



**Universidade de
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Departamento de Línguas e Culturas

**Pery Machado Filho A Representação do Povo no
Cinema Português dos Anos
60/The Representation of the
People in the Portuguese Cinema
of the 1960s**



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**Pery
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dissertação apresentada à Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Línguas, Literaturas e Culturas, realizada sob a orientação científica da Dr. Maria Manuel Baptista, Professora Auxiliar com Agregação do Departamento de Línguas e Culturas da Universidade de Aveiro, e do Dr. Daniel Ribas de Almeida, Professor Adjunto de Ensino no Instituto Politécnico de Bragança.

Dedico esse trabalho à minha família pelo seu incansável apoio

I dedicate this work to my family for their undying support.

O juri

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palavras-chave

Estado Novo; Novo Cinema; representação cultural; o povo; ideologia; cinema português.

resumo

Na luta ideológica entre a ditadura e as forças revolucionárias, o cinema português tornou-se em um dos seus principais campos de batalha. Após décadas de rigorosa censura, o cinema português estava estagnado e condenado a repetir o mesmo estilo de filme. No início dos anos 60, jovens e ambiciosos cineastas procuraram transformar o cinema português e apresentar um olhar franco à sua sociedade, imbuindo as suas narrativas com mensagens politicamente carregadas contra o estado em que o país se encontrava. A resposta do regime foi de continuar produzindo os mesmos filmes, enquanto os realizadores do Novo Cinema, encorajados pela sua nova linguagem cinematográfica, se esforçaram para serem ainda mais políticos, usando o “povo” e sua representação como uma arma contra o Estado Novo.

keywords

Estado Novo; Novo Cinema; cultural representation; the people; ideology; Portuguese cinema.

abstract

In the ideological battle between dictatorship and forces of change, the Portuguese cinema became one of its main battlegrounds. Through decades of strict censorship, the Portuguese cinema had become stagnant, doomed to repeat the same sorts of films. In the early 1960s, young and ambitious filmmakers sought to change the Portuguese cinema and present a frank look at their society, imbuing their narratives with politically-charged messages against the state the country faced itself. The regime's answer was to keep producing the same films as it always had, while the filmmakers of the *Novo Cinema*, emboldened with their new cinematic language, strove to become even more political, using the 'people' and their representation as the weapon against the *Estado Novo*.

They are afraid of words and thoughts; words spoken abroad, thoughts stirring at home — all the more powerful because forbidden — terrify them. A little mouse of thought appears in the room, and even the mightiest potentates are thrown into panic. They make frantic efforts to bar our thoughts and words; they are afraid of the workings of the human mind.

Winston Churchill

Teach your children to work, teach your daughters modesty, teach all the virtue of economy. And if not make them saints, at least make them Christians.

António de Oliveira Salazar

Portugal was born in the shadow of the Catholic Church and religion, from the beginning it was the formative element of the soul of the nation and the dominant trait of character of the Portuguese people.

António de Oliveira Salazar

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Introduction

This work looks to explore the different ways the ‘people’ were represented in the Portuguese cinema of the 1960s. In particular, we are focusing on how they were presented cinematically (through the use of costumes, speech, actions, etc.) and symbolically (through the same criteria but focusing on their political and cultural implications as well as their overt and covert meanings). We consider eight films released in the late 1950s and 1960s that best illustrate and encapsulate the different ways the Portuguese ‘people’ are presented and represented, using four that promote the political values of the dictatorial *Estado Novo* regime and four that belong to the cinematic movement that sought to present their own politically-charged depictions of the Portuguese ‘people’, the *Novo Cinema*.

While there have been other films released during the same time-period that present good examples of the topics this work investigates, we feel that the following eight films best encapsulate the majority of the topics we are interested in pursuing, both from the *Novo Cinema* and the *Estado Novo*. For the films supporting the *Estado Novo*, we chose *A Costureirinha da Sé* (Manuel Guimarães, 1959)¹, *O Passarinho da Ribeira* (Augusto Fraga, 1960), *O Miúdo da Bica* (Constantino Esteves, 1963), and *A Canção da Saudade* (Henrique Campos, 1964). The films of the *Novo Cinema* we have chosen are *Dom Roberto* (José Ernesto de Souza, 1962), *Os Verdes Anos* (Paulo Rocha, 1963), *Belarmino* (Fernando Lopes, 1964), and *Mudar de Vida* (Paulo Rocha, 1966).

Of the dozens of films from the 1960s available for study, these eight were chosen because they fit into the following different criteria: the different ideological significance; the valid artistic qualities; the deep cultural and historical value. In our opinion, they highlight the most significant aspects of the themes this work will investigate. There are instances when a film does not present a particularly strong stance towards a particular subject as another film may (for instance, *A Costureirinha da Sé* does not deal with foreigners as intensely as *O Passarinho da Ribeira*) but it does not detract from their overall significance for this investigation. It would be an error to suggest that every film deals with every major topic being investigated but in comparison to other films that may have a stronger stance

¹ While some sources list films from a different date, particularly the year of production, we have based our dates on the year of general release—in this case, 27 February, 1959 (http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0052705/?ref=rv_i_tt, viewed 10/10/2016).

towards a particular theme, their overall significance is stronger and therefore worthy of further investigation.

The importance of this work is due to the nature of representations and their political ideologies presented through the people. In the current political state of Europe, more homogenized than ever before, we see a multi-cultural continent united under an umbrella government while, at the same time, member states strive to maintain their national identities. The Salazarist regime strove to maintain and expand upon the national identity—that is, white, Catholic, nationalist—particularly through the cinema as one of its main tools. In many present-day western countries, there has been a rising trend among far-right political parties to instil such a doctrine to its respective countries and its peoples. France’s Marine Le Pen said in an interview with CNN “I am opposed to a multicultural France, I think that who a different culture and who arrive in France have to submit themselves to French culture.”² This nationalistic sentiment seems to be growing among western democracies, drawing comparisons with fascist regimes of the 1930s and 1940s and their hard-line nature. The presentation and representation of the people in the Portuguese cinema of the 1960s, in our opinion, serves to show how cultural assimilation and political ideology was impregnated throughout the society’s day-to-day life covertly. Unlike the cinema of Nazi Germany, we will show that the Portuguese cinema relied on subtlety rather than overtness. The investigation of this work, therefore, serves two purposes: firstly, as a historical record of how the Portuguese people were represented in the Portuguese cinema of the 1960s, and secondly, to highlight their ideological functions and framings in order to understand how ideology can be presented subtly.

The structure of this work will be as follows: we will begin with an overview of the historical and political situation in Portugal with the establishment of the *Estado Novo*, focusing on its political and moral values and how they attempted to control the cinema. We will then discuss how the manipulation of films can present a particular ideology and how the *Estado Novo* was able to establish certain filmic conventions that allowed itself to repeatedly emphasize its political values and messages.

This will be followed by our definition of the ‘people’, what constitutes a main character from a supporting character and why we have decided to focus on them rather than the individual protagonists.

² <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/15/politics/marine-le-pen-interview-donald-trump/> (viewed 28/11/2016)

We will then briefly examine how the *Novo Cinema* emerged and its roots in Italian and French post-war cinema inspired the young filmmakers with a more ambitious and more political stance. This will be followed with an analysis of the literature regarding the Portuguese cinema, and in particular the *Novo Cinema*.

After these establishing sections, we will conduct a deeper analysis of the films chosen for this work based on certain topics that are most pressing to the idea of representation, comparing and contrasting them, concluding with a discussion of the significance of the political and cultural messages found in the films centred on those topics, both explicit and implicit. While there are many different themes that can be examined, for this work we have chosen to focus on a particular few that we believe are critical to analyse in the context of cultural studies:

The first topic we shall be analysing is religion, sexuality and the family. As the *Estado Novo* proclaimed itself to be a Catholic country with a certain mission to spread Christianity throughout its history, the way religion and religious doctrines are treated in the cinema of the *Estado Novo* and the *Novo Cinema* is an important aspect to investigate, as it was one of the most important cultural identities of the regime.

The second topic to be investigated is work and wealth. We will be looking at the types of jobs the people depicted are engaged in. This ranges from the type of job to the gender division of work, from using traditional methods to modern equipment, and the ideological and political implications of these depictions towards the *Estado Novo*.

We will then look at social and economic advancement. Following from the previous topic, we will examine whether characters are able to rise within their social and economic positions, whether hard work allows them to succeed or are kept in their own class.

The fourth topic we shall be analysing is the depiction of the Portuguese and foreigners. We shall be looking at how the Portuguese characters are presented in contrast to foreigners, whether they are depicted as embodiments of the values of the *Estado Novo* or if in fact the foreigner is nobler than the Portuguese. The “foreigner” is not limited to just non-Portuguese characters, as we shall also be looking at Portuguese people from different regions, namely between those in the cities and those from the countryside.

The final topic we shall be examining in this work is that of modernity versus traditionalism. This section will discuss the differences in attitudes and actions of the

characters to particular values deemed traditional or modern. We shall also examine whether the modern or the traditional is presented as ideas or whether they are materialised and how such objects are used to further the political messages of both the *Estado Novo* and the *Novo Cinema*.

We will then present our conclusions on these topics and our impressions of the political and ideological messages presented in the films and how they were able to achieve them.

1. Foundations and context

1.1. The Portuguese Case

This work will consider the different representations of the people and their ideological functions within the Portuguese cinema of the 1960s. The selection of this time period is due to a variety of factors, the chief of which was the political situation within Portugal at the time. To understand what the films we will be analysing offer in terms of representation and ideological functions, we must first understand the social and political conditions of the time.

Portugal had transitioned dramatically from an unstable democratic government in the First Republic to a military dictatorship, first with a *coup d'état* on the 28th of May 1926 and culminating with the establishment of the *Estado Novo* in 1933 with António de Oliveira Salazar as its Prime Minister.

The *Estado Novo's* policies were right-wing and conservative in nature, with strong opposition to communism, liberalism and anti-colonialism (among many others). Its foundation was based upon the idea of political and economic stability, something that had been lacking under the First Republic. It was achieved through an integralist approach (Nogueira, 1981), whereupon it differed from the leading fascist regimes of the time (namely Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy) in that it lacked an aggressively expansionist policy, lacked a fanatical "pagan Caesarean" (Medina, 1978, p.88) leader, a less ostentatious use of state forces and the lack of a dogmatic political party (Medina, 1978). What the *Estado Novo* sought to achieve was the control of economic modernization to defend the religious and rural values of the country, something that Salazar believed to be under threat from, namely, communism. As Salazar declared himself, before the outbreak of the Second World War:

"We are opposed to all forms of Internationalism, Communism, Socialism, Syndicalism and everything that may divide or minimize, or break up the family. We are against class warfare, irreligion and disloyalty to one's country; against serfdom, a materialistic conception of life, and might over right". (in Kay, 1970, p.68)

Part of the *Estado Novo*'s attempt at controlling what it perceived to be the threat of socialism and irreligion was to implement a nationalistic sense of belief in the country with an emphasis on its importance in world history and create a strong sense of national identity. One need only look at the *Estado Novo*'s motto to understand its stance: *Deus, Pátria e Família* (God, Fatherland, and Family).

The *Estado Novo* soon realized that one of its greatest tools to present its ideological messages and policies was through the cinema. Though Salazar was known to have low opinions of the cinema—he was once quoted asking António Ferro, the director of the Secretariat of National Propaganda (*Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional*, SPN) to not push him to see these sorts of distractions (Piçarra, 2006)—António Ferro was keenly aware of the potential power the cinema could lend the regime (Torgal, 2009).

The establishment of the SPN in 1933 served to enforce and divulge the nationalistic policies of the Second Republic through the standardization of the arts and culture, such as literature, the fine arts and, most importantly for this work, the cinema. The SPN was reformed and rebranded as the National Secretariat of Information, Popular Culture and Tourism (*Secretariado Nacional da Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo*, SNI) in 1944 and once again in 1968 as the State Secretariat of Information and Tourism (*Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo*, SEIT), and though the names became less political in nature through each transformation, its purpose remained the same: to politically educate and align the Portuguese people to the policies of the *Estado Novo* (Vieira, 2011).

The SPN/SNI was mostly responsible for the production of documentaries, ranging in topics from public and military parades, political news, sporting events and several other cultural events. The SPN/SNI was also responsible for the funding of fictional films produced through private film companies, something Ferro, a passionate follower of the “7th Art” (as the cinema is also known in Portugal), believed could serve the nationalist propaganda of the *Estado Novo*. He believed that the Portuguese cinema had two purposes: an educational mission within the country (morally and aesthetically) and an external mission to show the outside world the Portuguese day-to-day life, their character and the degree of the Portuguese civilization (Ferro, 1950).

The main way in which the *Estado Novo* was able to enforce its ideology cinematographically on the Portuguese population was mainly through legislature. In 1927, still under the *Ditadura Nacional*, Decree No. 13564 was passed that ensured that with each

cinematic exhibition there had to be a Portuguese film of at least a hundred metres in length that served to cover a variety of topics such as sports, culture and the news (the decree became known as that “Law of 100 metres” because of the required length). Five years later, in 1933, another law was passed, Law-Decree No. 22966, that obliged Portuguese film distributors to screen a fixed number of films produced in national studios in accordance with the quantity annually set by the government. The same law exempted taxes for the recently-created Tobis Portuguesa, a government-funded film company and one of the most prolific at the time (Vieira, 2011).

State interference in the Portuguese cinema culminated with Law 2027 (known as the Protection of the National Cinema Law, *Lei de Protecção do Cinema Nacional*) of 1948. Among other things, it created the SNI-administered “Cinema Fund”, whose objectives included the protection, coordination and stimulation of the national cinema, “taking into account its social and educational function, as well as its artistic and cultural aspects” (Ferro, 1950, p131). This is an important event because of the consequences it caused, not only in terms of the content of the subsequent films, but also in terms of the number of films produced following the implementation of this law. It implicitly affirmed that, in order for a film company to receive government funding for a cinematic project, it would need to follow certain guidelines in terms of what it ideologically presented first and how it was presented artistically playing the subservient role.

Ferro was aware of the cinema’s importance in presenting a political or ideological messages (encompassing values, attitudes, traditions, and concepts) through the filmic style:

“The Americans wonderfully understand this penetrating force of the cinema and it was through it that they were able to realise their great world revolution...(I)t is that the cinema of the United States managed, in fact, such power and technique, such perfection, such a fluent language of sounds and images that it would (have been able to) reflect our own lives” (Ferro, 1950, pp.44-45).

The acknowledgement of the American studio system and its own “language” persuaded Ferro that a reflection of “our own lives” could be achieved within Portugal, and

that the Portuguese film industry would not only be able to reproduce such sentiments, but was also one that should be enabled to do so (Torgal, 2009).

The law did not produce the desired effect. Rather than increasing the output of films produced within state-funded companies, the number of films actually decreased from the second half of the 1940s until it reached a shockingly static position in 1955, when not a single film was made in Portugal (Vieira, 2011). The reasons attributed to this are varied: Manuel de Azevedo claimed that, among other things, funding was given to directors with little evidence of any artistic capability as a director and that production costs were too high (Azevedo, 1951).

Another, more telling, reason for the decrease in production was the fact that many films produced at the time began to bear the same themes and story structures made through the same conventions. This came as a result of two differing reasons: commercial viability and ideological functions.

Commercial viability is the mainstay of all film companies, including those of today. In order for a film company to continuously release a product, it must have a certain commercial appeal to an audience, whether it be with a character or a story. Once this appeal is found, film companies then begin to notice certain conventions, namely “audience identification and rooting interest” (Kawin, 1987, p.63) within the initial successful product and re-use them, leading to the formulaic film. While there is no formula to guarantee financial or commercial success, one sees an established convention within works ranging from *The Odyssey* to *Harry Potter*, namely: one or more major characters involved in some sort of dramatized conflict that builds tension until it is resolved in a climax, with the resolution of the climax being clarified or easily understood (Kawin, 1987).

These conventions, established in the early years of cinema and grounded through the classic Hollywood system, usually go unnoticed by the viewer (Bordwell, 1985) who “speaks” or understands the cinematic language. As some information is withheld from the audience (such as the identity of the criminal in a crime film, or instead a reliance on an actor’s facial expression rather than their speech) the audience perform a series of “cognitive activities” (Bordwell, 1985, p37) through the cues and conventions so far presented in the narrative and their own personal and transtextual experiences. These activities include assumptions, inferences and hypothesizing. Whatever information is presented to the audience, their intellectual stimulation subconsciously forces them to make sense of the

information and interpret it according to their ideological framework: “Film form guides the audience’s activity...in the absence of cues, we cannot develop and complete the patterns (of understanding)” (Bordwell & Thompson, 2003, p50).

Once a successful formula has been found, production companies then rehash the same plot conventions, characters and iconography repeatedly in the hopes of reproducing the same box-office success the initial film produced (the premise is repeated in films of varying genres, such as action films, comedies, horror, romantic comedies, etc. One need only view films labelled as the ‘feel-good film of the year’ to see that the plot and storyline features the same conventions as other ‘feel-good’ films or the current trend in the Marvel superhero films). This is seen in the Portuguese case with *A Canção de Lisboa* (José Cottinelli Telmo, 1933), one of the first films to have major success in Portugal and led to a series of films in the same light-hearted manner that has been called the *comédia à portuguesa* (Comedy in the Portuguese style) (Torgal, 2011).

A Canção de Lisboa is an important film because of the storytelling and ideological conventions it established. Its main character, Vasco (played by Vasco Santana), is a carefree bohemian who idly spends his time drinking, chasing women and singing *fado* rather than studying to become a doctor. The woman he eventually marries Alice (Beatriz Costa) who, though fiercely opinionated, is portrayed as a domesticated creature living in the same household as her father (António Silva) and subservient to his will. When Vasco is presented with a problem (in his case, he lied to his wealthy aunts about his studies) he must use his natural wits and charm to overcome his troubles. Even though his wit did not help him, he spends part of the film wandering in search of his true calling and discovers the passion of *fado*, becoming a successful *fadista*, and eventually overturning his life by graduating with top grades from medical school and marrying Alice.

The same sorts of characters appear again and again in the following years, many of them bearing the same ideological functions and conventions. Even though aspects of the stories may change (in *O Costa do Castelo* (Artur Duarte, 1943), for instance, the carefree *fadista* does not chase after the virginal, family-orientated woman) their functions remain the same: to establish, maintain and propagate the Salazarist ideology.

Not only do we see the same sorts of characters, the stories also bear many similarities. They often feature carefree male protagonists who are faced with problems that force them to call upon their natural talents to resolve the situations rather than calling for

help. These characters often have a musical talent, whether it be with their voices or the *guitarra*, and almost exclusively sing *fado*. They are often portrayed as being lower middle class but have no real aspirations to climb the social ladder. Their female counterparts play a subservient role to the dominant male character or familial unit in their lives, many times still living at home with one or two parents while the men are independent. Their clothing is traditional and their attitudes toward the family and society are deeply conservative: a large number of films end with the main characters marrying each other rather than simply being together out of wedlock. The families with which the women live are normally self-employed or retired, patriarchal and, like the majority of the characters, lower middle class (Granja, 2009).

