colonial influence, they did so by stepping into British colonial legacy and North American imperialism (Fry 2002).⁴⁸

On the side of cultural policy, the Lula administration selected a Minister of Culture whose identity and creative practice reflected the changes in national identity politics that the government wanted to implement: musician Gilberto Gil. Gil is an internationally and nationally renowned musician of African descent, whose music celebrates the racial and cultural diversity of Brazil, and whose work upset the military dictatorial regime of Jânio Quadros (see Gil 2009). Gil was selected to bridge the gap between artists and the administration (or, following Rhodes and Marsh's network policy theory, to form a "policy community" that integrated artists and governmental officers alike). Artists and audiences of color saw themselves in Gil, whose presence in the government symbolized, especially for artists, a first step toward the social and political transformations promised by Lula's campaign.

⁴⁸ In racial policy, the government attempted to implement measures that changed the country's identity narrative from a racial democracy hinging on miscegenation to a multicultural and racially diverse nation. According to Fry, through this change in identity narrative, Brazil could step away from miscegenation – linked to Portuguese colonialism, and move toward a multicultural notion of national identity. The concept of multiculturalism, although widely supported by the international community, is influenced by the British colonial policy of "segregation," which was absorbed and transformed over time – from "separate development," 'race pride,' and 'racial purity'" to "the celebration of 'multiculturalism,' 'diversity,' 'empowerment,' and 'indigenous knowledge'" (Fry 2002: 237). Multiculturalism and racial diversity constitute the grounds of identity narratives for former British colonies, particularly the US, and are disseminated by supranational organizations such as the UN, the World Bank, and philanthropic foundations such as Ford and Rockefeller. Fry suggests that the measures taken by the Lula administration are part of a process of universalization of concepts and practices of race, originated in North American society and academia, which spills from the US into international development institutions that have been lending support to Brazil (see Fry 2002, 238-246).

Measures implemented by the Lula administration included the founding of public institutions linked to federal and municipal governments, established to devise and monitor the implementation of racial policies. These measures, although significant, as Silva *et al* declare, did not produce concrete and significant results. Between 2005 and 2006, the government implemented new programs to fight institutional racism: teaching black history and culture in primary, middle, and high schools; introducing affirmative action in higher education; and implementing a program for labor protection of black communities. Since 2006, discussion on racial policies has been dominated by the topic of racial quotas applied to several social sectors, from education to public audiovisual entertainment. With these measures, the government responded to claims from the international community that the country was not doing enough to fight racial discrimination (Silva *et al* 2009: 35-92).

Gil's vision for culture in Brazil, which continues to be followed by his successors during the second Lula administration and the two Rousseff's administrations, hinged on the belief that culture would play an instrumental role in the development of "a new Brazil" (Gil 2003: 238). Culture constituted, from Gil's perspective, the social glue that would bring new cohesion to Brazilian society, and would help the country develop a stronger presence in international politics and economy. Aligning his notion of culture to UNESCO's, Gil defined culture from what he considered to be an anthropological perspective: a collection of building blocks of distinct communities' identities that, when brought together, constituted the national identity of Brazil.⁴⁹ Besides contributing to the self-confidence and sense of belonging of Brazilian citizens, "culture" (as Gil and Ferreira define it) also constituted an important economic sector that generated employment and wealth.

Following the narratives about the economic potential of culture promoted by the World Bank and UNESCO, and arguing for the strategies used in US cultural policy, Gil and Juca Ferreira (Gil's Secretary of Culture) contended that Brazil could become a leader and a representative of the interests of the global south in contrast to the global north (spearheaded by the US). In order to ascend to that position, Brazil should implement national and foreign policy measures that 1) use arts and letters, as well as community-based artistic practices and values, as a means of decreasing social and global inequalities, 2) promote the exchange and production of new cultural goods with other countries, 3) protect cultural goods in international trade agreements as a way of protecting Brazilian identity, and 4) support UNESCO's resolution about protecting cultural diversity and heritage (Gil 2004: 290-299).

⁴⁹ Gil defined national culture as the product of negotiations between cultural practices, knowledge, and heritage of the various communities that constitute the Brazilian social fabric, and between these and cultures from all over the world.

The Ministry of Culture, Gil claimed, would help Brazil rise to a more relevant role in international politics and economics. Gil's vision hinged on adapting the US model of exporting entertainment and artistic goods, which the North American country used as a strategy of disseminating "[the] *American way of life, of thinking and, of course, of [the] American way of selling goods and values*" (Gil 2005: 354, italicized as in the original). By adopting and adapting the US' strategy, Gil hoped to turn Brazil into an alternative to the US hegemony in culture, politics, and economics (see Gil 2008, 34 and Ferreira 2008: 495-499).

While the Lula administration's vision for the culture sector boosted the Brazilians' confidence and national pride, it set out to achieve more than that. Through cultural policy, and in speeches about the economic potential of arts, letters, and entertainment, the Brazilian government demonstrated its adherence to UNESCO's and the World Bank's recommendations. Also, the country branded itself as a competent leader for countries of the Western and Southern hemispheres. The cultural and racial policies implemented during Lula's administration, especially, played a role in boosting the image of Brazil as a country prepared to take part in the UN Security Council as a permanent member.⁵⁰ Brazil also tried to campaign for permanent membership of the UN Security Council by enforcing its image as a reliable political and economic partner for emerging African countries. The Brazilian government also presented itself as the ideal liaison between African, European, North American, and South American countries.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Brazil is a founding member of the UN and, along with Japan, is the country that has been elected more often to serve in the UN Security Council as a non-permanent member. Brazil fulfilled this position most recently in 2010-2011. The country is one of the most active advocates of the reformation of the UN Security Council to include more countries as permanent members (Ministério das Relações Exteriores da República do Brasil 2016a, 2016b).

⁵¹ Since the very beginning of Lula administration that the President, the Minister of Culture, and the State Secretary of Culture asserted that Brazil was committed to work in political, economic, and cultural agreements with Portuguese-speaking, African, and Latin America countries to build a collective prosperity. Behind this rhetoric, however, was the need to consolidate Brazil's position in global politics and economy (see Espaço África 2004a,

In the attempt to manifest the Lula administration's new vision for arts and letters, and for community-based arts and racial policies, the federal government implemented grants that allowed Brazilian troupes to travel abroad. Also, the administration of states and municipalities increased the organization and sponsorship of cultural events engaged with African and Afro-Brazilian cultures. This change impacted projects that wanted to establish links among Portuguese-speaking countries and especially between African countries and Brazil, like CTP.

From the moment she founded CTP, Borges aimed to bring together theater troupes from all eight Portuguese-speaking countries, which she managed to do in 2011. Her motivation to reach out to African Portuguese-speaking countries, in particular, was influenced by several factors, including, I suggest, the transformations in cultural and racial policies implemented during Lula's and Rousseff's administrations. Dragão 7's tragic experience and bounce-back made Borges see the value of networking with other Portuguese-speaking countries, and she aimed to expand the potential of that networking to all Portuguese-speaking countries. Borges learned that networking offered an opportunity to maintain a sustainable, even professionalized, theater practice for artists who faced financial hardship and/or whose home countries did not have policies for the funding and professionalization of the performing arts. Borges gained more awareness of the realities faced by theater practitioners in various Portuguese-speaking countries as she participated in their theater festivals and in meetings organized by groups like Cena Lusófona, where artists discussed cultural policies for theater in their home countries. The difficulties faced by artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries, in particular, kept her motivated to organize CTP every year. The festival team and the artists who participate in CTP

Espaço África 2004b, Espaço África 2004c Espaço África 2005a, Espaço África 2005b, Ferreira 2003, Ferreira 2010, Gil 2006: 409).

feel that this and similar projects provide them with alternatives to the dysfunctional or absent cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries and CPLP.

The new cultural and racial policies implemented by Lula and followed by Rousseff brought new possibilities, but also new challenges to festivals and exchange projects like CTP. Borges could now apply for public grants to take her own company or send companies that she represented to Portuguese festivals; this helped her keep a good relationship with Portuguese companies that she would also bring to CTP. Especially after November was declared the Month of Black Consciousness (during the Lula administration) and November 22 was declared a national holiday to celebrate the Day of Black Consciousness and Zumbi dos Palmares (by Rousseff), Borges took advantage of the new demand from municipalities and state governments for cultural events related to African and Afro-Brazilian cultures, as a means of acquiring sponsorship for the participation of African artists in her festival. Municipalities were now more receptive to hosting black artists to demonstrate that they complied with the new racial and cultural policies.

Three of the nine incarnations of CTP took place in November because black artists become a hot commodity during that month. Establishing partnerships with municipalities and with the government of the state of São Paulo during the month of November helped Borges pay for the high travel and board expenses of African artists. Also, Borges persuaded municipalities to provide the theaters and technical equipment needed for shows.

In order to access these partnerships, Borges has to, in part, compromise the ethos of her project. CTP ends up feeding a narrative that essentializes and objectifies African artists, who are turned into symbols of a romantic view of Africa as the origin of Brazil. The municipal and state programs that happen exclusively during the month of November promote an environment of

celebration that assumes similarities between Brazilian and African peoples without any critical awareness of cultural specificities within the African continent. Borges' interaction with the municipalities and with the government of the state of São Paulo illustrates a strategy of professional opportunism, employed by artists who offer their services to local governments as a way of gathering the means to implement their own projects.

As a woman of Indigenous and African descent, Borges hoped that the new racial policies that triggered these celebrations could better the life of Afro-Brazilians. Borges also tried to create some space for reflection and learning about African countries in her festival through panels in which African and Afro-Brazilian artists talk about their work and their home countries. Nevertheless, municipalities and state governments do not show much interest in these events, which turn into a space of debate for the participants of the festival. Although the panels have been the grounds of provocative discussions, they do not fulfill their potential, given the lack of external participants.

Public grants and municipal and state government sponsorship do not cover all the expenses of CTP. Motivated by the Ministry of Culture's messages about the economic value of culture, and by the reforms announced for the patronage law, Borges has been trying to establish sponsorship agreements with multinational businesses as well. Here again, Borges has faced obstacles.

She brands CTP as a partner that can help businesses establish significant relationships with their target clients. The multinational businesses, however, are not interested in funding CTP, as they do not consider bringing African artists to Brazil to be advantageous to their marketing plans. For national publicity, Brazilian businesses prefer to sponsor franchise circus and Broadway shows, or commercial plays that star TV celebrities (men and women of European

descent, whose shows appeal to a predominantly white middle and upper-middle class). For international publicity, corporations want to fund projects that take place in the African countries as a way of making their brand known and making a good impression with local governments and communities. In this context, the arts function as a tool for creating a positive environment around Brazilian companies as economic allies, which may help open doors to agreements that allow Brazilian businesses to extract natural resources from African countries with very low costs and with far greater benefits to the Brazilian businesses than to the citizens of the African countries.

During Dilma Rousseff's first administration, the euphoria over the leadership role Brazil might play internationally began to vanish. Similarly, the gilded promises of more funding and better regulations for the culture sector, and the hopes for a more egalitarian society, remained unfulfilled. Borges, who always experienced financial difficulties in organizing CTP, was in a particularly difficult place in 2014. She wanted to make the festival happen because she needed to keep in touch with the Portuguese theater companies who organized festivals in Portugal. Also, she knew that for artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries, participating in CTP was a rare opportunity for networking and professional development, which they did not have in their home countries.

After more than six months of effort to raise funds for the project, Borges did not have nearly enough money to cover all of the expenses for her project. She turned to a long time friend, Aidê do Amaral, for help. Amaral, a former actress, was working as the São Paulo assistant for the Minister of Culture, Marta Suplicy. Borges hoped that Amaral would put in a good word for her project at the Minister's office, and bolster the applications for funding that Dragão 7 had submitted. Borges also pressed her contact at the Lula Institute, which had

provided institutional support to the festival the previous year. She hoped that the Institute would provide her with direct financial support, and/or that it would help her get sponsorship from multinational companies that had ties to the Lula administration.

The way in which Borges resorted to personal contacts to try to unlock funds for her festival reveals the nature of arts policy networks in her country. Following Rhodes and Marsh's concepts, the circumstances that Borges found herself in reveal a tight "policy community" formed by policy-makers, multinational businesses, and well-connected artists who produce and benefit from the policies (and in spite of them) – the insiders. Then, there is also an "issue network" of artists who remain outside of the first group, and who try to use personal connections and political pressure – strategies used successfully by the first group. In 2014, Dragão 7 and CTP were in the outsiders group, being used by members of the insiders group to increase their social capital.

When I arrived in São Paulo in mid-October 2014, a couple of weeks before the opening of Circuito de Teatro em Português, Aidê do Amaral had promised Borges that the Ministry was going to support CTP with direct funding. Also, the Ministry was going to speed up her application to raise funds through the patronage law. Amaral got deeply involved in organizing CTP's opening ceremony, and she also asked Borges to hire two of her friends to work in the festival. In a production meeting about the opening ceremony of the festival, which I attended, Amaral and her two friends talked over Borges, assigned tasks to other members of the team, and made decisions about all aspects of the opening ceremony – from the master of ceremony to the guest list and the menu. I asked Borges if she was not giving up too much agency in the organization of the festival. Borges replied that she needed to do that in 2014, as a way of

establishing partnerships that would help CTP thrive without explicit political intervention in the future.

At the end of CTP's ninth incarnation, in 2014, Rousseff had won the election by a very slim margin, Marta Suplicy had left her position as Minister of Culture, and Amaral did not respond to Borges' phone calls. CTP did not receive any of the funding promised by Amaral or by the contacts provided by the Lula Institute. Borges, left with a heavy debt to artists, restaurants, and hotels, decided to suspend CTP in 2015 to pay her debts before organizing the festival again.

In Portuguese-speaking countries, situations like these abound. As I will demonstrate in my analysis of the relationship between theater festivals and cultural policies in other countries, artists who organize festivals often feel that they are giving up part of their agency in choosing the goals and programming of their events so that they can benefit from sponsorship and actually produce the project. Artists are treated like disposable service providers, whom decision-makers and multinational companies will not hesitate to help if they can extract some benefits from the project. After getting what they want from the artistic project, sponsors will simply move on to another project that seems more exciting or that promises new benefits.

For peripheral and semi-peripheral countries, the Brazilian example reveals the limitations of adapting policy models from the US and Western European countries, and reproducing them based on the recommendations of supranational organizations. Countries like Brazil apply these models in an attempt to increase their prestige in the eyes of politically and economically dominant countries, but in doing so, they not only fail to achieve that goal, but they also perpetuate the colonial and imperial hierarchies that keep countries of the Southern and Western hemispheres under the dominance of the US and Western European countries. Internally, unlike

how politicians in Brazil and other Portuguese-speaking countries may make it seem, cultural policies do not protect artists, artists' labor, or audiences' culture rights. These policies, rather, constitute controlling mechanisms that political and economic elites use to leverage their interests in national and international contexts.

African Portuguese-speaking countries

Miller and Yúdice suggest that African and less wealthy Asian countries (like Latin American countries) have to grapple with the contradiction of implementing cultural policies for the creation of national identity and unity using the tools and concepts of their former colonizers. More recently, these countries have also been pressured by former colonial powers and supranational organizations to engage with neoliberal approaches to economy and cultural policy, which do not represent the interests of their own citizens. However, the challenges of implementing a postcolonial identity faced by African and Asian countries diverge from those faced by Latin American countries. African countries, in particular, struggle with language policy. Given the wealth of languages spoken in each country, policy-makers face the dilemma of either choosing as a national language an African language that is not spoken by and does not represent large portions of the population, or choosing a European language, which is spoken by the elites and seems to gather more consensus among the general population. In addition to language, artifact collection and the creation of museums and heritage sites were foundational to the forming of national narratives. Here, again, policy-makers had to deal with the dilemma of applying the dominating tools of the colonizer (i.e. ethnographic studies and museums) in order to produce a national identity (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 140-142).

African countries face complex problems in the area of cultural policy, which extend beyond language politics *vis a vis* colonial legacies. When defining culture and the role it plays in the formation of national identity, and in national and foreign politics and economics, African countries constantly juggle the need to affirm the specificities of their cultures at different scales (continental, regional, national, and local) with the goal of demonstrating a willingness to contribute to humanity as a whole. Declaring their contributions to humanity at large is perceived by African states as a way of dignifying their cultures. Nevertheless, the narrative through which African states talk about and regulate these contributions relies on the vocabulary used by Western countries and supranational organizations (such as UNESCO and the EU), upon whose financial aid African countries depend. As my analysis of cultural policies in African Portuguese-speaking countries demonstrates, different countries respond to legacies of colonial and imperial history, and to the impositions of the international community, in their own distinct ways.

My analysis of cultural policy in Portuguese-speaking countries, based not only on the examination of written policy, but also on the experiences of artists and festival organizers in these countries, offers a nuanced and detailed perspective on the issues facing African countries in the areas of cultural policy and arts production. In part, my study contributes to the broader conversation on this topic because I look into cultural policies of African countries that became independent about fifteen to twenty years later than most cases analyzed by Miller and Yúdice. I suggest that cultural policies in African Portuguese-speaking countries were shaped not only by the experiences of other African nations who became independent earlier, but also by a distinct global political and economic environment – later in the Cold War and at a more advanced stage of the trend of neoliberal approaches to heritage and the arts.

Based on the historical overview of cultural policies in Africa provided by the director of the Observatory of Cultural Policies in Africa, Máté Kovács (2009), I suggest that the history of cultural policy on the African continent can be divided into three moments. The first takes place between 1969-1985, when cultural policies focused on establishing distinctions between African cultures and Western cultures as part of the decolonization process. In meetings promoted by OAU and UNESCO between the late 1960s and early 1980s, African leaders argued that African countries could achieve full decolonization and economic sovereignty by remaining truthful to what they perceived as inherently “traditional” African values, while applying what they perceived as “modern” Western technologies.

As far as Kovács reports, there were no debates over the fact that terms used to characterize African cultures in the documents produced during this period – terms like “ancestral” and “traditional,” and the dichotomy that opposes these to “modernity,” had colonial origins. African leaders did not acknowledge that when using these terms without problematizing them, they were framing their countries’ cultures through the same colonial and scientific-racist perspectives used by European powers during colonization.⁵² In addition, politicians did not discuss methodologies to transform museums and archives, which formerly served as European instruments for controlling and alienating colonized peoples from their own cultures, into useful tools for the creation of national cultures. The top-down regulation of culture did not resolve, and in many cases aggravated, internal conflicts within countries, and perpetuated the alienation of African peoples from their own cultures. These problems, which I addressed in chapter one in relation to the status of various languages in Portuguese-speaking countries, and which I will

⁵² Indeed, according to Kovács, countries tended to adopt models of cultural policy used by their former colonizers – specifically France and the UK. Other countries adopted a Marxist perspective on cultural policy.

continue to explore later in this chapter through the case of Portuguese-speaking countries, impact the continent to this day.

The second moment of cultural policy on the African continent extends from 1985 to 1992, when African countries invested further in the idea that Africa might participate in the world economy and world politics, and that the cultures of the continent could offer contributions to humanity. In this period, cultural policy declarations recommended the creation of cultural industries and the implementation of a market for African arts and crafts on the continent. Neoliberal approaches were proposed as a solution to resolve a dilemma facing African leaders at the time: the need to demonstrate a willingness to participate in the world market, while also desiring to protect what they considered to be the uniqueness of African values from being taken over by North American and European influences.

During the third moment, from 1994 to the present, the rhetoric of African cultural policy seems to move back to the pan-Africanist and nationalist values of the 1970s; nevertheless, a closer observation reveals that the neoliberal approach to culture keeps its influence through a narrative that emphasizes community-led and civic initiative – a concealed way of talking about the privatization of culture. Neoliberal approaches continued to be pressed upon African countries throughout the development movement. The development model (which Western states were applying at home in underserved communities), proposed that communities should take charge of the resolution of their own problems. This model, which is now widespread on the African continent, pushes communities into a self-supervising management model, taking pressure off states to assure citizens' well being (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 66, Kovács 2009: 46).

Given the late independence achieved by African Portuguese-speaking countries (1973-75), the long independence war fought in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Cabo Verde

(1961-1974), and the civil wars that impact some countries to this day,⁵³ many of these countries still struggle to achieve full political stability and democratic governance. Late independence and political instability influenced their choices in cultural policy, starting with the Marxist model of cultural policy.⁵⁴ Late independence did not prevent the revolutionary leaders of African Portuguese-speaking countries from taking part in early meetings about cultural policy. On the contrary, they actively participated in these meetings as a way of gathering support for their causes (Davidson 1980, Shore 1983). Also, given their status as heroes in a long colonial occupation and struggle, their perspective on the role of culture in the creation of national and pan-African identities was highly regarded by their peers (Klein 1969).

Cultural policy in African Portuguese-speaking countries did not exactly follow the three moments I outlined above, because of the political instability that followed independence. In fact, explicit cultural policies only started being implemented in the later 1990s and early 2000s. These policies illustrate the efforts of African Portuguese-speaking countries to catch up with two decades of regulations and recommendations.

The case of cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries illustrates the extreme pressures exerted by the global economy upon African countries, and also makes clear that such pressures manifest differently, depending on the interests of national and international political and economic elites. African Portuguese-speaking countries reveal three postcolonial African

⁵³ The Angolan civil war took place between 1975-1989; in Mozambique, the civil war happened between 1977-1992, with relapses in 2000, 2013, and 2015-2016; Guinea-Bissau lived a civil war between 1974-1980, with political instability from 1980 to the present (BBC News 2016a, 2016b, 2016c).

⁵⁴ As I explored in chapter one, African Portuguese-speaking countries were among the African nations deeply influenced by Marxism. Revolution leaders in African Portuguese-speaking countries found in Marxist theory an alternative to Portuguese and Western European colonial and imperial policy. Nevertheless, as I also mention in chapter one, the adoption of Marxist theory brought its own set of problems for political representation. Adopting a top-down decision making strategy that revealed a paternalistic attitude toward the lower classes, the political elites, educated in Europe, used the arts (for instance, theater and film) to re-educate urban and rural classes about their own cultures.

approaches to cultural policy and national identity. In Angola and Mozambique, cultural policy emphasizes a national sovereignty and a national identity grounded in the cultures of the African continent, while subscribing entirely to neoliberal approaches to community culture and arts funding. Cabo Verde's cultural policy emphasizes a national identity grounded in values of cosmopolitanism and creolization, which are used to justify the privileging of private and civil society initiatives in the development of cultural and artistic projects. Finally, in Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe, cultural policies are integrated into education and youth policies and manifest an approach to culture and education that is closer to 1970s trends in African cultural policy.

African Portuguese-speaking countries share, among themselves and with other African countries, negative aspects of cultural policy: the lack of effort to implement or adapt policy to the realities and needs of the population; the lack of integration of cultural policy in the countries' strategic plans; no practical protection of indigenous cultures and languages *vis a vis* the spread of Western mass media; no alternatives to public funding; the impossibility of developing cultural industries due to lack of funding and lack of legislation that would protect copyrights, regulate taxation, and promote the creation of a market for the arts; and the difficulty or inability to collect data that might support relevant cultural policy (Kovács 2009: 57-59). However, some of the challenges facing theater practitioners and festival organizers in Portuguese-speaking countries are specific to the approaches undertaken by their home governments.

Angola and Mozambique

The cultural policies of Angola and Mozambique are similar in that they emphasize that culture should encourage patriotic feelings; cultural production, as well as the preservation of pre-colonial cultural practices, should support the education of patriotic citizens who recognize the symbols and values of their nation. These culturally educated citizens should know the history of their country and acknowledge independence from Portugal as the foundational moment of their nation. Angolan and Mozambican cultural policies also acknowledge the ethnic diversity of each country and the fact that national culture encompasses a wealth of languages, religious practices, and modes of governance that survived through colonial domination and that need to be studied, preserved, and celebrated alongside contemporary artistic productions and cultural expressions.

Besides conceiving of culture as instrumental to the creation of a well-rounded citizen, the cultural policies of Angola and Mozambique declare that culture makes the nation known to the world. Cultural exchange with other countries (in the case of Mozambique, Portuguese-speaking countries in particular) is seen as instrumental in the establishing of political alliances and in contributing to national economic development (especially through cultural industries and tourism). The Ministries of Culture of Angola and Mozambique acknowledge the responsibility of the state in promoting arts education, and in training and qualifying artists and arts educators. In addition, the Ministries of both countries declare that national governments should be responsible for funding the arts, either through public programs or by encouraging private donations. Finally, cultural policies in Angola and Mozambique emphasize that their

implementation can only happen through the collaboration of government, civic society, and corporations.

Cultural policies of Angola and Mozambique echo the recommendations of supranational, Western and African organizations, but only at a theoretical level. Resonating with Kovács' assessment of the implementation of cultural policies in Africa, Angolan and Mozambican artists declare that their countries either do not implement cultural policies, or that they engage in practices that contradict the determinations made by the policies. Angolan and Mozambican artists experience their governments' disengagement with culture in the lack of equal access to funding for artistic projects, and in the lack of opportunities to present work on a national and international scale.

Angolan and Mozambican governments do not implement specific measures to encourage the cooperation between government, civic society, and corporations described in their policies. Consequently, cultural activities and artistic productions are left to the mercy of corporations and private foundations, which artists can only access through personal and political contacts. The *modus operandi* based on a chain of favors does not allow artists to develop sustainable and long-term projects. Artists, put in the position of beggars, are limited by notions of culture and personal interests held by economic and political elites.

Flávio Ferrão, Angolan actor and director of the collective Henrique Artes, explained that given the government's and corporations' general lack of interest in supporting artistic production, artists can only get sponsorship for their projects if they have personal contacts inside governmental offices or corporations. The lack of willingness to invest in artistic production is visible in the fact that Luanda, the capital of Angola, does not have any theaters. The absence of equipped spaces for the production and presentation of theater in Luanda, as

Ferrão quickly pointed out, “it’s not due to lack of money, but lack of willingness [to invest in theater]” (Ferrão 2013). Government and corporations would rather invest money in soccer stadiums than in theaters. As a result, artists have to perform in hotels or in sports pavilions, and they have to wait for months to put their names on venues’ calendars to present for just a weekend. Because there is no infrastructure, even if audience members are willing to buy tickets to attend a performance, it is not possible for companies to continue professional activity on a regular basis (Ferrão 2013).

In an interview, Angolan actress Mel Gamboa called my attention to a negative aspect of cultural policy which is seldom mentioned by scholars who study cultural policies in African countries: censorship. According to Gamboa, the poor implementation of cultural policy, which is reflected, for instance, in the lack of performing arts spaces in Luanda, is a governmental strategy to discourage and even silence artists. As an example, Gamboa talked about the building where Elinga Teatro (a theater company with whom she collaborates) works and presents productions. The government donated the building to the group and recognized the cultural interest of the space for the city of Luanda. Five years ago, however, the company was informed that their building was going to be sold and demolished to build a parking lot. The threat of eviction has not yet been acted upon, but it has been followed by other, verbal threats, such as a phone call in which the company was told: “if you do it [theater], it is because someone lets you do it” (Gamboa 2014).⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The pressure of governmental censorship tainted Gamboa’s answers to my questions about Angolan cultural policy throughout our interview. When I asked her if there were cultural policies in Angola and how the state applied them, especially in the case of theater, she responded with caution. She started by explaining that what she was about to say was just an opinion based on her personal experience. She felt the need to downplay her response fearful of the consequences she might suffer if her words reached the wrong ears. Finally, Gamboa declared that the government has a cultural policy but that it does not implement it. She explained that in a developing country like Angola, the government has to respond to other priorities that benefit larger portions of the population than the artistic community. Artists need to wait patiently for the support of the government and continue, with their own means, to maintain their own theater practices (Gamboa 2014). Gamboa’s ambiguous narrative and tone of voice did

Diaz Santana, actor and co-director of the theater company Lareira Artes, explained to me that in Mozambique, the lack of regulations and incentives to sponsor artistic projects benefits two politically well-connected theater companies: Mutumbela Gogo and Gungu. Theater companies like Santana's depend on occasional, temporary support from institutions like the French-Mozambican Arts Center, which allows them to perform for a very short period of time, and with no remuneration. Without sustainable government or private support, theater troupes like Lareira Artes cannot afford to have their own venue, or to rent a performance space to organize performance seasons. Similar to Angolan artists, Mozambican theater practitioners often have day jobs through which they ensure personal subsistence and help fund the troupe's activities.

During their interviews, Ferrão, Gamboa, and Santana explained that, given the obstacles theater artists face at home, festivals like Mindelact and CTP constitute alternative ways to pursue an artistic practice. In Portuguese-speaking theater festivals, Angolan and Mozambican artists have the opportunity to present and discuss their work with their peers. Foreign festivals also allow Angolan and Mozambican artists to establish contacts with other festival organizers, which in turn allow them to continue their practice.

Every time Santana speaks about CTP, he emphasizes that his company performs almost exclusively in theater festivals that focus on theater from Portuguese-speaking countries, and that take place outside Mozambique. He asserts that without the support of these festivals and the networking opportunities that they offer, his company wouldn't be able to survive. Statements of Angolan and Mozambican artists are very flattering for festival organizers, because they confirm the urgency of these projects. However, these statements also reveal the pressure that is put on

not allow me to fully understand whether she was being serious or sarcastic – an understandable tactic for an artist who fears government censorship.

the shoulders of festival organizers (who are theater artists themselves) to sustain foreign theater activity. The unequal division of financial and material resources and labor resulting from the neglected cultural policies in African countries like Angola and Mozambique pressure festival organizers from other countries with the moral duty of supporting foreign artists, even as those organizers struggle to overcome the obstacles created by inadequate or insufficient cultural policies in their own countries.

