Introduction: Framing the Global Appeal of Contemporary Portuguese Cinema

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This book offers an overview of the Portuguese film landscape of the past four decades, placing key filmmakers and cinematic works in relation to their industrial, historical and cultural contexts. To start an examination of contemporary Portuguese cinema in the mid-1970s means analysing Portugal as a recent democracy and former colonizer, taking the revolution of 25 April 1974 as a foundational moment for the nation and its place within a new global order. It also involves a departure from a focus on the modernist impulse of the 1960s new waves, and the adoption of an approach that charts the development of new forms of authorship and alternative cinematic formats in the digital era, accompanied by the surge of new strategies for film production, distribution and exhibition prompted by the expansion of the European integration process.

Central issues in contemporary Portuguese cinema include the proliferation of film festivals and their role in the creation of national and international cinema labels; the ongoing tension between art and popular cinema, particularly within the context of marginal European cinemas and the so-called 'cinemas of small nations'; and the relevance of transnational frameworks of analysis for an understanding of national cinemas in an increasingly globalized world. Addressing topics that are relevant for

other global cinemas, *Global Portuguese Cinema* explores the international meaning of contemporary Portuguese film, looking at how it positions itself beyond national borders. This volume shows that contemporary Portuguese cinema is a particularly useful case study to examine the way in which small nations become visible in international markets and cultural flows. On the one hand, Portuguese cinema seeks international exposure without giving in to the flattening of globalization. On the other, it departs from an internationalization model, which presupposes the existence of a strong national identity in increasingly transnational contexts, by challenging the importance of the nation.

Portuguese cinema on the international stage

Filmmakers including Pedro Costa, Miguel Gomes and João Pedro Rodrigues have in recent years become household names for film festival, art-house theatres and cinephile audiences. The first major international retrospective of Costa's work took place at the Tate Modern in London in 2009. Introduced by the daily *Guardian* as 'the Samuel Beckett of world cinema' (Bradshaw 2009), in allusion to his work's austere style and his stern public persona, Costa has been acclaimed worldwide as a cult and unique contemporary director. His films have been screened and discussed across the globe, from Japan to the USA, and have been awarded important prizes at the Cinéma du Réel and the Cannes film festivals, in Munich, Yamagata and Los Angeles. Gomes, renowned for escapist musical fantasies such as *Aquele Querido Mês de Agosto/Our Beloved Month of August* (2008), received the Alfred Bauer award at the Berlin Film Festival for the Luso-Brazilian co-production *Tabu* in 2012. While *Tabu* features in a recent poll on the twenty-first century's 100 best films (BBC 2016), Gomes's latest production, the *As Mil e Uma Noites/Arabian Nights* (2015) trilogy, has been hailed by critics in Europe and beyond as 'an astonishing … movie epic' (Jenkins 2016), 'constantly surprising and mutable, [and] hugely entertaining' (Romney 2015). Finally, Rodrigues, nominated for a Golden Lion at Venice Film Festival with his first feature film *O Fantasma/The Phantom* (2000), has seen his work recognized in the 2016 edition of the Locarno Film Festival, where he won an award for Best Director with *O Ornitólogo/The Ornithologist* (2016).

Although Portuguese women filmmakers have been less visible, we should add to this list Margarida Cardoso, Teresa Villaverde and Leonor Teles – the latter the youngest director ever to win a Golden Bear at the Berlin Film Festival, for her short film *Balada de um Batráquio/Batrachian's Ballad* (2016) – among others. This is but a brief listing of some of the most prominent contemporary Portuguese filmmakers and their achievements; it testifies nonetheless to the international success of contemporary Portuguese films, which have been screened and recognized abroad more often and in larger numbers than in previous decades.

To say that Portuguese cinema has become more visible abroad does not necessarily mean that it has become more important. In fact, a polemical piece in the online daily *Observador* has launched a debate about how (in)significant Portuguese cinema really is on the international stage (Graça 2016). Dismissing reports in Portuguese newspapers that told of the 'huge' presence of Portuguese cinema in the 2016 edition of the Berlin Film Festival, the infamous article by André Rui Graça claimed that even though this might have been the highest number of Portuguese productions ever (eight) in an A-list festival, this was not much when we consider the total number of films screened at Berlin (circa 380), or indeed when compared to those originating from other nations.

The article was bombarded with negative comments and a series of pieces refuting it were published on traditional and social media. Portuguese audiovisual industry professionals reacted angrily to Graça's argument, claiming that the presence of those eight films in Berlin was an undeniable positive sign for Portugal's film industry (Leonor Teles would receive her Golden Bear the day after the article was published). Filmmakers, producers, actors and technicians also argued this was an unnecessary attack on a cinema that was *de facto* gathering increasing critical attention beyond national borders, and that, because it is increasingly reliant on international funding mechanisms and global distribution and exhibition networks, clearly benefits from being prominently shown in events such as the Berlin Film Festival.