The situations the male protagonists find themselves in usually revolve around a plot by others attempting to climb the social ladder. In *A Canção de Lisboa*, the plot consists of disinheriting Vasco of his wealthy aunts' fortune by the shoemaker (Alfredo Silva) who, upon discovering that Vasco had lied to his aunts in regard to his successful medical practice (he had actually been expelled from medical school), plots to disinherit Vasco and keep the aunts' fortune for himself. With the increase in wealth, the shoemaker would rise within the social structure and attain a greater social position. The same principal plot occurs in *O Costa do Castelo*, in which the young male character André (Curado Ribeiro), the nephew of a wealthy matriarchal family in love with a lower middle class woman, Luisinha (played by Milú), has to defend himself against the advances of a social climber (Teresa Casal). In almost every case, the plot fails and the social situations remain as they were at the beginning of the film.

The times in which a character actually climbs the social ladder are when the existing social power accepts their entrance and this happens almost exclusively to the main characters, who hold no real aspirations of social climbing. Vasco's triumphant examination results and his marriage to Alice are his acceptances from the higher classes (in this case, from the medical-educational institution and from the Catholic Church—which, because of the State's adherence to and defence of Catholic doctrine, constitutes, by extension, the State's acceptance). In *O Costa do Castelo*, there are two instances of social climbing, that of Luisinha and of Costa. In both cases, they enter the higher class because the wealthy nephew and aunt, respectively, invite them to join their social positions through their declarations of love and promise of marriage—again, propagating the *Estado Novo's* policies of conservatism with marriage and social balance.

One notices that these two films, though made ten years apart, bear many similarities in story and plot conventions thanks to the establishment of the *comédia à portuguesa*. The repetitions meant that there was very little artistic innovation and characters could not be explored in depth beyond their commercial and ideological functions. The *comédia à portuguesa* was so influential because of its success with the Portuguese audience that some of the conventions it established became appropriated in other genres, such as in *Camões* (José Leitão de Barros, 1946) and *Chaimite* (Jorge Brum do Canto, 1953) (in these examples, there are scenes in which characters sing and play *fado*-like music, characters involved in manipulating the social order are defeated, and emotional conflicts are shown to be resolved suddenly and without much of a climactic build-up).

The importance and the impact of the conventions established in the *comédias à portuguesa* cannot be underestimated. We see the same stylistic and plot conventions repeated over and over again, even crossing over into other genres. The repeated use of similar characters and outcomes creates an impression in the minds of the audience and causes them to identify the similarities between two different films. This easy identification makes it easier for the audience to identify *with* characters and plot points:

“strategic manipulation of identification and rooting interest is so effective that even a sophisticated audience is liable to find itself rooting for the Ku Klux Klan at the climax of...*The Birth of a Nation*” (Kawin, 1987, p64).

Even films that seem to have very little similarities with *A Canção de Lisboa*, such as *A Canção da Saudade* (made 30 years later), there are certain conventions and characteristics that would not have been changed, partly because it would require changing a tried and tested formula for success but changing it would also create a disparity among the audience who were used to seeing a particular style, a particular aesthetic and a particular outcome. This is partly why the *Novo Cinema* was so impactful, exactly because it either used some of the conventions associated with the *Estado Novo* cinema and changed them or did not use these conventions at all.

1.2.The People

One question that must be answered before any further investigation is the central question to this work: who are the people? The Cambridge Dictionary gives a few definitions on the word ‘people’ but for the purposes of this work, we have narrowed our definition to include these:

- 1) “the large number of ordinary men and women who do not have positions of power in society”;
- 2) “all the men, women, and children who live in a particular country, or who have the same culture and language” (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/people?q=the+people>, viewed 12/7/2016).

The first definition is the closest that we seek to use in cultural studies. While this definition includes the main characters, we will not be focusing on them. Rather, the main focus will be on the supporting characters, those in the background. The reason for this is due to the implicit nature of their existence. Characters in the cinema are broken into two groups, the principal players (who include main and supporting characters) and secondary players (who include bit players and extras, characters who may or may not have a name and/or line) (Kawin, 1987).

Films are stories about particular people facing particular problems (such as the rise and fall of a drug-lord in *Scarface* or finding a soldier in the middle of a war zone in *Saving Private Ryan*). These particular people are the protagonists, the focus of the story, the ones who “play the most significant speaking roles” (Kawin, 1987, p373). They are the ones who have the most character development: as spectators, we learn and invest in their story, their past, their hopes and fears, their plans for the future, their struggles to overcome adversity. We learn their names and identify with them (tying back with the audience identification and rooting interest—the amount of identification with a character depends on the personal connection with the spectator and the quality of character development, of course). These are the ‘main characters’, the ones created to be remembered: the Scarlett O’Haras, the Luke Skywalkers, the Indiana Joneses.

The supporting characters are an interesting group because their role, although considered principal players, is to elevate the main characters and highlight their stories for

the audience. Therefore, supporting characters will be included in the secondary players group, along with the bit players and the extras. They form a collective group we will call the 'people': those in the background, the unspoken and unidentified. They are the men, women, and children who inhabit the cinematic world, the ones who form the backdrop to the contemporary geo-political situation the protagonists find themselves. They may have lines of dialogue but they also be muted. Their actions may have consequences for the protagonists and vice versa. While there is no clear-cut distinction between 'secondary' and 'main' characters, those characters whose actions are the focus for the majority of the film are to be considered 'main' characters.

This may lead to several problems in what constitutes a main or secondary character. For example, *Os Verdes Anos*' opening narration implies that Raúl is the main character, as he talks about himself for the first few minutes of the film before making any mention of Júlio. His experiences (and the outcome of those experiences) are the opposite of what Júlio experiences, suggesting that this is a cautionary tale and that Raúl has a voice of authority. However, we spend more time with Júlio and his struggles than we do with Raúl, thus presenting Júlio as the main character. The majority of films clearly distinguish between the main and supporting characters and this work will focus on the supporting ones, even if they have as much screen time and as much development as the main characters.

The analysis of the people follows a simple method: the characters' words and actions are observed and noted. From there they are analysed in the context of the cultural and political ideology of the time and any adherence or deviation to the dominant ideology is noted. The adherence or deviation presents an explicit and implicit political message, one that either supports the conventions of the *Estado Novo* or rejects its teachings.

We will be investigating not only what the characters say and what they do but will also include: the way they dress, their employment, their religiousness, the location they inhabit, the songs they sing, and the way they behave with each other, among others.

1.3. The Emergence of the *Novo Cinema*.

By the end of the 1950s the Portuguese cinema had become stagnant, uninspired, artistically compromised and ideologically constrained. Thus, when the *Novo Cinema* appeared in 1962, it presented a revolutionary approach to filmmaking and story-telling, challenging the conventions established by the cinema of the *Estado Novo* and daring to present another perspective on Portugal and the Portuguese people.

The *Novo Cinema* movement can trace its beginnings to the Italian cinema at the end of the Second World War. Devastated by years of conflict, the Italian cinema found itself with little infrastructure and even less money to produce movies. Long gone were the days of epics with gigantic sets and hundreds of supporting actors. Unable to film on a large scale, Italian filmmakers began to narrow their stories and instead focus on a few main characters, placing them in situations that, instead of presenting an escapist story, focused on revealing contemporary social conditions. This approach became known as ‘Neorealism’ (Bordwell & Thompson, 2003).

Neorealism presented and established certain cinematic and stylistic conventions that, like the *comédia à portuguesa*, became associated with that genre or approach. Directors relied upon actual locations for their *mise-en-scène* because of the lack of working film studios and frequently employed ‘non-actors’, “recruited for their realistic looks or behaviour” (Bordwell & Thompson, 2003, p485). Arguably the most influential aspect, however, comes in terms of its narrative forms. Characters are often below the poverty-line, on the fringes of society and struggle to survive. One of the most iconic examples of neorealism that uses these conventions is *Bicycle Thieves* (*Ladri di biciclette*, Vittorio De Sica, 1948). In the film we see characters fighting to survive starvation, filmed on location with ‘non-actors’, presenting a frank look at the contemporary social conditions (Bordwell & Thompson, 2003) (the scene in which Antonio and Maria sell their dowry bedsheets in a warehouse is memorable and heart-felt because the audience sees the warehouse is full of bundles of belongings that others like them had to sell in order to buy the absolute necessities). The film, like many in the neorealist movement, ends on a bittersweet note without a ‘satisfactory’ resolution to the conflict. There are no happy endings because of its reflection to contemporary society which, at that point, had no promising end in sight (Bordwell & Thompson, 2003).

Influenced by neorealism, a group of young French filmmakers in the early 1950s began to reject the 'traditional' *cinema of quality* that had been established in France and began to film their own movies that rejected the old and embraced the new, particularly the Italian influence. Originally starting as writers for the *Cahiers du cinéma*, a Paris-based film magazine, the young filmmakers became dissatisfied at simply writing about the cinema and began to make their own cinema, and their youthful vigour led to them being known as *la nouvelle vague*, the New Wave.

These filmmakers (many were more than just directors, but also writers and actors) expanded upon what the Italian neorealism had experimented with: eschewing movie studios, they preferred to shoot in actual locations, using whatever was available for their *mise-en-scène*, employing 'non-actors' and presenting a frank look on contemporary life. Working on their belief that a director could be considered an artist (*auteur*) in the same way as a painter or a writer had their own artistic 'fingerprints' or personality appear in their works, the directors created their own style, often showcasing characters on the periphery, out of place among society, trodden upon and misunderstood. Symbolism became important, with many of the films utilizing different, at times unorthodox, stylistic conventions to present and enhance their stories. The audience did not just see what the characters saw: the camera focused on what the characters saw, giving the audience a glimpse of their point of view.

This stylistic form of filmmaking spread throughout Europe (and eventually the world) and influenced a new generation of filmmakers, from Britain to Poland to Germany and, of course, to Portugal.

One of the first films of the Portuguese 'New Wave' known as the *novo cinema* was *Dom Roberto*. *Dom Roberto* tells the story of João (Raul Solnado), a down-on-his-luck puppeteer whose mobile stage entertains children on the streets of Lisbon (earning him the nickname of Dom Roberto). After being expelled from the room he rented and forced to sleep on the streets, he meets Maria (Glicínia Quartin), a broken woman on the verge of suicide. They end up living together in a condemned building, creating a fantasy world in which they attempt to live a 'normal' life, complete with furniture (merely drawings on the wall) and a shower (a makeshift one using a watering can). Their fantasy world crumbles around them as the building is finally demolished, forcing them to escape the little community they live in and search for a new life.

The film is complete with symbolism, from the characters to the building to the community they live in and the car their neighbour builds from scratch. The film breathed new life into the Portuguese cinema, even receiving a special mention by the jury at the 1963 Cannes Film Festival and influencing countless films that followed, from its symbolism, roughness and its implicit political and ideological commentaries. The *Novo Cinema*'s greatest weapon was creating meaning through deliberate omission, that is, a character's non-actions in the face of socially and politically inappropriate behaviour (such as João and Maria living together outside of wedlock) creates a new meaning that undermines that established by the *Estado Novo*..

The next film in the *novo cinema* movement—and at times argued as the true first film of the movement, particularly by Costa (Costa, 1991)—is *Os Verdes Anos*. It tells the story of Júlio, a young man recently arrived from the countryside to Lisbon, and his troubled relationship with Ilda, a maid to a wealthy family with her own aspirations to succeed in life. Júlio's inability to adapt to city life, as well as his childish jealousy and disinterest of Ilda's aspirations, causes their relationship to crumble and, in a fit of rage, Júlio kills Ilda. Like *Dom Roberto*, the film won awards for its innovative language and style, affirming the presence of a new cinema in Portugal independent of the state-funded repetitions. Both films not only signalled a new cinematic movement with a new language, but their productions were also important, as other films were privately funded through a cinema 'club' independent of state funding, such as the Calouste Gublenkian Foundation (Costa, 1991). Because of this, they were able to create stories that did not have to fit into the government framework to receive funding, allowing them to tell these dramatic stories in this unconventional style.

For the most part, the literature regarding the *Novo Cinema* is limited to its historical significance without critically analyzing the films themselves. Books such as *Stories of the Cinema* (Casa da Moeda, 1991) by João Bénard da Costa, *Cinema Português: Um Guia Essencial* (SESI-SP, 2013) by Paulo Cunha and Michelle Sales, and even the aptly-titled *Cinema Novo Português, 1960-1974* published by the *Cinematheca Portuguesa* in 1985 limit themselves to focusing on the movement's development of the Portuguese cinema's expansion of 'video clubs' that helped finance the films of the *Novo Cinema*. The other focus of the literature surrounding the *Novo Cinema* lays with its attempt to provide a historical narrative of the movement's development during the 1960s, providing only vague details such as:

“In this sense *Verdes Anos* is an essential film in the history of the cinema in Portugal. On one hand it makes the bridge between the visual characteristics, that had almost always been ignored by our cinema, and an imaginary characteristic of our best films. It is the first film to coherently articulate and cultivate the visual and novelist background insinuated in our classical works. On the other hand it provides the keys to the possible «rhetorical figures» in the future evolution of this characteristic making all the best of the later films, its heirs” (da Costa, 1991, p.128).

This is but one example of the kind of language found in the literature surrounding the *Novo Cinema*. Even the closest form of analysis of the *Novo Cinema* appears in *O Cinema sob o olhar de Salazar* (Circulo Leitores, 2000) is focused on the films supporting the ideology of the *Estado Novo*, limiting itself to conclusive statements regarding the overall characteristics of the *Novo Cinema*: “It is an artisanal cinema, a counterpoint to an industrial cinema, and a personal vision, of *auteur*, opposite of a cinema of producers” (Monteiro, 2000, p.330).

Therefore, while we have tried to maintain as much bibliographic reference as possible in our analysis of the films, the majority of the content of our analysis is our conclusions based on the utilization of our cinematic understandings. The work of the other authors serve to reinforce our views, but while theirs are more general, as seen above, ours is more nuanced, focusing on particular details.

2. Analysis:

2.1. Religion, family and sexuality.

As one of the *Estado Novo*'s main political focus was on the maintenance and defence of the Catholic faith and its morality (Nogueira, 1981), its depictions in the cinema served as a vital point in the fight against atheism. The films conforming to the policies of the *Estado Novo* present a very conservative view of religion, unwavering in its doctrine and teachings, from respect for God to the sanctity of marriage. Apart from characters performing religious practices, like praying or making the Sign of the Cross, religion is presented in two main subliminal ways: the repression of sexuality and the adherence to matrimony and family. The repression of sexuality is a vital part in the defence of religion, for sexuality is linked with a declining morality and its repression serves to fight against this immorality.

Part of the *Estado Novo*'s family policies involved three aspects according to Article 13 of the Portuguese constitution: "marriage and legitimate children; equality in the rights and duties of the two spouses as to the support and education of the legitimate children; and the registration of marriage and the birth of children" (Pimentel, 2011, pp.32-33). This shows that the *Estado Novo*'s stance towards family was through legitimacy of the marriage and of the children of the marriage. A single, unwed mother would, therefore, be seen as a 'fallen' woman and would not fit into the government's vision of family. This extends to men as well, as Ferro stated: "The married woman, like the married man, is the spine of the family, an indispensable base of a work of moral construction" (Ferro, 1932, p.133). Therefore the *Estado Novo* was seen to promote an equality between the sexes by emphasizing that both had an equal duty to the family.

Interestingly, we notice that predominantly female characters have a larger repression of their sexuality than the male characters. When female characters attempt to engage in out-of-wedlock sexual practices (in the case of the majority of films the younger characters are either engaged or in serious monogamous relationships, equivalent to marriage) they are punished in different ways, usually through gossip and are held in lower regard by society, but upon learning of their behaviour they are returned to the 'establishment' and are accepted back into society. When male characters attempt to engage in out-of-wedlock practices, they do not receive the same scrutiny or derision as the female characters. Rather, it is seen as an assertion of their dominance, both sexually, socially and religiously (first propagated by Santana in *A Canção de Lisboa*). In spite of the male characters' dominance they still abide to

the confines of matrimony by the end of the film, typically marrying their female partners or entering into a monogamous relationship. The male characters who do not do so are portrayed as duplicitous and almost criminal (in at least one case an actual criminal, as with Rui in *A Costureirinha da Sé*).

In terms of sexuality, they maintain the same guidelines established by the *comédia à portuguesa*, whereupon the virginal woman, still living with her family, only engages in sexual contact with a man when it is a serious relationship and results in their marriage. In *A Costureirinha da Sé*, Aurora (Maria de Fatima Bravo) conforms in every respect to the virginal characters of the previous decades. She is in a serious relationship with Armando (Baptista Fernandes), a humble taxi driver. Their relationship causes a lot of jealousy amongst some of Aurora's co-workers, particularly with Leonor (Alina Vaz) who wants to have the same kind of relationship Aurora does and is unashamedly flirtatious with Armando. His reaction is typical to the male characters of the previous decades: rather than immediately casting her advances off, he kindly responds, establishing himself as a dominant male who is not as constrained as the women are to the conservative order in regards to sex. While the other female characters are presented as submissive in the sense that they do not initiate any serious sexual contact, Leonor is the only female character to engage in sexual activities with a man (albeit just kissing). Yet even Leonor's kiss comes only after Rui has proposed marriage to her, thus reaffirming the Catholic Church's moral code, where sex is only acceptable within the confines of matrimony. The film ends on a typically positive note, whereupon Leonor's heartache is replaced by another man, a taxi driver and friend to Armando. Her alignment with Aurora at the end, when they sail down the Douro in a small boat, implicitly indicates that she is following Aurora, both as a new-found friend and as a member of the established religious framework. Aurora's puritanism has brought Leonor into respectability, and by extension into line with the country's religious demands.

The majority of other female characters of the seamstress shop they work in are portrayed as sexually uneducated. They gossip about Aurora's and Leonor's partners but do not present anything more than a basic interest in men. They want to have fun but do not go into detail about what they want to do or how they would go about it. When they are at the fashion show only a couple are shown dancing with men, while the rest are sat down with their boss, implying that there are either uneducated about relations with men or are being repressed by their boss, a maternal figure who frequently berates them for gossiping about dating instead of working. The boss' authoritative stance and repression of their sexual

desires, or rather her prevention of any further desires, can be interpreted as an extension of the State's policy for morality by preventing any subversive or immoral behaviours from developing.

Within the shop, we see two other women who have some dealings with the opposite sex, but in their cases they are failed ones. The owner of the store, presented as an authority figure, is married but we are told that her husband left her to go to Brazil with another woman and she takes her bitterness out on her staff, ordering them to not sing or talk about dating while they are working (not only preventing immorality but also to transmit the importance of work—a work done by hand, reinforcing the State's traditionalism). The other woman who has had a failed relationship (although this remains unclear in the film) is Julia, who is seen waiting for a man who never appears. She is seen in a depressive state, repeatedly coming in late and being absent-minded. During the fashion show she is seen leaving the building in tears because of the man. Even in the end, the last image we see of her is when she sits down on a bench across from her workplace, saddened, still waiting. This implies that she is either doomed to live in a failed relationship and end up as a spinster as punishment. While we do not discover what happened to Julia in the relationship or why the man never appears, one can say that she is being punished for something. If we follow the conventions established in previous films, we see that morally loose women are usually punished with denial of the romantic interest. Therefore, one can make an assumption that Julia is morally loose, the implication being that she is perhaps not a virgin and as such is being punished for her sexual behaviour.