Cabo Verde

In Cabo Verde, neoliberalism in cultural policy is not only used to decrease the responsibilities of government in funding the arts (like in Angola and Mozambique), but also to emphasize a national identity grounded in cosmopolitanism and creolization. These notions imply that the cultural, political, and economic adaptability, as well as the ingenuity, of the Cabo Verdean people distinguish the country's culture from the cultures of continental Africa. The entangling of neoliberalism with national identity in governmental narratives replaced a period of stagnation in Cabo Verdean cultural policy (1980-2000), which, in turn, had followed the independence and revolutionary period (1960s to late 1970s).

In recent Cabo Verdean politics, miscegenation, referred to as "creolization," has clearly been instrumentalized for diplomatic purposes. Pointed out as both an illustration and a source of Cabo Verdean cosmopolitanism, Cabo Verde's culture is described as a culture in its own right, founded on the assemblage of African and Portuguese influences. The multiple origins of Cabo Verdean culture help position the country as an ideal political and economic partner for, and liaison between, European, African, and Latin American countries (see McMahon 2014: 46, 49).

Cabo Verde's creole culture has even been used to justify closer diplomatic and economic relations with China through Macao (a former Portuguese colony where certain elite social groups try to preserve a Portuguese-Southeast Asian creole language and cultural practices) (Rufino Valente 2016: 91-106). Resignified from a product of colonialism, slave trade, and colonization, into the core of Cabo Verdean national identity, unity, and sovereignty, Cabo Verdean creole culture is used as the country's business card when establishing foreign political and economic relations.

In cultural policy, the narrative about the industriousness and ingenuity inherent to Cabo Verdean culture helps to popularize the neoliberal approach to the culture sector, while glossing over the foreign origins and neo-colonial and imperial dangers of that approach. The perspective of the government is that, in a country with a wealth of cultural practices created by such resourceful people, the role of the state is to support and continue to encourage community-led and private initiative and, through policy, provide artists and craftsmen and women the means to make their practices into an industry (see Brito 2013 and Sousa 2014). Unlike past governments, who sponsored cultural production based on their personal taste, the current Ministry of Culture aims to apply measures that can support arts production as a self-sustained, professional practice.

Nevertheless, in a country where private investment is limited and where communities are small (and thus there is a limited possibility of networking and renewing contacts), the pressure toward private and civic initiative funded by national corporations or private and public foreign foundations leads to imbalances of power in the arts community. As in Angola and Mozambique, artists in Cabo Verde have to resort to personal contacts to gather the means to produce their projects. The favor chain *modus operandi* puts artists in a vulnerable position; artists act as if what they are offering in exchange for support (their artistic work) is less valuable

than the support itself. Also, this *modus operandi* preserves the power of individuals who have more influential contacts. These individuals monopolize their powerful contacts and present themselves as liaisons between potential sponsors and less well-connected artists.

Neoliberal cultural policies in Cabo Verde contribute to the crystallization of social strata, which preserve colonial cultural values. The history of Mindelact and the influence of João Branco, its artistic director, in Cabo Verdean theater constitutes an example of the problematic repercussions of Cabo Verdean neoliberal cultural policy on the national theater scene. The central position that Mindelact has in Cabo Verde's theater scene allows us to understand how the neoliberal approach to the arts uses competition as a way to divert the artists' attention from the responsibility of the state and from the practice of art making. Competition constitutes a form of self-policing that allows the state to easily control its citizens.

The position of power that Mindelact enjoys in the Cabo Verdean theater cannot be divorced, I suggest, from the status and identity of its artistic director. The Portuguese actor and theater director arrived in Mindelo in 1993 and took advantage of his Portuguese citizenship and related cultural and social capital to carve out a central position as theater educator and director, and as non-profit and festival organizer. Branco started this path of accumulating social and cultural capital when he approached the Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo [Portuguese Cultural Center of Mindelo] (CCPM) to propose an introductory theater program for youths and young adults. In 1994, Branco became the artistic director of CCPM, a position that he kept until 2014, when he was nominated as director of this institution.

Branco directs and is also one of the founding members of the Grupo de Teatro do Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo [Theater Group of the Portuguese Cultural Center of Mindelo] (GTCCPM). Over the past twenty-two years, the GTCCPM has become the most active and the

most international theater group in Cabo Verde. For some of the members of the theater community in Mindelo, the success and endurance of this theater company has depended not only on the dedication of its members, but also (and maybe most importantly) on the fact that the theater company has the institutional and logistical support of CCPM. This support, I would argue, was also critical in the foundation of the Mindelact festival. The first year of Mindelact was organized by the members of the GTCCPM. To this day, the CCPM provides logistical support to the festival. It was after the first edition of the festival Mindelact that the non-profit cultural organization of the same name was founded.

Branco, and consequently Mindelact, would not have achieved such a prominent position within the Cabo Verdean arts scene without the backing of the CCPM, because the director of the Center allowed Branco to dedicate as much time as necessary to organizing Mindelact while paying him as an employee.⁵⁶ The fact that, even if indirectly, João Branco was paid to organize Mindelact had several consequences regarding his relationship to the theater community of Mindelo. First, he could brand himself as a theater professional.⁵⁷ This self-categorization, in a context where theater practitioners do not earn a living from their activity in theater and, thus, are deemed “amateurs,” provides Branco with higher social status and authority within the theater community. Second, through his theater course and through the performances he selected for Mindelact, Branco played a key role in defining what the theater practitioners of Mindelo, especially the younger generations of practitioners, perceive as theater. Third, with the Mindelact festival being a meeting point not only for artists, but also for artistic directors of festivals from

⁵⁶ In an interview that I conducted with the former director of the CCPM, Ana Cordeiro, she openly stated that, “He [Branco] works here [at the Center] mainly in theater, therefore he is responsible for the theater group, he is responsible for the introductory theater course, and, therefore, our support consists also in giving him the time to work on Mindelact” (Cordeiro 2013).

⁵⁷ In this context, “professional” is conventionally defined as the person who earns a living from their professional activity.

other Portuguese-speaking countries, the groups selected to present at Mindelact have increased chances to establish contacts that may facilitate international circulation. Through Mindelact and through the presentations of his own group abroad, Branco plays a pivotal role in determining the representation of Cabo Verdean theater in international performing arts circuits.

In addition, there is a symbiotic relationship between the institutional connections that have been sustaining Mindelact for the past 20 years, and Branco's ability to accumulate social and cultural capital within Cabo Verde. Branco's cultural and social capital gives his project credibility, allowing Mindelact to maintain and renew institutional relations (especially with the state of Cabo Verde). Likewise, the fact that the festival he directs is able to gather and maintain a large number of institutional partnerships similarly increases Branco's social capital.

Probably unintentionally, Branco created a privileged position for himself by fitting into social hierarchies that remained from the colonial era. Also, his passion for theater, persistence and dedication to implement his projects despite the lack of infrastructure and support when he first arrived in Cabo Verde, made him and his festival a poster child of the government's cultural policy. Since its foundation, Mindelact has been put forward by governments as an example of the success of a partnership between state and private initiative.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ For instance, in an interview to the press in 1996, António Jorge Delgado, State Secretary of Culture and Social Media, declared that Mindelact (founded the year before) was an example of private initiative and that the government wanted to partner with projects like these to implement its cultural policy (Lopes 1996). Three years later, Delgado renewed his praise for Mindelact in the opening ceremony of the festival (Horizonte 1999). In 2013 and 2014, Mindelact continues to be regarded by the Ministry of Culture as a central partner in the development of cultural production in Cabo Verde and an instrumental partner in the implementation of cultural policies, especially in theater.

In 2013, when I interviewed the National Director for the Arts, João Paulo Brito, he emphasized the importance of collaborating with Mindelact when developing a cultural policy for performing arts:

When we conceive a policy for performing arts we are not going to develop that policy without including Mindelact, which, in fact, has fulfilled that position in the past 20 years, right? We're going to work with Mindelact and see what... contributions the state can make... and with Mindelact, as well, conciliate it with a larger policy for the arts [Brito 2013].

From the perspective of the Ministry of Culture, one could argue that the Ministry could not pass up Mindelact when conceiving a project for the development of Cabo Verdean theater, given the preponderant position the organization and festival hold in the Cabo Verdean theater scene. On the other hand, such reverence can also be understood as a strategy on the part of governmental power to conceal its exploitation of artists' initiatives *in lieu* of implementing arts policies. The meeting of performing arts curators hosted by Mindelact in 2013, which I mention in the beginning of this chapter, provides some insights on the concealing strategy used by the government and the conflict-ridden situation it creates for artists.

When I interviewed National Secretary for the Arts, João Paulo Brito, in 2013, he explained that the Ministry is invested in internationalizing Cabo Verdean cultural production, particularly in the areas of performing arts and crafts. In order to achieve that goal in theater, the Ministry of Culture and Mindelact hosted a performing arts curators meeting. Also, Mindelact turned into a showcase of Cabo Verdean theater for foreign curators, since the program mainly featured national theater companies. Mindelact was responsible for selecting and hosting the curators invited to the meeting, and for managing the logistics of the event.

The meeting featured mainly theater and festival directors from Portuguese-speaking countries, with particular emphasis on Portugal and Brazil – contacts that the director of the festival had established over the years. On the first day of meeting, the curators met with the National Director of the Arts and created a document with recommendations about promoting theater exchange. The document was meant to be sent to the press and governments of each country represented at the table. On the second day, the curators presented their festivals to Cabo Verdean artists. In the following days, curators met with artists in private to talk about possible

The reverence of politicians, especially in recent years, toward Mindelact is a sign of the power that the organization and festival hold in the Cabo Verdean performing arts scene.

collaborations. The media covered the meeting of performing arts curators closely and described it as the result of a partnership between the Ministry of Culture and Mindelact. However, what the festival organizers and the executive producer of the meeting told me was that Mindelact did not receive additional financial or material support to host the meeting.

By producing the performing arts curators meeting, Mindelact reinforced its position as an authority in Cabo Verdean theater. The festival and association were elevated in status: now they were representatives of Cabo Verdean artists, and mediators between these, the Ministry of Culture, and other festivals. Also, Mindelact's selecting of artists to participate in the festival in that particular year made it an even more preponderant regulator of Cabo Verdean theater practices and their dissemination.⁵⁹

When I asked João Branco and Daniel Monteiro (the producing director of Mindelact) about the position of Mindelact (the organization) in Cabo Verdean cultural policy, they minimized the role of the organization. Monteiro and Branco explained that they only did their best to follow Mindelact's commitment to developing theater in Cabo Verde by implementing Mindelact festival and other theater events, organizing workshops throughout the country, providing technical and logistical support to other theater companies, and developing a performing arts library. The organization did not intend to replace the Ministry of Culture (Branco 2014, Monteiro 2014).

⁵⁹ The relationship between Mindelact and the current officials working in Ministry of Culture is further complicated by the fact that it mixes institutional and personal relationships – another example of how the chain of favors works in Cabo Verdean cultural policy, and how it creates imbalances in the access artists have to resources. João Paulo Brito was Branco's student in the first theater course that Branco taught at the CCPM, and he was one of the founding members of GTCCPM. It was also as a member of GTCCPM that Brito established a closer relationship with Mário Lúcio Sousa. Sousa is not only the current Minister of Culture of Cabo Verde, he is also a celebrated sing-song writer and writer in Cabo Verde. His literary work extends from poetry to novels and plays. In 2005, after returning from his studies in Portugal, Brito was immediately invited by Branco to participate in the new production of GTCCPM. Brito starred in Sousa's play *Adão e as Sete Negras de Fuligem* [Adam and the Seven Soot Blackened Women], directed by Branco. It was on the stage that Brito and Sousa met and where they started conversations about culture that then led Sousa to invite Brito to be part of his office at the Ministry of Culture. Today, Brito has his own theater company – Sikinada, Cia. de Teatro, and he continues to direct and perform plays written by Mário Lúcio Sousa.

In the Cabo Verdean theater community, artists have mixed feelings about Mindelact and its artistic director. Especially younger practitioners, who were once Branco's students at CCPM, often tell me that while Branco and Mindelact once played a pivotal role in theater in Cabo Verde, they now have too much control over what happens in the theater community. Testimonies about Mindelact given by theater practitioners from various Portuguese-speaking countries reveal that a festival can provide alternative performance opportunities for artists from other countries, while at the same time making it more difficult for domestic artists to pursue theater careers. For instance, even as Gamboa considers Mindelact a safe haven, the young Cabo Verdean actor, theater director, and musician Di Fortes feels that the central position of the Mindelact festival and organization creates obstacles to artists who want to implement projects outside the organization and festival:

[Di Fortes:] In Cabo Verde, on my Island, when my group in particular tries to ask for sponsorship, funding, to a company like Renault, they say 'Everything went to Mindelact!' Everything is invested there, all the financial support is invested in Mindelact and we don't get anything [...].

[Creusa Borges:] Mindelact gets all the money?!

[Di Fortes:] Yes... [...] The thing is that [the funds for culture] are scarce; it's not that they take all the money, but if I was going to ask they were going to say – "No, we sponsored Mindelact." And Mindelact, after all, is an association created to help theater in Cabo Verde, in Mindelo, and that's something that I don't understand until this day. If I talk about this here, I know that I will get my ass kicked when I arrive [in Mindelo]...

Di Fortes shared his experience as a theater practitioner in Mindelo during the panel about theater exchange at CTP in 2014. These ambivalent feelings toward Mindelact, expressed in the quote above, colored his speech every time he took the floor to speak about his work.

The organization and festival Mindelact have been instrumental in developing the theater community in Cabo Verde, providing theater practitioners with opportunities, training, and technical resources to produce and present their work like no other institution in the country (not even the Ministry of Culture). Nevertheless, the organization and festival have gained so much prestige in Cabo Verde and abroad that theater artists cannot successfully operate outside it. As a result, some artists move to Praia (the capital of the country, located on another island) or to Portugal. In the new locations, artists look for more training and try to start their careers away from the grip of Mindelact. Other artists try to establish their own contacts with theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries.

Cabo Verdean artists who perform at CTP use the festival as an opportunity to access new audiences and get fresh feedback on their work. Also, away from home, Cabo Verdean artists use CTP as an outlet to talk about the struggles they face at home. Their comments illustrate the negative impact of the neoliberal cultural policies applied by the Cabo Verdean government. These policies favor organizations who already have resources. Also, marked by a moralizing narrative about the importance of individual entrepreneurship, these policies obscure the colonial hierarchies that cause imbalances in the community. These hierarchies privilege a middle and upper-middle class elite who can afford to do theater because they have stable day jobs, and who extract social and cultural capital from their relationship to the former colonial power – Portugal. The case of Cabo Verdean cultural policy and Mindelact reveals how cultural citizenship in Cabo Verde is determined by and constitutes a privilege of the elites.

Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe

Unlike Angola, Mozambique, and Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe do not have a Ministry of Culture; the government office dedicated to regulating, preserving, and promoting cultural heritage and artistic production is merged with other ministries. In Guinea-Bissau, policies on culture, sports, and youth are regulated by an office directly supervised by the Prime Minister – Secretaria de Estado da Juventude, Cultura, e Desporto [Secretariat For Youth, Culture, and Sports]. The culture department within this Secretariat is responsible for creating and implementing cultural policies as well as for regulating cultural institutions, training cultural education staff, protecting material and immaterial heritage, and encouraging artistic production.

In Sao Tome and Principe, the culture office is integrated into the Ministério da Educação, Cultura e Ciência [Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science]. The department dedicated to culture, the Direcção Geral de Cultura [General Directorate for Culture] (DGC), is responsible for implementing cultural policies ranging from the study and preservation of material and immaterial heritage to the encouragement of artistic production, with the overall goal of promoting and bolstering Saotomean identity. In the area of arts production, DGC is responsible for elevating international arts exchange as a means of promoting good relationships with other countries (especially Portuguese-speaking ones), training artists and culture managers, promoting theater and music festivals, and implementing copyright laws.

In Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe, in contrast with Angola, Mozambique, and Cabo Verde, governments do not seem to invest much time in developing cultural policies. The lack of attention to culture might be explained by the long armed conflicts in Guinea-Bissau, and by the lack of pressure from the international community, since neither Guinea-Bissau nor Sao

Tome and Principe play a relevant role global politics or the global economy. In general, theater artists from Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome feel neglected by the governments of their countries.⁶⁰ As in other African Portuguese-speaking countries, although for slightly different reasons, Guinean-Bissau and Santomean artists find in theater festivals taking place in other Portuguese-speaking countries an opportunity to present work with better material conditions and to more diversified audiences than in their home countries. These festivals also constitute privileged occasions for artists to come together, share information about the contexts of cultural production in their home countries, and support each other by listening, acknowledging their challenges, and exchanging strategies to overcome difficulties.

The cases of Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe complete the mosaic of cultural policies in African Portuguese-speaking countries, and their impact on theater making (especially in the context of theater festivals). In all of these countries, I notice that the central policy idea is that culture belongs to and is primarily the responsibility of individuals – a neoliberal approach promoted by Western supranational organizations and foundations in the African continent since the 1990s. This approach increases the financial hardship of theater practitioners and decreases the diversity of approaches to cultural practices. I suggest that reducing the field of arts practitioners through neoliberal measures constitutes a strategy applied by states to make culture (and citizenship in general) easier to manage.

⁶⁰ In 2013, I interviewed the Grupo de Teatro do Oprimido de Bissau [Theater of the Oppressed Group of Bissau], from Guinea-Bissau, and Ayres Major, the director of the group Os Parodiantes da Ilha, from Sao Tome and Principe. I asked the artists about the conditions of theater production in their countries, and they replied that theater practitioners lack financial support – in general the public and private sectors do not seem invested in the arts. Also, artists from both countries explained that their countries lack infrastructure for the production and presentation of theater – particularly venues.

The particularly precarious⁶¹ situation of artists in African Portuguese-speaking countries impacts the theater ecosystem in Portuguese-speaking countries as a whole. Brazilian and Portuguese artists who collaborate with African theater practitioners have to deal with the fact that African artists cannot contribute financially to their projects. Their contribution is labor, which is often not paid, but traded for the price of airfare, *per diem*, and the opportunity to perform abroad. African artists who participate in festivals in other Portuguese-speaking countries access a privileged mobility that sets them apart from their peers in an international context. Nevertheless, once they return to their own countries, they cannot leverage that experience, given the hierarchies of power in place.

For Brazilian and Portuguese festival organizers, the fact that African artists cannot contribute financially to the festivals increases the project's expense budget and makes it more challenging to collect the funding necessary to support the festival. In order to balance their budgets, festival organizers like Borges sometimes have to make the difficult decision to not pay African artists, or to pay them less – which goes against the ethos of her project. As we have seen in the case of CTP and will see again in the case of Cena Lusófona, the higher expense budget also makes festival organizers more dependent on governments and foundations. The time and labor expended by organizers in coping with the constraints of cultural policies and arts

⁶¹ In this chapter, I apply the term precarity as defined by Judith Butler in the article “Performativity, Precarity, and Sexual Politics”:

[P]recarity” designates that politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death. Such populations are at heightened risk of disease, poverty, starvation, displacement, and of exposure to violence without protection. Precarity also characterizes that politically induced condition of maximized vulnerability and exposure for populations exposed to arbitrary state violence and to other forms of aggression that are not enacted by states and against which states do not offer adequate protection. So by precarity we may be talking about populations that starve or who near starvation, but we might also be talking about sex workers who have to defend themselves against both street violence and police harassment [2009: ii].

funding in Portuguese-speaking countries ultimately results in less time to invest in their own companies' productions, and less energy to demand changes in policy.

Portugal

At the turn of the twenty-first century, *Cena Lusófona* and the festival *Estação* constituted an instrument for the Portuguese government to reactivate its links with other Portuguese-speaking countries. The history of this project and festival also constitutes a history of the frequent changes and inconsistencies in Portuguese cultural policy, and of how artists tried to cope with those shifts. An analysis of Portuguese cultural policy and the responses of artists responsible for *Cena Lusófona* and *Estação* shatter the dichotomy that opposes the interventionist cultural policy of European countries to the non-interventionist cultural policy of the US. This examination also dismantles the myth that all European countries have consistent cultural policies and abundant arts funding.

According to Rui Telmo Gomes and Teresa Duarte Martinho (2011), cultural policy in Portugal in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries can be divided into four moments. The first moment consists of dictatorship (1928-1974), when the state closely supervised and censored cultural production. The second moment encompasses the revolutionary and post-revolutionary period (1974-1995), when the government extinguished the institutions responsible for censorship, attempted to implement programs to democratize and decentralize citizens' access to and participation in cultural production, and promoted arts education. During the decade of 1985-95, the government tried to reduce the intervention of the state in culture, creating a patronage law and opening up competition for new, private television channels. Between 1974

and 1995, culture was administrated by a Secretaria de Estado da Cultura [State Secretariat of Culture] (SEC), which suffered frequent restructuring according to plans that, given the political instability of the years that immediately followed the dictatorship, were never fully executed (see Presidência do Conselho de Ministros 1980, Secretaria de Estado da Cultura/Presidência do Conselho de Ministros 1990: 1992).

The project of *Cena Lusófona* and, in this context, *Estação*, emerged in a moment of transition in Portuguese cultural policy. The project was conceived between the end of the post-revolutionary period and the beginning of the third period of Portuguese cultural policy, inaugurated with the creation of the first Ministry of Culture in 1995. In 1994, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Portugal) invited *A Escola da Noite* to perform Gil Vicente (one of the foundational authors of Portuguese theater from the sixteenth century) in Guinea-Bissau. The performances and the underlying notion of circulation of Portuguese-speaking theater in Portuguese-speaking countries was very well-received, according to the director of the *Escola da Noite*, António Augusto Barros. Also, during the tour, the company noticed the lack of theater organizations or theater education in the country (see Barros 1995: 6). In 1995, and given the positive reception of the project, Secretary of Culture Manuel Frexes invited Barros to join a delegation that would travel to Mozambique to encourage stronger relations between that country and Portugal.

According to Barros, Frexes was particularly committed to consolidating relationships across Portuguese-speaking countries. Indeed, Frexes' mandate closed the decade of 1985-95, in which, according to sociologist and Portuguese cultural policy expert Maria de Lourdes Lima, Portuguese governments started privileging the promotion and dissemination of Portuguese language internationally. This, Lima explains, was part of Portugal's attempt to find a new role

for itself in the international context, after more than forty years of dictatorship. During the dictatorship, Portugal removed itself from European politics and tried to establish a closer relationship with the colonies. Between 1974 and 1976, the country positioned itself in close relation to de-colonialized Africa and other non-Western countries. In 1976, Portugal requested to join the European Union. Ten years later, the country became a member of the EU and designed its foreign relations according to a triangular model: “the Atlantic option (NATO), European Community (EC), and African Portuguese-speaking countries” (Lima 2008: 295). The protection and promotion of Portuguese language in this context, Lima explains, was two fold: 1) an investment in the relations with other Portuguese-speaking countries through the creation of institutes/centers in those countries and engagement in joint cultural projects, and 2) the promotion of a national identity (Lima 2008: 295).

It is not surprising, then, that during their first trip to Mozambique, Frexes invited Barros to organize a theater festival focused on works from Portuguese-speaking countries, to take place in Lisbon. Barros accepted the challenge under the condition that, instead of a festival, he would design a project that would foster exchanges among theater practitioners and scholars in and from Portuguese-speaking countries through various activities (including a festival) that would take place at different locations and times. Frexes accepted the idea under the condition that the project take place as an experiment, before the next legislative elections (September 1995). If Frexes’ party, PSD – Partido Social Democrata [Socialist Democratic Party], did not win the elections, he could not assure the continuation of the project.

From the very beginning, in the first draft of the project – named “Cena Lusófona,” Barros proposed, besides a festival, a full program of co-productions, circulation of theater companies, the support of academic studies that analyzed and documented theater practices and material

conditions of production in each country, the support and commission of theater plays by Portuguese-speaking authors, and the publication of a journal (*Sete Palcos*). The project was publicly released in June of 1995. At the time, the project, already called *Cena Lusófona*, was presented as a department under the supervision of the Portuguese Culture Secretariat.

Cena Lusófona's overall goal, according to the press release quoted on the issue, was to serve as a platform for the consolidation of the relationships between Portuguese speaking countries; theater would be the social glue bringing together, in artistic collaborations, countries that were already bound by history (see Barros 1995: 6). *Cena Lusófona* also had two specific aims. In the short-term, the project should implement collaborative activities including festivals, co-productions, and touring of productions by Portuguese-speaking theater companies. These activities would pave the way for implementation of a long-term goal of creating a sustainable network among theater practitioners and organizations across Portuguese-speaking countries (and which should be reinforced by matching cultural policies from the governments of each country) (see Barros 1995: 7).

Between May and December 1995, Portuguese theater directors invited by Barros conducted workshops in each of the African Portuguese-speaking countries.⁶² According to Barros, the workshops were very well-received and well-attended in each country. These activities assured the continuity of the program – each group presented a final exercise at the end of the workshops, and some of them turned into formal co-productions. Barros himself went to Mozambique for several months to develop a workshop and a co-production with a local group. During that period, he also worked on implementing the first incarnation of *Estação*, in Maputo.

⁶² Cândido Ferreira went to Cabo Verde, Rogério de Carvalho to Angola, Fernando Mora Ramos to Mozambique, João Brites to Sao Tome and Principe, and Filipe Crawford to Guinea-Bissau.

The festival took place for the first time in Maputo between November 15 and December 12, 1995. The festival hosted “twenty performances, by fourteen theater companies from Angola, Mozambique, Portugal, and Sao Tome and Principe, and also two Luso-Mozambican co-productions” (Cena Lusófona 1995a: 4). An article published in issue 0 of *Sete Palcos* reports that first Estação featured shows based on texts by Portuguese-speaking authors, in particular the sixteenth-century playwright Gil Vicente, whose work was considered “the matrix of Portuguese theater and a constitutive reference of the languages of the seven [Portuguese-speaking] countries” (Barros 1995: 12).⁶³ The insistence of the Portuguese companies on a European repertoire, particularly in co-productions, was one of the points of contention in this year of Estação, as I have explored in the previous chapter.

Frexes’ party lost the 1995 election; in October 1995, the thirteenth Portuguese Constitutional Government took office, founded the first Ministry of Culture, and nominated Manuel Maria Carrilho as Minister of Culture. Carrilho welcomed Cena Lusófona; not only was he was a close friend of Barros, he considered the project relevant to the cultural policies he wanted to implement. Indeed, as Lima explains, the creation of the Ministry of Culture was not merely meant to increase the national government’s budget for the culture sector. The Ministry’s founding reflected a statement in the platform of the incoming government about the need to

⁶³ According to this same article, the European canon was also very present in the program of the first festival (see Barros 1995: 13). In fact, the Portuguese theater collectives O Bando, A Barraca, Centro Dramático de Évora, A Escola da Noite, Trigo Limpo-Teatro ACERT, and the artists Cândido Ferreira and Filipe Crawford performed almost exclusively texts by or adapted from Portuguese, Italian, and French authors. The same applied to the co-productions. António Augusto Barros directed *A Birra do Morto*, by the Portuguese contemporary author Vicente Sanches, in a co-production between his company (A Escola da Noite) and the Mozambican theater collective Mutumbela Gogo. Fernando Mora Ramos adapted and directed *De Volta da Guerra* by the sixteenth-century Italian playwright Angelo Beolco, and *Il Ruzzante*, a co-production between the Portuguese company Teatro da Rainha and two Mozambican collectives: Casa Velha and Produções Olá. In both of these cases, the Portuguese theater directors worked with Portuguese dramaturges and set and costume designers, and Portuguese and Mozambican actors. Contrasting with the majority of Portuguese-directed performances, the theater companies Elinga Teatro (Angola), Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança, Gungu, Gungulinho, M’Bêu, and Mutumbela Gogo (Mozambique), and Os Parodiantes da Ilha (Sao Tome and Principe) performed texts by authors from their own countries or created texts collectively during rehearsals.

dignify cultural and artistic activities, emphasize their important role in Portuguese society, and highlight the relevance of cultural policies in the development of Portugal (Lima 2008: 297-298). The Ministry was committed to promoting the internationalization of Portuguese culture; *Cena Lusófona*, I suggest, appeared to be an interesting way of achieving this goal.

Upon his return to Portugal in December 1995, Barros met with Carrilho to discuss the future of *Cena Lusófona*. Barros proposed that *Cena Lusófona* should turn into a non-profit, a non-governmental association endowed by the Portuguese state. Carrilho accepted Barros' proposal and the two men agreed that *Cena Lusófona* would establish an endowment protocol for the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (through Instituto Camões⁶⁴) and the Municipality of Coimbra.

Despite its promising start, the path of *Cena Lusófona* and *Estação* between 1995 and 2003 reflects the inability of successive ministers of culture to implement sustainable cultural policies, especially for the arts. Between 1995 and 2001, the federal government tried to establish partnerships with city governments to develop a local and regional infrastructure network for the presentation of artistic work, without significant success. In the case of *Cena Lusófona*, support from the Municipality of Coimbra and from Instituto Camões was never activated. The financial support of the Ministry of Culture was maintained and renewed, but it was not sufficient. *Cena Lusófona* and the Portuguese Ministry of Culture kept eight years of protocol, which expired and was not renewed again after 2003, when Carrilho left his position as Minister of Culture. The shift in the government's support to *Cena Lusófona*'s project reflects a gradual loss of interest in the area of culture on the part of the Portuguese government. This lack of interest manifested

⁶⁴ Founded in 1992, Instituto Camões was created to promote the teaching of Portuguese language internationally, and to implement cultural projects, particularly in African Portuguese-speaking countries and in Latin America. Despite having an autonomous budget and agenda, Instituto Camões has been administered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1994 (Camões – Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua 2016).

more generally as insufficient funding of the artistic sector, and as a lack of strategic policy in the area of culture (Gomes & Martinho 2011: 2).