Faits divers such as this one are illustrative of the public discussion around the international status of Portuguese film. On the one hand, it remains true that Portugal produces a very small number of films, that not

all of these reach cinema audiences, in Portugal or abroad, and that even the 'successes' listed at the start of this introduction are seen by a very reduced number of viewers, often in particular conditions and circuits, such as film festivals. On the other, even if this international visibility is limited, or only reported in the national press (which, as the reviews cited at the start of this introduction show, is not entirely the case), it still carries important consequences for the understanding and status of Portuguese cinema.

As the response of cinema professionals to the piece in *Observador* testifies, Portuguese cinema is often understood as a struggling art form and industry. This might account for the (supposedly) augmented press reports that Graça disparages in his piece. The examples listed previously are even more meaningful when taking into account the marginal industrial and cultural position of Portuguese film in a global context. The most recent awards are prime examples of this duality, as they are only important for some (those interested in Portuguese culture, cinema, or art cinema more generally), but extremely important for those involved (those working in Portuguese culture and cinema, as well as international film critics and cinephiles following art cinema).

This importance is magnified because, while historically associated with the notion of crisis (see for instance Traquina 1994), these awards come at a time when Portuguese cinema is in a particularly vulnerable state. One of the countries hit the hardest by the euro-zone debt crisis starting in 2008, Portugal saw its audiovisual market shrink dramatically ever since. 2012 was labelled the 'year zero' of Portuguese cinema, as for the first time since the 1970s zero funds were attributed to the film sector (cf. Kourelou et al 2014). International attention, despite the crisis, is what one festival called 'the Portuguese cinematic miracle' (BIEFF 2013). Celebrated Portuguese auteurs (including the late Manoel de Oliveira) had received important prizes before, but not in such large numbers, nor against such a dire financial panorama.

Cinema of small nations: between globalization and internationalization

Struggle, survival and resistance are key terms for the study of contemporary Portuguese film. They are also central to the definition of the 'cinema of small nations' – a particularly productive framework to understand

contemporary Portuguese cinema. On the one hand, Portugal follows most of the criteria Mette Hjort and Duncan Petrie (2007) list as characterizing 'small nations', including having a limited geographical area (92,391 km^2), population (c. 10 million inhabitants) and internal market; low GDP; and limited influence in the world, which leads it to seek partnerships with other nations – within Europe, as a member of the European Union (EU), and globally, with former colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. On the other hand, Portugal deviates from the notion of 'small nation' as, despite having been under the ruling of others (namely, Spain), rather than being marked by a history of colonial dominance, Portugal is a former colonizer. This is a crucial issue to understand contemporary Portugal and its culture, and one that is revisited later in this introduction and addressed in several chapters in the book. This fact alone, however, does not make Portugal less of a 'small nation'. In fact, the position of dependence Portugal has adopted towards former colonies, particularly Angola (see for instance Gatinois 2014), testifies to the extent to which, despite this 'variation' on the 'small nation' concept, Portugal is still a minor state on the global political order.

To examine Portuguese cinema through the 'small nation' lens is to assume that producing films in Portugal is not only about making the most of the opportunities that arise from structural limitations, but also about engaging in consistent resistance to cultural homogeneity. Being the cinema of a small nation has consequences for the form and content of contemporary Portuguese film. As Hjort puts it, one of the key factors that allow small cinemas to thrive is the 'widespread support for a philosophy of filmmaking that sees constraints as the basis for creativity' (2010b). As several chapters discuss, many of the Portuguese filmmakers gaining international recognition in the past few years have privileged a cinematic language and style that do away with high production values, and often self-reflexively mirror the artisanal character of the filmmaking practiced.

In addition, according to Hjort (2005), small nation cinemas try to ensure that 'alternative imaginings' of a new global order take hold, and thus tend to offer different views of neoliberal globalization. Contemporary Portuguese cinema has vividly reacted against austerity, with films and filmmakers denouncing the catastrophic effects of recently

implemented policies that have eroded the welfare state and destroyed social cohesion. For instance, Miguel Gomes's *Arabian Nights* was based on stories the production team collected about the impact of the crisis in individuals and communities across Portugal.[1] Similarly, Nuno Lopes dedicated the Best Actor award he received in Venice in September 2016, for his performance as a debt collector in the film *São Jorge/Saint George* (Marco Martins, 2016), to all those suffering the consequences of austerity[2].