Family, as an extension of religion, is treated as an important point in the film. Leonor's mother points out in more than one occasion that Aurora is an orphan whose father abandoned her. Despite the fact that Aurora lives with her godparents, a strong familial unit, she is still seen by Leonor's parents as being of lower status because of her father's abandonment. It is only at the end, when Aurora comforts Leonor and Aurora's father reveals himself, that she is finally accepted as an equal by Leonor's parents and, by extension, the State.

Religion is also treated very conservatively in *O Passarinho da Ribeira*. Like Aurora and Armando, the main characters Madalena (Deolinda Rodrigues) and Carlos are in a serious relationship that will only be consummated with marriage. The only two main supporting actresses, who fill in role of the 'people' are Madalena's mother, Micas (Maria

Cristina) and her friend Marcolina (Leónia Mendes), are also shown as conservative in their sexuality. Micas does not engage in any sexual practices whereas Marcolina is shown as being a very shy woman, especially when she is being the target of Lourenço's (António Spina) charms. In the end both women gain a partner, Micas with Madalena's father (Paiva Raposo) and Marcolina with Lourenço, all of them leaving Portugal together to form a new life in Brazil. The repression of sexuality extends to the way the female characters are dressed, in their case they are seen wearing long dresses and shawls over their heads, giving them a traditional virginal, almost biblical look.

The film has three clearly notable religious points that align it more closely to the *Estado Novo's* view of religion. The first comes when Micas prays at the *Senhor da Pedra* chapel at Miramar soon after discovering that her daughter is on the way to Brazil, a location she claims will help her solve all of her problems. Even though we cannot hear her prayer once she enters the chapel, the uplifting music conveys a sense of being within the presence of a higher power and it reaffirms her faith within herself. The second is when Micas recovers from being hit by a car towards the end of the film, claiming it to be a miracle caused by her visit to the chapel. She claims that the miracle brought Madalena and her father together, something that she says she had been praying for a long time. This reaffirms the Church's teachings of family, because for twenty years Madalena had been living without a father but because of the 'miracle' of the *Senhor da Pedra* she is not a bastard child anymore and is now part of a 'complete' family. The third comes just before she gets run over, when the police officer quotes Pontius Pilate. Upon resolving the confusion regarding Madalena's 'kidnapping' by her father (a ploy to bring Micas and the father together) the officer says that he is washing his hands of the issue. Almost immediately afterwards Micas is hit by the car, and it is this act, her accident, that finally brings the characters together. It bears a similarity to the crucifixion of Christ, as Pilate washing his hands of the issue condemned Christ to be crucified but eventually it brought about the creation of the Catholic Church and the destruction of Rome's paganism. This comparison is interesting because it is done covertly, but upon closer reading one can see that the similarities cannot be overlooked, as an alignment with a biblical story would not be lost on a religious population.

The image of the devout mother-figure is shown more prominently in *O Miúdo da Bica* as a way to maintain and highlight the importance of the family. This is shown in a few different ways. The first instance occurs after Farinha's father dies. A family friend tells them that once Fernando is of age he can work at the factory Mr. Cardoso owns, and immediately

afterwards the mother tells Fernando that he is now the man of the family, symbolizing the importance of a strong male figure as the main provider for the family and thereby reaffirming the State's traditionalism.

The second comes towards the end of the film after Chico abandons Fernando. After roaming the streets around the Christmas season, Fernando returns home, his mother tenderly embraces him and then kneels, saying "My son has returned. Merry Christmas" (min: 80:37). The camera then zooms in and focuses on the miniature figures of Mary, Joseph and the Infant Jesus on a counter before it fades to black. This highlights several different things: it brings attention to the reuniting of the Farinha family and implicitly and symbolically compares them to the family of Jesus; it reinforces the religious significance of Christmas as the birth of Christ; and it reinforces the concept that family is linked to religion. By focusing on the image of the figures, it implicitly tells the spectator two main things: that a united family shows devotion to the Catholic faith, enough to have figures of Jesus, Mary and Joseph on a counter; but by focusing on the figures immediately after showing the Farinha family it implicitly suggests that the Farinha family is comparable to the family of Jesus. Their problems may not be resolved but they are reunited, giving the film a more upbeat ending than it otherwise could have been. Moreover, as Fernando is wandering the streets we hear a song he sings about Christmas, extolling the wonders of Christmas, the joy of seeing Santa Claus or meeting friends or of family going to Church to seek blessings. This, combined with the close-up of the figures, reinforces the importance of religion as a foundation for the family.

While religion is not dealt with explicitly in *A Canção da Saudade* (bar one important instance), family plays an important role in the film. There is enormous tension between Tony and his father Leonel, as Tony, representative of a younger generation, disdains his father's generation and his sister's loyalty to her father, saying about their apartment: "Everything smells old" (min:15:10) Leonel represents the older generation that embraces fado and classical music (he says at one point in regards to his taste in music, "The music that we like from another time is not yet dead" (min:10:55) while Celinha, the sister, represents the newer generation that still respects the traditions. The family suffers from this disagreement but instead of turning to religion and its significance like in *O Miúdo da Bica* it is resolved through the union of traditional and modern music, creating a blueprint for unity.

The only important religious reference in the film comes towards the end when Tony and his girlfriend Babá enter a church and speak to the priest, an old friend of Leonel, to confirm their intention to marry. Babá says that no one would believe that Tony would want to marry but his intentions imply that behind the youthful escapades and lack of discipline firmly lies the traditional values from the older generations. Seen from a metaphorical level, if the family is meant to represent Portugal, then Tony's alignment to the conservative values of marriage and his embracement of the music of the older generation (and the values they represent) despite his rebelliousness, implies that if the youthful viewers, who initially identified with Tony and the *Gatos Pretos*, align themselves with their parents' values then their problems will be resolved, forming a stronger family (and by extension a stronger Portugal).

The films of the *Novo Cinema* deal with religion in a more ambiguous tone. The characters do not openly disdain the Catholic Church, something that would have made it near impossible to film and release due to censorship, but we see through the attitudes of the characters how they behave in regard to religion and the traditional values they present. For the most part the people maintain the same noticeable attitudes as their counterparts in the cinema of the *Estado Novo*.

In *Dom Roberto* we have two main groups to explore in regards to religion and the family. There is the larger collective of people living in the patio around the abandoned building who represent the traditional aspects of Portuguese society. They include older couples, families with children and appear to be working class. They have a strong sense of community and care for each other, as in a scene where Gabriel the inventor and Amâncio, his childhood friend, are arguing about the car Gabriel is building and they try to calm them down and put aside their differences. Even in the end of the film, when João and Maria are forced to leave their building because of its demolition, the people offer to let them stay and live in their homes until they can get back on their feet. This is the same sort of attitudes found in the films of the *Estado Novo*, where community is held in high importance and the permanent Portuguese values are seen as being in solidarity with the community.

The only character who does not care about community is Serafim, the young man who confronts João when he discovers that the latter has been living in the building illegally. Instead of becoming part of the community he wants to be respected and control the place (he says, "I make the law" (min: 69:49)). His clear opposition to João marks him as an individual

and not accepted by the community, even though at the beginning they do not impede him. It is only towards the end, when he steals from João and fights him that the community turns on Serafim and expel him from the complex.

Whereas the films of the *Estado Novo* present family as an allegory for the Portuguese population, where their beliefs are a reflection of what the *Estado Novo* wanted the Portuguese people to believe and feel, the community in *Dom Roberto* do not behave in a way that glorifies the *Estado Novo*. They do not deal with outsiders and are only ever seen fully interacting with each other (the only one to do so is Serafim at the beginning when João is running away from the dog-catcher, informing the man of João's direction). Their preoccupation is with themselves, as can be seen in the last scene: when Gabriel's car finally works the community cheers his success but when they see that João and Maria decide to leave the car is put aside and almost forgotten while they accompany João and Maria to the gate.

The family unit is presented in as an ambiguous entity in *Os Verdes Anos*. There are two examples of families in the film, Júlio's uncle and the family Ilda works for. On the one hand, Afonso (Paulo Renato), helps his nephew Júlio find a job upon his arrival in Lisbon, lets him stay in his small apartment and tries to warn him about what life in Lisbon is like, repeatedly telling him that city life runs at a different pace than in the country (where they are originally from). This shows a protective attitude towards Júlio, and Afonso goes so far as to say when he discovers that Júlio is dating Ilda that, "it is like knowing the sun had risen" (min: 27:12) His narration serves a dual purpose, to inform not only Júlio but the audience as well of the dangers of living life too quickly in Lisbon. The advice comes across in a fatherly fashion, from a man who has experienced the highs and lows that the capital has to offer and has succeeded in finding a balance.

Despite Afonso's fatherly warning to his nephew, there is an instance when he does not act in a familial manner. Instead of picking Júlio up at the train station at the beginning of the film, he stays in a bar with his friends, drinking until closing time, oblivious to the fact that Júlio stood waiting for him and had to ask strangers to take him to his uncle's apartment. There is no mention of this event later on in the film, suggesting that it was never brought up. It is at this moment when Júlio experiences the feeling of family abandonment, a sentiment he continues to feel throughout the film, culminating in his disobedient behaviour at the bar with his uncle. This initial contact with Lisbon could explain why Júlio ends up deteriorating

towards the end of the film as everything he believes about family turns out to not be what he wanted. The second instance when Afonso acts in an unfamiliar manner is when he slaps Júlio in the bar after Júlio disrespects him in front of his friends, a common and acceptable practice in the *Estado Novo*. This physical confrontation is something that does not really occur in other films promoting the value of *the Estado Novo* as most characters, even if they do not overtly approve of their elder's decisions, like Tony in *A Canção da Saudade*, they do not get physically assaulted in this way.

The other example of family in the film is in regards to the family Ilda works for. They are depicted as an affluent family that leave every weekend. Their furniture and clothing are expensive and reveal that they have money to spend. Despite this, we learn that the husband is making sexual advances on a cousin who lives with them, while his wife is in the same apartment, seemingly oblivious to what her husband is doing. This presents the family unit as one filled with flaws, where a husband can behave as he wants with no apparent consequences. The wife even warns Ilda of men from Lisbon, that they are a bad influence. She goes on to say that Ilda should not like him too much, partly because of his young age, suggesting that Ilda should be free to explore other options in terms of partners. This goes against the conventions established by the films of the *Estado Novo*, where characters engaged in serious, monogamous relationships either maintain their relationships or marry by the film's conclusion. Moreover, the wife's advice is in stark contrast to characters like Micas and Leonor's mother, who work to keep their daughters respectable and sexually repressed until they are married. While the wife is not Ilda's mother nor a relative, her position as a married woman older than Ilda would afford her a higher level of "respect" and knowledge equal to that of a mother, thus further contrasting the 'family' unit as flawed compared to the 'ideal' version presented in the films of the *Estado Novo*.

Sexuality in *Os Verdes Anos* bears the same conventions as the films supporting the *Estado Novo*, though they are more explicit in its political message. We see a repression of female sexuality, particularly when Júlio comes upset at Ilda's dancing with the man at the dance hall (something that can be seen as challenging his masculine dominance). His treatment of her from then on is her punishment for going outside of the relationship. Her death at the end can also be seen as a punishment, not only for what she had done earlier but also for her rejection of his marriage proposal. Rejection of marriage and the ideological values it represents, it is implied, have to be punished. However, due to Júlio's obstinate

traditionalism and lack of forethought, her death is more tragic than it is deserving, as it symbolizes the death of youth and ambition within that traditional societal framework.

Júlio's encounter with the prostitutes does not present him as the sexualized man as seen in other films supporting the Estado Novo, primarily because of his naivety. It does, however, combined with the outcome at the end, present that the traditionalism that Júlio embodies is not as traditional as audiences were led to believe in 1963. It is clear that he represents the conservative values and having him behave in this way undermines the values he represents.

There are few examples of family, sexuality and religion in *Belarmino* and only two noteworthy instances occur in the film. The first is when Belarmino responds to a question regarding his mother, whom he says he offers to feed every day. He points out that, even though she does not live with him, he tries to take care of her even though he has four other siblings who are better off than he or she is. Though we cannot verify if this claim is true and are forced to rely on his word, this demonstrates a lack of family value and unity so evident in other films of the *Estado Novo*.

The second example is Belarmino's own wife and daughter. Throughout the film their names are not presented and they are referred to by their roles as wife and daughter. While he mentions notable points about their lives (such as when his daughter was thought by a doctor to be near death's door as an infant) their roles remain completely secondary to his, they even appear only sporadically and very briefly. The family unit is presented as coherent and strong, such as when Belarmino and his wife are sharing a mirror while they are getting ready or when the family is shown eating together in a small restaurant, even after the audience are told that many times they do not have enough money for food and at times go hungry. This presents a traditional family completely in line with the values of the Estado Novo.

However, this idyllic image of the family is dispelled by Belarmino himself and by Albano Martins, his former manager. Martins says that, when he was his manager, Belarmino would many times leave the place where he lived to go out on the town and return at all hours, a claim that Belarmino denies. Despite the images of a loving family, we see scenes of Belarmino dancing with a different woman at a nightclub towards the end of the film and there is a scene in which he is attempting to pick up a woman (which comes immediately after showing him eating with his family). The interviewer asks him about his affairs and he brushes it off, saying that every man does that even though he still loves his wife. This

destroys the sanctimonious image of the family, thereby going against the teachings of the Catholic Church and the *Estado Novo*. Not only does it destroy the family image, it actually aligns itself more with the earlier films by repressing the female character and asserting the male's sexual dominance. Belarmino's sexual advances towards other women does not go punished and the fact that he admits to in on camera is almost a validation of his dominance, lacking the fear of retribution by the audience or anyone else.

The themes of family and religion are much more prominent in *Mudar de Vida*. Adelino returns from fighting in Africa to discover that the woman he loved has married his brother and has two children, creating a united family. Julia's loyalty to Raimundo is strong, as she rejects all of Adelino's advances and she makes it clear that it is Adelino's fault that she married Raimundo because he did not keep in contact while in Africa. Her actions promote the values of the family as seen by the *Estado Novo*, where loyalty to one's husband is unquestioned. Adelino's attempt to break up the marriage places him as the villain in the eyes of the *Estado Novo*, yet his character is presented as a tragic figure, earning the audience's sympathy as he attempts to return to the past he knew before leaving for Africa.

The other family we see in the film is the older couple that live in the same house as Julia and Adelino, whom Julia refers to as aunt and uncle but they are the father- and mother-in-law-. They are presented as a concerned family but ultimately preoccupied with surviving (in the same way as most of the other inhabitants are portrayed). They are an interesting couple because while they are shown as caring (such as when they see Adelino for the first time since his return or when they care for him when he falls ill on the boat), they are also shown as somewhat distant. This distance is characteristic of the entire village and not a personal trait, as many of the villagers present themselves as having no time for ideal conversation on topics such as feelings or dreams, as they have more pressing matters to deal with (such as earning money and surviving).

The characters' sexuality is an interesting topic because the predominant male characteristic of being the dominant one in relation to his female counterpart is reversed in this film. Adelino's masculinity is undercut by Julia's refusals, thus asserting her dominance over him, reversing the trend by the previous films that a man's advances go unpunished and is unstoppable. Julia's stance is an interesting point because, while she successfully defends herself from Adelino's advances and maintain her family intact (albeit an imperfect family, but still a family nonetheless), the fact that she dies at the end of the film gives her two

functions: firstly, it reaffirms the *Estado Novo*'s policy of family importance, as her stance against Adelino, in spite of so much history between them, confirms her devotion to Raimundo and her family, signalling her as a flagship of loyalty and devotion and presenting Adelino as everything wrong with those who want to destroy the family; secondly, despite being a beacon of family unity and loyalty, her death can be seen as a punishment for defending the values of the *Estado Novo*.

However, it must be pointed out that Julia's death is symbolic of other things that the *Novo Cinema* saw wrong with the *Estado Novo*, and that is why she dies in the film and not because the *Novo Cinema* movement was predominately against the family. There are obvious differences between the two cinematic approaches. The cinema supporting the *Estado Novo* were very clear and unwavering in their message, that a united, God-fearing family where the men were the dominant figure and women were sexually repressed until they married. The *Novo Cinema* presented these topics as more ambiguous and less black and white. The family, in these four examples, is still an important symbol and unit, like in *Dom Roberto* and *Mudar de Vida*, but the man's dominance is either presented as questionable, like in *Belarmino*, or completely lacking in Júlio's case in *Os Verdes Anos*. We also notice that there is a greater diversity of characters in the *Novo Cinema* that make up the family unit. The traditional family unit, itself, is at times presented in a much more unconventional fashion, and that at times the traditional model is more morally corrupt than the unconventional model.

Mudar de Vida presents religion in terms of its practicality among its characters. There is only one location of worship, the chapel where Adelino meets Albertina. While it is not abandoned, we do not see anyone attending mass or even a priest, especially when Adelino wanders freely within and Albertina tries to steal money from a donations box. The fact that there was money inside the box indicates that people probably still donate what little money they have to the Church, signalling that it is still an important part of their lives, but the emptiness, like the distant attitudes of the other characters, reveals that there are more pressing matters at hand than attending mass. There is work and survival.

The religious theme continues with the ship the fishermen use. Its name is the São Pedro, named after Saint Peter, himself a fisherman and the patron saint of fishermen and activities surrounding fishing. The use of the name is appropriate for a fishing village, and signals that the religious connection is important for the community. Like the church, it is an

important aspect of the community as their very survival rests on the success of the ship and the fishermen.

From these examples we can draw a few conclusions: as expected, the films supporting the *Estado Novo* typically glorify the family and religion. They play important parts in the lives of the characters and reinforce the message of the importance of a particular kind of family by having all of the family members united by the end of their respective films, resolving any differences they may have had, and promoting the religious aspects by entering into a faithful union with God (mainly through marriage) but also by repressing female sexuality.

The films of the *Novo Cinema* challenge the concepts of family by presenting them as ambiguous, fallible and many times unfaithful to the religiously-imposed rules (particularly marital fidelity). While the films do not overtly criticize the Catholic Church, the lack of respect towards values associated with the Church, such as the centrality of family, the importance of religious unity by the end of the film, and marital fidelity, implicitly conveys a critique of the “values” of the Church as impracticable (such as in the emptiness of the chapel in *Mudar de Vida*), or simply irrelevant (such as Belarmino’s unapologetic affairs).

2.2. Work and Wealth.

As one of the *Estado Novo*'s main policies was a focus on corporatism, against a materialistic way of life and syndicalism, the way the people behave in their workplace and the work itself within the films is important to analyse. As previously stated, if part of the great appeal of films by the audience is their (apparent) verisimilitude to real life (even more so with the films of the *Novo Cinema* because of its Franco-Italian "heritage"), then the way the characters behave in the workplace and the actual work itself is important because of the political messages they present.

Like the "comédia à portuguesa" style films that established a certain pattern of storytelling conventions that would be repeated time and again, the films supporting the ideology of the *Estado Novo* conform to the previous conventions established and are repeated, including with the films of the *Novo Cinema*. But whereas the film supporting the *Estado Novo* maintain the conventions, the *Novo Cinema* uses the same conventions but presents it as a reversal to the messages the *Estado Novo* wanted to show.

In the films supporting the ideology of the *Estado Novo*, we see very similar sorts of jobs. Most of them are manual workers, often employing strength rather than intellect. The majority of them are self-employed, often with only a small collective of workers rather than large corporate businesses. This serves to reinforce the state's message of anti-syndicalism: by having few workers, employees are less able to organize any sort of industrial action, which would have been illegal in Portugal at the time (Bouquet, 1993). The state's opposition to a "materialistic way of life" is also apparent when one notices that the majority of characters only have the necessities and do not overtly expose their richness (if any). Those that do are presented as villainous or openly mocked and presented as different.