Between 1996 (the first official year of *Cena Lusófona*, according to Barros) and 2003, *Cena Lusófona* organized and implemented five more renditions of *Estação*: in 1996, in Rio de Janeiro, Olinda, and São Paulo (Brazil); in 1997, in Mindelo (Cabo Verde), in collaboration with festival *Mindelact*; in 1999, in Évora, Coimbra, and Braga (Portugal); in 2002, in Sao Tome (Sao Tome and Principe), in collaboration with *Festival Gravana*; and in 2003, in Coimbra (Portugal). The three, non-consecutive renditions of *Estação* that took place after 1997 reflected increasing difficulties with maintaining a steady partnership with the Portuguese state. In the Assembly meeting minutes of *Cena Lusófona*, the directors report, meeting after meeting, delays in payment of the funding that the Ministry of Culture had contracted with *Cena Lusófona*. Starting in 1997, the directors declare that communication with any of the institutional partners is difficult because there are no institutional interlocutors. Even when communications with the Ministry were reestablished, the delays in payment continued. Even more detrimental to the project, however, was the refusal by *Instituto Camões* to honor its duties as established in the protocol co-signed by the Ministry of Culture and the City Government of Coimbra. In a text that opens the catalogue of *Estação* in 1999, Barros explains that the smaller scale of the festival that year is due to the refusal of *Instituto Camões* to sponsor *Cena Lusófona*.

The last iteration of *Estação* took place in 2003; the festival was organized in several sections and included music concerts, documentaries, performances that resulted from the second *Estágio Internacional de Actores*, and performances by theater companies and artists from Angola, Brazil, Cabo Verde, Galiza, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, and Sao Tome and Principe. *Estação 2003* was the largest *Cena Lusófona* had ever proposed. The organization was

able to implement the festival despite the decreasing financial support from the Ministry of Culture, because it had established a partnership with Coimbra European Capital of Culture.

The Ministry of Culture discontinued the protocol with Cena Lusófona in 2003. The Ministry of Culture required Cena Lusófona to apply for funding through a competitive public call for proposals. The change in the government's approach to Cena Lusófona can be contextualized within a change in cultural policies, which was fully implemented in 2005. This shift in policy came in response to a need to rationalize government spending on culture.

The current, fourth period in Portuguese cultural policy has been characterized by the reorganization and downsizing of the Ministry of Culture by merging institutions formerly dependent on the Ministry. In 2011, as part of the austerity measures that the nineteenth Constitutional Government applied in response to the 2008 financial crisis, the Ministry of Culture became a State Secretariat under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister. In late November 2015, the center-left wing coalition nominated by the President to constitute the twenty-first Constitutional Portuguese Government re-implemented a Ministry of Culture, whose mission reads very similarly to Carrilho's Ministry in 1995 (see XXI Governo Constitucional Português 2016).

Scholars who analyze Portuguese cultural policy declare that the measures successive governments conceived to promote the decentralization and democratization of access to culture, and to support the internationalization of Portuguese culture abroad, did not produce visible results (Santos 1997, Ribeiro 1997, Conde 1998, and Gomes *et al* 2010). For instance, in 2008 the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Foreign Affairs signed an agreement to fund the activities of foreign artists living in Portugal, and those of Portuguese artists living in other countries. Under this same agreement, the two ministries would also support international

organizations who invite Portuguese artists to participate in their activities. In 2008, following CPLP's recommendations on the promotion of Portuguese language, the Portuguese government approved its own resolution, which declared that Portuguese language played an instrumental and strategic role in Portugal's cultural, political and economic international relations. In 2010, the two Ministries signed a new agreement to coordinate their activities. These two agreements were implemented together with other policies implemented by CPLP and the Portuguese government. None of these measures, however, seems to have had an impact on the quantity or quality of theater or theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries.⁶⁵ The frequent reorganization of cultural policy that I traced above, and the gaps in the current policies for internationalization, help explain the lack of international artistic collaborations involving Portuguese artists.

The inconsistency and impermanence of performing arts internationalization policies impacts theater practitioners in particular. João de Mello Alvim, director of the non-profit arts organization Chão de Oliva, and also a theater director, talked about his experience with cultural policy for the internationalization of Portuguese theater on the panel on policies for theater exchange projects, which I describe in the opening example of this chapter. Alvim pointed out that, currently, the distribution of grants for internationalization of Portuguese theater privileges the presentation of companies outside Portugal, but not the development of long-term projects

⁶⁵ In a study published in 2010, Rui Telmo Gomes, Vanda Lourenço, and Teresa Duarte Martinho revealed that the performing arts programming in Portugal since 2000 is not significantly internationalized. In what concerns the internationalization of Portuguese performing arts in the context of Portuguese-speaking countries, the authors concluded that from the 24% of foreigners working in Portugal, only 8% come from Portuguese-speaking countries (4% of whom come from Brazil). Only 18% of the shows performed by Portuguese companies abroad are presented in Portuguese-speaking countries (15% in Brazil). Portugal imports more shows than it exports (and only 8% of these are from Portuguese-speaking countries). Finally, Gomes *et al* conclude that Portuguese governments and artists do not take advantage of Portuguese language to establish international collaborations, privileging contacts with Europe rather than with Portuguese-speaking countries. Although Brazil is recognized as a potential partner, collaborations are not actually established. Among all performing arts, theater is the least internationalized area (Gomes *et al* 2010).

that can foster strong partnerships between companies from different countries. The fact that Portuguese cultural policy for internationalization does not account for multilateral collaborations reflects a presentational and potentially neocolonial perspective on the role national culture plays in foreign relations. Culture (artistic productions in particular) is used to promote the country abroad, and to extract cultural privilege, without engaging or contributing to the well-being of the communities that host Portuguese artists.

CPLP – Comunidade dos Países de Língua Oficial Portuguesa

CPLP is a supranational organization that includes government representatives of all Portuguese-speaking countries. The organization was founded in 1996, in Lisbon. The project was supported by Portuguese and Brazilian politicians and diplomats who aimed to expand the strong diplomatic links established between Portugal and Brazil during the 1970s to all Portuguese-speaking countries. The goal of CPLP is to leverage the shared values and interests of Portuguese-speaking countries at an international level through political agreements and social, cultural, and economic cooperation. CPLP also implements specific initiatives and founded an institute in Cabo Verde to promote Portuguese language (CPLP – Comunidade dos Países de Língua Oficial Portugal 2016). Only recently has CPLP started issuing recommendations for the culture sector at large (beyond language).

The organization published its first strategic plan and recommendations for culture (“Plano Estratégico de Cooperação Cultural Multilateral” [Strategic Plan for Multilateral Cultural Collaboration] and “Plano de Acção” [Action Plan]) in 2014, after a series of other recommendations that had been devised by the Ministers of Culture of CPLP since 2000. The

2014 documents establish lines of action for CPLP that encourage collaborative projects between artists, cultural organizations, and institutions from three or more Portuguese-speaking countries. In this plan, CPLP positions itself as a facilitator, its duties being to identify possible sources of funding for the projects and to mediate dialogue between the artists/organizations and possible sponsor institutions (CPLP – Comunidade dos Países de Língua Oficial Portugal 2014).

An analysis of CPLP cultural policy, and how artists have received it, reveals a deep lack of understanding on the part of policy makers about artists' *métier* and contribution to society. Based on conversations with artists from various Portuguese-speaking countries, whom I met at CTP and Mindelact, and also based on an examination of sources of funding of the three festivals I studied, I notice a lack of communication between CPLP and the artists and cultural organizations. Artists don't seem to know about CPLP's policies and plans of action, or they don't know how to proceed in order to benefit from them. CPLP does not openly publish forms, regulations, or instructions about how to submit a proposal.

Between 2015 and 2016, as I collaborated with Borges in organizing the tenth CTP, I experienced firsthand the challenge of proposing a project to CPLP. The language of the documents is extremely technical and does not provide clear instructions on how to devise and submit the application (no reference to forms or addresses). I only understood the process fully after the proposal from CTP was rejected by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil. Even to learn that the application had to be sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Brazil in the first place, I had to contact the Consulate of Brazil at CPLP in Lisbon. I spent hours following up with my contacts before they explained to me that the application needed to be forwarded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry evaluated the application and then wrote a

recommendation to the CPLP Council (via their Consulate) regarding whether or not the project should be considered under CPLP's cultural strategic plan.

After the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign affairs rejected the proposal (which they mistook for a direct request for funding from them and not from CPLP), I insisted on knowing the steps and forms that artists should use to devise and submit their proposals. Only then did the Secretary of the Consul of Brazil at CPLP provide me with concrete links to the CPLP website where I could find the forms and specific instructions on how to submit them. She also explained that the proposal must be submitted before one of the two annual meetings of the board that evaluates these proposals (dates that change every year), and six months before the date when the project will be implemented. Although artists and festival organizers would benefit from being sponsored by a prestigious and reliable institution like CPLP, the difficult language and omission of information in the documents, the challenge of reaching staff at the Embassy and Consulates who might provide concrete information, and the slow (and unpredictable) calendar of project evaluation all discourage artists and festival organizers from applying for this funding.

Such laborious and time-consuming processes indicate that policy makers at CPLP ignore the challenges that artists face in their home countries to maintain their practice. Few theater companies from Portuguese-speaking countries have the staff or the time to pursue these applications; they have to work day jobs or second jobs and therefore tend to apply for more immediate forms of funding. From a more cynical perspective, it can be argued that the complicatedness of CPLP's funding application is intended to perpetuate the precarity of independent and/or underserved artists, while reducing the amount of background research that reviewers would have to do to make informed decisions. Ultimately, CPLP's application process perpetuates the hierarchy of artists who can produce and present artistic work within Portuguese-

speaking countries. The funding applications are conceived for large private foundations or organizations in Portugal (and maybe in Brazil), who can afford to pay for staff specializing in policy, who can navigate the complexities of governmental institutions and translate the projects into the jargon of policy. An extremely cynical perspective would suggest that policy makers at CPLP use the notion of Lusophony to conceal the unclear political and economic interests of groups of countries within the organization.⁶⁶

CTP's application for funding from CPLP also indicates how supranational arts funding helps nation states in their citizen management efforts. In this case, the funding application constituted a way of outsourcing labor through the applicants themselves, turning artists into social scientists or statisticians. Applicants were asked to substantiate claims about the relevance of their projects by providing quantitative data and references to studies about the areas in which the project should intervene. For instance, in order to justify CPLP's funding of CTP, I used language from other funding applications for CTP, in which Dragão 7 argued that their festival promoted intercultural knowledge among citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries and that it would reduce racism and xenophobia in Brazil. I had to back up that information by citing social science studies about theater exchange projects, theater production, intercultural knowledge, racism, and xenophobia in Portuguese-speaking countries.

While I worked on the application, it occurred to me that applications like this illustrate the disjuncture between what supranational organizations, powerful foundations, and national governments *say* and what they *do* about their relationship to culture, and to the arts in particular. The neoliberal narrative that has been increasingly used in cultural policy presents individual

⁶⁶ In a recent phone conversation with the Secretary of the Brazilian Consul at CPLP, I learned that, despite the fact that CPLP's Strategic Plan for Culture was designed to fund proposals from civic groups, foundations, and governments alike, only governments have been applying. Dragão 7 was the first civic society group to ever apply for funding under the CPLP Strategic Plan for Culture.

initiative and collaboration between governments and civil society as instrumental in helping governments serve their citizens better. However, the measures through which this narrative is implemented turn the relationship between government and individual or government and civic group into one of demand and supply. Governments who claim to be serving citizens are in fact creating a demand for projects that give form to their own narratives about the needs of citizens. Individuals and citizen groups turn into service suppliers that, in order to implement their activities, adopt normative narratives that do not serve their communities.

For instance, Portuguese-speaking artists use the term Lusophony as a safe (institutionally sanctioned) contextual background that is easy to explain to potential sponsors; they use it to create occasions to come together, exchange contacts, establish new professional affinities, and consolidate old ones. On these occasions, which include organizing and participating in festivals that problematize Lusophony, artists try to put aside their personal perspectives on Lusophony to take advantage of the opportunity to access a transnational space where they can advance their careers. In order to increase their chances of getting funding from government institutions, artists and organizers have to adopt the simplified and occluding government narrative about Lusophony in their funding applications, promotional materials, opening ceremony speeches, and interviews with the media. They also signal their allegiance to this narrative by making sure that at least one company from each Portuguese-speaking country is invited to present.

CPLP's cultural policy encourages the creation of a supranational cultural community, but it does not support a supranational cultural citizenship, which would be essential to sustaining such a community. This is a point where supranational interests collide with concerns of nation states. For years, CPLP has been trying to approve the status of "Lusophone Citizen." With this status, individuals from Portuguese-speaking countries living abroad would have the same rights

and obligations of the citizens from the CPLP country where they reside. Exceptions would apply to rights that the constitution of each country declares to be specific to the citizens of that country. Despite interest expressed by the CPLP member-states, the process of regulating and implementing the Lusophone Citizen status has been particularly slow. Countries continue to negotiate particular clauses. Also, the internal political situation in some countries has delayed the review process (Portal Galego da Língua 2010, Infopress/Expresso das Ilhas 2013).

The lack of attention to the specific contexts of artists' work and circulation makes the production of festivals like CTP particularly difficult.⁶⁷ Artists, especially those who participate in collaborative projects like CTP where they are not paid honoraria, are in a complicated position that is not accounted for by law: they are not workers, they are not students/teachers, they are not coming for business, they are not tourists. CTP has experienced situations in which artists, especially artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries, cannot attend CTP because the Brazilian embassy in those countries will not grant them a visa.⁶⁸

Conclusion

Theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries allow us to problematize the conventional narratives in cultural policy models that split the globe into three groups. European

⁶⁷ The transportation of theater sets is also a challenge; as with visa policies, CPLP members do not agree on a common policy for the transportation of materials for shows. For CTP, this situation created a serious problem in 2011, when the set for a collaborative performance involving two Portuguese companies was not released from customs on time for the festival. All the presentations had to be cancelled and the Portuguese artists refused to further collaborate with the festival.

⁶⁸ Festival organizers can work around their country's visa policies when they have the right contacts and when the foreign policies in their countries are not too complex. For instance, Mindelact organizers take advantage of the tourist visa policy in their country, which consists of paying an entrance fee of 41€ (roughly \$45) at the border. Because the organizers have acquaintances in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they set up an informal partnership through which they can provide artists with courtesy visas.

countries are described as the paradise of the arts, where there are effective cultural policies and abundant funding for the arts. The US is described as the antithesis of European countries: the country that declares not to have a cultural policy and where funding for the arts is extremely limited. The third group encompasses postcolonial countries that cannot develop cultural policies and allocate funding for the arts due to political and/or economic instability and legacies of colonial policy.

The analysis of *Estação* and its contextualization in Portuguese cultural policy reveals a picture that contrasts with conventional ideas about cultural policy and arts funding in European countries. Indeed, when comparing Portuguese cultural policy to other European countries' policies, it becomes apparent that within the European Union there are at least three cultural policy models. These models stem from the political and economic paths of countries since borders started crystalizing on the European continent during the nineteenth century. Eastern European countries' policies reflect the transition from the USSR to the European Union.⁶⁹ In Western and Northern European countries, the decentralized management of culture and production of policies reflects both the administrative organization of these countries prior to their consolidation as nations, and also the political tensions of World War II.⁷⁰ Finally, in the

⁶⁹ The history of cultural policy in Eastern European countries consists of two moments. During the first half to three-quarters of the twentieth century, countries like Poland, Croatia, Czech Republic, and Latvia were under the rule of the USSR and its cultural policy. During this period, cultural policy in Eastern European countries consisted of the centralization of production and implementation of policy, the use of culture and artistic production as a vehicle for disseminating the ideology of the left-wing dictatorial regime, and the enforcement of censorship over dissident voices. The fall of the Berlin Wall inaugurated a new phase in the history of Eastern European countries and in their cultural policies. Countries implemented measures to revive their national culture, which was silenced under Soviet socialist realism. Many countries applied to join the European Union and, as part of this process, created policies that followed the guidelines of that supranational organization. Following the EU's recommendations, the new policies aimed to promote democratization of production and access to culture, decentralize power from the state to civic society, and create cultural and tourism industries as a means of monetizing material heritage and encouraging private initiative (Council of Europe/ERICarts 2015).

⁷⁰ Among these countries, we can find two specific models: 1) the central government is responsible for producing legislation while its application is reserved for regional governments, who have autonomous culture budgets; and 2) regions are entirely responsible for conceiving and applying cultural policies. The funding for culture and benefits

Southern European countries, policies reflect the move from fascist regimes to integration into the European Union. Policies in these countries tend to favor material, immaterial, and natural heritage over contemporary artistic productions (Council of Europe/ERICarts 2015).⁷¹ We can see how the “European” model of cultural policy (i.e. the centralized creation and implementation of cultural policy and abundant funds and benefits for artists) is, in fact, a romanticized generalization of the French model.

The study of cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries also allows us to dismantle the myth of non-interventionism in US cultural policy. Conventional views of US cultural policy confuse the idea of non-interventionism with the notion of lack of funding for the arts. From that perspective, we can look at cultural policies on the European continent and find countries (Portugal included), which would also be considered non-interventionist. If we look at non-interventionism in terms of having no regulations in cultural policy, the notion does not hold in the case of the US either. As Miller and Yúdice demonstrate, the US government has been active in producing regulations on culture since the foundation of the country (see Mille & Yúdice

for artists in these countries are the most successful and well-structured. In some of these countries, artists do not have specific social security and health benefit status (like in France), but they can still access those benefits as an underserved population (Council of Europe/ERICarts 2015). While in countries like Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, the division of administrative power reflects a late crystallization of national borders and the need to account for a variety of linguistic and religious communities, in Germany the current decentralization of culture administration developed in the aftermath of World War II. Along with the division of the country in two, culture administration was assigned to regions as a strategy to oppose the use of culture as a vehicle of fascist ideology propaganda. Slavic countries come close to this model, except for the influence of the Welfare state between the 1930s and 1950s (Council of Europe/ERICarts 2015).

⁷¹ From the beginning to mid-twentieth century, Spanish and Italian cultural policies (like Portugal’s) reflected the ideology and governmentality of the fascist regimes of Franco and Mussolini. Culture was used to disseminate the values of the regime and silence dissident voices. After the fall of those dictatorial regimes, cultural institutions responsible for propaganda and censorship were closed. The responsibilities of culture administration, like in Germany, were split among several ministries and governmental organizations.

The current cultural policies in Southern European countries emphasize the protection of material and immaterial heritage. Under the recommendations of the European Union and UNESCO, these countries developed policies to encourage creative industries, as well as connections between heritage and the tourism industry. Public funding of contemporary artistic creations and measures to encourage private sponsorship of the arts are scarce. The investment of these governments in the culture sector suffered a further downsizing after the 2008 financial crisis (Council of Europe/ERICarts 2015).

2002: 35-71). Specific cultural policies for arts funding came, indeed, later, when compared to European countries (1940s). Also, the amounts awarded for artistic creations have been much lower than in European countries like France or Germany (which are exceptions in the European context as well).

While the foundation of the NEA – National Endowment for the Arts and the NEH – National Endowment for the Humanities in 1965, and their defunding in 1990, can be perceived, respectively, as a moment of interventionism followed by a return to a non-interventionist model, a closer look into the negotiations between the Democratic and Republican parties at the time reveal a continuous struggle between the two parties to regulate what “good” art (art that should be funded by the state) should look like. After being closed for seven years, the NEA emerged again under an agreement between the Democratic and Republican parties that decisions about allocation of funds from the NEA to support artists had to be approved by Congress (Miller & Yúdice 2002: 54). This model reveals a level of state intervention in the sanctioning of culture that does not seem popular in European countries.

The case of cultural policy in African Portuguese-speaking countries in the context of the African continent, and as narrated by theater practitioners, reveals a continuous impact of colonialism in these countries. African Portuguese-speaking countries allow us to assess this impact more clearly, given their recent independence from Portugal (1975). Illustrating that each country grapples differently with the legacy of colonialism, an overview of cultural policy in Portuguese-speaking countries highlights the importance of seeking nuanced views on cultural policy on the entire African continent.

The analysis of Borges’ and my experiences with foreign policy in Portuguese-speaking countries, taken together with an examination of CPLP’s cultural policy and of the challenges

facing artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries when trying to participate in festivals in other Portuguese-speaking countries, points to a stratification of global circulation and allows us to deconstruct the myth of the supranational and global citizen. Not all artists are born equal when it comes to privileges of circulation across the globe. On the contrary, artists' rights to circulate depend on their citizenship, social status (including contacts with political elites), and education. My analysis points to the importance of the transnational networks that artists establish through festivals as avenues to work around unequal privileges of circulation and limitations in national and supranational cultural policy.

Examining cultural policies in Portuguese-speaking countries, and comparing them with cultural policies in other countries and on other continents, reveals that the impact of a national cultural policy can only be fully understood if it is analyzed in conjunction with the foreign policies and cultural policies of transnational and supranational organizations. Considering the interplay between national and supranational contexts exposes global trends in how cultural policy, economy, and politics are related. The general tendency to adopt neoliberal measures in cultural policy constitutes a new mode of citizen surveillance, and a new model of concealed interventionism.

I suggest that the precarity of theater artists in Portuguese-speaking countries, caused by the imposition of neoliberal measures in a sector that is not economically competitive, keeps artists dependent on public funding. Also, it creates rivalry and inequality among artists, since not all of them are able to access public funding or to find private or supranational sponsors. This allows the state to better monitor artists' activities and to take advantage of them, when needed, as examples of the effectiveness of existing or prospective cultural policies.

Chapter Three
Haunted stages:
Collaborative theater productions in
Estação, Mindelact, and Circuito de Teatro em Português

Introduction: Performing with ghosts

In November 2014, at the festival Circuito de Teatro em Português (CTP), the Portuguese theater company Chão de Oliva and the Mozambican troupe Lareira Artes presented the collaborative production (or co-production) *A Nova Aragem* [*The New Wind*]. Sérgio Mabombo, playwright and one of the two co-founders of the group Lareira Artes, wrote the play. The Mozambican actors Diaz Santana (the other co-founder of Lareira Artes) and Sílvia Mendes (a guest actress) performed the two-actor and three- (possibly four-) character production. João de Mello Alvim, a theater director who is the founder and artistic director of the Portuguese cultural collective Chão de Oliva, directed the show. Alvim coached the actors and also conceived the visual aspects of the show: costumes, props, and set.⁷²

A Nova Aragem tells the story of a Mozambican couple, Fuado and Rabia Micumbeu. When the play starts, Fuado has had a dream in which he finds oil and natural gas on the couple's land, and he has contacted a Portuguese engineer, Molina Forjaz, to prospect their property for fossil fuels. *A Nova Aragem* unfolds mostly in the Micumbeus' yard. The play opens with Rabia telling Fuado that she worries that Molina might come to Mozambique like her

⁷² I attended *A Nova Aragem* as part of my fieldwork at CTP.

Portuguese ancestors did, to exploit the couple and their resources.⁷³ To prevent neocolonial exploitation by Molina, Rabia declares that she will perform a purification ritual on the Portuguese engineer to cleanse Molina of the colonial past. During the ritual, Rabia embodies the spirit of Molina's grandfather⁷⁴, who was a Portuguese settler in Mozambique. The old settler declares, through Rabia, that the Portuguese should have never left Mozambique, and explains to Molina that granting independence to African territories caused Portugal's current financial crisis. Fuado offers the spirit cigarettes and wine, and sends him away. When Rabia comes back from the trance, the couple agrees that Molina has been cleansed of the bad luck of the colonial past.

A few days pass and Fuado has another dream, in which he witnesses environmental destruction and war in his country, caused by oil and natural gas. The couple interprets the dream as a warning, cancels the business agreement with Molina, and leaves their property in search of "a new wind"⁷⁵. The play ends with the couple arriving at an Edenic prairie with colorful trees and marvelous creatures.

As I will explore later in this chapter, Alvim used a minimalist approach to the set design in the attempt to move away from exoticizing, colonial representations of Mozambique. In addition, and for financial reasons, a sculpture made from an assemblage of stage objects used in other parts of the play replaces Alexandra Diogo, an actress from Chão de Oliva who was

⁷³ Rabia does not talk explicitly about what form this "exploitation" would take. Nonetheless, since the Micumbeus and Molina would be business partners, I assume that Rabia worries that Molina will try to keep all the profits from extracting and selling the fossil fuel for herself, and/or give the couple a very low payment for extracting the non-renewable resources from their land.

⁷⁴ We are left wondering if the spirit of Molina's grandfather can be considered a fourth character, or if it is just a performance put on by Rabia.

⁷⁵ In this context, "a new wind" (in Portuguese, "uma nova aragem") means a new opportunity, a new land.

supposed to perform the role of Molina.⁷⁶ Diogo recorded Molina's lines to be played during the show.

Chão de Oliva and Lareira Artes co-produced *A Nova Aragem* as a result of a collaborative relationship that the two companies initiated in 2011, when they first met at CTP. Between 2011 and 2015, Alvim travelled to Mozambique, invited by Lareira Artes, to direct a workshop, and Lareira Artes participated in a festival that Chão de Oliva organizes every year in Portugal. Financial issues and the Portuguese director's unpreparedness to deal with the hardships of producing theater in Mozambique tested the warm relationship that the companies had enjoyed until the twenty-day rehearsal period in Maputo began.⁷⁷ The Portuguese company could only secure a small grant that paid for the airfare and per diem of the Portuguese director, and the Mozambican company did not have rehearsal space or funding. Lareira Artes faced these obstacles as a relatively new company trying to assert its presence in a stratified theater community dominated by the theater companies Mutumbela Gogo and Gungu, and in a city where theater venues and sponsorship for the arts are, in general, scarce.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Fuado assembles the sculpture onstage as he announces that Molina has arrived. He stacks two mortars (the opening of the top mortar resting on the opening of the bottom mortar), places a blond wig and a pink sunhat at the foot of the mortar that was placed upside down, and a scarf around the "neck" of the top mortar.

⁷⁷ The work on the project started with the text: Mabombo wrote the first draft and sent it to Alvim. Alvim expanded on the character of the Portuguese settler, adding details about Portugal's colonial domination of Mozambique.

⁷⁸ Lareira Artes was created in 2010 by Diaz Santana and Sérgio Mabombo. The two founding members have designated roles: Mabombo is the playwright and Santana is the actor and producer. All the other participants in the performances of Lareira Artes are guest performers and directors whom the company invites to work on specific projects. Santana and Mabombo founded their company to increase their agency within Maputo's theater community. They didn't want to depend on theater directors and producers of Maputo's two main theater companies (who monopolize the theater scene in the capital of Mozambique) to perform. They also wanted to have a say in the creative process. Lareira Artes struggles to establish itself in Maputo's theater scene because of push-back from the main theater companies, who see them as a threat and refuse partnering with the new company – for instance by sharing their space for rehearsals.

Mutumbela Gogo and Gungu, who have links to the dominant Mozambican political party, FRELIMO, are the only two theater groups that thrive in Mozambique's capital. These two theater groups, founded in 1986 and 1992, respectively, are the only ones in Maputo who have venues for rehearsal and performance. As Santana explained to me in informal conversations, the two companies monopolize resources and act as authorities in defining what theater can look like and who can belong to the theater community. They perceive other, new groups

The challenges facing *A Nova Aragem* increased given Alvim's unfamiliarity with the power dynamics within Maputo's theater scene, and with their impact upon Lareira Artes. Unaware of the structural obstacles faced by the Mozambican theater company, Alvim criticized Santana for being lazy and pressured him to find funding to support the production. This resulted in an imbalance of power between the co-production partners. Santana had to work twice as hard as Alvim to make his contribution to the co-production.⁷⁹ As I will explore later in this chapter, Alvim's position within the co-production in Maputo was, in part, determined by Portuguese cultural policy, and it serves as an example of how postcolonial cultural policy upholds colonial stratifications of power.

While watching *A Nova Aragem*, and before I knew about the background of the production, I kept comparing it to another co-production between a Portuguese company and a Mozambican company that had taken place twenty years earlier, which was presented at the first Estação da Cena Lusófona, in Maputo: *A Birra do Morto* [*The Deadman's Tantrum*]. This performance, created by the Portuguese theater company A Escola da Noite and the Mozambican company Mutumbela Gogo, was one of the two co-productions featured in Estação da Cena Lusófona in 1995 – the project's trial year. The rehearsals took place in Maputo, where Cena Lusófona organized the first incarnation of its festival. *A Birra do Morto* was one of two co-productions intended to illustrate the potential of Cena Lusófona to bring together theater

as rivals. According to Santana, Mutumbela Gogo, in particular, does not allow other groups to present in their venue, and they pressure their actors to not work with other companies. For instance, Silvia Mendes, who used to collaborate with Mutumbela Gogo, was expelled from the group and forbidden from entering the company's venue because she collaborated with Lareira Artes and Chão de Oliva in *A Nova Aragem*.

In addition, Lareira Artes suffers the effect of the neoliberal Mozambican cultural policy I explored in chapter two. In Mozambique, artists are encouraged to find funding for their works by managing their companies like businesses and relying on private investment. Nevertheless, the legislation to encourage cultural industries and/or private investment in the arts is nonexistent or ineffective.

⁷⁹ Santana had to work several part-time jobs while he was rehearsing with Alvim, to provide enough money to support the production (including some of Alvim's meals).

companies from various Portuguese-speaking countries to create a new, hybrid, Lusophone theater.⁸⁰ The new theater resulting from the collaboration between Portuguese-speaking artists would also signal the interest in mutual knowledge and harmony among Portuguese-speaking nations.