Referencing the work of Peter J. Katzenstein, Hjort and Petrie (2007: 14) insist on the importance of the distinct terms 'globalization' and 'internationalization' for an examination of contemporary small nations and their cinemas. Whereas globalization points to a flattening of cultural specificity (in the case of cinema, being generally synonymous with the dominant Hollywood model in industrial, narrative and aesthetic terms), internationalization acknowledges the growth and diversification of political, economic and cultural processes involving the engagement of the nation on a global stage, and suggests these processes preserve what is nationally specific. Hence, according to the latter framework, national cinemas engage with other (trans)national cinemas in order, for instance, to guarantee funding and distribution (the case of many co-productions in contemporary Portugal), but the resulting products (i.e. films) clearly express what is unique about their national culture.

The Portuguese film examples presented so far point towards a reading of contemporary Portuguese film as an 'internationalized' cinematography, rather than a 'globalized' one. The films of Costa, Gomes and Rodrigues represent particular visions of Portugal, following a tradition that places art cinema as the guarantor of national specificity within at least the European context (see for instance Elsaesser 2005). However, recent years have also witnessed the emergence of a number of important Portuguese productions and co-productions in mainstream cinema, which aim for commercial success and wide visibility in Portugal and beyond. This is for instance the case of the biopic *Amália* (Carlos Coelho da Silva 2008). The film's topic is undoubtedly national (the life of fado star and Portuguese national symbol Amália Rodrigues), but, as Anthony De Melo argues in Chapter 5, its language emulates what could be understood as 'global' cinematic speech (that of Hollywood melodrama).

Popular cinema does not always adopt the arguably uniform outlook that is attached to the aim of global visibility. In Chapter 6, for instance, Ginette Vincendeau claims that the Franco-Portuguese hit *La Cage Dorée/ The Gilded Cage* (2013) uses European cultural and cinematic codes to present clichés with a (more positive) cosmopolitan tone. Despite having a culturally translatable story and featuring universally relatable protagonists, *The Gilded Cage* clearly presents national (French and Portuguese) specificity.

At the same time, even the supposedly 'purely national' art films of many of the directors examined in this book (Costa, Oliveira and Villaverde, among others) have, as several contributors show, increasingly tried to break free from the historical and seemingly inherent association with the nation that has defined Portuguese cinema. As Tiago Baptista (2010) argues, Portuguese cinema has been significantly more interested in realism since the early 1990s. The generation of filmmakers coming to prominence in this decade portrays people in Portugal not as Portuguese people, but as people; stories taking place in Portugal are featured on screen not as Portuguese stories, but as stories.

Unlike in the films of the 'Portuguese School' of the 1980s which, many critics argue, were obsessed with exploring and representing Portugal and Portuguese national identity (see for instance Cunha 2013), in contemporary Portuguese cinema the nation is increasingly less important. The connection between contemporary Portuguese cinema and the history of filmmaking in Portugal that was so obviously present in the films of the 1980s has started to dwindle too: as Muñoz Fernández and Villarmea Álvarez (2015) argue, rather than referencing Portuguese films of previous eras, contemporary Portuguese cinema has been developing a lively dialogue with (old and new) cinemas from cultures across the globe.[3]

Portugal's Global Cinema allows for a clearer understanding of contemporary Portuguese film by challenging seemingly obvious pairings (e.g. popular: global; art: international). In contemporary Portuguese cinema, many mainstream films aim for global standing but remain centred on the nation (and could therefore be perceived as 'internationalized'), whereas growing numbers of art films vehemently reject globalization, but engage in a form of internationalization that eventually dismisses the nation (to

the extent that they can be understood as 'globalized' films). Hence, contemporary Portuguese cinema helps to rethink both terms: 'globalization' and 'internationalization'.

Testifying to the growing interest in this object of study is the expansion of publications about Portuguese cinema. Writings on Portuguese cinema are not only a key part of its international visibility (as the number of reviews and news items cited previously has shown), but also critically assess the global nature of Portuguese film. Adding to histories of Portuguese cinema (for instance, by Félix Ribeiro [1983], de Pina [1986] and da Costa [1991]), recent decades saw the publication of important dictionaries, encyclopedias and introductions of Portuguese film (Leitão Ramos [1989; 2005; 2012]; Grilo [2006]; Ferreira [2007]; Baptista [2008]; and Areal [2011a; 2011b]). Written in Portuguese, these map key films and directors, movements and stylistic features.

Opportunities to publish on film and culture in Portugal are limited due to a volatile editorial market. Brazil has been an important outlet for books on Portuguese cinema, including overviews of Manoel de Oliveira's work (Ferreira 2013b) and introductions to the history of Portuguese cinema (Cunha and Salles 2013). International visibility and interest in the wider academic community is also visible in books emerging on this topic in other European languages. Examples include, in Spanish (Villarmea Álvarez and Muñoz Fernández 2014), French (Murcia and Salado 2015) and German (Hagener and Kaiser 2016), volumes discussing Portugal's status on the global art cinema stage, the work of Manoel de Oliveira and the films of Pedro Costa, respectively.