In *A Costureirinha da Sé*, there are a few different kinds of workers based on the genders. The most noticeable ones are the female seamstresses, divided between the owner and the employees, with whom there is a noticeable hierarchy. While all of the employees have no apparent hierarchal appearance, we notice that Aurora is in a higher position than the others who, for the most part, do not seem to mind this, except for Leonor. The owner establishes Aurora's higher position when she reprimands the employees for some shoddy work and declares that no one finishes off a work without it first having to pass inspection either with her or with Aurora.

Their job is a manual one. The employees use manual sewing machines, having to use their feet to power the pedals, and seem very relaxed whenever the owner is not present in the store. They gossip (even regarding their boss and her failed marriage), they joke, and Aurora even sings while they work, but whenever the owner is present they remain quiet and focused on the task. The owner herself is quite strict with her employees, berating them for singing instead of working, only softening her stance after learning that her husband (who had previously left her for another woman) asked her to forgive him and is returning to her at the end of the film. While the majority of the employees seem content with their work (or at least do not say anything), there is one who openly says that she is “tired of needle and thread (min:56:35)”, and that she wants to be a model, news that the other employees receive with scepticism and open mockery. The owner, though, tells them to stop talking and return to work. The employee goes on to say that, when she takes part in the model contest, she wants to wear furs and silk and velvet dresses, the “things that give grandeur and dress well” (min:56:49) This comment is also treated with scepticism and light mockery by the other employees, thus asserting the *Estado Novo*’s opposition to the materialistic way of life, as she is wanting things that are beyond her social and economic position, hoping to achieve them through a non-skilled employment, relying solely on her looks rather than her work that provides good and services.

The male characters’ jobs are divided between two men, Armando and Bernardinho (Emilio Correia), Leonor’s father. Bernardinho is a barber, something of a poet (as seen when he unsuccessfully tries to write a poem) and, like many of the characters, a singer (though only in the confines of his shop). The walls of his shop are adorned with different pictures, including football teams, singers and a pennant of the Portuguese flag. Like the women, he uses his hands in manual labour in his self-employed job. He does his job with pleasure, smiling and singing while he works (curiously, we see him singing a version of *Largo al factotum* from the ‘Barber of Seville’ by Gioachino Rossini, an aria exalting the barber’s virtues). His wife, Glória (Luísa Durão), helps him in one instance when he has two customers but otherwise he is the sole worker, apparently relegating the wife a dependant of his, maintaining the traditional family unit where the husband works and the wife stays at home.

Armando works as a taxi driver, driving a modern car compared to the other taxi drivers who at times struggle to even get their vehicles started. The modernity of his car sets him apart from all of the others, not only the other drivers but all other workers, both male

and female. The women working in the seamstress shop ogle over him and his car, with Leonor claiming that if she wanted to, he could be dating her instead of Aurora. Armando's position, both economically and socially, makes him a superior and a dominant figure, both as an independent worker (though he is not self-employed) and as a man. This reinforces Ferro when he stated that when "married women compete with a man's job—in the factories, the offices, the liberal professions—the institution of family threatens ruin" (Ferro, 1932, p.133). Armando's position places him as the dominant person in the relationship that would not threaten the family as the women are within their social places and are not able to raise themselves to the same level as him.

The types of jobs and the workers of each job are distinguished through the emotions of each worker. The women are portrayed as more emotional than the men in the sense that their work seems to be affected by the jealousies or dislikes whereas the men are portrayed as steadfast and carry on with their jobs without depending on their emotions (even though we actually see more of the women working than the men).

The same differences between men and women are seen in *O Passarinho da Ribeira*. The women are presented as manual workers, carrying coal from the boats docked on the Douro River to distribution trucks. The women joyfully sing as they work, saying that though their "bodies are small their hearts are big" (min: 3:40). The tone suggests that the work is not as physically demanding as one might expect, and one notices that their clothing is not blemished by the soot of the coal, they maintain a clean white appearance. The women joke with each other and seem to get along well when they are not working. There is also no visible boss like in *A Costureirinha da Sé* that treats the workers harshly but fairly. Their economic position is quite low (especially compared to the men) but they seem content with their position, as there is no one that overtly desires to rise above their position or change, unlike the worker in *A Costureirinha da Sé*. The film presents the women as the ideal Portuguese worker: hard-working with no desire at all to raise their economic or social level, traditional and content with their job.



(O Passarinho da Ribeira. Tobis Portuguesa, 1959)

The men are presented vastly different than the women. There are three main occupations the men hold: the wealthy businessmen, the con artist/smuggler and the jack-of-all-trades. The businessmen are represented by Madalena's father and Carlos' father, both very wealthy men, while the con artist/smuggler is represented by Barata (António Silva), and the jack-of-all-trades by Lourenço (António Spina). Whereas the women work through manual labour, the men are presented as having made their fortunes through more cerebral activities with little to no suggestion that they had to physically work as hard as the women. This vast difference highlights a few important aspects: it suggests that the men are better educated in that they were able to create larger businesses than the women (and even when Micas tries to do business, it is with the con artist who takes what little money she has); the ones with monetary power in society are men; and that real success comes from education.

Success comes at a price, though, which is unhappiness. While the women are shown as content in their work, the men are beset with unhappiness: Madalena's father, having lost his wife in Brazil, is seeking his daughter, while Carlos' father is portrayed as a widower and constantly upset over his son's desire to be with Madalena. Despite their riches, they are both after something that money and wealth cannot buy or solve: family unity. This suggests that despite the wealth an education and hard work can bring, it is no match to the happiness of the simplistic life that Madalena and Micas lead. The happiness of the uniting families at the end of the film, though, suggests that unity is only achievable through marriage and the strengthening of family bonds. While Micas had reservations about Madalena dating Carlos because of his wealth (thus showing a resistance to elevating themselves and potentially corrupting their simple life), by the end of the film she accepts her daughter's choice and

even decides to enter into the higher position not only because it would see her marry the man that she once loved but it would also allow Madalena to have a father in her life. This seems to be the most important aspect for her, as she had said towards the beginning of the film that the most important thing for her is her daughter who “cost her so much to raise” (min: 8:46) She also claims that there is only one man in her life: the “father of my daughter” (min: 17:15). This shows that she is faithful to the father of her daughter and will only marry him (thus reasserting that family unity is important to her—and to society) and that money is not the solution to happiness, as she is happy at her position because she has her daughter, whereas the father, alone and wealthy, has something missing in his heart and conscience. Thus reasserting the *Estado Novo*’s fight against materialism and promoting the family.

The con artist/smuggler Barata is the embodiment of the things that the *Estado Novo* was against. His attempts at making money through scams is the opposite of the hard-working men and women of the film. Even though he manages to take some money from Micas and Lourenço by talking about phoney shipments of things that end up not arriving and were “not my fault” (min: 5:40), by the end of the film he loses all of his money to other con artists, becoming the living example of ‘what goes around, comes around’. He constantly tries to escape from the police officer (representing the government), showing his lawlessness, and though he does not get arrested, the loss of his money suggests that, if the state does not directly deal with criminals, their inherent lawlessness will eventually get them. Moreover, the criminals presented in the films of the *Estado Novo* are consistently shown as petty criminals, that is, not a political criminal (such as a communist), which would in turn have categorized them as a dangerous criminal. This fits with the part of the *Estado Novo*’s subliminal promotion of its policies and values by denying the existence of communists within Portugal.

Lourenço, the jack-of-all-trades, is a semblance of the male protagonists from the *comédias à portuguesa*, because while he has no apparent skills or talents, he has the same quick speech and wit that characters like Vasco in *A Canção de Lisboa*, he also has the same sexual knowledge and prowess that some of the women seem to lack, particularly Marcolina (Leónia Mendes), whom he promises to marry when they arrive in Brazil. Again, he conforms to the stereotypes established in the *comédia à portuguesa* in that, even though he is portrayed as sexually knowledgeable, by the end of the film he has established his desire to marry, thus reinforcing the importance of unity as defined by the Catholic Church. His work is not as visual as that of the women, though he is presented as a hard-working man for

Madalena's father and a hard-worker in general (particularly at the beginning when he tells João de Sousa that his attempts at working in Brazil failed, causing him to return to Portugal). Even though he is not the main male character in the film, his semblance of the Vasco-Portuguese man, his loyalty to João de Sousa, his hard working ethic and honesty, along with intention to marry, is rewarded and highlights the values of the Estado Novo

One point to mention are the immigrants below the decks on the ship they take to go to Brazil. Madalena's father points out different people in the room, saying that one is going to make his fortunes, a young couple are going because of their love, while an elderly couple may be visiting a child they thought they may never see again before Madalena sings a fado—one she calls the “Fado that I Never Forgot”—recalling some of the motives and the things that the immigrants may face in the lands they are going to. The film conveys a particular message regarding immigration: it is most likely to fail. While it is true that João returned a very wealthy man, Lourenço did not and his failure is actually a more important political message than João's success. Lourenço's identification with the Vasco character that many audience members were familiar with presents him as the ‘everyman’ while João, like Carlos' father, are portrayed as one of the incredibly wealthy members of society that were created by government regulation (Sorstein, 1993). Extensive government regulation of the mostly privately-held means of production meant that the leading industrialists and businessmen released some control to the government in return for “assurances of minimal public ownership of economic enterprises and certain monopolistic (or restricted-competition) privileges” (Sorstein, 1993).

This created powerful families who were wary of competition from smaller members of the public. Carlos' father is presented as such a figure and so is João, something that the audiences would not be able to identify with as easily as they would with Lourenço. This economic power was held together through alliances that included marriage (Sorstein, 1993) so when we see Madalena and Carlos coming together at the end of the film with the father's blessings (which came after he discovered that Madalena's father was rich) shows that immense wealth stays within a certain amount of people in Portugal, something that the vast majority of cinema spectators would have understood. Therefore, the film presents a particular message to the audience: emigration abroad will most likely end in failure (as exemplified by Lourenço) and economic (and social) advancement in Portugal occurs only with a certain few. The fact that Madalena and Micas were content with their lives before

João appeared is the ultimate message to the audience, that wealth would not necessarily make people happier if they were already happy (or at least content) to begin with.

Work in *A Canção da Saudade* is divided between singers/musicians and a small collection of others that will be discussed in more detail, but what stands out within the film is that this division is segregated by gender. We do not see women working in any other profession if not as singers (except for Cilinha (Florbela Queiroz) who is depicted as a stay-at-home worker, which itself brings another reinforcement of stereotypical conventions established in the *comédia à portuguesa*), while men are presented as both singers/musicians and engage in other professions.

The most prominent professions in the film are singers/musicians, as portrayed by the majority of the characters and especially the female ones (except Cilinha). There are no less than 16 different solo singers and musical groups, including a montage of different singers from other films made in Portugal, including *A Canção de Lisboa*. Of the 16, ten are women and the others are either men or musical groups (this list also includes Leonel's solo performance at home when he discovers he has got a job at a show). The only woman to not be a singer is Cilinha, who acts as the stay-at-home mother figure, cooking and cleaning the apartment she lives her father Leonel and brother Tony. Even though she is not a mother or even married (though she is in a stable monogamous relationship with Raul), she is presented as the mother-figure in order to create the family structure that the *Estado Novo* promoted. Even though at the end of the film she takes on the role of a manager or businesswoman of the *Lisboa Antiga e Moderna Dancing*, she spends the majority of the film acting as the housewife and that is the role that the audience identifies her with and not the manager.

The fact that the majority of characters are singers/musicians serves two purposes. The first purpose, and perhaps the most obvious one, is that their role is to showcase the talent of Portugal, both from the contemporary singers and the previous ones from the 1930s and onwards. As the title suggests, the song of homesickness is actually the song for a look back to more traditional times, even though there are many young characters that not only sing a different style of music but also look very different to the other characters, such as the wearing of leather jackets. The fact that there are 16 different singers and musical groups presented in the film and only a couple that are more 'modern' in the sense that it is no fado or a similar style support the *Estado Novo's* traditionalist stance by showcasing the most successful contemporary artists.

The second purpose is to distract from the recently-formed *Novo Cinema* movement and the beginning of the Portuguese Colonial War. The War had begun a few years earlier, and while coverage of the war was heavily censored by the government, it was known within the country that there was fighting and it lay within the consciousness of the population. Added to this the emergence of the *Novo Cinema* with its unconventional storytelling and breaking the conventions so firmly established in the Portuguese cinema. The cinematic counterattack was a reaffirmation of the values and conventions of the themes of the films supporting the *Estado Novo*, and while *A Canção da Saudade* does feature some superficially different characters, there is no doubt that it conforms exactly to the conventions and values of the *Estado Novo*.

As for the other jobs that the male characters occupy, we see a policeman, two wealthy men looking to control the building the *Gatos Pretos* occupy, and Raul, a businessman who establishes the *Lisboa Antiga e Moderna Dancing*. The police officer is presented as a serious man who does his job (even though he at times seems to want to listen to the people singing more than to do his work). Interestingly, when the crowds gather to hear the show from Leonel's home, he does nothing to disperse them but when Tony and the *Gatos Pretos* arrive he immediately tells them to go home. This shows that the officer, as a symbol of law and order (and by extension the *Estado Novo*), gives preferential treatment to the more traditional styles than the more modern ones—even though his attitude is not oppressive or stern.

The other male characters, the two wealthy men and Raul, play such minor roles in the film that there is not much to discuss of them, bar one of the wealthy men. One of the wealthy men is a Portuguese man, and he wants to buy the house that the *Gatos Pretos* are staying in to destroy it and sell off the materials. He is presented as a villainous man even though on the surface he appears to be someone who presents the values of the *Estado Novo* in that he is married, with a child, and is from Portugal. This villainy comes from the fact that he not only wants to destroy the house where the *Gatos Pretos* are staying (thus acting as the antagonist of the story) but also that he seeks materialistic wealth by selling off the materials, something the *Estado Novo* was against (Almeida, 2016). In the end he abandons his demolition plan but left an impression on the audience that those who seek to destroy parts traditional of Portugal for their own gain (in effect, selling Portugal itself) should be considered as villainous.

If work in *A Canção da Saudade* was defined by singers as the saving grace of Portugal by showcasing the enormous and varied talent the country had to offer, *O Miúdo da Bica* presents singing as a potentially corrupting occupation compared to other “honest” forms of employment. The three main workers in the film, Fernando, his father, and Chico, present vastly different kinds of jobs and vastly different people, only one of them actually aligning more closely with the values of the *Estado Novo* than the other two.

Fernando’s father works as a barber (a figure seen before in *A Costureirinha da Sé*), a job that is easily identifiable and familiar to many spectators. His desire is to see his son Fernando grow up to work in a job that is, as he says, “honourable” (min: 10:25) instead of skipping school and singing fado. He uses Fernando’s grandfather’s portrait to criticize Fernando for skipping school and informs him that his grandfather was not the kind of person to be frequenting boats instead of doing what was expected of him. He tries to do everything he can to discourage Fernando from pursuing the career of a singer until his death, fearing that Fernando would fall into the hands of a crooked manager.

The crooked manager comes in the form of Chico das Fragatas, a dishonest manager who scouts young boys with talent and then leaves them when he finds a new voice. Even though throughout the film he helps Fernando gain attention and the added benefits of being a star (such as an entourage and female companions), he does exactly what Fernando’s father had predicted and abandons Fernando, leaving him at the hands of the owner of a bar or restaurant where Fernando was singing wanting money, a man we see him talking at length with.

Finally, though Fernando is the protagonist of the film and therefore should technically be excluded from examination as part of the “people”, what he goes through actually highlights the film’s ideological message. His natural talent as a singer is discouraged by the authority figure in his life, his father, a man who is shown to be hard-working, insightful about where such a job could lead him, married with three children. His concern for Fernando’s future stems from practicality, as in Fernando needs to have a job to fall back on in case his career as a singer fails, and from a position of honour. He keeps insisting that Fernando must find an “honourable” job, and this key phrase suggests that singing is not an honourable job. This idea that singing is dishonest is not helped by Chico’s behaviour. Despite the fact that Fernando becomes famous and earns money that he sends to his family, it comes at a cost. The cost is his relationship with his loved ones. At one point in

the film Rosa tells him that he hasn't seen his mother in a long time, and he responds that he keeps sending her money every month, as if that was enough for a son. By the end, when he is wandering the streets, looking for the courage to return home to his family, we see he is a crippled man, heartbroken by Chico's dishonesty. We do not know if he plans to continue singing in the future after the film finishes, but his return to his family sends a clear suggestion that he has found what is actually important: his family, something that singing separated. Whereas singing united a broken family in *A Canção da Saudade* and is presented as a unifying force for the generations, *O Miúdo da Bica* presents singing as a dividing force, filled with materialistic and superfluous temptations.

Fernando's life was relatively stable after his father died in the sense that, while he sang in his spare time to earn some money, he still worked at the factory and was given leeway by the owner because his singing brought joy to people and made the company proud. When Chico appears after many years and tempts Fernando away from the factory to dedicate himself to singing full-time, that is when his life begins to untangle itself. Therefore, the message of the film appears to be that a talent like singing may be desirable and encouraged but only when it is alongside a dedicated "honourable" job that does not divide a family.

Work is divided in *Dom Roberto* between the authority figures and the 'people'. The authority figures are the dog catchers and the building inspectors who ultimately order its demolition. They are depicted as stern, somewhat efficient and ruthlessly uncompromising in their tasks. The dog catchers at the beginning of the film chase João for a long time to catch a stray dog for no apparent reason other the fact that it is a stray. This is a reflection of the actual story, as the dog can be seen to represent João who is fighting for survival against unforeseeable adversaries and needs a helping hand. The building inspectors are the more ominous authority figures, dressed in sombre black and practically faceless and inaudible except for their meticulous and efficient inspections. Even though their screen time is limited, their impact is profound, as João realises that it is only a matter of time before his 'home' will be destroyed.

The other characters do not seem to have employment except for between Gabriel and Serafim. We see the majority of characters either talking among each other in the courtyard or else doing tasks such as hanging clothes to dry. Their apparent lack of employment suggests that work is hard to find, as depicted by Maria's attempt to find a job across the city. This portrays a negative view of the *Estado Novo's* economic situation, as in the vast

majority of the films supporting the regime most characters have some kind of job, suggesting prosperity or at least stability. The abandoned building where they live, including one Maria tells João about that stood for 15 years before being demolished, adds to this feeling of economic failure or stagnation.

Serafim acts as an extension of the *Estado Novo* authority figure by aiding the dog catchers when they come after João, presenting him as a collaborator. He does not seem to have a particular job, though he feels as if he is entitled to control the building complex when he confides to his girlfriend. He reiterates this feeling of power when he unscrews the taps of João's apartment, telling him that he is in charge there. His domineering stance is thwarted when João stands up to him and beats him in a fight in the middle of the courtyard in front of the other residents who immediately call for him to leave there, at which point we do not see him again. His metaphorical connection to the *Estado Novo* as a collaborator is established at the beginning and is further enhanced by his bullying of the everyman João. His name as well, Serafim, relates to a heavenly being, connecting him loosely to religion, an ally of the *Estado Novo*. João's retaliation in front of the neighbours, gaining their support and getting them to turn against Serafim is a metaphorical call on the population to turn against the *Estado Novo* by highlighting how unfair and oppressive they behave.