A Birra do Morto is a play in the style of the theater of the absurd, written in 1978 by the Portuguese author Vicente Sanches. It tells the story of a man's corpse that refuses to be buried. First he refuses to be declared dead by the doctors, then he refuses to be prepared for the burial, and finally he tries to convince his widow (who is very upset with him at this point, because he won't follow the social conventions of death) that he cannot be buried because he is afraid of ghosts. The play ends with the Deadman (that is the name of the character in the play) being forced into the coffin and taken away in a grotesque funeral procession.

A Escola da Noite and Mutumbela Gogo's co-production was developed and presented at the venue owned by Mutumbela Gogo, Teatro Avenida, in Maputo. The preparatory workshops and rehearsal of the play took about a month. The Mozambican actor João Manja performed the Deadman, and the Portuguese actress Silvia Brito performed the widow. Members of the Portuguese and Mozambican companies performed the other, secondary roles, such as the churchwomen crying for the Deadman, the doctors, and the soldiers. The performance took place on an almost empty stage. Different spaces in the play – “a room with a coffin in the center and a lot of people surrounding it,” (1973: 1), a bedroom (this was an addition made by the companies), and the street for the final procession are signified by a multi-modal, transformable wooden set. During the play, actors opened and closed different components of the wooden set to

⁸⁰ The second co-production was *De Volta da Guerra*, [Returning from the War], created by the Portuguese company Teatro da Rainha and the Mozambican collective Casa Velha/Produções Olá.

turn it into a coffin on display at the mortuary or church (the text does not specify), the couple's bed, and the coffin for the funeral procession.

I learned about *A Birra do Morto* during my visit to the archives of Cena Lusófona in 2012, and continued researching it in early 2014 and through February 2015. As I watched the tapes of the performance, read reports, and talked to the director of Cena Lusófona and A Escola da Noite, I learned that *A Birra do Morto* was at the center of the contentions between Mozambican and Portuguese artists that I explored in chapter one. The producer of Mutumbela Gogo, Manuela Soeiro, felt that her company was kept out of the creative process, and instead cast as a mere executor of the ideas of the Portuguese director. In addition, she thought that a neocolonial approach to the co-production could only be avoided if the Portuguese organization directly commissioned Mutumbela Gogo to develop the co-production.⁸¹⁸²

Watching *A Nova Aragem*, I could not help but juxtapose the two co-productions. Both projects consisted of a collaboration between a Portuguese and a Mozambican theater company, and both were produced in the context of exchange projects that culminated with presentations in

⁸¹ I could only access Soeiro's perspective on the co-production through her statements to the press and through what Barros and Fernando Mora Ramos (the Portuguese director working on the co-production *De Volta da Guerra*, and a collaborator in the organization of Estação) told me in their interviews. I can hypothesize that Soeiro worried that the Portuguese company was extracting the labor of her company to put it at the service of the Portuguese director's vision – one that did not honor the work of the actors or Mozambican culture in general. Perhaps she felt that if her company had control of the means of production of the show, they would have more leverage to negotiate the aesthetic approach taken and creative process utilized by the Portuguese theater director.

⁸² I should share a couple of caveats in my method. First, I had different kinds of access to and experiences of the performances I analyze. I watched *A Nova Aragem* and *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* live and multiple times. Also, I witnessed backstage discussions among members of the productions, and interviewed and talked informally with actors and theater directors in the context of my fieldwork in Brazil and Portugal between 2014 and 2015. In contrast, I could only watch *A Birra do Morto* (1995) and *As Virgens Loucas* (1996-1997) on tape, at the archive of Cena Lusófona. These two co-productions took place in 1995 and 1996, respectively (*As Virgens Loucas* was also presented at the third Estação da Cena Lusófona/Mindelact, in Mindelo, in 1997). I also interviewed the directors of these productions.

Second, I could not reach out to the actors of *A Birra do Morto* and *As Virgens Loucas* for logistical reasons. *A Birra do Morto* was produced in Mozambique. I could not travel to Maputo to interview the Mozambican performers because of research budget limitations. In addition, I could not conduct interviews via Skype because of political and armed conflicts currently taking place in Mozambique, which cause electricity and Internet shortages. In the case of *As Virgens Loucas*, many of the performers who participated in the production do not live in Mindelo or in Cabo Verde, so I could connect with them when I conducted fieldwork at Mindelact between 2013 and 2014.

festivals focused on theater from Portuguese-speaking countries. Also both plays dealt with ghosts in ways that implicitly or explicitly grapple with the Portuguese colonization of African countries. Influenced by my friendship with the Mozambican actors performing in *A Nova Aragem*, and not yet knowing about the rehearsal process, I thought that *A Nova Aragem* offered a good model for equity in co-productions, and a successful model for dealing with the tensions of the colonial past. In contrast, I took *A Birra do Morto* as an example of bad practices – the imposition of a Western perspective of theater on a group of actors from another country. I perceived the contrast between the two productions as evidence of improvements in relationships between Portuguese and African Portuguese-speaking artists, due to the increasing reflexivity on the part of Portuguese theater directors about their historical and financial position of power.

At CTP, my interactions with the actors and director of *A Nova Aragem* soon complicated my initial, dichotomous view of *A Nova Aragem* and *A Birra do Morto*. In conversations with the Mozambican actors, I became aware of how Alvim's assumptions and misunderstandings about conditions of production in Mozambique caused great difficulties in the co-production. I also realized that the co-production suffered from the disparity between the Portuguese company's funding from Portuguese institutions, including a four-year, renewable endowment from the Portuguese government, and the Mozambican artists' lack of funding.

The expectation that the Mozambican company would match funding led not only to the overworking of Santana Diaz, but also perpetuated the divide between white bodies providing intellectual labor and black bodies providing physical labor. Moreover, the interviews with Alvim revealed an exoticizing fascination with what he perceived to be the strength of the Mozambican actors: their bodies and their ostensibly natural virtuosity. For instance, in the interview I conducted with Alvim in 2014, the Portuguese director explained that during the

work process he “tried to catch what I knew less about, but that attracts me more about African theater – the actors’ physicality, [...] [their] rhythm.” Later, in CTP, Alvim would repeat a similar pattern of romanticized assumptions with the way Creusa Borges managed her festival.

My perspective was further shaken by a follow-up interview that I conducted with António Augusto Barros, the director of *A Birra do Morto*, and by digging into the video and news documentation of the production when it was presented in Mozambique in 1995. In his interview, Barros spoke about his commitment to co-production without neocolonial paternalisms. He explained that producing the play in Mozambique, with a male actor performing the Deadman character who does not want to be buried, constitutes an homage to the resilience of the “African Man,” who endures through all difficulties (Barros 2015). For Barros, his intention of paying homage to the resilience of African people illustrated his respect for his African collaborators and was an indication that he did not approach the co-production with a neocolonialist agenda.

In both co-productions, I noticed a defensiveness on the part of the Portuguese directors in relation to their position as Portuguese citizens managing a project with citizens from a former Portuguese colony. Later in this chapter, I will point out the ways in which the directors’ defensiveness was, in part, related to funding policies. I will explore how the directors’ approaches to their positions as Portuguese citizens within the projects impacted the staged co-productions in the characters of the Deadman (*A Birra do Morto*) and the ghost of the Portuguese settler (*A Nova Aragem*). I will also look into how the Mozambican artists from Mutumbela Gogo and Lareira Artes coped differently, through fierce opposition or through negotiation, with the challenges presented by the Portuguese directors’ view of the co-productions, and how they

tried to make space for their own views of theater, colonialism, and Lusophony in the co-production.

A Birra do Morto and *A Nova Aragem* illustrate how artists in Portuguese-speaking countries navigate the conundrum of Lusophony – a struggle between the colonial past and the pursuit of a healed transnational present. More broadly, as I address below, the two co-productions between Portuguese and Mozambican companies expose the challenges facing artists who engage in intercultural exchange projects, not just in the negotiation of aesthetic views, but also in the economic and political environments that determine conditions of production. The analysis of *A Birra do Morto* and *A Nova Aragem*, two co-productions created twenty years apart from each other, also reveal changes in the ways in which artists from different Portuguese-speaking countries position themselves relative to the intersection between interculturalism and colonial legacy in the Lusophone world. Despite the project's setbacks, Alvim, directing *A Nova Aragem* in 2014, was more open to acknowledging and addressing the danger of reproducing a colonial power hierarchy in his co-production than Barros was in 1995 when he directed *A Birra do Morto*. Similarly, the actors Diaz Santana and Silvia Mendes, who worked with Alvim in *A Nova Aragem*, approached the co-production as an opportunity to continue accessing the Lusophone transnational network of festivals, while Manuela Soeiro, producer of Mutumbela Gogo, was more worried about standing her ground as a Mozambican and African artist when working on *A Birra do Morto*. I will return to and expand on this analysis below.

In this chapter, I look at co-productions between theater companies from different Portuguese-speaking countries that were created for and/or presented at the theater festivals Estação da Cena Lusófona, Mindelact, and Circuito de Teatro em Português. I examine the

creative and rehearsal processes, presentation, and aftermath of the performances. I propose that co-productions result from a negotiation of the offstage surrogate performances that I examined in chapter one. These performances crystalize three modalities relative to post-colonial relationships among Portuguese-speaking countries: Turning to Africa, Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism, and Resisting Globalization. In addition, by emphasizing certain historical, political, and economic facts over others, these performances constitute “tactics,” as defined by Michel De Certeau (1984: 35-39), for dealing with the legacies of Portuguese colonialism.

African artists, especially those from Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique, where the fight for liberation from Portuguese colonialism was intense and strenuous, argue that artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries should focus on affirming African values, traditions, and resilience in their work, instead of collaborating with or adopting aesthetic approaches used by Portuguese theater companies. These African artists, usually men between thirty and fifty years of age who lived through the last years of Portuguese colonialism and/or the civil wars that followed during the decolonization process, believe that the hybridity resulting from exchanges between artists from Portugal and African Portuguese-speaking countries replaces African cultural elements with European aesthetic approaches, values, and concerns. These artists’ view, which I name “Turning to Africa” obscures the fact that contemporary African cultures and politics (including the liberation movements in their own countries) are the product of transnational exchanges with other countries in Africa, and also in South America, Asia, the US, Portugal, and even Russia (at the time USSR). Moreover, these artists overlook their own current position of privilege as members of a cultural elite who can travel and study outside their own countries.

Portuguese artists, usually males in their sixties and older who lived through the last decades of Salazar's dictatorial and colonial regime, and who actively fought against the regime or exiled themselves to escape being drafted into a colonial war that they opposed, focus on their leftist politics to try to establish common ground with African artists. In their attempt to "Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism," these artists claim that Portuguese citizens who belonged to the left-leaning intellectual community and/or working class were oppressed and exploited by Salazar's regime just like the African peoples living in the territories occupied by Portugal. In their attempt to bridge Portuguese and African experiences, the white male directors who support this view forget their gender and racial privilege, and how that privilege constitutes part of the heritage of colonial ideology that was imposed upon African countries for five hundred years.

Finally, artists from Brazil, as well as from African Portuguese-speaking countries and from Portugal, claim that artists from Portuguese-speaking countries should think about how to leverage their common language and past (even if painful) to create and circulate more of their work internationally. These artists worry about the advances of Americanizing globalization and, consequently, the replacement of a politically engaged theater that expresses the values and concerns of citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries by mainstream entertainment franchises. The intense focus on the present that this view, "Resisting Globalization," offers can lead to a romanticization of indigenous cultures.⁸³ In addition, it can lead to an irreversible forgetting of the colonial past and of efforts to avoid its repetition.

In this chapter, I trace how the modalities I described above determined collaborative practices in four productions: *A Birra do Morto*, *A Nova Aragem*, *As Virgens Loucas* [*The Crazy*

⁸³ The danger of this modality is that it perceives indigenous cultures as part of a distant past that cannot be accessed anymore because it was destroyed by colonialism, or as a source of purity that should be used to oppose Americanization.

Virgins], and *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* [*May God Pay You Back Twice as Much*].⁸⁴ *A Birra do Morto*, *A Nova Aragem*, and *As Virgens Loucas*, directed by Portuguese directors with exclusively African or mixed casts, allow me to explore transformations in the interactions between Portuguese artists and artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries, depending on their positions on Portuguese colonial legacy, the history of their countries within colonialism, and the economic and political conditions that surrounded and determined the co-production. *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*, the fourth co-production I will examine, resulted from an informal collaboration between the Brazilian company Dragão 7 and the Mozambican company Lareira Artes. This project provides insight regarding issues of intercultural translation and representation in collaborations between artists from two countries from the Global South, both formerly colonized by Portugal.

The four co-productions that I examine allow me to expand on theories from Joseph Roach and Diana Taylor about how colonial legacies can be perpetuated or disrupted by performance (see Roach 1996 and Taylor 2003). In *A Birra do Morto*, *A Nova Aragem*, *As Virgens Loucas*, and *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*, artists from Portuguese-speaking countries confront the danger

⁸⁴ My selection of case studies reflects the heavy Portuguese presence in co-productions, along with the archival materials available, interlocutors, and opportunities to attend the co-productions live. During my archival research, I counted twenty-four co-productions organized by Cena Lusófona (Portugal), two by Grupo de Teatro do Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo and Mindelact (Cabo Verde), two by Chão de Oliva (Portugal), and one informal collaboration initiated by Dragão 7 (organizer of CTP – Brazil) with the Mozambican collective Lareira Artes. In most of the co-productions between artists from Portuguese-speaking countries, Portuguese directors worked with actors from African Portuguese-speaking countries, or with mixed casts with Portuguese and African actors and, in some instances, actors from all Portuguese-speaking countries. Two co-productions consisted of collaborations between two African companies, although there was still some level of intervention by Portuguese organizations and artists. *O Mulato dos Prodigios* [*The Miraculous Mulato*] (1997) was funded by the Portuguese organization Cena Lusófona, who invited the Angolan-born, Portugal-based theater director Rogério de Carvalho to direct the co-production with the Angolan theater company Elinga Teatro. *Os Velhos não Devem Namorar* [*Old People Should not Date*] (1998) consisted of a collaboration between Elinga Teatro, the Cabo Verdean theater company Grupo de Teatro do Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo [Theater Group of the Portuguese Cultural Center in Mindelo], and the Cabo Verdean festival Mindelact. Although José Mena Abrantes, head of Elinga Teatro, directed the Angolan and Cabo Verdean actors, João Branco (who was born in Portugal and migrated to Cabo Verde in the early 1990s, and who then quickly started declaring himself a Cabo Verdean at heart) was the assistant director and producer. To this day, and to the best of my knowledge, the collaboration between Dragão 7 and Lareira Artes was the only one that did not have any Portuguese intervention.

of re-enacting colonialism due to the economic and social conditions surrounding the production. In the case of *A Birra do Morto*, *A Nova Aragem*, and *As Virgens Loucas*, a Portuguese theater director went to an African country with funding from Portugal to create a theater production using African labor and with the aim of touring the production through other Portuguese-speaking countries. This resembles the Atlantic trade model used by Portugal and other European colonial powers: extracting resources from colony A, relocating those resources to colony B to be transformed into commodities, and reselling the commodities back to colonies A and B and to other national and international markets.

Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro, in turn, allows us to think about the dangers of neocolonialism across the Global South. In my analysis, I ask whether the process of extraction, transformation, and re-presentation inherent to *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* should also be considered a re-enactment of the colonial model. In addition, in the play, Borges and her actors delve into subcultures of underserved communities in their country. Thus, *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* raises yet another question: are Brazilian artists taking advantage of these communities by using their culture (broadly defined) as material for their play? In the analysis of *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*, using Shu-mei Shih and Françoise Lionnet's notion of "minor transnationalism" (2005) and Patrice Pavis' (2010) and Royona Mitra's theories of intercultural performance, I will try to nuance the politics of South-South alliances.

When confronted with the danger of re-enacting colonialism, artists in each co-production use *Turning to Africa*, *Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism*, and *Resisting Globalization* as tactical scripts to frame their responses to representations of cultural identity, and to the dynamics of power established within collaborative projects. The way co-production participants responded (in compliance or in opposition) within the colonial structure of power evoked by their projects

constituted a performance of surrogation through which they asserted their individual values in the context of a collective memory. The study of these responses allows me to examine variations within modalities. For instance, a comparison between the directors' behaviors in *A Birra do Morto* and *A Nova Aragem* will allow me to further complicate the modality of Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism; the directors tried to differentiate and defend themselves from the trope of the Portuguese colonizer using different tactics. When directing *A Birra do Morto*, Barros operated from the position that colonialism, as an event of the past, had been overcome and did not need to be revisited. Barros denied an engagement with colonialism and its legacy in the present lives of African citizens. In contrast, Alvim tried to shield himself from accusations of neocolonialism by proactively bringing those discussions into the rehearsal and stage performance. Inviting conversations about colonialism into the rehearsal process and onto the stage, Alvim performed being on the right side of history.

As Virgens Loucas offers a counterpoint to the negotiation between Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism and Turning to Africa or Resisting Globalization in *A Birra do Morto* and *A Nova Aragem*. *As Virgens Loucas* took place in 1996 and 1997 in the context of Cena Lusófona, for which Portuguese director Cândido Ferreira was invited to direct a co-production with the Grupo de Teatro do Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo in Cabo Verde.⁸⁵ An adaptation (by Cândido Ferreira) of the novel by Cabo Verdean writer António Aurélio Gonçalves, *As Virgens Loucas* tells the story of three prostitutes who wander around Mindelo asking for petrol for their lamps. Their walk through the neighborhoods of Mindelo reveals to the spectator scenes of the life on

⁸⁵ In 1996, the co-production was funded by Cena Lusófona and presented at Mindelact. The show had a re-run at Mindelact 1997, which was organized in conjunction with the third Estação da Cena Lusófona.

the island of São Vicente during the 1950s.⁸⁶ At the end of the night, the three women decide to return home and rest in the dark, nurturing the hope that tomorrow will be a new, better day when they will find petrol and have their own light. As I suggest later in this chapter, *As Virgens Loucas* provides us an example of what can happen when a Portuguese director renounces Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism and embraces local methods of identity and cultural production via creolization. *As Virgens Loucas* constitutes an example of how site-specificity can be used to promote equity in a collaborative intercultural production. Nevertheless, the production was still developed within a theater community led by João Branco, a Portuguese director based in Mindelo. This might have contributed, in great measure, to the acceptance of the co-production, and it points to a systemic inequality in Cabo Verde where the white, European-educated directors are given uncontested power.

Finally, I analyze *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* as an example of a South-South collaboration of two groups of artists who embrace the tactics of Resisting Globalization. Unlike the collaborations outlined above, the work of Dragão 7 and Lareira Artes was not directed by one of the members of one company, but was instead produced collaboratively; Dragão 7 adapted Lareira Artes's play *A Cavaqueira do Poste* [*Chatting at the Light Poste*] to the Brazilian context, creating a new show entitled *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*. Creusa Borges, director of Dragão 7 and CTP, hosted Lareira Artes in several incarnations of her festival and was always fascinated by the Mozambican company's play, which Lareira Artes presented in 2011, the first time they participated in CTP. *A Cavaqueira do Poste* tells the story of two beggars. One is blind; the other has had both his arms amputated. The two men chat in a public

⁸⁶ These include domestic scenes that expose the unprivileged position of working class women, who are left behind when their loved ones migrate in search for work, and who only find social stability in marriage: the bars where foreign sailors stopped for a drink and occasional fights; the carpentry shops, considered sites of modernity because they have electric light; and the poor grocery store, whose owner is so wary of finding himself without petrol that he refuses to share the little that he has with the prostitutes.

space, describe how their life conditions deteriorated even more after the 2008 financial crises, and confront the audience for treating them as if they were invisible. In a delirious moment, the two men imagine what would happen to the global economy if they went on strike. Fascinated by how much the Mozambican play reflected the reality of Brazil, Borges asked Lareira Artes permission to restage the production. With the consent of the author of the text, Sérgio Mabombo, Borges and actresses Leticia Bortoletto and Beth Rizzo adjusted the script to the political and social reality of São Paulo. As they didn't have a venue where they could present the show, Borges adapted the play for the street. The adaptation and restaging of *Cavaqueira do Poste* into *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* illustrates a collaboration between two groups that resist globalization by positioning their countries in a global context, refusing to depend on or be defined by the Global North.

I follow in the footsteps of Randy Martin's "Dance ethnography and the limits of representation" (1997) and Christina McMahon's notion of "festival aftermath" (2015) to make the case that one cannot fully comprehend the short and long-term impact of these co-productions without examining the audience's response. I propose that for the audience, the staged co-productions constitute surrogate performances of the struggles that they face as citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries who navigate transnational and global contexts. The audience of the co-productions has a different experience of surrogation than the artists, however. Spectators did not witness the stages of colonialism that unfolded during the rehearsal process, only their result. For them, the performance constitutes a surrogate performance in its own right, providing spectators a time and place to deal with their own struggles. I bring the audience into my analysis by accounting for my own experience of the performances and by

examining talkbacks with the artists, interviews and informal conversations with other participants of CTP,⁸⁷ and relevant media records.⁸⁸

Ultimately, my analysis of transnational Portuguese-language co-productions in the context of theater festivals begs two broader questions: 1) what would festivals and collaborative theater productions look like if organizers and directors thought critically about the economic and political conditions of their production and how those conditions influence the representation of historically marginalized groups? and 2) how can festival organizers and artists communicate to each other and to their audiences that they acknowledge the complexity and limitations of their festivals and collaborative productions, not only from the standpoint of material conditions, but also in terms of representation? In my conclusion, I try to answer these questions by teasing out what I consider to be successful methods used or suggested by festival organizers and artists.

Lusophone inter-trans-intra-extra theater?

Along with the impact of the legacies of colonization on postcolonial identities and artworks, this chapter also delves into the complexities of intercultural theater. The study of co-productions contributes to discussions in theater and performance studies about intercultural theater and its discontents.⁸⁹ Co-productions between artists from Portuguese-speaking countries make clear that the cultural exchanges encompassed by intercultural theater cannot be analyzed in a vacuum, as they take place in the context of symbiotic relationships with broader national,

⁸⁷ Artists constitute the largest portion of the festival's audience.

⁸⁸ These include video and news clippings that I collected at the archives of Cena Lusófona and during my ethnographic research at CTP.

⁸⁹ Intercultural theater is considered by different authors as a synonym for, or a sub-category of, multi-, cross-, and trans-cultural theater).

regional, transnational, and global political, social, and economic dynamics. Locating performances of surrogation in co-productions by Portuguese-speaking artists in the broader discussion about intercultural and transnational performance adds a new perspective to the field.

Authors such as Ric Knowles and Patrice Pavis use “intercultural” to describe hybrid theater pieces that result from collaborations between artists from different cultural, social, and training backgrounds.⁹⁰ Knowles emphasizes that contemporary intercultural theater emerged from an interest of Western artists in non-Western cultures, as a way to move away from their exclusively Western references. He organizes intercultural theater into two categories: 1) the “universalists” who, influenced by Antonin Artaud’s approach to Balinese theater, pursue the common, pre-human, and pre-cultural links among human beings, and 2) the “materialists,” academics who, influenced by Bertolt Brecht’s approach to Chinese theater, understand culture and theater to be in a tight relationship with political, social, and historical specificity (2010: 13-21). The “universalists” perceive interculturalism as a way of renewing Western theater’s aesthetics, technique, and semiotic processes. The “materialists,” in contrast, look at interculturalism as a way of disrupting Western theater as the paradigm for all artistic production.

For Knowles, French theater scholar Patrice Pavis’ theory of intercultural theater constitutes an example of the “universalist” approach. In his book *The Intercultural Performance Reader* (1996), inspired by Peter Brook’s *The Mahabharata*, Pavis proposes a model that describes intercultural performance as the result of an encounter in which artists from culture A

⁹⁰ Ric Knowles explicitly describes intercultural theater as “[a] performance exchange” between cultures. Knowles understands culture as the product of performance, from everyday activities to heavily codified rituals (2010: 1). Knowles theorizes the relationship between culture and performance as follows: “culture – the fluid, day-to-day, lived realities of specific peoples in specific places and at specific times – exists only insofar as it is enacted, performed into being by daily and (extra-daily) ritual and performative activities of individuals and communities as they negotiate their place in the world” (2010: 1).

filter elements from culture B. The artistic work produced through this process integrates elements of cultures A and B (filtered through culture A), but does not belong to either of these cultures. Pavis' model has been criticized because it describes the intercultural process as unilateral and does not account for actual exchanges between communities with different cultural backgrounds taking place prior to and outside of the artwork.

In a 2010 article, Pavis revised his approach to intercultural theater. The French scholar does not offer a model or even a definition of intercultural theater. Instead, Pavis historicizes the use of the term and the approaches to intercultural theater, starting in the 1970s (the decade when, according to Pavis, the term was coined). Between the 1970s and the collapse of the Berlin wall in 1989, intercultural theater (as practiced by Western artists) focused on finding universal tropes across cultures.⁹¹ In the 2000s, Pavis suggests, artists might have moved away from the notion of interculturalism, perhaps because the term lost its novelty *vis a vis* the increasing fragmentation and blurring of cultural references, and because of the harsh accusations leveled at Western artists for appropriating and exploiting non-Western cultures (Pavis 2010: 1-7). Pavis also proposes that the lack of good theoretical frameworks for understanding intercultural theater contributed to the abandoning of the concept. The most common definition of interculturalism, according to Pavis, implies the identification of “universal similarity” among cultures. In contrast, cross-culturalism refers to the creation of hybrid works, which generate a third aesthetic produced through the conjoining of elements from two or more different cultures.⁹²

⁹¹ Between the 1970s and 80s, Pavis suggests, political powers used interculturalism to forge alliances across diverse national cultures. Especially after 1989, interculturalism was perceived as a path to healing conflicts between classes and promoting the idea of a world without borders.

⁹² Here we see, already, a departure from Knowles' notion of interculturalism, since what Pavis defines as “intercultural” constitutes, for Knowles, only one of the categories of interculturalism. As we will see below, Pavis'

Pavis suggests that instead of intercultural theater, contemporary intercultural endeavors should be characterized as intercultural performance. The author proposes that, today, intercultural performance is a globalized form of theater, not only because it is performed worldwide, but also because it has moved away from discussions of the legitimacy of the representation of (national) cultures, and toward the acknowledgment of changing social and economic conditions around the world. Far from hybridization, the new forms of intercultural performance focus on the specifics of power and economic dynamics that impact populations across countries and determine their cultural expressions (Pavis 2010: 9-13). Pavis' reconceptualization of intercultural theater into intercultural performance, and his historicization of intercultural theater/performance are useful for the purposes of this chapter. By locating the Portuguese-language co-productions in the history traced by Pavis, I shed new light on that history. Co-productions by artists from Portuguese-speaking countries destabilize Pavis' linear history, which is focused on North American and Western European countries. Co-productions among Portuguese-speaking artists show that approaches to intercultural theater were not all the same in all parts of the world. For instance, as demonstrated by *A Birra do Morto* and by more general claims made in the program of the organization Cena Lusófona, the universalist approach to intercultural theater that Pavis claims to be particular to the 1970s and 1980s was still at the core of Portuguese approaches to intercultural theater exchanges in the late 1990s.

Also, Pavis claims that globalization transformed intercultural theater by disrupting the link between national identity and culture, and by foregrounding concerns about political, social, and economic dynamics that cut across groups of different nations. I agree with Pavis that globalization transformed artists' approach to intercultural theater. Artists felt urged to inquire

notion of interculturalism differs from those of academics and artists that, according to Knowles, have a materialist approach to interculturalism.

into the international power relations whose escalating unevenness became increasingly visible thanks to faster information circulation and communication technologies. I would add that we can see this transformation in the increasing self-reflexivity of festival organizers and theater directors about power dynamics within transnational festivals' organization and co-productions. However, co-productions by Portuguese-speaking artists also show that artists still want to explore and affirm a national identity. For example, in *A Nova Aragem* and *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*, artists do just this by placing the reality of circumstances in their own countries in a global context.

I would also like to challenge Pavis' definition of "festival theater" as one of the categories that should not be confused with intercultural theater/performance. Pavis conception of "festival theater" is rooted in competition-based theater festivals⁹³. This model dominates the Western European and North American high theater scene and has been exported to other countries (such as Portugal) and continents (such as Africa and Asia). The dissemination of this model and the increasing importance of festivals to the subsistence of theater companies pushes artists to produce a theater that appeals to an international expert audience. Pavis' notion of "festival theater" is too general and does not account for festivals such as the ones I analyze in my dissertation, which do not have a competitive component and where plays are not selected to fit a topic or a prescriptive notion of theater. The festivals I analyze do not aim to encourage competition among artists, but instead foster dialogue and the exchanging of experiences and techniques. In the same vein, the co-productions created for and presented at these festivals, at least in theory, encourage negotiation among citizens whose countries share a complicated colonial history.

⁹³ In competition-based festivals, the audience and/or a jury evaluates and votes for the best shows, which are organized in categories. At the end of the festival, the winners are announced. The winning companies go home with prizes that increase their prestige in the eyes of curators and audiences.

Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert's categorizations of intercultural theater provide the most accurate analysis of the complexity of cultural exchange as it plays out in theater festivals and collaborative productions between companies from Portuguese-speaking countries. Lo and Gilbert, whom Knowles counts among the scholars who take a materialist approach to interculturalism, conceptualize intercultural theater as one of three forms included in crosscultural theater. The authors claim that crosscultural theater is always site-specific, and define it as "public performance practices characterized by the conjunction of specific cultural resources at the level of narrative, content, performance aesthetics, production processes, and/or reception by an interpretative community," and as "a process of encounter and negotiation between different cultural sensibilities" (2002: 31). The practices of crosscultural theater need to be politicized and historicized, they argue, given their relevance to Western and mainstream theater practices. While Pavis defined intercultural theater (or transcultural theater) as a universalist approach to cultural expression, and defined crosscultural as the creation of hybrid forms of cultural expression, Lo and Gilbert define intercultural theater as "a hybrid derived from an intentional encounter between culture and performance traditions" (2002: 36). Within intercultural theater, Lo and Gilbert draw distinctions between three sub-categories. "Transcultural theater" is characterized by a universalist approach. "Intracultural theater" consists of the cultural exchange between specific communities within the same culture. Finally, the authors define "extracultural theater" as the product of relations across the North/South and East/West axis – this particular kind of theater, the authors argue, should be interrogated regarding its power dynamics. Despite Lo and Gilbert's detailed categorization of cultural exchange in theater settings, the festivals and co-productions that I study demand us to push their

theory even further. These projects show how, within intercultural theater, one can find works that are simultaneously transcultural, intracultural, and extracultural.