Gabriel, on the other hand, is the only person apart from João who actually works and works successfully. Throughout the film we see him building a car from scratch, finding pieces here and there, until at the end we see him successfully start and drive the car. He is knowledgeable in his task, explaining to João the different parts of the car and what connects them. While some of his neighbours dismiss his job, Gabriel remains steadfast dedicated to completing it, displaying a hard-working attitude on a modern and useful piece of equipment. In comparison to João, Gabriel is presented as the potential future of Portugal, a worker who keeps working despite doubts and discouragement by his neighbours and with minimal resources. His angelic name also links him to religion but instead of being an oppressive force like Serafim, it is a kindly one, as he helps João and offers him pieces of advice about his safety. The fact that he builds the car from scratch shows that he is intelligent and resourceful. These combined traits present Gabriel as a positive figure of Portuguese intelligence and steadfast determination, representing the hope that people like him can bring to Portugal amidst the numerous stagnant or apathetic citizens.

What is interesting to note is that at the end of the film, when the demolition of the building commences and Gabriel finally gets the car working (thus representing great progression), all of the characters lose interest in the car and follow and watch João and Maria leave the courtyard. One moment of joy at Gabriel's success is replaced by sadness and compassion at João and Maria's downfall. This can be read as the Portuguese people's solidarity to the victims (of which there have been many). Modernity and success in production may not mean anything, the final scene suggests, if there are people who are victimized and abandoned. After all, the film suggests, without each other survival is impossible.

In *Os Verdes Anos* we see very similar sorts of jobs among the people. The three main workers in the film are Ilda, Afonso and the cobblers and employer of the store Júlio works in. All perform manual jobs: Ilda is a maid, Afonso is a hands-on decorator with Portuguese tiles, and the cobblers repair shoes without really needing to perform any intellectual tasks. If taken as a cross-section of the Portuguese population, it shows that education and literacy is not necessarily a requirement in order to do a particular job (demonstrated particularly in *Mudar de Vida*) as the jobs do not require advanced reading skills or eloquence, only the ability to follow orders.

However, the apparent lack of intellectual stimulation for Ilda and Afonso betrays their intelligence. Both characters are insightful and intelligent, much more so than Júlio, who seems apathetic or disinterested in everything. We hear Afonso narrating at the beginning of the film, telling the audience about his arrival in Lisbon many years before and how he was considered a country bumpkin. He attributes his success to taking life slowly, unlike his neighbours who had "hit their noses against the first wall and dispersed" (min: 2:16). Ilda's intellect is tied to her ambition to raise herself (as seen in the scene where she tries on her employer's clothing) and to see other, particularly Júlio, raise himself. She helps Júlio try to figure out what to do after he fights with his uncle. She advises him to study and better himself. Ilda knows that the key to success is to better oneself through education and self-employment. She tells Júlio this towards the end of the film while he absent-mindedly looks around him:

"If I didn't find this house to work in, I would have been stuck at my godmother's house, working for free. At least this way I always get paid. But I'm not going to spend like this. No! I want to work for myself" (min: 73:05).

While Ilda and Afonso take different stances to success (her through education while he believes in pacing), there is no denying that they both believe that success also involves hard work. We see them in their jobs and see them perform accordingly, while a few times we see Júlio being told off by his boss because of shoddy work. When he is leaving the shoe shop, Júlio does not know what he is going to do while Ilda tries to give him advice, trying to ground him into thinking practically about the future. Afonso tries to teach Júlio about survival as well but, like with Ilda, it falls on deaf ears.

Together they represent the practical Portuguese people, depicting them as much more grounded in the reality and the struggles of everyday existence. They know that things are not easily overcome, there is not singing while they work (as seen in so many films supporting the Estado Novo). For them, there may be no happy endings. This would have been understood by the audience who would have gone through much of the same economic hardships the characters face, having to travel from the countryside into the city for work, losing a parent and having to rely on themselves for survival, acquiring an instinct on life and how to survive it. As Afonso states in the beginning, “this city has eaten many” (min: 3:40).

The other workers we see in the film, the cobblers and the wealthy family Ilda works for, present two different versions of the Portuguese people. It is hard to differentiate the cobblers from one another, there is no unique characteristic that separates one from another (except for the owner). When Ilda comes into the shop while the owner repairs a pair of shoes, the two workers joke and flatter her but keep on working as they do so, whereas Júlio stops working and remains quiet, simply looking at her. This shows that the men are concentrated on their job (even though Ilda came to the shop to complain about two pairs of shoes that had supposedly been fixed, one even the day before). Their lack of individuality presents them as a singular entity, representing the working class that does the manual labour.

Meanwhile, the wealthy family Ilda works for are presented as strewn with problems. We do not see them working but we can see that they are wealthy, from their furniture to the amount of clothes the wife has (to which Júlio comments, “it’s a shoe store!” (min: 42:55) to their weekly trip out of Lisbon. Ilda informs us that the husband is an engineer of some sort that frequently travels by plane to Britain and the fact that they employ two maids provides further evidence that they are well-off. The cousin studies while the wife does not work, showing that they are financially dependent on the husband, something that aligns more closely with the values of the Estado Novo by fitting into the gender roles.

The three people of the family treat Ilda differently which demonstrates that the higher classes are not as simplistic as some in lower classes may think (for example, Júlio's view of them is based solely on what he sees and what Ilda tells him; his only interaction with the family comes at the end just before he kills Ilda), just as Ilda, Afonso and Júlio present the complexities of the working classes. The husband does not seem to acknowledge Ilda's existence (in the one scene they share he does not say a single word to her). The cousin who lives with them acts in a snobbish manner towards Ilda, ordering her to put some flowers in water and then proceeds to ignore her ("I never liked her...the bitch that she is!" Ilda says (min: 42:02)). The only sympathetic character towards Ilda is the wife, with whom she talks about Júlio, her day, things she is thinking and offers her some motherly advice about boys from Lisbon, warning her about them. She even says please after asking Ilda for something, something the other characters do not.

Despite the wife's more sympathetic attitude towards Ilda, the upper class is presented more as snobs than a complex class with differing attitudes towards those in lower positions. The wife's interest in Ilda's life, her motherly warnings and advices, are not substantial enough because of her limited time in the film. Despite this, we are left with an impression that the upper classes may have more money than the lower classes but they have different problems, problems that particularly destroy the image comparable to that of the 'ideal' family as envisioned by the Estado Novo.

Belarmino does not depict too many other people working apart from Belarmino himself. Though their visual presentation is extremely limited and rely mostly on (sometimes disputable) affirmations on the part of characters, we can still have a glimpse of how the people are presented in terms of their work.

The most noticeable workers in the film are the boxers we see training in several scenes. None of them speak, they wear the same style of clothing (striped shirts and plain trousers) at the beginning, only receiving a different look a little later while Belarmino is talking about his time with manager Martins. They are shown as disciplined workers, focused on their tasks and train hard. Despite these attributes, we do not really know anything else about them, thus presenting them, like in *Os Verdes Anos*, like a mass of workers without personalities and individualities. Therefore, their purpose in the film is simply to create a simplistic identity of the working class (which Belarmino is part of) much in the same way an establishing shot is used to visually establish the location of the action and set the scene.

Because of his identification with this class (not only working class but boxers as well) we can draw some comparisons between Belarmino himself and the boxers in that, if his journey to where he currently is went through the same journey the other boxers will go through, the other boxers may struggle to achieve any success. They may be exploited by their managers (as Belarmino claims) or if they behave themselves and are disciplined (like Martins claims Belarmino was not) then they may succeed. The disputes between Belarmino and Martins are contradictory, with one saying one thing and the other presenting a different image, that we cannot tell who is telling the truth and who is not. There are points in the film that could be used to indicate that Belarmino is lying (or at least not being truthful), such as when we see him being unfaithful to his wife by dancing with other women, trying to pick up other women on the street, the boxing match towards the end (which was staged specifically for the film), and the very fact that he is being filmed all suggest that he is being manipulative in order to present himself in the best possible light. Therefore, if we accept that what Belarmino says is not entirely truthful, then the outcome for the boxers could be different, thus presenting a more positive outlook for the future of boxing rather than having to believe everything Belarmino says. This does, however, pose the question of the veracity of the documentary as a producer of truth. By its very nature, documentaries proclaim themselves to present the truth, but if one is forced to question the “truth” of a documentary, or in this case “docufiction” (a trait common to many Portuguese films), then one is forced to question everything presented and also question the motivation by the documentary makers.

Unlike *Os Verdes Anos*, in which we see the three classes of workers (the shoemakers), middle (Afonso), and the upper classes (the wealthy family), in *Mudar de Vida* we only see the working class, presenting a very bleak picture of the economic situation in Portugal at the time. The workers are divided into two groups: the fishermen and their families, and the sailors carrying salt.

The fishermen are depicted as constantly fighting, constantly working. There are only two scenes in which we see them enjoying themselves, a prominent one at night when no work can be done, dancing and singing traditional songs around a large bonfire to celebrate the feast of São João. The other times they are always working, either rowing out to sea, mending nets, beaching their boat or worrying about their wages. We see that it is an arduous living, such as when Adelino passes out while on the boat, and the fact that they have no machinery to help them, relying solely on brute strength and the bullocks. Many of the houses are built from wood and at risk of being destroyed by the weather, as we see in one

scene. Moreover, especially in the house where Adelino lives, we barely see any windows open, presenting a claustrophobic sensation that extends to the way the fishermen live: trapped and without much hope for the future. While at times we hear the fishermen singing as they row out to sea, there is no jovial tone or accompanying music like we hear in *O Passarinho da Ribeira*. This is a stark contrast to how manual labour is presented in the two different cinemas.



(*Mudar de Vida. Produções Cunha Telles, 1966*)

The families of the fishermen are also presented as constantly working as well. We see them helping the fishermen haul their ship, the São Pedro, onto the beach, gather the nets with the meagre catch. The two times we see them singing and dancing shows a contrast that highlights an important ideological aspect that serves both the *Estado Novo* and its critics. On the one hand, we see a poor fishing village where the struggle for survival is real, where modern equipment is non-existent and everything has to be done by hand. On the other, we see scenes of happiness and joy as they dance and sing in apparent bliss, seemingly oblivious to their economic situation and the bleak future ahead. These contrasting images show a strong people, hard-working but still with a sense of community and optimism despite the dire circumstances, an image that serves the *Estado Novo* by projecting them as traditional, resilient and dedicated to their place.

The images also serves the purposes of the *Estado Novo*'s critics by presenting them as traditional, resilient and hard-working because of their poverty and circumstances. While we see many of the figures dancing to celebrate the feast of São João, Raimundo says "it is a fake joy" (min: 24:28) illustrating it with many characters drinking or being drunk as a way to continue with their lives. The villagers are not as oblivious to their predicament as it may seem, and in a world where they have to constantly fight to survive, a moment of celebration is a welcome relief. This could explain why we do not see any more dancing and singing until the very end of the film, as there would be no time and no cause to celebrate. Indeed, the last instance of dancing we hear a woman tell Adelino that they are praying for Julia's quick recovery moments before a fisherman carrying a sleeping child tells him that the fishing company has gone bankrupt and they now have to catch freshwater fish. As Adelino hears this and drinks an offered cup, the head of the sleeping child is framed in the centre of the shot, drawing our eyes to her. This shows that, with the company gone, the future is uncertain and as our eyes focus on the little girl, we are left wondering what is going to happen to the future generation. The music in the background plays on, oblivious to the situation and the religious reference by the woman to Adelino criticizes the traditionalism associated with the *Estado Novo*. Instead of looking depressed in the face of the reality, they decide to dance and sing, as if there is nothing wrong much in the same way the *Estado Novo* tried to present itself with the cinema.

The sailors carrying salt are interesting because they are a sharp contrast to the fishermen. The few instances we see them work, the music is tranquil, serene, suggesting that the work is not as arduous as the fishermen. Moreover, when we see them eating we hear them talk about women and we are left with the impression that they are rather lazy compared to the fishermen. Adelino even chides them for not working, clearly demonstrating an animosity that was not present with the fishermen. This presents the fishermen as a noble profession/entity but ultimately a doomed one, as someone tells Adelino that workers are leaving to go work in factories, and those that offer to do manual labour demand too much. This point will be discussed further with the analysis of the city versus the countryside, but it highlights a fact that the 'noble' profession of fishing is a dying breed and not economically viable, and as fishing (or rather the sea) is closely associated with the *Estado Novo* with its emphasis of Portugal's role in world history, thereby subliminally indicating that the *Estado Novo* is not a viable option.

Based on these examples, we can consider a few conclusions: the films supporting the *Estado Novo* depicts an economically stable country, where every character has some sort of job and do not seem to struggle for survival. Workers and their jobs have a very clear gender division, with many women employed in jobs that are traditionally regarded as female-centred, such as seamstresses, singers and waitresses that do not compete with their male counterparts in more ‘male-dominated’ jobs. Male characters are placed in traditionally male-dominated jobs, such as barbers, businessmen but also singer. We also notice that whenever a character is wealthy, such as in *O Passarinho da Ribeira* or in *A Canção da Saudade*, they are usually male characters, asserting the male dominance over women. The majority of jobs depicted in the films are manual jobs, and those that are not, such as the wealth fathers in *O Passarinho da Riberia*, we do not see them work, thereby leaving the audience only with the repeated sight of jobs they would have been familiar with.

The films of the *Novo Cinema* present a much different picture of employment in Portugal. Many of the characters do not appear to have jobs or if they do they are not high-paying ones. We see many manual jobs as well, such as shoemakers, fishermen and athletes, and these jobs are also based on gender divisions. Those that do have jobs are often depicted as fighting for survival more than working to improve their economic positions. This is a stark contrast to the economic image presented in the films of the *Estado Novo*, and it highlights not only how traditional industries are not economically viable options any more but also how the Portuguese people are stuck without an escape option (unless it is, indeed, to escape to a different country).

2.3.Social and economic advancements.

Following the theme of workers and the workplace, the social and economic advancements of the characters is an important topic to discuss, as the advancement (or lack thereof) ties directly to a strong stance by the *Estado Novo*. This stance was exemplified and then solidified with the cinema through established and repeated conventions and patterns. Typically in the cinema of the *Estado Novo*, we see films where there is a clear social and economic hierarchy, and many of the conflicts within the films are based on the attempted ascension from one class to the other (almost always from the middle to the upper classes). While it serves as the principal plot point for many films, it is certainly by no means the predominant theme of a film, even though we may see certain instances of it. The reward of a new life in Mozambique at the end of *Chaimite*, for example, elevates Daniel (Artur Semedo) and Maria (Maria Emília Vilas) from their previous social positions even though that was not the main plot of the film. The social ascension is acceptable and desirable in Portugal and in the colonies as long as they follow the conventions.

This pattern was established with *A Canção de Lisboa* and then repeated through the successive years and films, notably *O Costa do Castelo*. In these two examples, we see the archetypal Portuguese man (Vasco and Costa, respectively) as they raise themselves and others (Alice and Luisinha) to a higher social and economic class, while at the same time thwarting an attempt by morally dubious characters (the shoemaker in *A Canção de Lisboa* and Isabel in *O Costa do Castelo*). As the vast majority of the films end with a ‘happy’ ending conforming to the ideals of the *Estado Novo*, the main characters typically raise themselves and by the film’s end belong to a higher social class.

Classical Hollywood cinema, on which international cinema—including the Portuguese cinema—is based on, has a strong base in desire and the characters are casual agents. When the character gain desires, there is often an opposition that creates conflict and gives the character a goal to overcome. Narrative depends heavily on cause and effect, and it implies change: “If characters did not desire something to be different from the way it is at the beginning of the narrative, change would not occur. Therefore characters and their traits, particularly desire, are a strong source of cause and effects” (Bordwell & Johnson, 2003, p.90). This was one of the main problems with the films of the *Estado Novo*, because very few characters openly admit to desiring anything, thus any narrative tension is removed and change almost never occurs.

While the ascension between the classes or between the economic positions was a major plot point for the main characters, for the secondary characters representing the people, their desire to change their position within the hierarchy of society is rarely shown. The image presented is of a content population that knows their position within the social structure and any deviation from their position is discouraged. While at times many characters may verbally display a longing for something a higher class or higher economic group may have, they make no attempt at actually changing their position. Instead, they carry on as before, highlighting the subtle enforcement of social positioning by not even attempting to change.

The characters who do attempt to climb the social and economic ladder almost always fail. They fail through two main reasons: firstly, they do not commit thoroughly to their plan and seem to just suddenly giving up; secondly, their plans are thwarted by those of the class they are trying to enter. The first case is evident in *A Canção de Lisboa*, where, once Vasco becomes a successful *fadista*, the shoemaker gives up on his plan to steal Vasco's inheritance and instead returns back to his previous position. *O Costa do Castelo* highlights the second way the plotters fail by André's rejection of Isabel, instead wanting to marry Luisinha, a girl from a poorer background.

The way the would-be climbers are rejected highlights two important things. Firstly, by having the plotter quit on their plan shows that either they realized that their current position is a better suit for them or that the task of climbing the social ladder is a near-impossible task, so instead of investing time and efforts into it, they may as well remain where they are. Secondly, having the higher social groups reject the attempts of the climbers reinforces the previous point, because even if the plotters manage to gain some headway in their ascension attempts, it is ultimately up to the class they are trying to reach that will determine whether they are accepted or not. Vasco and Costa, for example, manage to climb the social ladder because they were invited by the higher classes to do so. Vasco's successful completion of medical school raises him to a higher social level by becoming a doctor, something granted to him by the professors at the medical university. While Costa held no ambition to raise himself, his marriage (or at least his courtship) with Dona Malfada (Maria Matos) elevates him to her higher social position.

These two points are seen time and again in the films supporting the *Estado Novo*, and are very apparent in the films under investigation.

The film whose plot revolves mainly around the social and economic ascension is *O Passarinho da Ribeira*. We see two groups of people in different social and economic positions, the rich men and the poorer women. Both groups are established as belonging to their hierarchal position and knowing their respective places within society, as exemplified by Micas and Mr. Lopes' repeated scolding their children to end their courtship. Carlos' father tries to keep his son from marrying a poor girl ("I want you to marry rich! Money is what establishes the social level", he tells Carlos), while Micas displays a contempt for the power and money Carlos and his father have, such as when she tells Mr. Lopes, "I'm not interested in your son or your money!". Their steadfast stances highlight their knowledge of the social positions and their desire to adhere to them is explicitly stated. Madalena's and Carlos' desire to marry each other does not apparently stem from a desire to elevate or be elevated into a different social position, but they do not seem to realise the social and economic implications of such a union, and it is up to the older generation to explicitly tell them (and the audience) that the union between the higher and the lower social class is not welcome by both classes.

When João returns from Brazil we see a different dynamic at play that changes the idea of the social advancement. His return and the realization that Madalena is his daughter instantly changes her social position. In a split second, she has immediately climbed the social ladder by João's desire for her to inherit his wealth. After Carlos' father learns of Madalena's wealth he immediately changes his stance from calling Carlos' relationship one of 'no importance' to an 'ordinary' girl (min: 50:05) to becoming indignant that she had promised to marry him and must therefore keep her word. By wanting to unite them in marriage he is solidifying a few different social and economic aspects: the marriage will be seen as conforming to the religious acceptance (and by extension the state's acceptance) of the unity of the class; secondly, the marriage, a morally and legally binding contract, is designed to keep the respective social and economic players together in the same sociological sphere of influence rather than allow them to mix with the lower social classes. If they were to marry into a lower class (without the Catholic Church's or the higher classes' approval) then it would convey a message that social and economic ascension is achievable and something that is not restricted by any written or unwritten moral and sociological code.

Madalena's acceptance by the higher class is shared by her mother and it comes through two sources. João's desire to marry Micas represents the higher classes' moral invitation into their class. By being the one who suggests that they become united he is

following conventions established in previous films, as it is the higher classes who take the initiative to elevate her. Her rejection of his advances present her as steadfast towards the prospect of climbing the social and economic ladder, knowing that such a union carries the risk of tainting her identity as a member of the lower class.

However, her decision to finally be with João comes from her religion. Throughout the film we see that she is a deeply religious woman and that her convictions and shame stem from her religiousness. She repeatedly states that she has rejected all others and will only marry the father of her child, but his decision to leave her and Madalena for Brazil brings shame to Micas, who has to raise Madalena as an unwed mother. Thus when João returns she rejects his advances because of the shame that his departure caused her over the many years. It is only at the end of the film, after her accident, that she sees the “light”, that it is her religious duty to marry João in order to create the family unit and end the unspoken shame of being an unwed mother, something that was socially seen as irresponsible and at times reprehensible (one need only see how Leonor’s parents speak of Aurora in *A Costureirinha da Sé* for being a bastard child to see how they treat members of society that do not fit into the framework established by the *Estado Novo* of a family).

Madalena’s ascension to the higher classes through her inheritance is seen as a betrayal by Carlos. He forbids her from seeing Lourenço, who claims to be João’s lawyer, and once he discovers that she has seen him, he furiously reacts to her disobedience. His reaction stems from two main sources, one more sentimental and the other more subliminally patriarchal.

The sentimentality comes from the fact that their relationship is seen disapprovingly by those in power in society, namely their parents. The disapproval, as mentioned before, is due to their different social positions, and any intermingling between the classes is frowned upon and treated at times as openly hostile by those who understand the implications of class movement and the importance of class order. As Micas and Mr. Lopes represent the familial pillars of society through their embodiment of social, moral and economic values, their disapproval represents society’s disapproval. As such, Carlos and Madalena know that they face a challenge to their relationship, confronting not only their parents and what their parents expect them to do, but also confronting society and the social and moral obligations imposed upon them. Therefore, when Carlos finds out that Madalena went to the hotel to meet Lourenço and then discovers that Micas’ house was purchased (and assumes that it was Mr.

Lopes that bought it), he sees it as her betrayal of their struggle against social impositions. He tells her that she has betrayed their “love for the happiness of [her] father”, thereby implying that she has conformed to social expectations of their relationship.

The other source of his reaction comes from the subliminal patriarchy Carlos and his class embody. As noted, all of the characters with monetary wealth are men and as such they have greater economic power than the women, embodying the patriarchal-economic nature of the Estado Novo. Carlos says to her: “I don’t want you going to that hotel, above all without your mother” (min: 29:14). His order that she is not allowed to see Lourenço uses her mother’s absence as a justification, but the wording he uses is clearly patriarchal. If he disapproved of her desire to go to the hotel because she would not be chaperoned by her mother, a matriarchal figure who may understand more about life and society than her, then he would have brought Micas’ absence first, but he clearly states “I don’t want” (min: 29:14), a clear assertion of his masculine dominance over her. Therefore, his reaction when he discovers that she ignored his orders can be seen as a betrayal of his masculine dominance and as such an attack on the patriarchal society that he represents.

Madalena’s ‘betrayal’ constitutes an attack not only to Carlos’ authority as a wealthy male but also to the conventions. Madalena’s rise to the higher class places her on an equal level with Carlos who, accustomed to being of greater social and economic position, loses his economic dominance over her. Her inheritance means that she has risen to Carlos’ level without needing him to elevate her, which strikes a blow at the conventions whereby a character’s partner promotes them to the higher class. Even though Madalena only rises because of her father (who occupies a higher position of power and economic freedom), it still strikes a blow to Carlos’ authority and dominance as someone can give her high society’s approval for her elevation to their level.

The only character who openly wants to change his social position is Barata. Throughout the film we see him con characters into giving him money based on false promises and other factors that he claims are beyond his control. His constant battle with the customs officers highlight his shady nature and the criminal way he attempts to earn money (and by extension raise himself economically). We see him attempt to receive money from almost all of the major secondary characters and often hear him lamenting his lack of funds. This last point sets him apart from the others who are in the same economic position, such as Micas and Marcolina, who do not complain about their lack of money or their relative

poverty. In the end, Barata does not succeed in rising above his economic position and even has his newly-received money stolen from him by another con artist in a form of poetic justice.

Barata's character serves as a contrast to Madalena and Micas and serves to highlight how one does not go about in order to rise economically. Even though he receives money from João and Mr. Lopes at times within the film, it is because he makes a phoney case for them to give him the money rather than it being earned through merit. His blatant desire to earn money also sets him apart from Micas and the others, who are shown as indifferent or even hostile to earning more and to changing their economic and social positions. Barata's comeuppance shows that, even if the police are able to arrest him (as they do) and he is able to leave after "13 hours and 15 minutes, exactly" (min: 59:34), he will forever be a victim of the same crimes he practices. Barata is depicted in a comic light, a bumbling con artist who holds no real credible threat to anyone's welfare. In spite the fact that he receives money from most of the main and secondary characters several times throughout the film, he is ultimately unsuccessful, proving that crime does not pay.

A Costureirinha da Sé does not depict characters wanting to elevate themselves from their social or economic class in the same way that *O Passarinho da Ribeira* with the sole exception of the thieves who use their wealth and status to corrupt Leonor. While Leonor is Aurora's rival in terms of prestige and position within the seamstress shop, they are within the same economic and social position, that is, they are both employees and their social position remains the same at the end of the film as in the beginning. The arrival of the two thieves sets them apart from the inhabitants of the location but rather than using their apparent wealth to corrupt Leonor with monetary and social desire and prestige, they corrupt her moral integrity.

The criminals in *A Costureirinha da Sé* are a stark contrast to the relatively harmless Barata. For one thing, we only discover that they are criminals after the robbery of the jewellery store and have gone into hiding somewhere, whereas we know that Barata is a con artist from the very beginning, spouting promises all the time. Barata is shown to use excuses and verbal manipulation in order to convince whichever person he is talking with to invest into his scheme, whereas the other criminals use their charm and good manners to envelope Leonor and her parents into the scheme. We see Rui take her to the jewellery store, where he buys her an engagement ring, only for it to be robbed later on after having used her to (most

likely) discover the locations of the most valuable pieces and to have an idea of the layout of the store (it must be noted that we do not see them inside the store, nor do we see the robbery, as depictions of crime were forbidden in the cinema of the *Estado Novo*, (Almeida, 2016) but upon viewing the film one can deduce that the events could have happened as described above).

The differences between Rui and his accomplice and Barata is important in the social and economic advancement because of the way they are presented in terms of their social positions. Rui is depicted as apparently from a higher class, he drives a car, wears nice clothing and treats Leonor and her parents like a gentleman, so much so that she even accepts his marriage proposal. Barata, on the other hand, comes from the same social class and Micas and Madalena and is presented as trying to get ahead in life through various “enterprises”. Both Rui and Barata prey on the lower classes, manipulates and uses them for their own gains. The difference does not lie with their crime but rather on the impact of the crime. Barata simply cons people into giving him money on the promise of financial wealth, but Rui manipulates emotions as well. Rui does not simply use Leonor to gain access to the jewellery store, but manipulates her emotions to the point that, once he is discovered to be a criminal, it brings shame to Leonor and her family for having trusted and accepted him.

This manipulation of emotions presents a clear warning to the audience: criminals who manipulate emotions while promising to raise their positions are not only legally criminal but also morally reprehensible. The fact that Rui and his associate are not caught by the film’s end further emphasizes their criminality, suggesting that such criminals may strike again and the people must therefore be vigilant.

O Miúdo da Bica treats social and economic advancement as a warning, capable of easily rupturing the family unity. We see the desire for economic advancement and its dangers through two men, Chico das Fragatas and Fernando’s father. Fernando’s father represents the honour and security of an “honest” job within their social and economic means. We see Fernando’s father repeatedly state that he wants Fernando to grow up into an honest and honourable job away from singing (even though the music he sings is *fado* music, heavily associated with the *Estado Novo*). Fernando’s father knows of the corrupting effect fame and fortune can bring to his son, which is why he tells him not to sing, as it requires him to skip school and miss out on his education, thus affecting him for his entire life. Fernando listens to his father’s demands and breaks his childhood partnership with Chico, who had

been courting him in order to represent him as his manager. Fernando even continues with his responsibilities and his promise to his father after the latter's death, singing only at night after finishing his job in the factory.

Chico represents the corrupting effect of social and economic advancement. While we see Fernando singing as a child for the pleasure and joy of singing, Chico does everything he can to first lure Fernando into his management to then exploit him. Fernando's father firmly puts a stop to it and it is only many years later that Chico returns to find Fernando. This time, without his father's warnings, Fernando agrees to leave his secure job in the factory as an operator and dedicate himself full-time to singing. This distances Fernando from his family and those he loves, thinking that all he has to do is to send money to his mother every month. The singing certainly raised him to a higher social and economic level, but due to Chico's duplicitousness he is left destitute and almost ostracised by those who truly care for him.

Chico's position as having managed several singers gave Fernando enough confidence in Chico to leave his factory job, as Chico, being more experienced, was looking for the best talent he could find. This was Fernando's invitation to join the higher classes, the same sort of invitation conventionally seen in other films of the *Estado Novo*. However, Chico did not belong to a higher class, and his greed clouded Fernando's judgement. Before Chico reappeared, Fernando would sing after work and earn an honest salary, not enough to make him leave the factory (presented as a fair and stable job, given that the owner forgives Fernando for constantly arriving late due to singing at night) but his singing did not impede him from maintaining the working-class job. Fernando's success, encouraged by Chico, ends up hurting those he loves, in the same way as Leonor's greed hurt her family. This shows that trying to rise within the social and economic levels with the help of those who are not in the upper class will always fail, even if there is talent. Having talent is not portrayed as detrimental to a character but the desire to use that talent for more wealth is shown as a failure.

A Canção da Saudade is the opposite of *O Miúdo da Bica*. Whereas *O Miúdo da Bica* presents singing as an activity that, in the hands of the wrong people, can lead to emotional and family heartbreak, *A Canção da Saudade* presents it as a way to heal and unite the family. The *Gatos Pretos* are presented as a struggling group (including both musicians and fans) at the risk of losing their (illegal) residence. Success would see them climb the social and economic ladder, something that they seem to struggle to achieve. Lionel, equally, has

some success with his concerts at home (he certainly draws more crowds than the *Gatos Pretos*) but he also does not have great success. It is only at the end of the film, through Raúl's invitation to play at the *Lisboa Antiga e Moderna Dancing*, that Lionel and *Os Gatos Pretos* gain any success. Their success is not only financial but also emotional, as the two conflicting sides finally come together to resolve their differences and create a strong family unit.

In *O Miúdo da Bica*, we see a dubious agent whereas in *A Canção da Saudade* Raúl is a trustworthy man that is not looking for success to fulfil his greed. How, then, does one tell the difference? On the surface, they both similarly dressed and speak knowingly about their profession. While Raúl is seen driving a car (an indication that he is economically well-off compared to the *Gatos Pretos*' much older car), Chico is not shown driving anything, thus placing him in a slightly lower position than Raúl. Even so, that is not a clear indication of their honesty. The one difference between them that really separates them is their relationship with women. While Chico is not shown talking to any women, Raúl is dating Cilinha and his relationship with her is presented as a serious monogamous one that crosses the boundaries of sexuality. The most we see them do is kiss each other, and only at the very end, thus presenting a sexually-restrained relationship. This presents him as an honourable man, one that respects the values instilled by the Catholic Church and therefore a person of confidence.

The films of the *Novo Cinema* present social and economic advancement in a very different way, if at all. One of the most common themes seen within the *Novo Cinema* is not only the lack of opportunity for social and economic advancement but also a lack of motivation (partly because of the lack of opportunity). The main characters are rarely depicted as striving to raise themselves from their social and economic position, with only a handful of secondary characters filling this role. For the most part, we see characters struggling to survive in their current situation, never mind hold ambitions to elevate themselves.

Dom Roberto presents social and economic advancement through two characters, Gabriel and Serafim. They present the different attitudes towards advancement, Gabriel representing the potential the country can offer whereas Serafim presents the selfishness and desire for power. As previously stated, building complex and courtyard they share metaphorically represents Portugal and the characters are representative of the Portuguese population. For the most part, we see the characters settled in their existence, going about

their day-to-day without much concern for the future or their social and economic level. Some even ridicule Gabriel's attempts to build his car, calling it a waste of time, implying that even if he is successful it will be for naught, as he will not be able to do anything with it. This suggests that opportunities, even for those with means to advance themselves, is either non-existent or too difficult to find (as exemplified by Maria's failed attempts at finding a job).

Gabriel's indifference to their ridicule sets him apart from the other characters, knowing (or at least believing) that he will be better off with the car. He knows that he cannot count on help from the other characters and is thus forced to rely on himself to overcome obstacles and find pieces to make the car work (a metaphor for overcoming adversity in real life). His soured relations with Amâncio, his most vocal critic, presents them as opposites and an extension of the Portuguese people, one comfortable (or at least not dissatisfied) with their position, the other wanting to be better, resourceful and dedicated despite the lack of resources and communal doubt.

Gabriel's success and the obstacles he had to overcome is markedly different from the films supporting the Estado Novo. While we see characters with little possessions maintain their humility and only advance through the invitation from those higher than them, Gabriel sets himself apart by having ambition, by not listening to the majority, and by succeeding by himself. He completed the car by himself and has elevated himself to a different social and economic level without any invitation or help from the higher classes. This shows that advancement is possible and achievable without any help from the higher classes, something that the films supporting the Estado Novo do not show or suggest.

The other character wanting to rise is Serafim, although his motivation stems from his desire for power. He wants to be in charge but only acts against João and Maria, the only people living illegally there (and thus outside of the protection of the law), the two most vulnerable characters in the building complex. His mean-spirited attack on João and Maria depicts him as a coward who targets the weak in the hope of raising himself among the other residents. But when João resists and fights him in the courtyard in front of the other residents, he is soundly defeated and is driven out of there by the other residents, who, while they do not fight or aid João, unite behind him.

This unity is evident throughout the film with the residents. We see them accept João and Maria and do not inform on them (unlike Serafim, who informs the dog-catchers at the

beginning), recognising their social position as equal to their own and their economic struggles as worse than the other residents. The unity transcends any sort of individual progression, as exemplified by the final scene of the film. Gabriel's success in building a working car—a near-impossible feat given the circumstances—is wildly applauded by the residents, but once they see João and Maria forced to leave, they immediately put the car aside and try to console them. Gabriel's victory is a hollow one if it cannot be shared with everyone. This shows that unity is more important than anything else, suggesting that despite of all the difficulties and obstacles one is bound to encounter on one's journey to advance themselves, it means nothing if it cannot be shared by and with all.

In *Os Verdes Anos*, the only character who attempts to raise themselves is Ilda. For the most part we see characters in established social and economic positions, apparently content in them and hold no vocal desire to raise themselves. It is only Ilda who mentions anything about elevating herself, and only more towards the end of the film. We learn that she wants to open her own seamstress shop and that she wants to reach the same level as her employers (as exhibited in the scene where she tries on her employer's clothing). Having her own business would certainly place her in a higher social and economic level.

However, Ilda does not get to reach that higher level because Júlio kills her, and her death is significant. One could read Júlio's motivation for killing her as being an enforcer of the conservative values of the *Estado Novo*—he certainly exhibits most of the characteristics the *Estado Novo* wished its people to embody, such as his provincial background, his manual labour job, his religious morality, etc. While having this enforcer aspect is a credible reading—after all, he stops her from advancing without permission from the higher classes—it is not the true reason why he kills her. Throughout the film we see Júlio display a clear lack of ambition towards life and towards his work, a stark contrast to Ilda's own view and one that she recognises. She sees that being with Júlio and his proposed marriage without clear direction or final economic objective would destroy her ambitions, so she rejects his proposal. Her rejection is not just his lack of ambition but also the patriarchal dominance behind it. When she asks where they would live, and mentions the fact that he has not yet served his military conscription, he answers that while he is serving in the military she could live with her employers and then afterwards they could find a room together, which forces her to depend on others when she wants to have her independence. Her lack of explanation and her forceful rejection of his plan is an attack on his masculine dominance and the

patriarchal system behind his proposal. Therefore, her death is not so much an explicit attack on her desire to advance but rather at her rejection of the patriarchal society she lives in.

Belarmino offers little for analysis since we only hear of Belarmino's struggles to advance. We can only assume that the other boxers we see have the same desire as Belarmino, to become the champion. But if we are to believe what he says, then the economic opportunities for such an advancement are very narrow or non-existent, since he, as a former champion, has to take on another job in order to make ends meet.

Mudar de Vida presents a much more cynical and brutal view of social and economic advancement than the other films on the list. Like *Os Verdes Anos*, we only see one person actively wanting to change their lives and improve it: Albertina (coincidentally portrayed by the same actress). She is the only character who is actively doing something to help her advance herself, including stealing from the chapel. This shows her determination to want to escape Portugal, the only way she is convinced that she can advance into a better life.

The other characters show no desire to advance themselves because, like João and Maria, they struggle to survive on their current level. This struggle combined with Albertina's emphasis on going abroad paints Portugal as a hopeless country, where even if one was able to survive without having to struggle, there are no opportunities to advance oneself.

From these examples we can draw a few conclusions and see how different or similar they are to the films supporting the *Estado Novo*. Very few of the characters (both primary and secondary) ever attempt to raise themselves from their current social and economic positions, and only two have some measure of success, Gabriel and Albertina (although his success is a hollow one and her ending remains ambiguous). One could suggest, therefore, that the films adhere to the conventions established by the *Estado Novo* in that they do not depict a successful transition between the social classes, nor do they depict characters succeeding in an economic endeavour. However, the lack of success or even of attempts by characters does not stem from any lack of ambition but rather because in order to climb or advance, they would have to be stable enough to attempt to climb, as depicted in the films of the *Estado Novo*. We see Micas, Leonor, Tony, and others within their own homes, all have some sort of job and we do not see them struggling unsuccessfully as the characters in, say, *Mudar de Vida*. They have a certain stability within their economic and social levels, and any attempt to climb up, whether successful or not, does not jeopardize their belongings or their position within society. The characters in the *Novo Cinema*, however, do not have the same

kind of stability as those of the *Estado Novo*. Many live close to the poverty line, go hungry, remain unemployed and are unable to make ends meet. Therefore, they do not attempt to raise themselves because they struggle just to be able to stay within their own social position.

The focus of the stories of social and economic advancement is also treated very differently within the two sides. While the films of the *Estado Novo* make a point to repeatedly tell the audience that social and economic advancement is unachievable unless one has the invitation and the permission of the higher classes, the films of the *Novo Cinema* deliberately do not present stories of social advancement, which the audience would have been used to seeing, because of the lack of opportunities available to advance. We do not see convoluted plots of long-lost wealthy parents returning to their children or other stories of potential social advancement within the *Novo Cinema*. Instead the people are portrayed as hard-working, performing an ungrateful job that barely allows them to scrape by. By focusing on these kinds of stories, the filmmakers make a clear point that the audience will not be seeing a film about how someone may be able to rise from their social position—an unlikely escapist fantasy designed to keep the people within their own positions—but rather they will be seeing a story about survival and the struggle to survive.