The concept of Lusophony, with which festivals and co-productions that focus on theater from Portuguese-speaking countries have to contend, fluctuates between emphasizing the idea of homogeneity among Lusophone countries (because all countries share the same language and presumably the same set of values) and the idea of hybridity (because Lusophony characterizes a diverse community whose culture is more than the sum of the cultures of each of the Portuguese-speaking countries' cultures). Hybridity and universalism, according to Lo and Gilbert, define intercultural and transcultural theater, respectively. In the production *A Birra do Morto* and in the overall idea of Lusophone theater promoted by Cena Lusófona, we'll see the conflict between universalism and hybridity arise as theater director António Augusto Barros seeks a Lusophone theater aesthetic.

Lusophone theater and festivals that focus on theater from Portuguese-speaking countries can also be considered intracultural *and* extracultural. In this context, intraculturalism manifests among Portuguese-speaking countries that share a linguistic and cultural, if traumatic, background, which each country models through distinct local cultures and diverse racial and class experiences. Also, Portuguese-speaking countries are divided by the colonizer/colonized dichotomy, which historically separates Portugal from other Portuguese-speaking countries. Finally, theater festivals that focus on theater from Portuguese-speaking countries (and co-productions in particular) inevitably constitute examples of extracultural theater because each country that participates in Lusophony also takes part in regional, continental, and hemispheric-specific dynamics that influence their culture as much as their colonial past does. Artists bring

this national and regional, cultural and historic specificity with them when they participate in theater exchanges with artists from other Portuguese-speaking countries.

Royona Mitra's study on Akram Khan's "new interculturalism" can help further complicate the notion of intercultural performance proposed by Pavis, build on the insider-outsider dynamics implicit in Lo and Gilbert's theory of intercultural theater, and illuminate new avenues to understand intercultural Portuguese-speaking theater. Based on choreographer Akram Khan's body of work, Mitra proposes the notion of "new interculturalism," in which the term "new" signals the push to disrupt Western, orientaling, intercultural theater, while maintaining the debate on notions of hybridism and exchange. Mitra describes six central features of Khan's work that allow him to depart from old interculturalism. First, Khan's intercultural work stems from an embodied, lived experience of interculturalism, as a "second generation British Muslim man of Bangladeshi descent" (2015: 7). While for Khan working with interculturalism is an unavoidable circumstance of his life, for Western directors of the old interculturalism such as Peter Brook, Jerzy Grotowski, and Richard Schechner, engagement with other cultures was a privilege because they chose when and what cultures to engage with as part of their aesthetic experiments. Second, the insider-outsider perspective in Khan's work extends from his everyday life experience into the hybridity of his aesthetics, in which he blends choreographic traditions from various origins, and in which he is also, simultaneously, an insider and an outsider: South Asian *kathak* and Euro-North American contemporary dance and physical theater. Third, Khan's work stems from the specifics of non-white personal stories and experiences. His focus on the particular opposes the white intercultural theater approach in which directors appropriated non-Western texts in the attempt to tease out and translate their (supposed) universality for white audiences. Fourth, Khan challenges the focus on text and translation-based approaches used by

Western directors, deploying instead a corporeal and ephemeral aesthetic that does not comply with crystallized significations. Fifth, Khan intentionally exposes Western audiences to images, aesthetics, and values that they are not familiar with. Instead of translating non-white experiences to Western audiences, Khan encourages his white spectators to fill in the gaps created by his purposeful lack of translation with their own experiences. Finally, Khan's new interculturalism treats otherness as a self-reflexive device, through which he examines his own identities and selves, which emerge in different social contexts. Khan also encourages his audience to interrogate their own identities and disrupts and critiques hierarchies of othering. While creating a familiar environment for white audiences, his pieces give spectators the impression of being insiders, but Khan also designates those same white spectators as outsiders by refusing to give them any sort of key to understanding the non-white experiences upon which the work is based. Through this method, Khan destabilizes mainstream arts and entertainment (which he seems to comply with but does not) and the notion of whiteness as the invisible standard.

Mitra's theory of new interculturalism, with its conceptualizations of insider-outsider and of othering (or distancing) as a self-reflexive device, is useful in my analysis of co-productions among Portuguese-speaking countries, where artists find themselves on simultaneously familiar and unfamiliar ground. For instance, distancing as a self-reflexive tool might help illuminate the role of Molina Forjaz (the Portuguese engineer) in the play *A Nova Aragem*, particularly in the way she is treated in the second half of the play. After being introduced to the culture of Fuado and Rabia Micumbeu through the purification ritual, Molina again becomes an outsider as the couple finally refuses to partner with her in the fossil fuel business. The Micumbeus handling of

Molina in a co-production that examines postcolonial relations raises the question: what is the role of the Portuguese people in Lusophony?

In *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*, the director and actors found themselves using distancing as a self-reflexive tool during the adaptation and rehearsal process. During rehearsals, Creusa Borges pushed Bortoletto and Rizzo to confront the differences between their own life experiences and those of the beggars in the play, as a way of understanding the physical dangers and psychological consequences of living on the streets. Also, during the staged production, the spectators are the ones who find themselves monitored and marginalized, as the beggars point to the audience members as the ones to despise, the ones who will be left out when the beggars go on strike.

The co-productions that I study also allow me to complicate the binary of old/new interculturalism, upon which Mitra builds her theory, because my case studies do not exactly fit the categories that Mitra describes. For instance, *A Birra do Morto* does not completely comply with Mitra's definition of old interculturalism, at least not along the lines that Mitra describes. Even if *A Birra do Morto* seems to be the product of an "intellectual exercise" conjured by a Portuguese director who tried to create a new, Lusophone theater, the co-production itself did not include the appropriation of a text from another culture. Nor was there an attempt to translate Portuguese culture for Mozambican people, or Mozambican culture for Portuguese people. Rather, what defines *A Birra do Morto* as old interculturalism is the perpetuation of colonial relations of power during the rehearsal process, which resulted in a work that alienated the Mozambican audience. In addition, *A Birra do Morto* aligns with old interculturalism not just because the Portuguese director was inherently an outsider to Mozambican culture (with which he barely engages), but also because he firmly positioned himself as an outsider. Throughout the

rehearsal process and during the Forum of Cena Lusófona, which took place after the festival in Maputo, Barros seemed to refuse to engage with Mozambican theater aesthetics and concerns. I read this move as part of the director's attempt to avoid engagement with the colonial past and, by extension, avoid having to acknowledge and take responsibility for the damage inflicted upon African peoples by Portugal.

The two other co-productions that I examine in this chapter, *A Nova Aragem* and *As Virgens Loucas*, were both directed by Portuguese theater directors. and both stand half way in between old and new interculturalism. Although in these two co-productions the Portuguese directors worked with texts from African authors, we witness on the part João de Mello Alvim (director of *A Nova Aragem*) a willingness to contend with his insider-outsider status within the co-production. Cândido Ferreira, director of *As Virgens Loucas*, tried to fully embrace the unfamiliarity of working in another culture. In *A Nova Aragem*, Alvim's attempt to deal with his double status came through, for instance, in talkbacks with the audience in Brazil. In some of the post-show Q&A sessions, Alvim admitted that he had to confront his ignorance about the conditions of arts production, and life in general, in Maputo when he was directing the co-production. Cândido Ferreira dealt with his insider-outsider status by positioning himself as an observer of the social and cultural environment of Mindelo, and as an orchestrator of the co-production who gave local artists autonomy to make their own contributions to the show.

Through Cláudia Tatinge Nascimento's notion of "simultaneous estrangement," I hope to demonstrate that artists from Portuguese-speaking countries put forward a simultaneously inter, trans, intra, and extracultural theater in Lusophone co-productions. In her study of actors as intercultural agents, Nascimento presents the notion of "simultaneous estrangement" to describe the experience of actors whom, in their work and in their personal lives, negotiate between their

home culture, the cultures of the countries where they live, and the cultures that they embody when learning and applying acting techniques from other countries and regions.⁹⁴ In the case of artists from Portuguese-speaking countries, I suggest that theater companies and festivals that engage with Lusophony push artists into a third, hybrid cultural space, simultaneously familiar and unfamiliar, and haunted by the colonial past.

Co-productions as micro-colonialisms: *A Birra do Morto* and *A Nova Aragem*

In *A Birra do Morto* and *A Nova Aragem*, Portuguese and Mozambican actors grapple with a shared colonial history (if not explicitly in the plays, at least in the co-productions' creative and rehearsal processes). In both *A Birra do Morto* and *A Nova Aragem*, we find micro-colonialisms; that is, various stages of colonialism are condensed into the processes of creating and presenting each work. In both of these collaborative projects, the Portuguese and Mozambican participants fell into racialized, hierarchical roles, enacting first the fascination of the first encounter between Europeans and Africans, then the extraction of resources, and finally the paternalism of Europeans toward the people and territories that they dominated. The Portuguese directors became the discoverers, and later colonizers, who extracted what they wanted from the actors and instructed them in how to behave. The Mozambican actors and producers, in turn, became the locals who first represented objects of admiration for the Portuguese directors, and then became agents of labor to be exploited, their own practices instrumentalized or dismissed.

In the case of *A Birra do Morto*, the escalation from fascination to extractionism was extremely fast: less than a year. In early 1995, Barros traveled with State Secretary of Culture

⁹⁴ An actor who works in intercultural theater, Nascimento explains, lives and works in a context where “[...] at the same time [...] [she is] seen as a foreigner by her social and professional environments,” including by spectators, and “she also perceives these environments and her audience as unfamiliar” (2009: 9).

Manuel Frexes to Mozambique where Frexes invited him to draft a proposal for a theater exchange project among Portuguese-speaking countries. This was also the moment when Barros started establishing contacts with artists in Mozambique. He decided that, given the energized theater community in Maputo, the first Estação festival should take place in that city. When Barros returned to Mozambique later to conduct the co-production, he was under pressure to fulfill a very ambitious proposal in a very short period of time in order to ensure future funding from the Portuguese Secretariat of Culture. Possibly, the need to show results replaced the thirst to learn from African theater makers, and led to what leaders of the Mozambican theater community, including Manuela Soeiro, felt to be an imposition of the Portuguese company's aesthetic views, and an extraction of their labor. In the case of *A Nova Aragem*, the fascination period was longer (about four years), but the process then followed a similar pattern when economic pressures urged the Portuguese director to rehearse and stage the production in only twenty days, and provoked a harsher, exploitative attitude toward Lareira Artes. As in the advanced stage of colonialism, the labor extracted from the Mozambican actors and its product (the co-production) were sold back to the artists and audiences of Maputo, where the co-productions were presented. In the case of *A Nova Aragem*, which was also presented in Brazil at CTP and at FESTLUSO,⁹⁵ and in festivals and venues in Portugal, the product (the co-production) was also sold to other (former) colonies and colonial powers, in a loose re-enactment of the colonial Atlantic trade.

Aware of the danger of replicating colonialism, Portuguese directors Barros and Alvim justified their position of power in the co-productions, and tried to reject the role of discoverer/colonizer, through assertions that resemble those of Nuancing Portuguese

⁹⁵ FESTLUSO is another festival that focuses on theater from Portuguese-speaking countries, located in the Northeast of Brazil.

Colonialism. Explaining that they were among the Portuguese who opposed the later stage of Portuguese colonialism, Barros and Alvim tried to imply that African people should see them as allies and not as agents of a neocolonial threat. When framing their stance in this way, Barros and Alvim dismissed the five hundred years of systemic oppression experienced by African peoples under Portuguese rule, a reality that could justify Mozambican mistrust toward the Portuguese theater directors. Moreover, while representing themselves as allies to African artists, Barros and Alvim ignored the systemic, colonial pattern that appeared in *A Birra do Morto* and *A Nova Aragem*. Regardless of their intentions, the Portuguese directors controlled the projects' funding and, as white male theater directors who studied and worked in Europe, possessed more cultural capital than their African partners.

I propose that for António Augusto Barros and João de Mello Alvim, these productions functioned as surrogate performances in line with Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism.⁹⁶ However, the creative process and performance of each one presented a distinct development of colonialism due to the directors' and actors' approach to their roles when confronted with the unavoidable re-enactment of colonial relations. Barros and Soeiro hardened their respective, oppositional stances. In contrast, Alvim softened his stance during the co-production, as he became more familiar with the Mozambican context of production. The members of Lareira Artes (especially Diaz Santana) chose to deal with colonial hierarchies by placing them in a broader global context, and by emphasizing the opportunity of the co-production as a way of resisting globalization through Lusophony (despite its discontents). As a result, while *A Birra do Morto* seemed to reproduce the colonial model, *A Nova Aragem* pointed to a postcolonial resolution, which included and acknowledged the voices and work of the Mozambican actors.

⁹⁶ As I explored in chapter one, these directors also performed in this modality offstage, in informal conversations and in roundtables organized by the festivals.

In *A Birra do Morto*, Barros refused to recognize his position of power and privilege over the Mozambican collaborators, based on his own stance toward Portuguese colonialism. In interviews he gave to the Portuguese and Mozambican press, as well as in texts he wrote for *Cena Lusófona*'s publications and in the interview I conducted with him in 2012, Barros declared egalitarian and non-paternalistic aspirations toward the co-production. Because of his intentions, he didn't see the need to change his vision of how the co-production should develop. Barros seemed to have a transactional perspective of the work process, in which each collaborator brought their expertise to the process, and in which shock and conflict were perceived as natural and should be dealt with in private.

From Barros' perspective, the Mozambican collaborators' mistrust of his way of working on the co-production, in the light of the recent colonial past, was beyond the scope of his director role. Nevertheless, the conditions of production and the creative process revealed the inevitable impact of the colonial past on the co-production itself. The staged work exposed a unilateral Portuguese tactic for handling the colonial past: denial.

As for the creative process, starting with the selection of the text, we can see how Barros did not want to negotiate his approach to theater (embracing the role of the colonizer), and how that choice, in turn, led to a staged production that reflected a Portuguese denial of colonialism. Barros decided to work with an absurdist play that had very little connection to Mozambican reality. Among other aspects added to the original play, Barros tried to bring a worldly (and in particular Mozambican) feel to the work by looking for inspiration in Mozambican photography and music, using *capulana* cloth⁹⁷ in one of the characters' costumes, introducing an Argentinian

⁹⁷ *Capulana* is a multipurpose colorful fabric used by Mozambican women. Women in Mozambique wear *capulanas* as skirts, and they use smaller pieces of *capulana* to protect their hair – for instance, when doing house tasks or to protect their braids from the sun or rain. As the actress Silvia Mendes explained to me in informal conversations, older women in Mozambique always advise girls and young women not to leave the house without a *capulana*.

tango, replacing the Sargent and Soldiers in the play with the Mozambican “Polícia de Intervenção Rápida [Riot Police]” (Madaíl 1995: 34, Notícias 1995), and altering one of the Widow’s lines, in which she comments that they are in Africa. The distribution of roles in which a Mozambican, black actor performed the Deadman and a Portuguese, white actress played the Widow might have been a statement on equality through color blindness, or it could have been part of an attempt to universalize⁹⁸ the Portuguese play. For instance, the romantic relationship between a black man and a white woman who face social pressures to be separated and who are eventually set apart by death, might remind some of the plot of William Shakespeare’s *Othello*.

In general, the Portuguese company perceived both the topic of the play and their approach to it as universal. Nevertheless, the aesthetics chosen by A Escola da Noite revealed a modernist, European view of theater as the conjunction of autonomous arts that, following a minimalist aesthetic and strict stage directions, work together to emphasize the text. For instance, the whole set of *A Birra do Morto* consisted of a wooden structure created by João Brites as a sculpture or visual object in its own right, and which the actors then transformed to create different settings: a coffin, an altar, and a bed.

In addition, the play, far from being universal, focused on the obsession with respectability in Western societies, parodying some of the authority figures and agents of state discipline in Euro-North American countries: doctors, priests, and the police – all of whom fail to ensure that the body of the Deadman is buried in a timely manner. The play also depicted a figure often mocked in Portuguese society – the “beata.” “Beatas” are women who attend and are intensely

Some of the more quotidian use of *capulanas*, Mendes told me, include: tying it around your waist as a skirt if you get your period unexpectedly or if your bottom garment rips; using it to strap your baby to your back; covering yourself from the rain; and tying it as a bag to transport objects or groceries.

⁹⁸ Here I apply the term “universal” to mean an object or experience that is relatable, understandable, and meaningful for all human beings.

involved in the life of their neighborhood church, but who do not hesitate to engage in impious behaviors such as gossiping. The stereotypical “beata,” as depicted in the play, is usually a widow who promptly delivers hyperbolic descriptions of her late husband, of the way he died, and of his funeral. A revealing of the hypocrisy of marriage can also be read into this play (Portugal, in the late 1970s, would have been predominantly Catholic); the Widow shows a growing indifference and even annoyance toward the fears of her deceased husband.⁹⁹

In assuming that both the story of and the aesthetic approach to *A Birra do Morto* were appealing to all humans independent cultural and social experience, A Escola da Noite perpetuated the cultural construct of Western universalism. The idea of Western culture as homogenous and, more importantly, as the standard of human values and practices, emerged from the alliance of colonialism and enlightenment in a discourse reproduced and perpetuated through religion and philosophy, though law and science, and in museums and world exhibitions to justify the Western occupation and exploitation of African, Latin American, and Asian populations (see Said 1979, Foucault 1994 [1966], Certeau 1988, Bennett 1995, Taylor 2003). Examining Western universalism from the perspective of race, North American scholarship in critical race theory and whiteness studies opposes the notion of “white” as neutral and unmarked. This research deconstructs the idea that the experiences and bodies of white people, particularly white men, constitute a standard for human kind. Scholars in these fields also examine how the constructed neutrality of whiteness, and the dichotomy of white/neutral vs. non-white/marked, enable white privilege and are at the root of the structural oppression and marginalization of racial and gender minorities (Taylor 1998, Kolchin 2009).

⁹⁹ She worries about appearances, about the fact that her husband refuses to comply with societal rules regarding death; and, on top of that, she worries that his body is starting to rot and smell.

Since the play was presented with the assumption that its content was universal (despite its Portuguese cultural investments), the Mozambican participants in the co-production felt alienated, even insulted. By declaring that the play was universal, A Escola da Noite presented its own view of theater as the standard. In so doing, because Western universalism has been used as a tool of oppression, they implied that Mozambican theater was not good enough for international or even non-local viewing. Likewise, they suggested that Mozambican theater was culturally specific and needed translation, whereas Portuguese plays did not.

The connection of the co-production to the Portuguese government and the short temporal distance from colonization probably contributed to the alienation and mistrust that the Mozambican artists felt toward the Portuguese company. In the case of *A Birra do Morto*, the colonial history in which Portugal dominated African territories politically and culturally became apparent in the fact that Cena Lusófona was, at the time, “owned” by the State Secretariat of Culture. In addition, as mentioned in chapter two, the Portuguese government’s invitation made to Barros to create Cena Lusófona constituted part of its efforts to increase a diplomatic presence in the former African colonies. That Barros was administrating an “on trial” government project, and that he had to report to the Portuguese government on spending and on the success of the project, probably influenced his nonnegotiable stance. Not only did the project have strong ties to the Portuguese government, but it was implemented only twenty years after the end of the Portuguese dictatorship and the independence of African Portuguese-speaking countries. The African countries and Portugal had just begun to emerge from political conflicts that had followed the end of the Portuguese colonial and dictatorial regime, and theories about systemic oppression and its links to colonialism were still far from the academic and public sphere in Portuguese-speaking countries.

Twenty years after the co-production *A Birra do Morto*, Portuguese director João de Mello Alvim directed the co-production *A Nova Aragem*. He declared himself “without ghosts” (meaning, he felt free from the legacy of colonialism) and, as Barros had also claimed before him, willing to develop a co-production without paternalism. Similarly to Barros, Alvim declared confidence in his position on Portuguese colonialism. Unlike Barros, however, Alvim acknowledged that exploitation is still possible despite the best of intentions, and he tried to prepare himself to be open and flexible during the work process.

When talking about cultural exchanges in *A Nova Aragem*, however, Alvim could not avoid a romanticizing and extractionist language; he explained his role in the work process as one of taking what the actors gave him and incorporating it a (his) broader vision of the project. As he explained what he perceived to be the strengths of black actors, Alvim repeated tropes about the black body, which have their origin in the colonial encounter and which were perpetuated throughout colonialism. For instance, Alvim singled out the Mozambican actors’ organic movement, naturalness, sense of rhythm, and innate dance skills. Similarly, the director insisted that these actors needed “help” with delivering the text, as well as with the aesthetic and visual components of the performance. Alvim’s perspective on the skills of the Mozambican actors exemplifies, on the theater stage, the Western and white-centric vision of bodies of color that dance scholars Jane Desmond (1999) and Susan Manning (2004) identify in the Hawaiian hula dancer and in the genre of early modern dance known as Negro Dance, respectively. When he declared that the Mozambican actors’ stage presence and sense of rhythm came naturally to them, Alvim engaged in what Desmond describes as “physical foundationalism.” Desmond defines this concept as the naturalization of cultural difference and a return to (or perpetuation of) essentialism, in which the white, (neo)colonial gaze constructs non-white bodies as

“authentic,” “true,” and “real” – bodies that are tamed by the white man (see Desmond 1999: xiii-xiv, xix, xxiv). Moreover, when Alvim talked about the “natural” skills of the Mozambican actors being simultaneously their strength and their weakness, he perpetuated a paralyzing double standard for black performers, also described by Susan Manning in her analysis of Modern Dance and Negro Dance in the US in the 1930s and 1940s. The double standard consists of a white understanding of the performing black body in which black performers should use their natural skills to represent themselves, but should not use them too much, because then their performance won’t be artistic or original enough.¹⁰⁰

In addition, Alvim’s description of his collaboration with the Mozambican actors hinged on and thus helped perpetuate the Cartesian mind/body divide and its racialization, which equates mind with white people and body with black people. The Cartesian divide materialized in the staged production by virtue of the fact that black bodies were on display onstage while white bodies were behind the scenes architecting the show. This particular perpetuation of the Cartesian divide was entangled, however, with the co-production’s funding conditions. Chão de Oliva had limited funding for transporting a team to Mozambique, a team which should have included the Portuguese actress originally selected to perform the role of Molina. Although Chão de Oliva received a grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, it was only enough to pay for the travel and board expenses of the director. The company also applied for a grant from the Portuguese government that supports Portuguese artists presenting work abroad, but they did not qualify for it because that particular grant only funds the touring of shows outside Portugal, and

¹⁰⁰ Susan Manning, describing this double standard (or “double bind,” in her words), points out how white critics who wrote reviews about Negro Dance pieces made the evocative self-representation of black subjects the appropriate standard for black choreographers and dancers, considering the resourcing of African traditions as compelling and original. And yet, these same white critics considered Negro Dance pieces that applied these strategies to be too “natural” or, in other words, devoid of technique and artistry. In addition, and by contrast, white critics perceived black artists who used modernist vocabularies to be derivative of white artists (Manning 2004: 9-10, 42-44).

not the production of new works outside the country, even if those new works would later tour abroad.

As I mentioned above, funding issues, along with the ignorance of the Portuguese director about arts funding and theater community dynamics in Maputo, perpetuated the divide of white man/intellectual work and black man/physical work during the rehearsal process of *A Nova Aragem*. Santana had to cope with pressure from the Portuguese director to find institutional funding for the production on the Mozambican side. Although Alvim did not know much about art production conditions in Mozambique, he insisted that Santana introduce him to local government officials and directors of cultural institutions in Maputo. In these meetings, local government officials and directors of cultural institutions explained that local artists face funding difficulties because they lack the initiative to approach institutions. These local government and cultural organizations' representatives also promised to help the Portuguese-Mozambican co-production. With these explanations and promises, Santana explained, government officials and directors of cultural institutions were simply trying to make themselves look good in the eyes of a foreigner. They did not intend to keep their promises. Misled by the statements of public and private officials, and convinced that Santana was not doing enough, Alvim kept pressuring his Mozambican production partner to pursue contacts with local government and cultural institutions. The fact that Alvim seemed not to believe his collaborator's word took its toll on Santana's good spirits toward the co-production.

The account of Diaz Santana also suggests that the Portuguese director conflated the actors' resistance to memorizing every single word of the text of the play (instead of improvising) with the impossibility of mobilizing resources. For instance, Santana shared with me (and in public discussions about the creative process) that the Portuguese director would

often call them “lazy” when they defaulted to their improvisation techniques and when Santana did not deliver institutional support to the co-production. According to the Portuguese director, calling the actors “lazy” was a joke. The context in which the “joke” was delivered, however, could be highly troubling for those hearing it. Alvim’s “joke” constituted an example of what scholars in psychology, education studies, sociology and critical race theory call a microaggression. Microaggressions consist of verbal expressions and behaviors, spoken or performed casually, that walk a thin line between humor/praise/self-protection and insult. These expressions or behaviors are based on stereotypical views about a group whose race, gender or other characteristic does not conform with white and/or heterosexual and/or male identity, which is considered the normative standard (see McCabe 2009: 134-135).

Microaggressions about race usually perpetuate narratives, originating in colonialism, about colonized and enslaved peoples being physically, intellectually, and/or morally inferior to the white colonizers. In Portugal, to this day, jokes, comments, and misconceptions about African cultures and social practices are common and clearly linked to the status of Portugal as a former colonial power in Africa. Being a white man in a position of power relative to the black actors, Alvim’s use of the epithet “lazy” perpetuated a colonial stereotype that black people are uncivilized, do not have a solid work ethic, and, thus, need to be civilized by the hard working white man.

Although Alvim seemed to eventually resolve his issues with the Mozambican company, new problems emerged during the presentation of the co-production at CTP. The Portuguese director imposed his notion of co-production upon Creusa Borges, stating repeatedly that CTP was one of the festival co-producers of *A Nova Aragem*, because the festival was hosting and touring the co-production. Eventually, during the co-production’s tour at CTP, Alvim used this

argument to get more money from CTP to pay Silvia Mendes despite the fact that paying the actors was not part of CTP's responsibilities.

In part, Alvim's pressuring of Borges to give more money to the co-production stemmed from Alvim's belief that CTP had been awarded a large sum of money from the Ministry of Culture, and that the organization was keeping this money for itself instead of using it to pay the artists. The Portuguese director was misled by the complexity of the Brazilian arts funding system, which, unlike in Portugal, relies heavily on private donations. Alvim got his hands on the list of organizations that were authorized by the Brazilian government's patronage program PROAC to seek sponsors in 2016. This list included Dragão 7. Alvim assumed that the amount of funds indicated in the document – the amount that Dragão 7 was authorized to raise – had been awarded by the Ministry of Culture. Similar to what happened in Mozambique, Alvim interpreted Brazilian reality through the lense of Portuguese arts funding, particularly in reference to direct, government funding programs, from which his own organization has been benefiting for years.

Alvim's attitude toward CTP reveals a misconception that some Portuguese artists have about Brazilian theater: that it is abundant in creativity and in funding opportunities (especially under the Lula government), but lacking in structure. Besides revealing a myopic understanding of arts policies around the world, I propose that Alvim's and other Portuguese theater artists' attitude toward Brazilian theater stems from a "scenario" (in Diana Taylor's terms) about the stark contrasts between abundance and lack in Brazil: a land of fertile soil, never-ending natural resources, and ever-optimistic people who lack structure and discipline to take advantage of this plenty. Taylor defines "scenario" as a framework that, repeating itself over time, allows us to identify structures of behavior and social roles, and how they both shape and are shaped by

“social constructions of bodies” and places (2003: 29). In her theorization of performance and memory, Taylor applies the “scenario” as a tool to unearth the embodiment of colonial tropes over time and show how the repeated performance of these tropes transforms notions about the body (particularly notions of gender and race).