This depiction presents the Portuguese state as one of little opportunity. By placing the blame on the Portuguese state rather than on the people's apparent lack of ambition, the filmmakers are able to criticize the Portuguese economy as stagnant, if not unworkable. The failure of the fishermen in *Mudar de Vida* or the lack of employment for Maria in *Dom Roberto* clearly presents a lack of opportunity to grow, a stark contrast to the lack of unemployment in the films of the *Estado Novo*, where we do not see a homeless person nor a person without a job. Those who are of dubious social and economic standing (such as the drunk man arrested at the end of *O Passarinho da Ribeira*) are shown as a comic figure rather than a socially or economically troubled person, taking the audience's mind away from the troubles they may or may not have. The *Novo Cinema*, however, depicts poverty without hiding anything, exposing the "reality" the *Estado Novo* fought to conceal.

2.4. The Portuguese and the Foreigners

The following topic of “foreigners” not only includes non-Portuguese persons (such as Brazilians, British, etc), but extends to include people from other cities, from the countryside and from different social and economic classes. The term “foreigner” is used as an umbrella term in order to encapsulate and include these different groups of people, since not every film includes a person from a different country or someone from the countryside.

The *Estado Novo*'s integralist policies meant that it was different from other fascist regimes at the time who were very focused on foreign policy and expansionism, and as such placed great emphasis within the country and its people. The education system placed a great emphasis on the nation's history as one of the great exploration empires and its five centuries of colonial possession, presenting itself as a source of stability not only to its African and Asian colonies but to the whole world (Pimentel, 2011). Not only was the *Estado Novo* attempting to present itself and its people in the best positive light within the country, it was also attempting to depict itself abroad, through diplomatic action, as a stable country by “being able to cross unscathed the convulsive era of European history that began with the rise of Hitler...the Spanish civil war...the Second World War and extended itself into the first post-war years until the precarious stabilization brought by the Cold War” (Perreira, 2012, p.527). As such, the views of Portugal by a foreigner is meant to see the greatness of Portugal as envisioned by the government.

As such, the depiction of overseas foreigners must be placed in contrast to the Portuguese person and their morals will be compared to the Portuguese “standards” as defined by the *Estado Novo* (Catholic, traditionalist, conservative, etc). The most prominent examples are that of *O Passarinho da Ribeira* and *A Canção da Saudade* but is also found in *Os Verdes Anos*.

The concept of the overseas “foreigner” is not only physically presented as an actual person with their unique political and moral viewpoints but they are also presented metaphorically through Portuguese people, sometimes sharing the same characteristics as the overseas person in order to highlight and reinforce the conservative Portuguese “standard” or at times to challenge it. Examples of these can be found in *A Costurierinha da Sé*, *Os Verdes Anos* and *Mudar de Vida*.

O Passarinho da Ribeira presents two people who, although not true overseas foreigners, have spent a long period of time outside of Portugal and as such have acquired

certain foreign mannerisms: João and Lourenço. Both men are Portuguese citizens who had emigrated from Portugal to Brazil in order to seek their fortunes, and while João managed to gain vast wealth, Lourenço returns home destitute, even unable to pay for his voyage. Both men share many similarities with Carlos and Mr. Lopes and serve as contrasts between the “Brazilian” Portuguese and the European Portuguese men.

Of the two men, Lourenço has the most “foreign” characteristics. He speaks with a pronounced Brazilian accent and he even jokes with Marcolina of Brazilian “slang” on their way to Lisbon, saying words and phrases that she does not understand. He is presented as an overtly sexual man, making advances on Marcolina but without forcing himself (such as when he says that while kissing does not cure seasickness “it helps a little”), setting himself apart from the other Portuguese men who engage in sexual conversation or action once marriage has been proposed.

João is presented quite differently to Lourenço. The most obvious difference between them is their speech and their successes. While Lourenço mixes the Portuguese accent and the Brazilian one, João maintains his Portuguese accent throughout the film. João returns to Portugal a very wealthy man while Lourenço is a stowaway on board, having had no success in Brazil despite working hard. João kindly offers him a job due to their previous friendship, symbolizing that friendship means helping each other. The fact that João was successful in Brazil while still maintaining his accent (and by extension his Portuguese identity) and that Lourenço, having tried to assimilate the Brazilian accent (and by extension the Brazilian identity), is unable to find success implies that the maintenance of one’s Portuguese identity will bring more success than if one were to abandon it. This is even said by one of the crew members at the beginning, when he is going to take a breakfast tray to João cabin, “He’s not Brazilian, he’s Portuguese!”

João and Mr. Lopes share many of the same characteristic. They are both rich, both are parents and they both want to see the same financial success for their children. The fact that they are both rich shows that, even though for the most part they live in different countries, they share the same values instilled in them from their Portuguese identity and because of that identity they have been able to accumulate great wealth. Not only do they share the same discipline that allowed them to become rich, both of them serve the *Estado Novo*’s political and economic views. Mr. Lopes is opposed to his son marrying Madalena because of her lower social and economic class, but upon learning that she is actually

inheriting a great fortune he changes his mind; João learns that Carlos is already rich, so he does not face the same reversal of opinion as Mr. Lopes does, but he still sees his daughter want to marry into his social class, thus following the unwritten guideline of class structure presented in other films of the *Estado Novo*, where ascension to other classes comes through invitation.

Another thing that João and Mr. Lopes share is that they have a younger man under them. In João's case it is Lourenço, while Mr. Lopes has his son Carlos. Carlos openly defies his father in his pursuit of a relationship with Madalena, placing his whole inheritance at risk, whereas Lourenço follows João's every instruction. This difference in respect to authority highlights an importance difference between the two men, stemming from their dedication to work. For the most part, the two men share many of the same characteristics: they both pursue only one woman (thus highlighting the moral conservatism), both follow their elder's instructions (though in Carlos' case it is only towards the end of the film) and they both have Madalena's happiness in mind. However, Lourenço is the only one that seems to have (or have had) an employment, as he mentions not earning enough money despite working in Brazil, whereas Carlos is not seen working throughout the film, and there is no mention of a job. This presents Carlos as having lived an easy life, without worrying about money or his future—which could explain his almost flippant attitude to marrying someone from a lower social level—whereas Lourenço, having been unemployed and hungry, follows João's every instruction. As Lourenço comes from a lower economic level than Carlos, it highlights the idea that the working classes work more than the wealthier classes and that they are hard workers, and while those of the higher classes may not realise their privilege and good fortune, by the end of the film they realise that they have a higher duty to perform. At times, it is necessary for a “foreign” character to highlight the problems the Portuguese characters may have in order to fix them—while making sure that the “foreigner” is in fact Portuguese.

A Canção da Saudade prominently features a foreigner but instead of presenting him as inferior to the Portuguese, they are actually depicted in a heroic light. The foreigner is a British man, known as the count (Luis Cerqueira, who played Gabriel in *Dom Roberto*), owner of the manor the *Gatos Pretos* illegally live in. After the businessman tries to buy the property in order to demolish it, the count firmly refuses to sell it and even tells the *Gatos Pretos* that they have to leave. After seeing that so many people would be left homeless, the count allows them to stay, even writing a sign that says “Manor of the *Gatos Pretos*”.



(*A Canção da Saudade*. Produções Francisco de Castro, Cooperativa Cinematográfica Alcazaba, 1964)

The count's presentation is interesting because it contrasts sharply with that of the Portuguese businessman. As previously analysed, the Portuguese man is given unscrupulous attributes and motivations that cause the audience to view him as the antagonist. The count is used to highlight this antagonistic aspect of the businessman, reinforcing the negative political aspects he is attributed (such as wanting to destroy a site of Portuguese patrimony for personal wealth) and conveying to the audience that such men are against the values of the *Estado Novo*.

If the English count in *A Canção da Saudade* is meant to portray the foreigner as a noble character hoping to enrich the lives of the common Portuguese person through generosity to their plight, then the foreigner in *Os Verdes Anos* is the complete opposite to this view. The foreigner is also an English man (Harry Wheeland), but with noticeable differences and he is used to highlight a few different, yet conflicting, views of Portugal and the Portuguese people. He uses violence against Raúl when he semi-drunkenly comes to Júlio's aid, choking him and calling him derogatory names like "Sebastian" and "old Latin fool". After he gets expelled from the bar, he walks with Júlio until they meet two prostitutes and encourages him to sleep with one of them. Along the way the Englishman remarks that Lisbon is a "ghastly sort of place" and a "kind of nightmare."

Like the count, he is used to highlight the darker side of Portugal, but instead of showcasing a person or concept as against the values of the *Estado Novo* in order to fix it, he highlights the problems of the city without offering a solution, simply stating his impression of the city and of the Portuguese people. The way he defends Júlio from Raúl showcases his disdain for authority and the older generation (even though Júlio was the one who began acting in an aggressive manner, a fact lost to the Englishman because he cannot understand

Portuguese). His disdain for Portugal continues when he calls the city “ghastly” and says that he can only bear it by “getting tight”, a slang term that signifies to be mean or disagreeable or to act foolishly, before telling Júlio that he should know how to choke a man. This shows his aggressive nature and that he resorts to violence readily, even encouragingly. His encouragement that Júlio should sleep with the prostitute demonstrates his shameless sexuality and his corrupting influence. (Trezvant, T.L. 2005, <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=get%20tight>)

Through these instances we have an idea of the kind of person that character is, but the purpose he serves can be interpreted in different ways. His view of Lisbon as a “nightmare” is covertly that of the (Portuguese) writer, and by calling it that we can say that it is an attack on the city and the Estado Novo’s totalitarian values and policies that created it. His defence of Júlio can be seen as an attack on the authority figures, the older generation (as we only see him interact with Raúl, Júlio and the two prostitutes) the same generation that would have been in charge of the country and its leadership. This can be interpreted as the foreign contempt and dislike of the *Estado Novo*.

However, while these readings into the Englishman purport the idea that he highlights the negative aspects of the *Estado Novo* Portugal, his actions actually present him as the negative influence instead of someone who could offer a solution. As mentioned, Raúl was disciplining Júlio when the Englishman intervened, after trying to advise Júlio to not rush into the alcohol (a lesson Raúl repeatedly states through the film, the importance of not rushing). Júlio’s behaviour placed him in the wrong but the Englishman did not know that. His teaching of how to choke someone (calling it the “most useful trick in Lisbon”) and his encouragement of sleeping with the prostitute shows his violent and corrupting nature, something that gets transferred to Júlio by the end of the film. Therefore, one could interpret the Englishman not only as someone to point out the things that are wrong with Portugal and its people, but if meant to present all foreigners then the message would be that they are a damaging effect when encountered by the Portuguese people. This last point is interesting because it leans more towards the mindframe of the *Estado Novo*, as by showing the foreigner in a damning light, it suggests that having contact with foreigners would ultimately damage Portugal and the Portuguese people.

While the Englishman does offer these two conflicting points of view (foreign eyes to the problems of Portugal and at the same time a corrupting influence), one has to remember

that the one being affected is Júlio, an out-of-touch character who is apathetic to success and to those around him. He is presented as more in line with the *Estado Novo*'s view of what a Portuguese person should be (simple, from the country, holding Catholic moral values—such as wanting to marry—and a manual worker). His outburst against Raúl can be interpreted as an outburst against the reality of life: as Raúl is more experienced in city living than Júlio, his knowledge is greater than Júlio's, and Júlio's outburst comes from not understanding that life is more complicated than he originally thought (in the previous scene we see Ilda dancing with another man at a dance hall and Júlio's jealousy causes him to treat her coldly, if not cruelly). While being the protagonist, Júlio is in many ways the antagonist of the film, hoping to remain as close as he can to the ideals he was raised with (ideals conforming to those of the *Estado Novo*) without knowledge of the reality around him. Yet when we see him enter the prostitutes' building, it confirms that the *Estado Novo*, through his embodiment, is easily corrupted even if it is unaware of what is happening (as he cluelessly asks the Englishman what he said when he brought one of the prostitutes over to him, seemingly unaware of what they are). As his "reality" is destroyed by the end of the film, his killing of Ilda further paints the picture of the *Estado Novo* as a constrained country that attempts to stay in its "backwards" way but will eventually implode and destroy itself and all those around it. This is symbolically shown in the final image of the film, when Júlio stands in front of vehicles (representing modernity), driven by faceless people (symbolizing the entire population), with no apparent way out.

Foreigners used to highlight both the *Estado Novo*'s values and its problems do not only come from abroad, but may actually be from different parts of Portugal. While outsider might be a more appropriate term than foreigner, its function is the same. In the films supporting the *Estado Novo* being analysed, we see only one instance where a Portuguese person from another place affects those around them, in this case the thieves in *A Costureirinha da Sé*.

Most of the characters live close to each other and it is assumed that they are from either the Sé neighbourhood or they are from the city of Porto in general. This is a central part of their identity, as exemplified by Armando when he says at the end, "At the end of the day, we are all friends, we are part of a big family. We live in the Sé, this old and beautiful neighbourhood, as brothers, not enemies" (min: 91:42). Rui tells Leonor's father that he is not from Porto "but know(s) the country from end to end" (min: 52:17) without identifying his roots. This already separates him from the others as he does not have strong links to his

background, giving him a weaker identity. While many of the characters do not get along with each other, by the film's conclusion they are seen gathered around the same table and treat each other in a very friendly manner, suggesting that communal unity can overcome any obstacles and bring people together. The travelling thieves do not have strong links to their birthplace, and this suggests that a lack of identity (particularly local identity) is a corrupting influence.

Os Verdes Anos presents the outsider in perpetual conflict with the city-dweller. The three main characters, Júlio, Ilda and Raúl, are from outside of Lisbon and have moved to the capital for work. Mostly through Raúl's narration, we hear how outsiders are seen by the local population, as a country bumpkin, unaccustomed to city life. He says that many of his neighbours, also from the countryside, have left, casting a foreboding atmosphere about recent arrivals to the big city. Raúl and Ilda have been able to adapt themselves to city life and are able to survive without problems, while Júlio remains very naïve and refuses to change or to adapt himself to the reality of city life (indeed, when we see him outside of his work, we mostly see him in rural area). Through Ilda and Raúl's perspectives, we see the many things that are wrong with the city (and by extension Portugal), such as the sexual immorality of the higher classes, their disdain for the working classes, the easy to come by prostitution, the strangeness of Lisbon to unaccustomed eyes, and the unwillingness to change by some of the younger generation.

While *Os Verdes Anos* presents the struggles of a country boy to adapt to the strange and confusing big city, *Mudar de Vida* depicts the struggle of a disillusioned man against not only nature but the economic situation of Portugal. In many ways one can see *Mudar de Vida* as a loose sequel to *Os Verdes Anos* (or at least a continuation of the exploration—and exploitation—of the people in Portugal), as there are many similarities between the two films. The protagonists of both films comes from completely different worlds (Júlio is from the countryside, Adelino returns from many years fighting in Africa), both of them feel out of place within their new home, both are dissatisfied with their manual jobs, the women that they love do not reciprocate their desires and by the film's end they both have to face a challenging decision.

However, while Júlio is shown as someone who tries to maintain the teachings of the *Estado Novo* as part of his identity in a place where the teachings do not align with the reality, Adelino is shown as the realist who comes to a place that tries to maintain the

teachings of the *Estado Novo*, thus reversing the situation. If Júlio's "foreignness" allows the audience to see the "realistic" difference between contemporary metropolitan life and what it is perceived to be from a rural viewpoint, then Adelino's viewpoint allows the audience to see the backwardness the reality of the *Estado Novo's* economic and social policies and the difficulties they pose to the ordinary Portuguese person. His exploration of the community allows the audience to see the decaying state of the village, a metaphorical representation of Portugal.

The interesting point between the two films is in their depiction of Isabel Ruth's characters and their geographic directions. Both women are presented as hard-working, adapted to their surroundings but with the dream of succeeding and advancing their lives. The difference lies in where they plan to create their business and how they are treated by the film's end. Ilda's plans call for her to stay in Portugal and try her luck there while Albertina steadfastly wants to escape abroad, seeing that there are no opportunities in Portugal. Ilda's death at the hands of ideologically brainwashed pawn of the *Estado Novo* suggests that there is no future for a person wanting to succeed in Portugal, while Albertina's survival suggests that anyone wanting to succeed will have to go abroad (even if it by one's self, as she has affirmed in the film).

The use of the foreigner (both from outside of Portugal and from within the country) highlights the things that are wrong with the country to varying degrees and offer implicit solutions to the problems.

With the films of the *Estado Novo* we see a strong focus on communal and Portuguese identity as being an important factor to success. João's success in Brazil compared to Lourenço's may be attributed to how much of their Portuguese identity they retained, despite both of them being hard workers—a trait that Lourenço maintains and uses to show Carlos' naivety in relation to his wealth and his duty to keep the socio-economic classes in place.

The English count in *A Canção da Saudade* is used to highlight the problem Portuguese people may face in relation to destroying part of the patrimony that creates their identity. While the businessman wants to destroy the manor the *Gatos Pretos* live in for personal gain, the English count does not plan to destroy it and eventually allows them to keep living in it, thus maintaining the community and in the process creating a lasting identity by declaring the manor as belonging to them.

The thieves in *A Costureirinha da Sé* are used to reinforce the notion that communal identity is tied to success and order within the country. As we do not know where they are from, they have no firm Portuguese identity we can trace them to, whereas the other characters do and are proud of their identity. Despite the differences they may have had throughout the film, the communal solidarity that transcends their differences proves to be a strong weapon in creating order and understanding.

The foreigner or outsider in the films of the *Novo Cinema* highlight the problems of Portugal under the *Estado Novo* but does not offer an easy solution to the problems its characters face. Identity is presented as something malleable and needing adaptation if one is to survive. The Englishman in *Os Verdes Anos*, though morally ambiguous, highlights the seediness and desperation of Lisbon, having to use “the most useful trick” of choking someone as a coping mechanism. Raúl and Ilda, like Júlio, come from outside of Lisbon but have changed their provincial ways in order to adapt themselves into the reality of city living, suggesting that if one is unable to adapt to the modern metropolitan lifestyle, then one is at risk of ending up like Júlio, lost and trapped in their own narrow world. Naivety is not tolerated in Lisbon and has “eaten so many” others who were unable to adapt. The loss of the provincial identity, something so sacred to Salazarist identity, goes against many of the films supporting the *Estado Novo*.

Mudar de Vida presents the backwardness of the provincial identity and the damage it is doing unto itself. Their greatest problem is not the lack of desire to change and adapt themselves to the modern world, it is that they have no means to do so. From the rowing boats to their wooden houses on the beach, their provincial identity slowly causes them to crumble like a house of cards until they are forced to change by the film’s end, when they have to turn into sweetwater sailors rather than saltwater. The struggle to survive impedes their chances of succeeding and the only one to realise that, in order to succeed one must leave the country, is Albertina, a woman unafraid of changing her life (and by extension her identity).

3. Modernity vs. Traditionalism

Very much linked to the identity and the “foreigner” concepts mentioned in the previous section, the duality between modernity and traditionalism is explored particularly in the films of the *Novo Cinema* but are also seen in the films supporting the *Estado Novo*. The rural values the *Estado Novo* sought to defend invariably links it to the traditionalism idea and all of the films of the *Estado Novo* bears a moral lesson promoting a traditionalist theme as examined throughout this work. These have included religious morality, repression of sexuality, socio-economic hierarchy and the concept of communal (or at least Portuguese) identity. Modernity in the films are presented as objects rather than ideas, physical things meant to improve the lives of the people but without overriding their traditional beliefs and the established moral values.

Throughout the films we see many characters in “traditional” roles or found in employment that have been accepted by society as gender-appropriate. The women in *A Costureirinha da Sé*, for example, work primarily as seamstresses, while the older women (Leonor’s mother and Aurora’s godmother) are depicted as stay-at-home women, subservient to their husbands. The only woman who takes on a more “modern” role is that of the owner of the seamstress shop but any indication of a modernist stance is subjugated when one discovers that she is actually a married woman and that her husband had left her. Her connection to a man prevents her from being a completely independent woman and partly explains why she behaves in an aggressive manner towards her employees.

Leonor’s father is depicted as working in a very traditionally masculine-dominated job as barber (complete with stereotypical moustache). Armando and Aurora’s father are the only men who have any sort of modern equipment, particularly Armando with his car. It is interesting to note that it is the men who have the modern equipment while the women work with manual sewing machines, thus highlighting the *Estado Novo*’s desire for gender roles to remain as they have been, where the leaders of society are male and women hold a lower, more subservient, role. This traditionalism is also exhibited through their attitudes, such as the desire to marry before engaging in any sexual contact and their identification with the “old and beautiful neighbourhood” of the Sé under the shadow of the cathedral, symbolizing not only the historical significance but also the religious context they live in.

The characters maintain the same traditionally gender-based roles in *O Passarinho da Ribeira*. The women are involved in manual work (like the seamstresses) while the men are

seen as rarely working but having all of the money and wealth. We see the same attitudes towards marriage and family that embodies what the *Estado Novo* has fought to maintain (such as Micas' affirmation that she would only marry the father of her child, thus keeping the original family unit together).

A *Canção da Saudade*, as the title suggests, focuses on traditionalism, from the music to the attitudes. The characters are divided into two camps, one that sternly follows the traditions while the other sees it only with contempt. The clearest manifestation of this conflict is through their music, with the *Gatos Pretos* playing a modern rockabilly-style music whereas Lionel plays more traditional music. The music attracts the people of their own age groups (for the most part) but the *Gatos Pretos* do not achieve any sort of success until they are paired with Lionel's music, demonstrating that success, even with a touch of modernity, must be rooted in the traditions.

Some of the other manifestations of the conflict are through the attitudes of the characters, particularly with Tony. We see him disrespect his father and his sister (representing the traditional Portuguese woman as embodied by others like Micas and Leonor's mother) and even goes so far as to attempt to bring Babá to his bedroom. However, we see Tony change his mind at the last moment, as if it was all a play, and by the film's end he decides that he wants to marry Babá, something that even she mentions that no one would have believed it. The unity between traditionalism and modernity is also represented in the name of the venue the father and son perform in, *Lisboa Antiga e Moderna Dancing*.

O Miúdo da Bica maintains the very same lines of the *Estado Novo*. The only view of modernity in the film is the factory Fernando works in, but there are no further examples of modernity. Traditionalism is a very strong theme within the film, ranging from Fernando's father's job as a barber (like Leonor's father) to his mother being a housewife taking care of their children. Fernando as well is shown as singing fado, a very traditional form of music. While he dabbles in untraditional things, such as (implied) promiscuity and almost abandons contact with his family, he comes to realise that family (and thereby traditions) are what truly matter, exaggerated by the events taking place at Christmas.

As we have seen through various examples, the films of the *Novo Cinema*, though constrained by the strict censorship in place, was able to present very modern themes into the films, usually found through covert readings.

Dom Roberto takes a departure from certain traditional conventions. The most notable one involves João and Maria when they decide to live together outside of wedlock. This is one of the first films to depict an unmarried couple living in the same apartment without a parental figure to supervise them. The characters living in the buildings around the courtyard do not even seem to mind this fact, nor do they mind the fact that they are living in the apartment illegally. This presents a very modern belief system, allowing (supposed) sexual contact between the two unwed characters (who are not even engaged—something Maria rejected wholeheartedly), and allowing them to take advantage of free housing from the government or from a landowner. This suggests that the people living around the courtyard do not hold the values of the *Estado Novo* as dearly as the state would want, nor do they seem to respect authority, such as when they do not help the dog-catchers. While this is not as different as some of the characters in the films of the *Estado Novo* (such as when Micas and others get into a fight with the police officer after confronting Mr. Lopes in *O Passarinho da Ribeira* or the apparent disrespect of forbidden sexual relations in *A Canção da Saudade*, when Tony brings Babá into his room), they take a more casual approach to these serious topics, thereby suggesting that they are amoral or at least disrespectful of the traditions.

Os Verdes Anos presents traditionalism as an out-dated concept. Júlio and the female employer Ilda works for are the only characters that seem to grasp to the traditionalism exposed in the films of the *Estado Novo*. Júlio's naivety and lack of understanding places him at the centre of the traditionalist viewpoint, from his desire to wed to his ruralism. The female employer also exhibits signs of a traditionalist stance, seemingly unaware of the infidelity her husband commits with the cousin, wanting to maintain the appearance of a harmonious and happy family. When Júlio comes to see Ilda at the end of the film, just before he murders her, the woman initially does not want Júlio to see her, partly because Ilda is working, but also because she does not want two people who are dating to see each other at the workplace, similar to the attitude shared by the owner of the seamstress shop in *A Costureirinha da Sé*.

However, their adherence to the past and the traditional concepts of the past ultimately defeat them. The infidelity of the husband and the cousin shows that marital fidelity is, to some, taken very lightly. Ilda's dancing with the man at the dance hall presents her as a woman who is not afraid of her sexuality and is not constrained to one single man (unlike almost every female character depicted in a relationship in the films of the *Estado Novo*). Her desire to dance with the man, however, can be seen as her rejection of Júlio's traditionalism, since he did not want to dance with her to the more modern music being

played at the dance hall. Raúl's attitude towards life in Lisbon is indicative of the years he has spent in the city and has fought against those who called him a "country bumpkin" and he has survived where most, according to him, haven't. This shows the need to adapt to the modernity of living, something that Júlio refuses to do and eventually succumbs to the pressures imposed on him by modern life.

Belarmino presents a country stuck in the past and caught in a vicious cycle. The boxers training in the gym are not given any sort of identity except for their clothing and their actions. It is as if they do not matter and are just other sets of bodies that follow the same sort of pattern (with training as with life). There is not sign of progression nor of more modern training methods, encapsulating and potentially representing Portugal within this gym. All perform the same sort of training patterns, all stuck within this confined room. The only person we actually see outside is Belarmino (obviously the focus of the film, and therefore not surprisingly the one with the most screen time). However, by showing only Belarmino fighting against a foreign boxer suggests that he, as the last Portuguese champion, is the last one to reach the international level (as he claims that there has been no professional boxing in Portugal for the last few years). One must remember, however, that this is the boxer's affirmation without supporting evidence.

Moreover, while there are still traces of the traditionalism associated with the *Estado Novo*, there are subversive elements that annul such traditionalisms. This is perhaps most visible in Belarmino's marriage. He is presented as happily married with a daughter but we see him flirting with other women and even dancing with someone who is not his wife after intently watching a striptease. We do not hear from Belarmino's wife, but the fact that there are rumours of his cavorting with prostitutes and the fact that we see him engaging in sexually-driven activities with women makes one question the fidelity of their marriage and even the notion of marital fidelity. The fact that we do not hear his wife speak does not allow us to see what she thinks of the rumours, but the fact that she is still (apparently) happy and with Belarmino suggests that she is a traditional woman who believes in the sanctity of marriage (thereby reaffirming the *Estado Novo's* values). If that is the case, then, like Júlio, she is caught in a world that maintains unrealistic views, such as everyone is faithful and seediness does not exist.

The rural, almost backward, setting in *Mudar de Vida* presents perhaps the greatest criticism of traditional life in the *Novo Cinema*. The majority of people are presented as

maintaining a strong link to their traditions, from the way they fish to the songs they sing to their whole way of life. Júlia is the personification of the values of the *Estado Novo* (much in the same way that Júlio is in *Os Verdes Anos*), from her traditional clothing to her faithfulness to Raimundo despite Adelino's constant begging to be together with her again. These are indicative of a world almost caught in time—were it not for some modern clothing, the settling could range from the 1960s to the 1860s—but also unable to raise itself to modern standards. This is the greatest criticism of the *Estado Novo* the film can bear, by highlighting the vast backwardness of the setting, the inability to sustain such a rural, “traditional” form of life that inhibits any attempt at modernizing itself. The prospects are very bleak—not only are they most likely unable to survive in the village, the men may also be called for duty in the colonial war (itself a seemingly primitive selection process). Júlia's death and the bankruptcy of the fishing company symbolizes the failure of the traditional way of life, forcing them to move on with their lives.

However, the directions they choose are made very clear. One of the characters tells Adelino that they now have to be freshwater fishermen and the look on Adelino's face is one of sadness, suggesting that he knows that they will struggle as much in the fresh water as they were in the sea. The traditional way of life will continue and it will be a struggle like it has been for so long. The only person who realises their situation and does something about it is Albertina, knowing that if there is any way to escape the traditional way of life that is slowly destroying everything around them it is to run away. This emphasizes the decadence of the Portuguese situation, something that, thanks to the *Estado Novo*, because of its focus on “a rural economy strongly resistant to change” (Rosas, 1989, p.17) caused numerous economic crises within Portugal and the only escape is to flee the country.

From these films we can draw a few conclusions on the presentations of modernity and traditionalism. While the films of the *Estado Novo* presented modernity in terms of physical objects, the *Novo Cinema* presented it as attitudes that are subversive to those established through the canon of the films of the *Estado Novo*. Many characters act as if the things that are “untraditional”, such as a couple living together without being married or even engaged is normal, or that the sanctity of marriage is something that is not held with the same reverence as it would have been in the films of the *Estado Novo*. By presenting modernity through the characters' actions and inactions, the filmmakers of the *Novo Cinema* are able to present their political message that traditionalism, while many characters still hold onto it, is

something that ultimately stands in the way of progression, and if traditionalism holds the people and the country back, then the only way to defeat it is by leaving the country.

CONCLUSION

The cinema of the *Estado Novo* relied on easily identifiable and repeatable conventions to present its ideologies and had the actions of the people as a way of reinforcing those policies. Characters and stories did not radically change in the 30 years since the establishment of those conventions with *A Canção de Lisboa*. Films supporting the *Estado Novo* did not offer anything new, both in terms of stories and characters, as an attempt to present something new would have been seen as an attack on the values that had built and sustained the dictatorship since its foundation. Order in Salazarist Portugal—just like in Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Communist Russia—was power and any deviation from the order presented a clear danger to the authoritarian regime.

As such, characters perform the same social and political functions. They hold religion and family as the foundation of their identity and are valued more than anything else. Sexuality is repressed (particularly among women) unless one is in a monogamous relationship, and even then sexual contact is restricted to a single kiss. Characters work in traditional, manual jobs, some that emphasize Portugal's past (such as singing *fado*) while others make use of modern technology—but always for the benefit of the community and not the individual (such as taxi drivers). Morally upstanding characters know their place in society and make no attempt to advance themselves, whether it be economically or socially, unless invited to do so by those in the higher classes. Characters hold onto traditional values and place great emphasis on the traditionalism as the backbone of the country (even if some characters display more modern leanings, they are shown as secretly valuing the traditions more than the modern thoughts). The foreigner, whether they be from a different country or another part of Portugal, are presented as wanting the best for Portugal—even if the count in *A Canção da Saudade* is English, his benevolence serves the Portuguese people rather than himself. In the case of the 'foreign' Portuguese, their difference is only questioned when their origins are unknown. If a character is able to identify their place of origin they are presented as trustworthy while those who maintain ambiguity over their origin are presented as detrimental to the order.

The *Novo Cinema* fought against these conventions in subliminal ways in order to pass censorship. Characters and stories changed to fit with the changing nature of Portugal. While the government tried to maintain the image that things were as good in 1963 as they were in 1933, the new filmmakers wanted to dispel the myths being created and propagated

by the *Estado Novo*. Characters changed to become more ambiguous, slightly deviant in their moral and ideological implications.

While many would consider the main characters as the true instigators of change (or at least those who provoke questions in the minds of the audiences), the supporting characters—the people—are perhaps the greatest instigators. The sameness of characters in the cinema of the *Estado Novo* became easily identifiable for audiences. Filmmakers kept the apparent sameness in order to provoke questions and reverse the meanings behind the same images. Someone who works unloading heavy cargo from or onto a boat (such as the women in *O Passarinho da Ribeira* and the salt carriers in *Mudar de Vida*) are presented in two completely different ways, even though they perform the same movements. The iconography stays the same, but their meaning is altered. Instead of a noble fishing village, resolute in their solidarity despite the challenges imposed by nature—as in *Nazaré* (Manuel Guimarães, 1952)—their existence and the daily fight is presented as futile. Symbolism became more important as a political tool, using buildings and villages to represent the country, authority figures as stand-ins for the government. The outcomes for the characters in these locations is a reflection of what the country is experiencing in its increased isolationism during the 1960s.

Characters are shown behaving in ways that covertly fight against the values of the *Estado Novo*. They are shown as subversive in their religious beliefs, accepting unwed couples among them (as in the case of *Dom Roberto*). Those shown stealing from the Church—or attempting to steal, like Albertina in *Mudar de Vida*—are shown as victims of the desperation of the times. Family and family values are ambiguous and are not the cornerstone of society (as seen by the family Ilda works for in *Os Verdes Anos*). Social and economic advancement is not achievable, not through lack of trying, but rather through the lack of opportunity. Advancement comes second to survival, which itself is depicted as very difficult. The hope of emigrating is a strong motivation for several of the characters who realise (in perhaps the most political of depictions) that the only way to advance themselves and make a better life is through emigration abroad. Traditionalism, though something that is held on by many of the characters, is depicted as a hindrance from economic improvement. Work is tied together with traditionalism, as many of the characters are in traditional (and traditionally-gendered) jobs, no different to those seen in the 1930s, implying that there has been no progression, no evolvement.

The *Novo Cinema's* greatest weapon against the *Estado Novo* was through its covertness. Knowing that they could not openly criticise the government, the filmmakers presented many of the same characters and conventions as the films supporting the regime. But rather than following the same style and the same plot, the filmmakers subverted the teachings of the *Estado Novo* by turning the conventions askew. Instead of characters openly commenting on João and Maria's marital status—or lack thereof—in *Dom Roberto*, they say nothing. Instead of depicting the fishing village as idyllic in its traditionalism in *Mudar de Vida*, it feels claustrophobic and easily prone to destruction. The way the filmmakers decided to present this information in this subliminal way creates dissident meaning that a deeper look into the films reveals. By not commenting on their marital status, the characters in *Dom Roberto* implicitly stand against the teachings of the Catholic Church in regards to sex and marriage, even though they do not say a word. This is how the filmmakers were able to present their political views, through implication and insinuation.

Through this method, the political message brought forth by the filmmakers of the *Novo Cinema* is that Portugal is a broken country in need of political change. The people within are hard-working but they fighting a losing battle. The people are not as clean-cut as the regime would want the audience to believe but they are morally and politically ambiguous. Yet in spite of the problems facing the country, the people are presented as those able to change it. Their social understanding within the films informs the audience that, like many of the characters wanting to change, the only ones stopping them from doing so are themselves, that change is possible.

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Technical Files:

Title: *Dom Roberto*

Year of Release: 1962

Director: Ernesto de Souza

Producer: Rafael Pena e Costa

Writers: Leão Penedo (Dialogue and Screenplay), Alexandre O'Neill (poems)

Director of Photography: Abel Escoto

Editing: Pablo del Amo

Music: Armando Santiago

Runtime: 102mins

Production company: Cooperativa do Espectador

Distribution: Imperial Filmes

Language: Portuguese

Title: *Os Verdes Anos*

Year of release: 1963

Director: Paulo Rocha

Producer: António da Cunha Telles

Writers: Nuno Bragança, Paulo Rocha

Director of Photography: Luc Mirost

Editing: Margareta Mangs

Music: Carlos Paredes

Runtime: 91mins

Production company: Produções Cunha Telles

Distributions: Vitória Filmes

Languages: Portuguese, English

Title: *Belarmino*

Year of release: 1964

Director: Fernando Lopes

Producer: António da Cunha Telles

Writer: Fernando Lopes

Director of Photography: Augusto Cabrita

Editing: Manuel Ruas

Music: Justiniano Canelhas, Manuel Jorge Veloso

Runtime: 80mins

Production company: Produções Cunha Telles

Distributions: Doperfilme

Language: Portuguese

Title: *Mudar de Vida*

Year of release: 1966

Director: Paulo Rocha

Writers: António Reis, Paulo Rocha

Producer: António da Cunha Telles

Director of Photography: Manuel Carlos da Silva, Elso Roque

Editing: Noémia Delgado, Margareta Mangs, Paulo Rocha

Music: Carlos Paredes

Runtime: 90mins.

Production company: Produções Cunha Telles

Distributors: Vitória Filmes

Language: Portuguese

Title: *A Costureirinha da Sé*

Year of release: 1959

Director: Manuel Guimarães

Writers: Heitor Campos Monteiro & Armando Leite (novel), Arnaldo Leite (screenplay)

Producer: Manuel Guimarães

Director of Photography: Perdigão Queiroga

Editing: Manuel Guimarães, Noémia Malveira

Music: Fernando Carvalho, Jaime Mendes

Runtime: 84mins.

Production company: Produções Guimarães

Distributors: Mundial Filmes

Language: Portuguese

Title: *O Passarinho da Ribeira*

Year of release: 1960

Director: Augusto Fraga

Writers: Amadeu do Vale & Miguel Orrisco (operetta), Alfredo Hurtado (screenplay)

Producer: Augusto Fraga, Manuel Queiroz

Director of Photography: João Moreira

Editing: Pablo del Amo

Music: Carlos Dias, Jaime Mendes

Runtime: 84minutes.

Production company: Tobis Portuguesa

Distributors: Filmes Castello Lopes

Language: Portuguese

Title: *O Miúdo da Bica*

Year of release: 1963

Director: Constantino Esteves

Writers: Constantino Esteves, Fernando Farinha, Luis Sttau Monteiro

Producer: Manuel Queiroz

Director of Photography: Abel Escoto

Editing: Constantino Esteves

Music: Alfred Marceneiro, Casimiro Ramos, Artur Ribeiro

Runtime: 84mins.

Production company: Cinedex

Distributors: Internacional Filmes

Language: Portuguese

Title: *A Canção da Saudade*

Year of release: 1964

Director: Henrique Campos

Writers: Cecília Delgado

Producer: Francisco de Castro

Director of Photography: José Manuel Caixeiro, Alfonso Nieva

Editing: Magdalena Pulido

Music: João Nobre

Runtime: 95mins.

Production company: Produções Francisco de Castro, Cooperativa Cinematográfica Alcazaba

Distributors: Filmes Ocidente

Language: Portuguese