The view of Brazil as providing a never-ending abundance of resources and positive feelings yet lacking structure has been perpetuated since the early arrival of Portuguese sailors in 1500. In “Discovery of Brazil: Letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha, written in Pôrto-Seguro of Vera Cruz on the First Day of May in the Year 1500,” the professional scribe that travelled with Pedro Álvares Cabral in his maritime expedition to Brazil described the newfound land as fertile, abundant in vegetation, and offering good water and temperate weather (see Caminha 1500: 24, 50-51). The land was also abundant in people who, according to the scribe, were beautiful, healthy, innocent... and abundantly lacking in social graces (see Caminha 1500: 33).¹⁰¹ The scenario of abundance/lack reemerges again in the 1878 novel *Iracema*, in which José de Alencar, a Brazilian politician and writer of European descent, narrates the relationship between a native Brazilian woman and a white settler (perhaps Dutch or German). Throughout the book, Alencar sketched Brazil as a land of abundant natural resources and beauty, whose indigenous people, described through comparisons with Martim (the settler and male protagonist) were ingenuous, simple, pagan, and dispossessed (see Alencar 1878: 15-48). More recently, the scenario of abundance/lack emerged as Portuguese politicians turned to Brazil in an attempt to expand the markets for Portuguese businesses. In contrast with Pêro Vaz de Caminha and Alencar’s

¹⁰¹ In a long list, Caminha described the indigenous people as lacking, among other things, clothes (and shame) to cover their private parts (see Caminha 1500: 11, 14); religion (see Caminha 1500: 48-49); manners, since they did not know how to behave in the presence of the admiral and captains (see Caminha 1500: 14-18); language, because they didn’t speak a language that the Portuguese recognized; agriculture (see Caminha 1500: 38-39, 44); and a sense of material value, because indigenous peoples were willing to exchange what the Portuguese perceived as their few possessions for objects that the Portuguese did not value (see Caminha 1500: 11, 20, 37).

perceptions of Brazil, the notion of abundance that prevailed in the Portuguese political discourse on diplomatic and economic relations with Brazil (at least until Dilma Rousseff's impeachment) seemed to be less related to the fertility of the land, and the natural resources to be exploited, than to the abundance of market opportunities; in this case, the notions of abundance and lack informed each other.¹⁰²

The colonial structures of power perpetuated through *A Birra do Morto* and *A Nova Aragem* added to the “double estrangement” (Nascimento 2009) inherent in the intercultural context of the performances, by creating an environment of mistrust and self-consciousness. The modalities participants chose when responding to the reiteration of colonialism in the co-productions, in turn, shaped the nature of interculturalism in each piece. Barros tried to hide it under a professionalism that separated the personal (and the political) from the work, and by distancing himself ideologically from the colonial past. The result was a theater piece that I would classify as an intercultural universalist project, because Barros' approach rested on the belief that experiences of death and suffering are common to all humans, without considering how the management of death and mourning manifests differently across countries, communities, and ethnic groups depending not only on cultural heritage but also on economic, political, and class dynamics. João de Mello Alvim also distanced himself ideologically from the colonial past, but he did so by making an effort to incorporate the debate about Portuguese colonialism into his work methodology. The result, despite the problematic rehearsal process described above, was a co-production that can be considered an intercultural hybrid piece.

¹⁰² For instance, in September 2012, when then Portuguese Minister of External Affairs Paulo Portas visited Brazil, he declared to the press that the Portuguese-speaking Latin American country offered Portuguese businesses various opportunities to develop their markets. Particularly, Portas declared, Portuguese businesses could find opportunities in the areas of construction (because, according to Paulo Portas, Brazil lacked infrastructure) and consumer goods, wine in particular (see Miranda 2012).

Although *A Birra do Morto* and *A Nova Aragem* were both developed in Mozambique, Mutumbela Gogo and Lareira Artes' homeland, I propose that the members of the Mozambican companies experienced "double estrangement" as well, as the co-productions forced them to engage in a micro-colonialism within the transnational negotiations of Lusophony. The co-productions created a space where the physical and socio-cultural locations of the pieces became simultaneously separated and entangled. The roles Mozambican artists took in the co-productions, and their experiences of "double estrangement," depended on their positions within the hierarchy of the theater community in Maputo. For the Mozambican actors participating in *A Birra do Morto* and *A Nova Aragem*, taking the role of apparent subordinate within a co-production constituted a way of claiming agency within the local and international theater community. The actors who participated in the co-production between A Escola da Noite and Mutumbela Gogo depended on directors to continue their practice since directors select the actors who perform in their productions. Hence, working with a Portuguese director constituted a way for the Mozambican actors to increase their literacy in acting approaches and creative methods, and to network, which introduced the possibility of expanding their work sphere internationally. Actors who participated in *A Birra do Morto* perceived the project as being a valuable learning experience that demanded negotiation of and inquiry into the whys and hows of Mozambican theater.

Mozambican theater producers and directors, on the other hand, suspected the Portuguese director's intentions and methodology, and felt their power threatened by Barros and his colleagues at Cena Lusófona, who had usurped their leading roles. In the case of Manuela Soeiro and other Mozambican theater directors, this suspicion was informed by their position toward Portuguese colonialism and decolonization, a position I've labeled as Turning to Africa.

Soeiro and her colleagues believed that focusing their work on affirming their conception of African traditions and values constituted a way to recover from colonialism and stand up to potential neocolonial Western advances. Soeiro, the producer, and leader of Mutumbela Gogo, felt that the group was exploited and that Portuguese aesthetics were imposed upon Mozambican artists, who had very little input into the process. In the context of Estação da Cena Lusófona, a Mozambican theater director who was not participating in *A Birra do Morto* spoke anonymously declared that the festival was informed by a neocolonial effort by the Portuguese to recuperate some of their influence over the country at a moment when the UK and France were also increasing their presence there (Mussane 1995: 32-33). This same director criticized the lack of balance in Estação's program, declaring that more Portuguese theater companies than local companies presented their work. Other journalists who wrote about Estação made similar remarks (see Chaúnque 1995, Mosse 1995).

Diaz Santana, co-producer of *A Nova Aragem*, was in a different position than the actors who participated in *A Birra do Morto*. Santana's take on his role in the co-production with Chão de Oliva went hand in hand with the approach I've characterized as Resisting Globalization. In their two-partner theater collective, organized around telling stories that reflect the concerns and realities of Mozambican people, Santana and Mabombo are committed to using theater as a way of placing Mozambique in a global context. All three productions that Lareira Artes presented between 2010 and 2015 approached topics from Mozambicans' everyday lives, such as the financial hardship faced by the poorest social classes of Mozambique and the prevalence of armed conflicts, explaining how these are consequences of the 2008 international financial crisis or of international foreign policy.¹⁰³ Santana, in particular, firmly believes that collaboration

¹⁰³ Two of the three plays presented by Lareira Artes at Circuito de Teatro em Português were written by Sérgio Mabombo, and one was an adaptation of Laurent Gaudé's play *Cendre sur les Mains* [*Ashes on Their Hands*].

among artists from all Portuguese-speaking countries is instrumental in the creation of a transnational theater circuit that allows Portuguese-speaking artists to work around the obstacles created by a linguistic and cultural Anglophone-based globalization. Santana's approach to politics through theater places Mozambique in a global context without rejecting Lusophony. Interventions in the writing of the co-production's script allowed Santana and Mendes to cope with the micro-colonialism that Alvim's presence and attitudes brought to the co-production, and the "double estrangement" it entailed.

Considering the ways in which Portuguese directors and Mozambican actors and producers dealt with the reenactment of colonialism and "double estrangement" in the co-productions, I would like to examine the figures of the Deadman in *A Birra do Morto* and the ghost in *A Nova Aragem*. The presence of these liminal figures, who exist between the living and the dead, in both co-productions struck me when I first watched *A Nova Aragem* and recalled the tape of *A Birra do Morto*. Portuguese thinkers (Gil 2004, Lourenço 2014), as well as North American and Western European anthropologists (White 2000), visual arts scholars (Demos 2013), and theater and performance studies academics (Roach 1996, Lepecki 2006) have pointed out how cadavers, vampires, specters, and ghosts are used by artists and communities as metaphors to refer to or cope with colonialism.

In these co-productions, I propose, the Deadman and the ghost of the Portuguese settler perform the role of surrogate for the co-production participants, and especially for the Portuguese directors. Through the Deadman and the ghost, the two directors deal with the discomfort of the lurking role of the colonizer that their presence invoked. Also, through the figures of the Deadman and the ghost, Barros and Alvim, respectively, tried to reconcile the fact that they were

working in a country to which, as Portuguese citizens, they have a historical link, but which they do not truly know, and where they were perceived as strangers, if not as enemies.

I suggest that in *A Birra do Morto*, Barros' directing approach constitutes an attempt to distance himself from the colonial past by denying any historical responsibility for colonization. While Barros tried to distance himself from and deny any historical responsibility for colonization, he was caught in Lusophony's vortex of behavior, conjured by the co-production. Consequently, the piece cannot escape interpretations that connect it to the colonial past. In the racially mixed cast, a black actor performs the Deadman and a white woman performs the Widow. Even if Barros' intention was to make the performance a neutral ground, removed from colonial history through a racially mixed cast, the centrality of the black actor's body performing the main role foregrounded, in a crude way, the exploitation of African people by European people. Throughout the performance, the Deadman, interpreted by a Mozambican actor, can be read as a black subject repeatedly confronting the will and customs of the white, European bourgeoisie without ever being heard, as if he were on trial in a court where it was determined, from the very beginning, that he could not win. More broadly, the meanings that result from the Deadman being played by a black actor take us back to Joseph Roach's theory about performance, memory, and reproduction, and to his suggestion that although forgotten, a topic such as colonialism is never gone; instead, it keeps repeating itself (1996).

The moment in the production that most poignantly illustrated how Barros' attempt to move past colonialism without acknowledging it backfired was the finale. At the end of the play, the Deadman was shoved into a coffin, which turned into a caravel¹⁰⁴ that sailed away from the stage followed by a grotesque parade. The original play, written by Vicente Sanches, ends with a

¹⁰⁴ Caravels were sailing ships used between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Portuguese to explore the coast of Africa, playing a crucial role in early Portuguese colonialism and slave trade.

funeral procession and Sanches specifically writes that the procession should be “grotesque,” but the author does not mention the coffin turning into a caravel. After the parade left the stage, the Deadman reappeared briefly, peeking through the prompt box and smiling at the audience before disappearing under the floor. This image was not included in the original play, either. Barros’ intentions of creating a show that would go beyond colonialism failed because the coffin-caravel clearly evoked a slave ship. In conjunction with the coffin-caravel image, I could not interpret the Deadman peeking through the prompt box as anything but a sign that Portuguese-speaking countries’ colonial past, far from being put to rest, will always come back to haunt us.

My reading of the Deadman in A Escola da Noite/Mutumbela Gogo’s co-production is informed by theories of Portuguese scholars who use ghosts to specifically refer to colonialism in the Portuguese-speaking world. For instance, Eduardo Lourenço (2014) and José Gil (2004) agree that the colonial past constitutes a ghost that comes back to haunt the Portuguese people because they were never offered the chance to mourn the loss of the colonies, whether they agreed with colonialism or not.¹⁰⁵ In addition, André Lepecki, in his analysis of Vera Mantero’s performance *uma misteriosa Coisa disse e.e. cummings*, explores the relationship between

¹⁰⁵ Lourenço and Gil do not compare Portugal to other former colonial powers in their analysis, not because they think that other formerly colonialist peoples did have the opportunity to mourn the loss of the colonies, but because they want to focus on the Portuguese case in detail. Gil points to a tendency for self-repression, which was inculcated in the Portuguese people by Salazar’s dictatorial regime. Lourenço, in turn, looks into narratives about Portuguese identity to propose that recurring narratives about Portugal’s evangelizing mission prevented the Portuguese from separating themselves from the colonies.

Both authors also criticize the fact that the Portuguese government chose to engage in a long war with colonized territories instead of proceeding to a peaceful, structured transfer of power. The war led by the Portuguese government to continue dominating the African colonized territories produced deep wounds in the Portuguese social tissue because families had to send their husbands, sons, and fathers to the war or see those who opposed the regime and the war leave in exile. When the war ended, the Portuguese had to deal with the loss of their family members. In addition, Portuguese people living in Portugal had to suddenly incorporate large groups of Portuguese people living in the colonies who felt displaced and were regarded with mistrust and prejudice by the Portuguese already living in Portugal. Between 1974 and 1976, Portugal endured a chaotic political environment, with provisional governments falling apart one after the next. Political stability was achieved after the elections of 1975, and with the approval of a new Constitution in 1976. Pressured to move forward and catch up with other European countries, the Portuguese did not have a moment for collective healing. As Gil points out, colonialism, decolonization, and revolution ceased to be discussed or investigated. The lack of collective introspection prevented the Portuguese people from understanding their history and creating a postcolonial identity.

postcolonial melancholia and violence. Lepecki recounts a moment in the performance of *uma misteriosa Coisa disse e.e. cummings* in Lisbon, in which a woman in the audience started shouting in protest of Mantero's disturbing evocation of colonialism through the embodiment of Josephine Baker. Lepecki points out this moment as an example of how "the feeling of 'loss' of Europe's 'beloved colonies' creates a morbid melancholic subjectivity that gets energized as rage in contemporary European racism" (2006: 112). I suggest that the scene in which the Deadman was forced into and trapped in the coffin-caravel embodies the "rage" that results from the inability of Portuguese people to productively deal with and let go of their colonial past. If read along the lines of Roach's theory of surrogation, the stubbornness of the Deadman in refusing to be buried and removed from the world of the living can be read as an act of resistance against the forgetting of the history of colonial brutality inflicted upon enslaved black people; the forgetting constitutes, as Roach argues, "a tactic of whiteness" (1996: 6).¹⁰⁶

While members of Escola da Noite suggested that the production broached universal topics, local newspapers and audience did not seem to identify with *A Birra do Morto* as a work of art that reflected Mozambican reality. News pieces about spectators' reactions to the play reported that spectators considered the performance an unfamiliar object, and some took offense to the absurdity of the play. Others thought that the co-production showed a new approach to directing and acting. The lack of identification on the part of the audience, even as the

¹⁰⁶ António Augusto Barros, however, would not agree with this interpretation of the co-production. In the interview I conducted with Barros in 2015, the director declared that he conceived the production as an homage to the resilience of the Mozambican people, who thrive despite the adversities of war and poverty. When I asked Barros about the significance of the caravel, he responded that for him and his (Portuguese) team, the vessel was inspired by the notion of the "barca da vida" [the vessel of life]. This is a trope, prevalent in Ancient and Middle Age European mythology, of a boat that carried the souls of dead people to the underworld, or to heaven or hell. The vessel was also a private joke among the organizers of Estação da Cena Lusófona; a way to laugh at and respond to a discussion initiated by local journalists and members of the Maputo theater community who, opposing the Portuguese management of Estação da Cena Lusófona, called the Portuguese festival organizers "as novas caravelas" [the new caravels] in a reference to the vessels used by the Portuguese during the discovery and colonial periods.

Portuguese company believed the play to be equally relevant to all people despite their cultural background, undermined the universalist claims of the performance. In addition, the reaction of the audience (along with the accounts of Manuela Soeiro and other Mozambican artists) reinforces my proposition that the co-production constituted a surrogate performance of Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism by denying that colonialism had consequences in the lives of citizens in Portuguese-speaking countries.

In *A Nova Aragem*, the use of the ghost allowed both Portuguese and Mozambican participants to engage in an onstage conversation about colonialism and its legacies. Alvim, unlike Barros, was interested in grappling with the colonial past as a way of moving forward and establishing healthy collaborations between artists from Portuguese-speaking countries. In collaboration with the members of Lareira Artes, the Mozambican take on the colonial past became an integral aspect of the play, determining the motivations of Rabia and Fuado. The Portuguese and Mozambican companies also worked hard to represent Mozambican culture in a respectful way. Instead of using a colonialist diorama approach to the set,¹⁰⁷ which would objectify and spectacularize Mozambican domestic spaces and practices, the Portuguese director chose a minimalist approach in which scenic objects were used as metonymy of a rural Mozambican home. Alvim marked the space with a few objects that could trigger the imagination of the audience. The entrance of the house consisted of a doorframe covered with a *capulana*, and the courtyard was defined by the activities performed by Rabia, namely milling

¹⁰⁷ I borrow the term “diorama” from museum studies; a diorama consists of a display strategy in which a scene of everyday life, a ritual of a community, an ecosystem, or an environment where an animal lives is recreated to give the audience the illusion that they are witnessing a moment in the real life of a community or animal. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett explains, dioramas constitute a “theatrical approach to exhibition” (2006: 12) imported from colonial exhibitions and world’s fairs, where colonized peoples from Africa, Latin America, and Asia were exhibited as if they were animal specimens or objects for the entertainment of white audiences. The display of colonized peoples in dioramas in world’s fairs also constituted a strategy of colonialism: a way of crystalizing narratives about colonized peoples as uncivilized, and rendering invisible the constructedness of those narratives by presenting them as part of scientific and educational endeavors (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991: 397-410).

and sieving manioc, and by the mortars and sieves that she used for that purpose. Also, the mortars, *capulanas*, sieves, and a blond wig were repurposed throughout the play.¹⁰⁸ The show included aspects of Mozambican African religious practices, which were introduced during the rehearsal process.

According to Santana and Mendes, the scene of the purification ritual was inspired by Mozambican traditions of *curandeirismo*, in which a ritual practitioner (*curandeiro/a*) calls and embodies spirits to solve the problems of the people who seek their services.¹⁰⁹ Rabia, acting as a *curandeira*, receives the spirit of Vovô Lusitano: the grandfather of Molina, who was a Portuguese settler in Mozambique and a supporter of colonization. Expressing their disdain for the ghost of the Portuguese settler, Rabia and Fuado referred to this character as “Avô Tuga” several times during the play. “Avô” means Grandfather, and “Tuga” (short form of “Portuga”) is a derogatory term first used by Brazilians to refer to Portuguese immigrants to Brazil. During the wars of independence, soldiers from African Portuguese-speaking countries used the term “Tuga” to refer to the Portuguese soldiers as a response to the term “Turra,” a diminutive for “Terrorista” (terrorist, in Portuguese), which the Portuguese soldiers used to refer to the soldiers of the independence movements (Ilharco 2002, Noticias do Douro 2012).

The purification ritual, and the character of the ghost (embodied by Rabia) in particular, was transgressive and contributed to the re-balancing and re-ordering of power dynamics in the piece. The first disruptive aspect of the ritual was that a white colonialist male was embodied by

¹⁰⁸ Lareira Artes’ aesthetic approach includes the repurposing of objects.

¹⁰⁹ Another example of the use of Mozambican traditions in the play was a fortunate (but unintended) solution to the absence of an actress to play the character of Molina. The actress was replaced with an assemblage of objects. The characters of Fuado and Rabia engage with the assemblage of objects as if these were, in fact, a person, which gives the objects a performative power that resonates with African fetish figures. The embodiment of Molina by the assemblage of objects can be read as a sign for the audience that we have entered the realm of African spirituality, setting the tone for the purification ritual and the embodiment of the ghost of the Portuguese settler by Rabia – the second performed representation of Mozambican culture.

a black woman, and forced to talk to a black man as his equal. This aspect of the ritual brought to the stage a reversal of power in which the black, formerly colonized subjects were in a position of power in relation to the white, former colonialist subject. They chose how to represent him, and they controlled the conversation by deciding when to start and end the ritual.

The dialogue between Vovô Lusitano and Fuado constituted a key moment of surrogation performance in the piece for the Mozambican actors, for the Portuguese director, and also for the citizens from Portugal and formerly colonized Portuguese-speaking countries in the audience. The character of Vovô Lusitano was fleshed out by the Portuguese director as a way of bringing the issue of Portuguese colonialism to the fore. In the dialogue, Vovô Lusitano spoke to Fuado in a dismissive and rude way, calling him “preto” (the closest Portuguese equivalent to the English “n-word”). While one can read the appearance of the Portuguese settler as a reinforcement of Portuguese colonialist principles, I suggest that the estrangement and reversal of power relations created by Rabia’s embodiment of the spirit/character of Vovô Lusitano mitigated that danger. Likewise, Fuado’s firm responses to the ghost, correcting the Portuguese colonialist about the new name of the capital of Mozambique,¹¹⁰ and educating him about the fact that Mozambique has been independent from Portugal since 1975, further stripped the Portuguese settler of his power. The interaction between Fuado and the hopeless Vovô Lusitano allowed the Portuguese participants in the co-production, and the Portuguese citizens in the audience, to laugh at and criticize their own past. This same scene, in turn, allowed the Mozambican actors to provide their own perspective on Portuguese colonialism at a moment in Mozambican history that they were ready to move away from, while remaining aware of how colonization set up Mozambique to be

¹¹⁰ After independence, Mozambicans renamed their country’s capital city “Maputo.” Vovô Lusitano, however, kept calling the city by its Portuguese colonial name, “Lourenço Marques,” and every time he did that, Fuado corrected him.

vulnerable in the current global economy. The Mozambican stance, which I frame as Resisting Globalization, was articulated fully by Fuado at the end of the piece.

Fuado expressed his awareness of Mozambique's position in the global economy when, while facing the audience, he explained to his wife why they had to give up their business with Molina. Warned by a dream in which he saw his land's fauna being chased away by fire and his property being the focus of wars for the control of oil, Fuado decided that they should abandon their land. Displacement, unlike in colonialism, was embraced here as a way of claiming agency and of refusing to comply with the paralyzing position in which Mozambican people were placed because of the political and economic turmoil of their country (ultimately a consequence of a scarring colonial past and a divisive decolonization process).

After carefully listening to her husband and lamenting the fact that they were so close to turning their lives around economically, Rabia agreed with Fuado. The wife tried to emphasize the bright side of the situation, and added that, although they did not get rich as they expected, their engagement with Molina was not in vain. Rabia was convinced that they changed Molina's outlook on Africa through their interaction and through the purification ritual. She hoped that Molina would use her new perspective to inform better interactions when working on the African continent.

In Roach's *Cities of the Dead*, we can find an interesting key to understanding Rabia's mysterious statement. In the chapter "Echoes in the Bone," Roach explores spiritual practices in the Caribbean and in Africa, and explains that practices of "communicating with the dead" can be a "strategy of empowering the living through the performance of memory" (1996: 34). Ceremonies that bring the dead back to (or acknowledge their presence in) the world of the living constitute resistance to Western epistemologies and, moreover, clear the future from the burden

of the past. Knowing the Mozambican actors' aimed to heal the scars of the colonial past and to foster collaborations to protect the identity and culture of Portuguese-speaking countries from the Americanizing effects of globalization, the interactions and ritual of purification that Fuado and Rabia perform on Molina gains a deeper significance; it can be read as a staged performance that moves Mozambican and Portuguese citizens forward and away from the damaging legacies of colonialism.

I attended multiple performances of *A Nova Aragem* as it toured through several cities in the state of São Paulo as part of CTP in 2014. The audiences' reactions confirmed that the play worked as a surrogate for the audience, or, at the very least, as a canvas where spectators could project and work through the racial tensions generated by Portuguese-speaking countries' colonial heritage. For instance, during the performance, when Rabia embodied Vovô Lusitano and called Fuado "preto," the Portuguese spectators (mostly artists participating in CTP) abruptly fell silent. But when Fuado started responding to and correcting Vovô Lusitano, I heard some of them laugh in support of the Mozambican man, expressing disdain for the Portuguese ghost. The Portuguese spectators did not share their thoughts, nor ask questions during Q&A, and I never heard them commenting on the piece in informal settings. African spectators (CTP's participants from companies from other African Portuguese-speaking countries) also remained silent during the Q&A, but shared their thoughts in private.¹¹¹ Brazilians of African descent identified with the struggles of the couple and they also questioned the director and actors about the power dynamics in the production. Brazilians of European descent were not as vocal as spectators of African descent. In one of the few instances when a Brazilian spectator of European descent made a remark, she immediately jumped to the conclusion that all people are equal and that race

¹¹¹ For instance, as I cited in chapter one, the Angolan actor Meirinho Mendes declared his suspicion about the power dynamics in the co-production. For him, the Portuguese director exploited and imposed his aesthetic on the Mozambican actors.

should not be an impediment in the relationship among peoples, dismissing the existence of racial discrimination and systemic oppression. This reaction reflected and perpetuated the narrative of miscegenation in Brazil. The Brazilian narrative of miscegenation collapses racial and national identity in the interest of unity, declaring that Brazil has only one race – the Brazilian race, which results from the merging of European (white), African (black), and Indigenous peoples.

After having explored a power dynamic that seems to be the most recurrent in co-productions among Portuguese-speaking countries, I will now turn to two co-productions that exemplify different tactics in responding to the dangers of recreating a micro-colonialism in Lusophone collaborative productions. In the case of *As Virgens Loucas*, I explore collaborative production based on tactics located between Turning to Africa and Resisting Globalization, visible in the attention paid to Cabo Verdean creole identity and culture. I will close this chapter by looking into *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*, an informal collaborative production between two companies that subscribe to Resisting Globalization.

As Virgens Loucas: a response to micro-colonialism through creolization

The co-production *As Virgens Loucas* came out of a creative process and funding plan that resembled that of *A Birra do Morto*. Cândido Ferreira was one of the five theater directors that António Augusto Barros invited, in 1995, to travel to the five African Portuguese-speaking countries to conduct theater workshops, establish relationships with local theater groups, and assess the existing conditions in each country for the production of theater projects. Ideally, Cândido Ferreira and his colleagues' visits to African Portuguese-speaking countries would pave

the way for co-productions funded by Cena Lusófona in the following years.¹¹² The first experimentation with the co-production model in the context of Cena Lusófona happened in Mozambique in 1995, with *A Birra do Morto* and *De Volta da Guerra* (directed by Fernando Mora Ramos, upon Barros' invitation).

As in other workshops and co-productions created by Cena Lusófona (including *A Birra do Morto*), and as in *A Nova Aragem*, the first incarnation of *As Virgens Loucas* was funded by a Portuguese organization sponsored by the Portuguese government. Cena Lusófona funded *A Birra do Morto* and *As Virgens Loucas*, and Chão de Oliva funded *A Nova Aragem*. African artists offered their labor but could not provide funding. As in the two co-productions I analyzed above, it appears that African performers in *As Virgens Loucas* were not paid for their work.¹¹³

Cândido Ferreira visited Mindelo for the first time in August 1995 and he conducted a month-long workshop. Attending the workshop were members of the recently created Grupo de Teatro do Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo (GTCCPM) [Theater Group of the Portuguese Cultural Center of Mindelo], led by the recently arrived Portuguese theater enthusiast, and coordinator of theater workshops at the Portuguese Cultural Center of Mindelo, João Branco. In the interview I conducted with Ferreira in January 2015, the Portuguese director explained that he approached the 1995 workshop as he did community theater projects. He tried to understand the ideas about theater and the skills that the participants already had and tried to build on them.¹¹⁴ Unlike Alvim, Ferreira never spoke about the Cabo Verdean participants in an

¹¹² These collaborative projects would feature the Portuguese theater directors and theater collectives from Angola, Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé e Príncipe initially selected by Barros.

¹¹³ In *As Virgens Loucas*, however, according to Ferreira, the Cabo Verdean artists who developed the set, music, and costumes received compensation for their work.

¹¹⁴ As a first time visitor in Cabo Verde and in Africa, and also as a workshop coordinator, Cândido Ferreira positioned himself as an observer, trying to learn as much as he could about Mindelo and its theater community. Ferreira proposed exercises for the 1995 workshop and final public showing that incorporated and expanded on the

exoticizing manner. Instead, he expressed admiration and respect for their creativity, which for him characterized the mindset of people in Mindelo. He consolidated this impression after reading António Aurélio Gonçalves's *As Virgens Loucas*, the novel that he then adapted into a play for the co-production.¹¹⁵

The way in which Cena Lusófona arranged its workshop and co-production program, sending out theater directors to former Portuguese colonies to *teach* theater to African people and *assess* resources (as if they were prospecting for an economic enterprise), put Cândido Ferreira in a colonial extractionist and almost evangelizing position. Nevertheless, Ferreira deliberately refused to impose his ideas about theater upon his collaborators. Unlike Barros' work on *A Birra do Morto*, or Alvim's on *A Nova Aragem*, Ferreira's work in Cabo Verde privileged process over

skills of the actors. His proposals referenced, through improvisation exercises and Cabo Verdean literature, Mindelo's everyday life and culture, making the exercises meaningful for artists and spectators.

In his report to Cena Lusófona, cited in the first *Revista Mindelact*, Cândido Ferreira explained that he was always re-evaluating and adapting his workshop proposals to everyday challenges. Ferreira did not describe these obstacles, but I assume they related to the economic struggles facing participants, and to the fact that they attended the workshop after work, many times without a pause for eating or resting. Ferreira, who was also in Mindelo to assess the potential of human and material resources for a co-production, reported that workshop participants had good bodily expression and rhythm, but that they had some difficulties in approaching text-based characters and abstract ideas. For the final showing, Ferreira took this into consideration, structuring the showing around physical improvisation. Text-based characters were introduced through improvisational exercises in which the actors spoke creole. The last part of the exercise was structured around texts by Cabo Verdean authors (Mindelact 1997: 16).

¹¹⁵ During our interview, Ferreira described Mindelo with fondness, as a surreal place. The scenes that he narrated as illustrations of that surrealism revealed the way in which people in Mindelo coped with the lack of infrastructure in their daily lives. For instance, Ferreira recounted how, on one late afternoon, when walking on the beach that then rimmed the downtown of Mindelo, he was surprised by “five butts [standing] in front of me!” “People,” Ferreira explained, “went to the beach to defecate” (Ferreira 2015). This episode was integrated into the co-production *As Virgens Loucas* in one of the scenes that took place at a bar that the prostitutes pass by in their quest for petrol. On the tape of the co-production, which I watched at the archives of Cena Lusófona, I heard the audience laugh at this episode, perhaps recognizing that practice. Other examples reflected the adopting of Western social practices and activities, such as strolling around a square where young women posed before potential boyfriends as if in a beauty pageant. Ferreira found the daily late afternoon strolling ritual, which, to me, is evocative of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Western leisure and courtship practices, interesting because the square where people took their strolls was quite small, causing the women to walk in countless circles.

results. Ferreira focused on the people he worked with – their skills, their personalities, their aspirations, and how their actions were informed by their social and economic environment.¹¹⁶

Ferreira's focus on the people and context he worked with guided every aspect of the co-production *As Virgens Loucas*. In addition, his approach reveals tactics that deal with the legacy of Portuguese colonialism in Lusophony by moving away from Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism, but not entirely subscribing to Turning to Africa or Resisting Globalization. Instead, Ferreira's site-specific and community-oriented approach embraced the creative adaptability of incorporating cultural practices from multiple sources that is at the core of Cabo Verdean creole culture and identity.

In broad terms, as Nick Kaye explains in the introduction of his book *Site-specific art: performance, place and documentation* (2000), a site-specific work of art consists of a piece whose conceptualization and concretization are inspired by and put in dialogue with the characteristics of the space it inhabits, and/or with the events, people, and objects that animate and define that space. The artwork, in turn, allows for a reconceptualization and reimagining of the space; the space defines the work to the same extent that the work defines the space. Miwon Kwon, in her article, "One Place after Another: Notes on Site-Specificity" (1997: 85-110), explores different trends in site-specific art developed between the 1960s and the 1990s. Kwon explains how the definition of "site" in "site-specific" changed over time, from the physical elements of a museum or gallery space (1960-1970), to the discourses that bring museums and

¹¹⁶ His humanistic work ethics came across in one of his statements about theater in Cabo Verde, cited by a Portuguese newspaper in a piece about Mindelact '97/III Estação da Cena Lusófona, where *As Virgens Loucas* had a re-run. Ferreira declared:

Apesar das dificuldades sociais e económicas, há aqui uma população jovem que procura encontrar caminhos para realizar-se e vê que o teatro é uma das formas de poder dar um certo sentido à vida. Há muita paixão pelo teatro em São Vicente. [Despite social and economic difficulties, here there is a young population that tries to find their paths to realize themselves and that sees in theater a way to give sense to their lives. There's a lot of passion for theater in São Vicente] [Lopes 1997: 8-9].

galleries into being (1980), to the social world outside the gallery space (1990). “Public space” became the “site” of site-specific art. Public art converged with community-based art, a genre interested in putting the artistic process at the service of exploring, working through, and educating communities about topics that are relevant to them.

Although Kaye and Kwon’s research focuses on visual and performing arts in the UK and the US, I propose that their definitions of site-specificity, and their attention to its social turn in the 1990s, provide us a fair description of Ferreira’s directing approach to *As Virgens Loucas*. Ferreira highlighted how the story of *As Virgens Loucas* simultaneously constituted a representation and a product of Cabo Verde’s creole culture by embedding his co-production in the life of Mindelo. Returning to Mindelo in 1996 to direct the co-production, Cândido Ferreira paid close attention to the skills and life experiences of his actors and assigned roles based on what he knew of their skills and personalities based on his work with them the previous year. Also, he worked with local artists and organizations to set the co-production in a historic public building. Ferreira considered Mindelo’s various large abandoned buildings, and selected the Alfândega Velha (the Old Customs House) as the performance site. Ferreira took advantage of the architecture of the space, which consists of various rooms with heavy wooden doors opening to a courtyard, and one larger room in the back of the building that connects to the courtyard through a hallway. The Portuguese director, with the help of a local visual artist, used all spaces of the building to create a small version of Mindelo.¹¹⁷

Ferreira also recruited local musicians and visual artists to create the musical score and set design for the piece, and gave them the freedom to create their own musical and visual

¹¹⁷ The show started in the larger room, where performers and spectators joined in a dance and from which the three main characters started their performance, moving from the dance to Domingas’s room (one of the three main characters). Then, the three main characters and the audience move to the courtyard, where each door and room was used as one of the houses or businesses that the three main characters visited in their quest for light.

interpretations of *As Virgens Loucas*. The Portuguese theater director fleshed out the small-scale Mindelo that he could create within the architecture of the Old Customs house by asking Manuel Figueira, a Cabo Verdean and Mindelense visual artist, to create a set for the play.¹¹⁸ Figueira came up with an idea for a set that replicated the small houses of Mindelo. In addition, the Portuguese director invited the Cabo Verdean saxophone player Luís Moraes to create and conduct a live soundtrack for the play. Cabo Verdeans were also put in charge of other aspects of the co-production, such as costumes, lights, and combat choreography. At the end, Ferreira's job was to put together all the individual components (acting, music, set design, architecture) into an aesthetically pleasing and functional assemblage, which merged the Cabo Verdeans' image of themselves with his foreign, Western, Portuguese perception. This method, which generated a work that many felt aligned with António Aurélio Gonçalves' affirmation of Cabo Verdean creole identity, made the co-production, like the novel, not just a representation of that identity, but also a product of creolization.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Mindelense (pl. Mindelenses) is the name of a person who was born and/or lives in the city of Mindelo, on the island of São Vicente, Cabo Verde.

¹¹⁹ I also find a few similarities between Ferreira's approach and Diana Taylor's concept of "transculturalism." In her article "Transculturating Transculturation" (1991), Taylor theorizes transculturalism based on the work of Fernando Ortiz and José María Argueda. The process of transculturalism, Taylor argues, envelops all aspects of society, from values and aesthetic expressions to social and political dynamics. For this reason, transculturalism should be considered both cultural and political. Transculturalism describes the process in which the cultural practices of a society change through the imposition and/or willing incorporation of aspects of another society. In addition, transculturalism describes the politics of a society that becomes aware of its own cultural and historical specificity when confronted with another society and culture, and decides which practices and symbols of the other society it wants to incorporate, how, and for what purpose. Applying the concept of transculturalism to Latin American theater, Taylor points out that colonized communities in Latin America were not offered a choice as to whether or not they wanted to take on the culture of the colonizer. And yet, transcultural theory, particularly Argueda's, suggests that although colonized populations did not have a say in if, when, and how much of the colonizer's culture they wanted to incorporate, they nonetheless found ways of using transculturation against the colonizer, affirming their own values (see Taylor 1991: 95-96). Here we find a parallel with Mitra's analysis of new interculturalism in Akram Khan's work. In his choreography, Khan, similarly to Latin American indigenous theater artists, incorporates the culture of the colonized to express a perspective that disrupts colonial ideology.

When examining indigenous Latin American theater, Taylor points out that, despite the contrary opinion of some Western scholars, this theater is original and culturally specific because it results from a transculturation process in which indigenous Latin American peoples adopted Western cultural forms that allowed them to communicate their own points of view and empower themselves against the colonizer. Although Taylor's work can

Ferreira saw himself less as a director (in the literal sense of someone who instructs others in what to do) and more as an organizer who weaves together input provided by his collaborators. Unlike in *A Birra do Morto* or *A Nova Aragem*, where the hand of the director is explicitly visible in the aesthetic choices and performance, in *As Virgens Loucas*, Ferreira's input is subtler; he merges his concept of theater and his view of Mindelo with the spaces, stories, and cultural expressions that the Mindelenses use to self-represent. For instance, Ferreira chose a performance space that challenged the idea that most spectators in Mindelo had of what a theater looked like. Significantly, he chose a space that people in Mindelo were very familiar with, and he filled it with images and sounds created by two Cabo Verdean artists, and with a story by an author from Mindelo who was very familiar and dear to the audience.¹²⁰

At a first glance, *As Virgens Loucas* could be perceived as a mere transposition of European theater to the Cabo Verdean stage since, for instance, the text-based performance was presented in Portuguese and not in Kabu Verdianu (Cabo Verde's creole language). Nevertheless, a closer look into the role of creolization and miscegenation in the creation of Cabo Verde's identity,¹²¹ and a comparison between those processes and narratives and the aesthetics, characters and situations of *As Virgens Loucas*, reveal that Ferreira adopted Cabo Verdean cultural processes when directing the co-production. A product and illustration of

illuminate general principles of Cabo Verde's creole culture, it speaks mostly to the history of the Americas, which differs from that of Cabo Verde on a crucial point: unlike the Americas, the islands of the Cabo Verdean archipelago were not populated prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1460.

¹²⁰ António Aurélio Gonçalves was a high school teacher in Mindelo. He was very respected by and dear to the Mindelenses, who were devastated when he died in his 80s. Mindelo's grief at the loss of Aurélio Gonçalves was amplified by the nonsensical circumstances of his death. He was hit by a car while walking in downtown Mindelo.

¹²¹ Miscegenation and creolization are distinct processes. The first consists of the mixing of races through sexual intercourse between individuals from different racial backgrounds, and the second concerns the mixing of languages, aesthetic expressions, and social practices. In Cabo Verde, these two processes happened at the same time and became intrinsically connected, initially serving the needs of Portuguese colonialism.

creolization, *As Virgens Loucas* was also infused with the perspective of the Portuguese director, which lent an intercultural quality to the piece.¹²²

To understand the mechanisms and political relevance of creolization in Cabo Verde's identity, we need to delve deeper into Cabo Verdean history and theories of creolization. The first inhabitants of Cabo Verde were Portuguese settlers and enslaved African people brought from the continent. As Deirdre Meintel (1984), Isabel P. B. Fêo Rodrigues (2003) and Gerhard Seibert (2014) explain, due to the distance from Portugal and the scarcity of Portuguese women in Cabo Verde, Portuguese men used enslaved women to not only to satisfy their sexual needs, but also to produce offspring who, by inhabiting the newly "found" land, literally reproduced Portuguese colonialism in Africa. The island of Santiago was the first territory occupied by the Portuguese in Africa and it played a crucial role in the slave trade, in which enslaved people were brought to Europe and the Americas to be sold.¹²³¹²⁴

A Cabo Verdean identity independent from the Portuguese empire was made possible due to the education provided by schools established in Cabo Verde, particularly the high school Liceu Infante D. Henrique (later named Liceu Gil Eanes). Created in 1917 in Mindelo, this high

¹²² Although in this chapter I focus on the way in which Cabo Verdeans use creolization as a tool to interrupt Portuguese colonialism, creolization was also used by the Portuguese as a domination strategy in Cabo Verde. Mixed race individuals, born from Portuguese fathers and enslaved African mothers were often employed as agents of Portuguese colonialism in continental Africa (Meintel 1984: 127, 130-131, Rodrigues 2003: 97). Moreover, miscegenation was a mechanism to further oppress African populations, particularly women. Miscegenation dehumanized enslaved African women's bodies as mere machines of reproduction, following and reproducing the Portuguese, white, patriarchal lineage (Rodrigues 2003: 95). Ideologically, miscegenation served the purpose of justifying the proximity between Portuguese and African peoples, maintaining the presence of the Portuguese in African territories (Rodrigues 2003: 84).

¹²³ The island's economy also included agriculture and animal farming, industries whose products supplied the ships that stopped at the island (Seibert 2014: 5).

¹²⁴ Cabo Verde was abandoned by Portugal when the country lost its monopoly on the slave trade and the local climate did not allow for the continuous agricultural production that made slavery profitable. Nevertheless, and especially from the nineteenth century onward, Portugal recruited labor from Cabo Verde in two ways: the uneducated worked on the plantations in Sao Tome e Principe (especially after the abolition of slavery in 1876), and the educated elite served as bureaucrats of the empire.

school enabled the development of a Cabo Verdean intellectual elite and an independence movement (Seibert 2014: 11). For instance, Amílcar Cabral, who led the Cabo Verdean and Bissau-Guinean independence movement, studied at Liceu Gil Eanes (Andrade 1980: xviii). The Cabo Verdean intelligentsia that emerged from Mindelo's high school also included members of the literary movement *Claridade*, among them António Aurélio Gonçalves, the author of *As Virgens Loucas* (Moser 1999). The authors of the *Claridade* movement were committed to defining Cabo Verdean creole identity, arguing that the fusion of Portuguese and African cultures created a new culture, identity, and worldview which should be differentiated from the cultures and identities of continental Africa and Europe. The cultural elite who studied at Liceu Gil Eanes articulated and used the racial and cultural ambiguity of Cabo Verdeans' mixed race and creole culture to resist Portuguese colonialism.

As Françoise Lionnet explains when defining creolization more generally, and as Isabel P. B. Fêo Rodrigues confirms in the particular case of Cabo Verde, creolization interrupts colonial hierarchies that operate on the basis of the dichotomies of colonizer/colonized and white/black. Creolization proposes, instead, an identity that is always in construction, dependent on the material conditions of one's life, and privileging the group over the individual as a way of finding agency. With flexibility and improvisation, creoles resist dominant discourses and European taxonomies (Lionnet 2008: 1503, 1509-1511, Rodrigues 2003: 83-84). Cabo Verdeans' disruption of European colonial categorization was even more radical because there was no indigenous culture for the Portuguese to categorize as "other" (2003: 93). Cabo Verdean culture and people were, from the very beginning, "co-authored" by colonizer and colonized.

Reading *As Virgens Loucas* in the light of creolization, the story of the three prostitutes, Domingas, Nuna and Betinha, in search of petrol for their lamps poetically articulates how,

despite the colonial imposition that brought the Cabo Verdean people into existence and the exploitation and negligence that kept them in poverty, Cabo Verdeans manage to tactically adapt to and cope with the imposition of a foreign power. The night and darkness, in this context, can be interpreted as colonialism or, more generally, as systemic oppression that perpetuates colonial hierarchies of power. The light can be read as hope, a sense of self, and economic stability. And the search for the petrol to fuel the light represent the arduous journey of maintaining hope in a historic and social moment of hardship. Other characters in the text reinforced Cabo Verdeans' resilience and ingenuity *vis a vis* the poverty and structural inequality generated by colonialism (for instance, "Nha Romana," a woman who, after her boyfriend emigrated, decided to marry another man to support herself, or the carpenters who work through the night). A few characters also exemplify how the scarcity of resources (and hope) can generate a disruption of social solidarity. For example, "Nhô Léla," the poor, miserly owner of a small grocery store, refuses to give his last drop of petrol to the three young women because he needs that light to carry him through the night.

In his text for the program of the co-production, and in his responses during our interview, Ferreira seemed particularly drawn to the disruptive role of the three prostitutes, which Aurélio Gonçalves choose as representations of the Cabo Verdean people and as his reader's guides through the city of Mindelo.¹²⁵ During our interview, Ferreira described the three main characters as smart and sane, for they were very matter of fact about their lives; they owned their

¹²⁵ In his text for the co-production's program, Ferreira wrote:

À ideia de que as mulheres não têm tempo para sonhar porque a encruzilhada da vida que passa por elas a cada instante, a vida dos filhos alojados no seu corpo e no seu coração, a vida que dão aos outros, não lhes permite, Aurélio Gonçalves responde através de "três menininhas que andam nesta vida a lutar pela sua própria luz." [To the idea that women do not have time to dream, because the crossroads of life that goes by them at every moment, the life of the children harbored in their bodies and in their hearts, stops them, Aurélio Gonçalves responds with [a story about] "three young women of the night fighting for their own light"] [2003: 104-105].

bodies and their choices, and they faced their challenges (poverty and social marginalization) with hope and dignity. Ferreira added a few episodes to Aurélio Gonçalves's novel that emphasized the impact of marginalization and exploitation in the lives of the three prostitutes. These additions, notably, also created a greater contrast between the oppressive living conditions of the main characters and the ingenious, hopeful, and even subversive outlook that they adopted when facing hardship. The contrast Ferreira explored in the play illustrated the simultaneously oppressive and subversive nature of creolization, and how women's bodies are at the center of the tension between reiterating and disrupting colonial exploitation and its legacy.¹²⁶

In the opening scene of the play, in which Domingas, Nuna, and Betinha spend the afternoon in Dominga's room (as described in the novel), Ferreira added three moments of "play-within-a-play" among the three women. In these moments, the women enact scenes that reflect the abuses and social pressures imposed upon women regarding the management of their bodies and their sexuality. First, Nuna and Betinha enact a scene in which Betinha is a woman thrown to the streets by her jealous partner. Then, Domingas interrupts them to say that she would like to stay at home that night, but that she doesn't have petrol for her lamp. Betinha responds, explaining that she cannot return to her mother's home, that her mother refuses to host her because she is a prostitute. Betinha's comment then triggers two more moments of "play-within-a-play", involving all three women. The next two moments tell the audience the stories of how the three women were each rejected by their families and turned to engaging in prostitution to survive.

¹²⁶ Thinking of sexuality in the context of creolization as a tactic against colonialism, Rodrigues also points out how enslaved African women and creole women in Cabo Verde should not be perceived as mere silenced, subjugated bodies. Women were also agents of subversion since they played a central role not only in the reproduction of creole bodies, but also in the creation and transmission of creole culture, the most clear expression of which is the Cabo Verdean creole language (Rodrigues 2003: 97-98).

These next two scenes reflect a double standard for women in Mindelo in the 1950s as they tried to find a husband to secure their economic stability and social respectability. On the one hand, they had to please men to get their affection and get married, but they could not have sex before marriage lest they be perceived as soiled (and would then not be able to marry at all). Betinha plays a woman who was engaged to a man played by Nuna. Nuna/man pressures Betinha/woman to prove her affection to him, implying that he wants to have sex with her before they get married. Betinha/woman takes the risk of damaging her reputation and says yes. Then the three women play a scene in which Betinha/woman is examined for her virginity and Nuna/examiner tells Betinha's mother, played by Domingas, that her daughter is not a virgin anymore. Upon hearing this news, Domingas/mother yells at and spansks Betinha/woman. Later in the play, Ferreira inserts a piece of dialogue that illustrates the male perspective on women's family and social roles, emphasizing the inequality in social expectations for men and women in 1950s Mindelo (and possibly today as well). Whereas women should stay at home, because that is their duty, men can go out and engage with other women, because that is their nature.¹²⁷

The dialogue between the two men about the role of women, along with Domingas, Nuna, and Betinha's "play-within-a play" earlier, fleshed out moments that were implied in Aurélio Gonçalves's novel. These moments exposed the structural inequality that the three main characters faced in their daily lives, and that caused the rejection by Nha Romana and the carpenters, who had been asked to share the light of their houses by allowing the women to rest

¹²⁷ This dialogue between two men, Xalindo and Toi, took place outside a bar that Domingas, Nuna, and Betinha passed by. Xalindo and Toi discussed their "dedication" to their wives. Xalindo said that after spending a night at the bar, dancing and flirting with other women, he felt he was betraying his wife. In contrast, Toi objectified the women he danced with, saying that he treated them all "como material [like objects]" (Ferreira 2000: 63). He justified his actions in the context of his marriage, saying that going out to bars and flirting with other women made him appreciate his family even more. He said that when engaging with other women, he was following his instincts, and if he stayed at home with his wife, betraying his nature, he would go mad.

by their doorsteps.¹²⁸ The two moments added by Ferreira also provided the audience with more context for why Nhô Léla refused to share his petrol, punishing the three women for being irresponsible. At the end of the night, however, instead of feeling defeated, Domingas, Nuna, and Betinha declare that the next morning they would work on feeding their lamps and keeping their light (Ferreira 2000: 76). In the face of continuous rejection, the three prostitutes consider their material conditions and choose to meet the marginalization and scarcity in their lives with a positive outlook. Instead of giving up their search for light, they decide to rest for the night and pursue it the next day. With perseverance and a positive outlook, the prostitutes refuse to submit to a social stratification that makes them invisible, once again illustrating the subversive adaptability of creolization – the drive to assemble, recreate, and, in so doing, disrupt taxonomies and hierarchies.

Colonialism was implied in the structural inequality that women had to face, and also in the ghostly aesthetics that the production space and lighting lent to the performance. Due, in part, to the lack of theater projectors, and to the fact that the performance took place in a non-conventional performance space, Ferreira decided to use real petrol lamps to illuminate most of the performance. In conjunction with the space of the performance (an old colonial building) and the itinerant structure of the show, the fragile light of the lamps, which went in and out as the prostitutes walked through Mindelo, gave a spectral feeling to the performance. The characters seemed to be spirits coming from the past to tell their stories to the audience. Given the connections between ghosts and colonialism, which I explored in the previous section, the ghostly ambience of the performance reinforced the sense that *As Virgens Loucas* makes visible a lingering memory of the colonial past. The presentation of that past, however, as brutal in its

¹²⁸ The lights associated with Nha Romana and the carpenters can be read as metaphors for a stable married life and a stable job, respectively.

references to exploitation, poverty and marginalization as it is joyful in its emphasis on the Cabo Verdean people's ability to overcome through persistence, turned the memory of colonialism into a history of hope.

According to accounts by Ferreira, members of Grupo de Teatro do Centro Cultural do Mindelo, and the press, *As Virgens Loucas* was extremely well-received in Mindelo. The premiere and re-run both sold out. Embracing creolization, Ferreira and his team created the possibility for what Christina McMahon, in her study of performances by artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries in Lusophone theater festivals, terms "recasting," or "transforming and interrupting master narratives" (2015: 8) through performance. Nevertheless, even if the stage performance allowed for a transformation by reconfiguring the exploitative colonial past of Cabo Verde into a hopeful future, the structures of sponsorship and production that supported the performance still perpetuated colonial hierarchies.

As discussed in chapters one and two, some Cabo Verdean theater artists see racial and cultural colonial hierarchy perpetuated in the Cabo Verdean theater community in the person of the Portuguese expatriate João Branco, who leads the key cultural and theater organizations in Mindelo.¹²⁹ While the stage production of *As Virgens Loucas* embodied, celebrated, and represented Cabo Verdeans' transculturalism and resilience, the institutional workings that made the co-production possible illustrated how *As Virgens Loucas* would not have happened without the colonial hierarchies of power that Cabo Verdeans struggle against. The co-production's success depended on the work that Branco had done in Cabo Verde since 1993. If Branco had

¹²⁹ These include: the GTCCPM, the theater company affiliated with the Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo, which has the largest record of international presentations in Cabo Verde; the Mindelact festival (and, between 1996-2013, also the cultural association that organized the festival); since 2014, the Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo, which reports to the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and, more recently, the project Alaim, which is the only arts school in Mindelo. Branco is also the main academic authority in Cabo Verdean theater, being the author of the only history of Cabo Verdean theater.

not established himself in Cabo Verde and started a theater company and a work routine with the support of the Portuguese Cultural Center of Mindelo,¹³⁰ Cândido Ferreira would have probably faced more challenges when trying to establish contacts and gather human resources for the co-production.

From the perspective of exchange of cultural capital and prestige, I suggest that *As Virgens Loucas* perpetuated the colonial hierarchy whose lingering presence allowed Branco to occupy such a prominent position of power within Cabo Verdean theater. The success of *As Virgens Loucas* in 1996, after the success of Ferreira's workshop in the previous year, boosted the relationship between Mindelact (the festival and cultural association that, at the time, were both led by Branco) and Cena Lusófona, and played a significant role in Cena Lusófona's decision to organize the third incarnation of Estação with Mindelact in 1997. The joint organization of Estação and Mindelact in 1997 allowed the Portuguese organizers to further legitimize their project in the eyes of the Portuguese government (Cena Lusófona's main sponsor). The organizers could use the festival as evidence that Cena Lusófona was accomplishing its goal of encouraging theater production in Portuguese-speaking countries, particularly in African countries. This echoes colonial paternalism, incentivized by government sponsorship, as described in chapter two. For Mindelact, as João Branco acknowledged in an interview with me, the joint festival was the first step toward establishing contacts to expand its program to foreign theater companies. The expansion of the scope of Mindelact allowed the organizers of the Cabo Verdean festival to make the case that Mindelact was on its way to achieving the level of quality and prestige of other European theater festivals. This argument, in turn, further legitimized the authority of João Branco.

¹³⁰ A partnership that, as I argue in chapter two, was possible, in large part, due to his Portuguese citizenship.

The analyses of *A Birra do Morto*, *A Nova Aragem*, and *As Virgens Loucas* illustrate different attempts by Portuguese theater directors and artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries to work through and against the colonial hierarchies inscribed in the institutional structures that made the co-productions possible in the first place. Serving as a counterpoint, the last collaborative project that I will examine in this chapter, *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*, was the result of a collaboration between theater companies from two former Portuguese colonies who both subscribe to the same tactic to cope with the legacy of Portuguese colonialism – Resisting Globalization.

Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro: South-South alliances in Resisting Globalization

Dragão 7 created *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* in 2014, based on the play *A Cavaqueira do Poste* and created and performed by the Mozambican company Lareira Artes. The original play consists of a dialogue between two disabled homeless men: Tendeu, who has lost both arms, and Calvino, who is blind. They live on a street bench near a trash can and a lamppost. The two beggars await the arrival of Drummond Galaska, a rich man who, Calvino says, befriended him and promised to rescue the two men from poverty. While they wait, Tendeu doubting the existence and intention of Drummond Galaska, the two men spend their time debating the causes of their poverty. Both beggars agree that their life became much more difficult after the 2008 financial crisis. Since then, they claim, people who used to give them alms or throw food in the garbage are much more worried about saving their money and not wasting food. Without the charity and food wasting of the middle and upper classes, Calvino and Tendeu can barely survive. The two men disagree, however, on the underlying causes of their poverty. Tendeu

argues that they are victims of an unfair distribution of wealth and food, which was aggravated by banking speculation, the decline of oil barrel prices, and the 2008 financial crisis. Calvino, in contrast, says that they (the homeless) are to blame for their own poverty because they cannot control their sexual impulses and keep reproducing on the streets even though they have nothing to eat.

Besides arguing, the two men try to get some food by harassing the residents of a nearby apartment building. Also, they share the stories of how they became blind and amputated. Tendeu lost his arms during a militia attack on his village. Calvino lost his eyesight in a work accident.¹³¹ Tendeu and Calvino then comment on how the middle and upper classes take better care of their pets than their fellow humans, spoiling their dogs with unnecessary luxuries while ignoring the homeless, who are deemed less valuable than animals.

The comparison between homeless people and pets of upper classes, and the stark inequality that it reveals, leads to the climax of the play. In a moment of hilarious delirium, the two men turn the social hierarchy upside down and imagine what the world would be like if they refused to beg. They explain that the upper classes keep the poor begging so that they can give them alms and, in so doing, feel better about themselves. In addition, for those who are religious, giving alms gets them blessings from God for their businesses.¹³² Calvino and Tendeu conclude that, if they stopped begging, the upper classes would no longer be able to justify their existence because they would not be able to feel good about themselves, and that their businesses would crumble without divine blessings. The two beggars imagine being called to negotiate with

¹³¹ In a re-enactment of Calvino's accident, the two beggars show that he worked in a car repair shop as an assistant to the mechanic. The owner of the shop pressured him to fix a car, even though Calvino did not have the skills to do it alone. Calvino gave in to the pressure of his supervisor because he didn't want to lose his job, and blinded himself while trying to use a blowtorch.

¹³² The play singles out Muslims as those who seek blessings from God by giving alms to the poor.

NATO, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank, who would all scramble to restore the old order. This moment of the play triggers a deep anger in Tendeu, who realizes that he will probably never have the opportunity to negotiate his social status. He abruptly breaks out of the game and declares that he is going to return to the psychiatric asylum where he had been previously hospitalized. He prefers to be institutionalized than live in absolute misery. Calvino, disoriented, tries to follow him. He stumbles on an envelope and opens it, finding a letter and bills inside. Calvino, left alone, cannot read the letter,¹³³ nor can he see that the bills he is holding in his hands are actual money. The play ends with Calvino sitting under the lamppost and cursing Tendeu as he throws the bills behind his back.

Because the play not only provided insight into Mozambican reality,¹³⁴ but also spoke to the exploitation of Global South countries by the Global North, Borges felt compelled to adapt and direct the text of *A Cavaqueira do Poste*. She found an opportunity when her company was in debt after organizing CTP in 2013; she needed to direct and tour a new but inexpensive work that would help her pay the bills. Lareira Artes enthusiastically agreed to share their play with the Brazilian director. The collaboration between Lareira Artes and Dragão 7 didn't follow the same co-production model of the theater pieces I analyzed above. The project, in fact, was never framed as a formal collaborative production. Yet, I include the analysis of *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro/A Cavaqueira do Poste* in this chapter because the project provides an example of artistic collaboration that is radically different from the formal, institutionally sponsored co-productions organized by Cena Lusófona and by Chão de Oliva. Unlike the other co-productions I examined

¹³³ On a screen in the background, the audience can read a projection of the content of the letter: “Para: Calvino e Tendeu com muito amor e carinho//De: Drummond Galaska [To: Calvino and Tendeu with a lot of love and care//From: Drummond Galaska].”

¹³⁴ In particular, the play reflected the armed conflicts that have taken place in Mozambique since its independence from Portugal and that continue to this day, as well as the precarious work conditions of the working class.

in this chapter, *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* was not marked by the intervention of Portuguese artists or institutions, constituting an exceptional case among collaborative projects between theater companies from Portuguese-speaking countries.¹³⁵

Moreover, although the project was born from the interaction between Dragão 7 and Lareira Artes at CTP, we don't see in this co-production the same anxiety over Lusophony or need to overcome the colonial past that was present in *A Birra do Morto*, *A Nova Aragem*, and *As Virgens Loucas*. The lack of immediate concern with Lusophony and with the legacy of Portuguese colonialism illustrates, perhaps, the interest of citizens from formerly colonized countries in establishing alliances among themselves to debate systemic inequality, instead of continuously and directly addressing their colonial history.

The creative process of *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* simultaneously illustrates and allows us to complicate Shu-mei Shih and Françoise Lionnet's concept of "minor transnationalism" (2005). Shih and Lionnet define "minor transnationalism" as an approach to transnational relations that rejects the binary model of most theories of transnationalism. The authors disagree with the vertical, hierarchical relationship between the North/dominant cultures and communities and the South/marginalized minorities established by other studies on transnationalism. "Minor transnationalism," instead, privileges the investigation of the particular, and of the perspectives and tactics of resistance engendered by marginalized and diasporic populations as they establish transnational networks and perform acts of economic resistance (Shih and Lionnet 2005: Loc 181). *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* came into being through instances of such "minor"

¹³⁵ The only other collaborative production between Portuguese-speaking countries that took place between two theater companies from former colonized Portuguese-speaking countries was *Os Velhos Não Devem Namorar* [Old People Should Not Date], a formal co-production between the Angolan theater company Elinga Teatro and the Cabo Verdean company GTCCPM. Even in this case, however, the absence of Portuguese intervention in the project is questionable, since (as explained in the previous section) GTCCPM is directed by a Portuguese expatriate with a strong hold on Mindelo's theater community.

transnational circulation of bodies and ideas between two countries of the Global South, and through friendships between people who acknowledged the Global North and its impact on their lives, but refused to perpetuate the North/South binary. Through Lusophony, members of Lareira Artes and Dragão 7 refused to accept the Global North as the center or standard against which their lives and their artistic projects should be measured.

Meeting annually with Lareira Artes at CTP (since 2011) allowed Borges to consolidate her friendship with the Mozambican company. Borges and Santana both engage with Lusophony through a modality that I defined in chapter one as Resisting Globalization. They agree that artists from Portuguese-speaking countries should take advantage of the notion of Lusophony to expand their international circulation, which, in turn, increases the prestige of their companies and paves the way to being recognized as professionals. Also, both Borges and Santana are interested in exploring the historical and cultural affinities between African Portuguese-speaking countries and Brazil.¹³⁶

I suggest that Lusophony, as a concept and as a site, is already prone to the implementation of “micropractices” of “minor transnationalism.” The ambiguous position of Portugal, a European country and former colonizing power that has a semi-peripheral position within the Global North’s economy and politics,¹³⁷ symbolically decenters the power of Europe and of the West. Brazilians and Africans from Portuguese-speaking countries can use this ambiguity to undermine the idea of the economic and political centrality of Europe and North America, and make visible the participation of the South in global politics and in the global economy. Indeed,

¹³⁶ These affinities include not only the fact that these are countries are marginalized and exploited by Western nations, but also the fact that they share worldviews and cultural expressions that migrated from the African continent to Brazil through slavery, and made their way into, among other areas, Brazilian religiosity, folklore, music, and food, all often associated with Brazilian communities of African descent.

¹³⁷ For more details see my discussion of Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism in chapter one (see pp. 30-41).

the process of adaptation and recreation of *A Cavaqueira do Poste* into *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* led to the multiplying of perspectives of the Global South and made visible the participation of the South in global politics and in the global economy, thereby illustrating the potential of Lusophony as a tool for implementing “micropractices” of “minor transnationalism.”

The process of creating *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* also made visible the heterogeneity of the South and raised questions about ethics in South-South relations, something which Shih and Lionnet do not explore in their theory of “minor transnationalism.” Although Brazil and Mozambique are part of the Global South, Brazil experiences a more stable political life than Mozambique, which still contends with armed conflicts. Also, particularly during the Lula administration, Brazil was in the spotlight as an emergent and thriving economy and as a player in international politics. Mozambique has never occupied such a status in world politics or in the world economy. From the perspective of arts policies and arts funding, as explained in chapter two, Brazilian federal, state, municipal governments, and private foundations do offer multiple funding opportunities to artists (however limited), unlike in Mozambique. For instance, even though Dragão 7 was struggling under CTP’s debts, Borges was able to leverage local contacts to tour *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* in the state of São Paulo and, possibly, make more money from its performances than Lareira Artes ever made from *A Cavaqueira do Poste*. Lareira Artes presented *A Cavaqueira do Poste* in theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries, most of which pay for travel, accommodation, and meals, but not honoraria. At best, they may pay a small stipend.

While Borges could not change history, nor fix the economic and political hierarchies that cause Brazil to occupy a higher position than Mozambique in global politics and the global economy, and that cause Mozambique’s vague neoliberal policies for arts funding, she

nevertheless bridged the inequality of opportunity between the two companies by continuing to advocate for and promote the work of Lareira Artes. In all promotional materials and public statements about *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*, Borges acknowledged that the original text was written by Sérgio Mabombo and first performed by Lareira Artes. Also, part of the income that she received from touring *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* was used to pay debts from CTP, which, in turn, allowed her to continue organizing the festival. She invited Lareira Artes to participate in CTP in 2014 and 2016, sponsoring their travel, accommodation, and board. CTP's recurring invitations and support to Lareira Artes provide the Mozambican company with opportunities to present their work that they do not have in Mozambique. In 2017, Borges will not invite Lareira Artes to participate in CTP because she feels the need to diversify the representation of Mozambican theater in her festival by showcasing other Mozambican companies. Nevertheless, in light of tragic events in Santana's life caused by the armed conflict in Mozambique, she offered to employ Santana as a staff member for CTP, and to sponsor his stay in São Paulo so that he might flee the violence in his own country.

More broadly, Dragão 7 and Lareira Artes both benefited from the cultural prestige they leveraged with their collaboration. Dragão 7 collected cultural capital from engaging with Mozambican artists.¹³⁸ In turn, Lareira Artes got the prestige and validation of having their play adapted and produced by a Brazilian company. Brazilian performing arts are a reference for artists and audiences in African Portuguese-speaking countries.

Besides constituting a South-South and minor transnational collaboration, *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* also illustrates new models of intercultural performance identified by Patrice Pavis and Royona Mitra, which contrast with the model illustrated by the other three co-productions

¹³⁸ This is appealing to cultural elites and municipalities who privilege the engagement with Brazilian African heritage.

examined in this chapter. In his article from 2010, “Intercultural Theater Today,” Pavis described new models of intercultural theater, which artists developed in response to globalization. One of these models, “[h]istorical discrepancy and rewriting,” consists of artists from country/culture A adapting a text from country/culture B by extracting and translating a common economic concern. The artists from country/culture A not only translate the text into another language and change its location to match with that of their own country, they also transform the play’s social and political relations. This move acknowledges cultural, social, and political differences between the two countries/cultures, while at the same time exposing the common economic concern shared by their citizens (Pavis 2010: 9-10). We see this dynamic in the adaptation of *A Cavaqueira do Poste* for *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro*, as Dragão 7 translated the characters’ slang from Mozambican Portuguese to Brazilian Portuguese, changed the location of the action, as well as some of the dangers that the homeless have to face in the streets of São Paulo, and rewrote the genders and personal narratives of the two main characters.

These transformations allowed Borges to better communicate her message about inequality within Brazilian society, and to highlight a particular topic: the intersectionality of gender and class among the poor. The stories of the two characters, Zonda (performed by Leticia Bortoletto) and Inhola (performed by Beth Rizzo), illustrated how being a woman in a marginalized and dysfunctional community led them to the streets. Zonda, the blind beggar, lost her eyesight and was sent to a mental institution after she witnessed both her stepfather’s continuous abuse of her sister, and also her mother’s apathy toward the abuse. Zonda was eventually thrown out into the streets and forgotten by her family. Inhola, whose arms were both amputated, was the mother of a drug dealer who got in trouble with a drug lord. To avoid her son’s death, she took the blame for her son’s actions and was punished with the amputation of both arms, and with expulsion

from her community. Zonda's and Inhola's stories illustrate their positions of disadvantage *vis a vis* two social crises in Brazil: misogynistic violence against young girls and women, and drug trafficking.¹³⁹ Borges also adapted the format of the play to suit her economic situation and to expand her audience. She turned the original performance, conceived for a proscenium stage, into a street theater performance. This format allowed her to cut the costs of the production, making the work more portable, easier to sell and tour, and more likely to reach a wider and more diverse audience.

Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro allows me to expand on a key characteristic of Royona Mitra's "new interculturalism" (2015): the mixing up of the insider/outsider binary as a way to foster self-reflection. Akram Khan's work, Mitra proposes, deliberately examines the multiple layers of being both an insider and an outsider, both as a member of a diasporic community and as an artist. Through his choreography, Mitra suggests, Khan asks audience members to reflect on their own overlapping insider and outsider identities. *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* shows us another way in which self-reflection on overlapping, insider/outsider identities becomes part of the working process of intercultural arts projects. Unlike Khan, Borges and her actresses did not consciously bring questions about multiple identities and statuses into their work process. Instead, the work process itself, because it took place in an inter- and intracultural context, brought these questions to the surface.

Adapting the play from a Mozambican to a Brazilian context increased the Brazilian director and actresses' awareness of the diversity of cultural influences and life experiences

¹³⁹ The issue of misogyny is indirectly addressed throughout the play by the intersectional nature of Zonda's and Inhola's identities; being both beggars *and* women, they are particularly vulnerable. During rehearsals, Borges often reminded her actresses that their characters were always on edge because they could be attacked not only by the police, but also by male beggars, who would see them as an easy target. More than once, Borges quoted a homeless woman whom she met on the streets while doing research for the play. This woman told Borges that she slept during the day and was awake at night to decrease the chances of being raped by homeless men.

contained within Lusophony. Borges, Bortoletto, and Rizzo confronted the differences in slang between Brazilian and Mozambican Portuguese, which reflect influences from the languages of different surrounding countries, and of indigenous and diasporic communities. The members of Dragão 7 also faced different manifestations of violence in Brazil than members of Lareira Artes in Mozambique, and translated the Mozambican armed conflicts into drug trafficking-related violence in the context of Brazil.

The creative and rehearsal processes of *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* also made the actresses acutely aware of their status as outsiders relative to the experience of disabled and economically marginalized people in Brazil. Borges grew up in Diadema, a suburb of São Paulo, and her younger half-brother was, at one point in his life, involved with gangs. Therefore, she had some insight into the reality of the characters she was rewriting in the play. Her actresses, however, did not, and they struggled to embody the effect that living on the edge without food, sanitation, shelter, or sense of safety, and without limbs or eyesight, has on the way a person perceives the world and interacts with others.

Dragão 7 took advantage of the moments in the original play in which the audience was made simultaneously an insider and an outsider to the beggars' lives, and asked spectators to think about their privilege. In between the mild chatter, the two characters confront the audience directly, as if they themselves were the middle and upper middle class individuals who use the beggars to justify their privileged existence. These scenes make the audience simultaneously insiders and outsiders to the beggars' experience. While most spectators of this performance have not experienced homelessness and begging, they can relate to those experiences metaphorically, as citizens of African and South American countries who receive loans from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and international banks – institutions that charge

high interest rates and require national governments to show economic effort through austerity measures and increases in productivity.

I would like to close my analysis of *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* with a brief examination of Drummond Galaska. The rich man who Calvino/Zonda insist will rescue the beggars from their misery is central to the action of the play, but he never appears on stage. Not literally a ghost, Galaska is a looming figure whom we only see materializing in the envelope that Calvino finds at the end of the play. With the money in the envelope, Galaska seems to fulfill his promise, but he does so too late because the only person who can see it, Tendeu/Ihnola, is already gone.

What to make of this character and its ghostly presence in the play? In line with the Deadman, the ghost of Vovô Lusitano, and the ghostly environment of *As Virgens Loucas*, I suggest that here, too, Drummond Galaska incarnates neocolonialism. Galaska constitutes a comment on paternalist narratives that envelop economic investments and aid agreements proposed by North American and European states and private organizations to African and South American countries, in which the former promise to help the latter, when in fact their help is mostly self-serving and/or is not delivered in a way that benefits underserved populations. Given its thoughtful creative and collaborative processes and its poignant comments on neocolonialism, *Que Deus lhe Dê em Dobro* illustrates how long-term relationships between artists, and creative processes based on the migration and recontextualization of ideas, can help them cope with the politics of production at work within the institutions that fund their projects, and with racialization in the division of labor.

Throughout this chapter, I explored collaborative productions between artists from Portuguese-speaking countries. The creative and rehearsal processes, as well as the presentation

of these collaborative projects, brought discussions about national identity, race, colonialism, and post-colonialism to the stage of Estação, Mindelact, and Circuito de Teatro em Português, discussions that artists also have offstage. These co-productions fuel additional, possibly transformative conversations, which take place as post-show discussions with audiences and as informal conversations beyond the scope of the festivals, feeding into what Christina McMahon terms “festival aftermath.” McMahon defines uses this concept to theorize what remains from a festival: gossip, informal and yet heated discussions, news pieces, and blog entries, proposing that the conversations that continue after the festival is over produce new ideas about national identity, race, gender, and transnational community (2015: 7, 22-26). In the conclusion of this chapter, I will rehearse an answer to the question looming in the conversations about ethics and representation raised and revisited in the aftermath of Lusophone theater festivals: what would self-reflexivity look like in the context of theater festivals that deal with transnational and intercultural relations rooted in a colonial past?

Conclusion

Organizers of artist-led festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries already apply some methods to increase self-reflection and cultural competency in their projects. One of these strategies is clear and frequent communication¹⁴⁰ in which festival organizers explain the how and why of their selection process, including the funding constraints that underlie the selection process. This kind of communication disrupts the stereotype that some artists might hold of the festival’s artistic director, namely that s/he has absolute control over deciding who participates in

¹⁴⁰ Festival organizers and artists use, besides e-mail, Facebook messenger and the applications Whatsapp and Skype.

the Lusophone theater circuit. Frequent communication about the challenges facing festivals helps organizers show artists that they have to consider many factors when deciding whom to invite to their festivals, and that their choices are not simply based on taste or friendship. The direct communication between artists and festival organizers encourages a closer connection, perhaps opening a door for artists and organizers to challenge one another's understanding of the obstacles that each faces in their respective crafts.

Communication between artists and festival organizers, via e-mail or social media, and through repeated encounters in the Lusophone theater festival circuit, allows artistic directors to establish a pool of contacts. Directors use these contacts to find artists whose work might bring new insights regarding the worldviews of citizens from various Portuguese-speaking countries. This method of collaborative curation allows festival organizers to overcome the fact that they do not have funding to travel to other countries to watch shows and meet with artists. More importantly, collaborative curation decentralizes the authority of the artistic director or curatorial board of the festival, disrupting the vertical hierarchy in which the artist is at the mercy of the taste and preconceived ideas that the festival director might have about theater. Collaborative curation, which I have seen applied at CTP and at Mindelact, acknowledges that artists from a given country will have a better understanding of their own national performing arts terrain than the directors of Lusophone theater festivals, and thus can help diversify the voices that are brought to the stage. Another form of collaborative curation consists of creating a curatorial board for the festival. Circuito de Teatro em Português has established a curatorial board in order to diversify views about theater and identity in Portuguese-speaking countries.

Another method to increase self-reflexivity in the curation of theater festivals is to organize panels, round tables, and meetings during the festivals. This practice has been an

important component of the three theater festivals that I examine in my project. In these gatherings, festival organizers and artists come together to discuss potential festival improvements, and to share their views and experiences of theater exchange projects. Artists also debate mobilization strategies to pressure national governments to support the transnational circulation of artists within Lusophony, not only through grant funding but also through legislation that lessens the cost and eases the bureaucracy of visa applications and transportation of sets. Recognizing how slow and inefficient national governments can be when making decisions about the arts, artists attending panels and round tables on Lusophone theater exchanges discuss how to self-organize, and how to make the transnational circulation of artists possible for other companies as well.

The last time I witnessed a discussion about these matters, I was participating in a panel about theater exchanges among Portuguese-speaking countries at CTP in August 2016. There, audience members (mostly artists participating in CTP) and panelists presented more suggestions to increase the inclusion, transparency, and self-reflexivity of festivals. Borges proposed the creation of a database with the contacts of all festivals that focus on theater from Portuguese-speaking countries. This database would be available on CTP's website and would allow artists and festival organizers free access in order to establish partnerships and network. Júlio Aponto Té, the coordinator of the dance group Netos de Bandim, from Guiné-Bissau, proposed the creation of a council that would include a member from each country, in order to ensure the representation of African Portuguese-speaking countries in curatorial decisions regarding festivals.¹⁴¹ As a member of the panel, I suggested two practices that, if applied in conjunction

¹⁴¹ I should say that Cena Lusófona tried to implement something like this, but it turned out to be unfeasible to bring together people from all countries in one place for discussion. Today, with videoconference technologies, this problem could be mitigated. However, in many African Portuguese-speaking countries, internet access is not as widespread as it is in Portugal or Brazil. Also, the choice of "who" would be the representative for each country, and

with collaborative curation, might mitigate problems of representation and increase self-reflexivity. First, festival organizers should acknowledge more explicitly their curatorial privilege of selecting artists, and therefore of becoming gatekeepers of who circulates within the Lusophone theater festival circuit. Artists who present their work at festivals, in turn, have to do some preparation on their end as well, educating themselves not only about the festival itself, but also about the conditions of local arts production, the dynamics of the local theater scene, and the regulations of local arts funding.

Adílson Spínola, director of the new Cabo Verdean theater company Cia. CriArTeatro, suggested an approach that he takes with his own theater company when they are about to start working on a new project. Spínola suggested that, more than talking about obstacles that festivals face, festival organizers and artists have to come together to think about *how* to solve problems. Spínola summarized this attitude with the phrase, “solving the problem without thinking about the problem.” I took this to mean that festival organizers should think of their projects as meeting points of divergent perspectives about theater and about the history of Portuguese-speaking countries. The success of their projects, in this view, would depend on the willingness of organizers and participants to negotiate divergent perspectives without getting caught up in concerns about obstacles, or in assumptions of judgments being made by other people involved in the project because they look or act differently.

Finally, I would like to offer one last suggestion, based on my experience as a festival ethnographer and, since 2014, as a member of CTP’s curatorial team. Academics do not have to sit on the sidelines of theater exchange projects as observers, collecting data for articles or books

the question of how that representative would be chosen, would be additional obstacles to the creation of this council.

that the theater communities they research will not read.¹⁴² Academics can play roles of mediators and collaborators in theater productions and festivals, extending the work of public scholars who already explore the applicability of theories from theater, dance, and performance studies to artistic practices and everyday life in blogs, public talks, workshops, and podcasts. Using their privilege of circulation when conducting research, academics can synthesize and provide artists with information about contexts of production and *modus operandi* of festivals and artists in different countries and regions. Also, during their research, scholars can have meaningful conversations with artists and festival organizers about the various layers of labor that artistic creation, festival organization, and academic research entail. Being embedded in two worlds – those of artistic creation and scholarship – places academics in an unique position to provide fresh perspectives that can help festival organizers imagine new ways of framing the curatorial narratives of their festivals, or that can help artists find new avenues to circulate their work. Academics can even go beyond observing, synthesizing, and translating, and support the artists and the organizations that they study as grant writers and research assistants. This potentially mitigates the tension that builds up between artists and festival organizers as a result of overworking. Putting their skills at the service of artists and festival organizers will also benefit scholars, because it provides them with a microscopic perspective on the work of festivals and theater companies. Through these collaborations, academics can better inform both their own research and their practical work as mediators.

¹⁴² In the case of artists working in theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries, for instance, it is unlikely that artists will read work produced by scholars for three main reasons. First, they do not have time. Second, unless the author sends the pieces directly to the artists, it is unlikely that they will have access to free or affordable copies of the work. And, third, often artists won't have the language proficiency to read an academic work in any language other than Portuguese.

Conclusion

At the end of December 2016, I met with Kirsten Wilson, artistic director of Motus Theater in Boulder, Colorado, to talk about a possible collaboration between the theater company and me. I had attended a couple of Motus Theater's performances during my visits to Boulder in the previous year. One of the shows, *Rocks Karma Arrows*, is a history-based project¹⁴³ that mobilizes live performance, image projections on a large-scale screen, music, and movement to disentangle the colonial and racially charged history of Boulder. I watched the film version of this performance.¹⁴⁴ The first film explores the story of Arapahoe Chief Niwot and his interactions with the first waves of settlers. The performance narrates the contrast between Niwot's attempts to establish a peaceful coexistence with the settlers and the settlers' focus on occupying indigenous territory and eliminating the local Native American peoples. One of the strongest, more dramatic moments of *Rocks Karma Arrows* Part One is the staging of the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre, in which the Colorado Territory militias killed more than 200 Native Americans, including Chief Niwot.

Rocks Karma Arrows Part Two focuses on systemic racism and xenophobia in Boulder between 1864 and 1944 – a history which has been concealed under a narrative that depicts the town as a thriving entrepreneurial, innovative quality-of-life hub. The performance explores the continuous discrimination against immigrants in Boulder County. Some of the episodes addressed in the piece include the Klu Klux Klan's demarche to spread fear about Catholic immigrants and the use of racialization to create ruptures among the European, Latin American,

¹⁴³ Kirsten Wilson devised the performance based on archival research and interviews that she conducted with scholars and community leaders.

¹⁴⁴ *Rocks Karma Arrows* was split into a three-film series. I watched parts 1 and 2. Part 3 is a documentary about the performance.

and Asian immigrant mine workers and weaken their power to bargain for better working conditions. The performance also examines the Boulder's participation in the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Part Two tries to make the case that Boulder's history of racism and xenophobia extends its founder's attempt to keep the town as exclusive as possible. For instance, when Boulder was founded, lots were sold at \$1,000 and there were very strict regulations for construction, whereas in Denver, lots were free. Today, those who move to Boulder also face an unaffordable real estate market, and immigrants, refugees, and US-born people of color continue to experience discrimination and microaggressions based on their race and ethnicity.¹⁴⁵

The first time I met with Wilson, we talked at length about my dissertation project, and how my study on the entanglements of arts production, arts policy, and the processes of production of memory and identity through the erasure of colonial history aligned with projects like *Rocks Karma Arrows*. My conversation with Wilson addressed how the history explored in the first Motus Theater production extends to the present day in Boulder, and how the wealthy white population works hard to forget the classist and racist history of their town, as well as to dismiss its current manifestations.

Between my first and second meeting with Wilson, I attended a second Motus Theater production, *SALSA Lotería*. This theater piece, which speaks to Motus Theater's commitment to addressing issues of immigration, consists of six monologues written and performed by documented and undocumented Latina immigrants from Boulder County. In the autobiographical monologues, which Wilson wove into a dramatic structure, the women tell stories about how they make meaningful contributions to their local community, and about how

¹⁴⁵ Indeed, Kirsten Wilson created *Rocks Karma Arrows*, in part, in response to a series of hate crimes perpetrated in Boulder between 2005 and 2006.

they deal with separation from their families, deportation of their loved ones, and racialized stereotypes about Latinos. When I met Wilson for the second time, we recalled several of the *SALSA* monologues as we discussed differences and similarities in the histories of colonialism and racialization in the US and Brazil.

Also during our second meeting, Wilson surprised me with a full-time job offer. Knowing about my academic research and about my previous experience as an arts administrator and curator, she invited me to serve as the Producing Director of Motus Theater. For her, the fact that my research and professional experience had occurred mostly outside of the US was not an obstacle, but an asset. My research on colonial memory and postcolonial identity, and my experience working in Portuguese-speaking countries, she said, equipped me with a fresh perspective on identity politics, processes of remembering and forgetting, and the participation of policy in the development of identities and collective memories. The issue of intersectionality raised by Lusophony, from her perspective, also offered a new entry point for understanding the nuances of privilege in the US. My conversations with Wilson show that research on performance, memory, and postcolonial identity in Portuguese-speaking countries speaks to histories and social dynamics that go beyond the geographical scope of my project. In this conclusion, I signal how my analysis of the production of memory and of identity narratives through theater projects, the perpetuation of colonial structures of power in policy, and the challenge of coalition building experienced by festival organizers and participants from Portuguese-speaking countries can propose new understandings and responses to the present political and social moment in the US and abroad.

In this dissertation, I have proposed that festivals focused on theater from Portuguese-speaking countries provide a window into how artists from these countries fashion their identities

and their theater works *vis-à-vis* a fracturing colonial past that many still remember, and a postcolonial present that offers very little reassurance for the political, economic, and artistic lives of citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries. I have defined and theorized how artists from African Portuguese-speaking countries, Brazil, and Portugal use tactical engagements with the colonial history that binds Portuguese-speaking countries, and with the concept of Lusophony, to reframe the histories of their home countries and the responsibilities that, as citizens from those countries, they inherited from a shared colonial past. Artists negotiate questions about what aspects of Portuguese-speaking countries' histories should be forgotten or remembered, posing such questions as: *What are the benefits of remembering colonialism or the transnational alliances that made the independence of African Portuguese-speaking countries possible? Should citizens from Portuguese-speaking countries forget the conflicts of colonization and decolonization and instead address more pressing problems such as the lack of a structured performing arts circuit that can serve as an alternative to the English-centric international performing arts market, or neutralize the danger of homogenization under Americanized globalization?* These ponderings reveal the critical importance of the memory-history-identity nexus in the effort to fully comprehend the current political moment and take deliberate action.

Throughout the US and Europe,¹⁴⁶ nativist claims, white supremacy, and fake news harass us into consenting to a rewriting of history where white men (and women) depict themselves as victims of globalization, and of their countries' generosity and openness toward immigrants and refugees. Particularly in the US, both citizen groups and the current administration also depict citizens (specifically White Americans) as being taken advantage of by historically marginalized

¹⁴⁶ Although the examples that I will call upon in this conclusion will refer mostly to the US and Europe, I am aware that right-wing populist, nationalist and/or authoritarian forms of government are also rising in Latin America (Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador) and in Asia (Rodrigo Duterte's government in the Philippines, Narendra Modi's in India, and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's in Turkey).

groups who are, in fact, just demanding the same rights that white people already have, or by people fleeing wars and inequitable economic systems. This is a time to think about the colonial and imperial histories of the US and of European countries, and to reflect on the implications of the stories we have been telling ourselves about our own countries, and about the histories that we have tried to forget. In the US, we can ask ourselves: *What stories are we telling ourselves to replace the genocide and displacement of Native American peoples, slavery, and, after abolition, the continuous racialization, disenfranchisement, and criminalization of African Americans, Latinos, and immigrants; similarly, what stories replace our legacy of interventionist wars in Africa and the Middle East, which created the refugee crisis that the current administration refuses to properly address?* In Europe, we might want to consider questions such as: *What stories are we telling ourselves to forget fascism, World War II, and the racial and ethnic tensions on a continent that does not know how to deal with its colonial past, nor with racism and xenophobia – not only toward people from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but also toward citizens from Southern and Eastern European countries? Lastly, what happens in both the US and European countries when narratives about previous governments putting the interests of foreigners and people of color above the interests of (white) nationals is taken on by a country's administration or by a presidential candidate as a strategy of power, fostering divisiveness rather than encouraging people to demand transversal social and economic equity?*

This is the time to pay attention to right-wing authoritarian, populist, and/or white supremacist modalities emerging all over the world. We live in a moment when we do need to create new performed articulations of identity and history that allow us to counteract the loss of rights and freedoms and the closing of borders. Looking back at the tactical engagements with Portuguese colonialism and Lusophony that I theorized in this project (Turning to Africa,

Nuancing Portuguese Colonialism, and Resisting Globalization), questions arise that remain unanswered: *How long can these tactical performances of memory and identity hold? How will the populist and nationalist policies that are being currently proposed transform the global circulation of people, and of transnational artists in particular?*

In this project, I have also explored the entanglements of policy with arts funding and with the organization of theater festivals in Portuguese-speaking countries. I examined how the articulations of colonial memories and postcolonial identities put forward by the organizers of Estação da Cena Lusófona, Mindelact, and Circuito de Teatro em Português, as well as the programming of these festivals, are influenced by the organizers' need to comply with (or find alternatives for) national and supranational cultural policies and the institutional inequalities and colonial hierarchies that they uphold. This examination of how policy that perpetuates systemic oppression and racialization connected to colonialism impacts our daily lives can and should be applied to the present moment as well. As the Motus Theater production *Rocks Karma Arrows* demonstrates in the case of Boulder, the US was founded on colonial hierarchies that protected the interests of a wealthy, white, Christian elite – a trend that has been maintained to the present day. Indeed, as I write this conclusion in the aftermath of the election of President Trump, GOP leaders and Republican states in the US rush to pass policies that exclude large sections of the population (the working class, particularly people of color and women) from recently acquired rights such as health care and family planning, upholding instead the supremacy of the wealthy, male, white-dominated class. Also looming is Donald Trump's administration's promise to extinguish the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, which will compromise the artistic and academic projects that help us to think critically about history, cultural production, and identity. In the US as well as in Europe,

governments are taking action or considering legislation that closes their borders to refugees and immigrants from Muslim countries. In the US, President Trump just signed a revised executive order that expands the possibility of deportation of undocumented immigrants, despite the fact that these individuals are valuable members of our communities. This is the moment to think, both in the US and abroad: *What is the historic precedent for these policies? Whom do they serve? And how can we collaborate to collectively devise tactics to work around and against these policies and their impact?*

Attention to issues of collaboration, particularly to the complexity of artistic collaborative practices in co-productions commissioned by and/or presented at Estação da Cena Lusófona, Mindelact, and CTP culminated this project. I examined how both selective memory about the colonial past, performed into tactical postcolonial identities, and also funding policies influenced the creative processes and outcomes of the co-productions. In the co-productions, which brought together one theater company or director from Portugal or Brazil with one theater company from an African Portuguese-speaking country, artists repeatedly interrogated the ethics of their collaborative practices. Artists chose to acknowledge or ignore the danger of reproducing colonial dynamics of power in their collaborations, depending on pressures exerted by granting agencies to present results and/or on their self-positioning within colonial history and postcolonial relations between Portuguese-speaking countries. The co-productions raised broader questions about the ethics and politics of representation within festivals: *How can festivals account for the diversity of identities, perspectives on Lusophony, and artistic approaches contained in Portuguese-speaking countries? And how can festival organizers demonstrate self-reflexivity in their selection practices?* The attention of artists and festival organizers to collaboration and representation, and their motivation to work on self-reflexivity, should inspire

us as artists, academics, and citizens to ask ourselves similar questions and to come together against the divisiveness that is pressed upon us by rising nationalist, populist, and authoritarian voices around the world. Some of these questions might include: *Who should we ally ourselves with? How, specifically, can this allegiance express itself? How should we account for the perspectives, identities, and needs of our communities, no matter how divergent they might be? How do we broaden our circles of engagement and discussion, perhaps even to include perspectives that are contrary to ours, without losing track of our values or of our work, but also without imposing our views upon others?*

At Motus Theater, where I now work as a part-time deputy director,¹⁴⁷ Kirsten Wilson insists that this is a moment to be “skillful” and deliberate about how we mobilize our energy to produce work that holds space for challenging conversations about immigration, and to create coalitions that allow us to “move conversations forward” (Wilson & Valente 2017: 1). Artists in Portuguese-speaking countries have been dealing with the politics of alliances and the building of skillful collaborations for the past 25 years. Looking at their failures and successes is certainly a lesson on resilience, experimentation, and remembering – lessons we can all use right now.

¹⁴⁷ I will come on full-time as Producing Director in July.

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