The development of film studies in the Anglo-Saxon world and the growing attention to small and peripheral cinemas (Hjort 2005; Hjort and Petrie 2007; Hjort 2010b; Iordanova et al 2010; Blankenship and Nagl 2015), as well as to issues including the transnational, globalization and world cinemas (Ezra and Rowden 2006; Durovicová and Newman 2010; Dennison 2013; Shaw 2013), have meant English-language publications on Portuguese cinema have emerged in recent years. The contemporary focus of this collection means it differs from those works looking at the history of Portuguese cinema (as for instance Vieira 2013).

Key English-language publications on contemporary Portuguese cinema have focused on internationally recognized auteurs, especially Manoel de Oliveira (Johnson 2007; Ferreira 2008). *Portugal's Global Cinema* updates such discussions by framing the work of Oliveira and other contemporary directors in relation to debates about the meaning of the nation and national cinema within the developing phenomena of globalization and internationalization.

Aiming to offer a truly comprehensive view of contemporary Portuguese cinema, this collection brings together chapters on auteur and popular Portuguese films. Examples of the latter (including *A Canção de Lisboa/Song of Lisbon* [José Cottinelli Telmo, 1933]) have been discussed in essays featured in previously published edited collections, namely *The Cinema of Spain and Portugal* (Mira 2005) and *Screening Songs in Hispanic and Lusophone Cinema* (Shaw and Stone 2012). However, there is scope for further and more detailed analyses of contemporary popular films made in Portugal. Furthermore, these volumes examine Portuguese cinema side by side with Spanish cinema and in relation to the Ibero-American context, whereas *Portugal's Global Cinema* is focused on Portugal, avoiding direct comparisons to any specific nation. Similarly, *Portugal's Global Cinema* distinguishes itself from works focused on the identity and culture of the Portuguese-speaking world (Ferreira 2012; Owen and Klobucka 2014; Rêgo and Brasileiro 2014). Although, as this volume will show, an examination of contemporary Portuguese cinema cannot escape issues to do with Europeanization and indeed post-colonialism, this collection analyses films from Portugal only.

The chapters in *Portugal's Global Cinema* focus on a new generation of filmmakers who have a new vision and understanding of Portugal and (Portuguese) cinema. This is therefore a timely volume, which examines key films and directors (*Our Beloved Month of August, Tabu, Casa de Lava/Down to Earth* [Pedro Costa, 1994]; Oliveira, Gomes and Costa) alongside lesser-known case studies (*Amália*, *The Gilded Cage* and documentary films such as *Linha Vermelha/Red Line* [José Filipe Costa, 2012]), and analyses them by focusing on essential concepts for the contemporary era, including small nations, globalization and internationalization.

Key issues in contemporary Portuguese cinema

The cinema of small nations is often political, stylistically and/or in narrative terms, and contemporary Portuguese cinema is no exception. This volume begins with an analysis of *Red Line*. Luís Trindade discusses, in Chapter 1, the different ways in which cinema remembers and has represented the 25 April 1974 revolution, a major moment in the political history of the country. By reminding us that historical episodes, even if 'real' or 'realistic', are necessarily dramatized, and therefore told through a specific angle, Trindade pinpoints the importance of 'authenticity', which emerges as a key concept in contemporary Portuguese film. The idea of 'authenticity' is also central to Chapter 2, in which Rui Gonçalves Miranda draws on the work of Jacques Rancière to offer a detailed analysis of *Our Beloved Month of August* and discuss the way in which the film engages with and at the same time shapes 'real' characters and situations. What both Trindade and Miranda show is that, by making such choices, Portuguese filmmakers not only capture political realities, but also make political films. Portuguese cinema's political character has been a key factor in its internationalization, and as such is a major issue in this volume.

In Chapter 3, Randal Johnson argues that the cinema of Manoel de Oliveira should also be read as political. Johnson discusses Oliveira's resistance to commercial conceptions of filmmaking, considers his modernist cinematic language and aesthetic choices in detail, and examines films from different phases in Oliveira's long career. Until his death at 106 years old in 2015, Manoel de Oliveira was the most international and the most important filmmaker in Portuguese cinema. Despite directing his first film, *Douro, Faina Fluvial/Labour on the Douro River* in 1931, Oliveira only stepped into the international limelight in the 1980s. In 1985, he received an honorary Golden Lion for his career at the Venice Film Festival – a prize he was awarded again in 2004. Oliveira was an incredibly prolific and original filmmaker. As the most prominent Portuguese director, active throughout the twentieth century and into the 2000s, Oliveira was a true ambassador of the nation and its culture, and is a key reference to understand the internationalization of contemporary Portuguese film. In Chapter 4, Carolin Overhoff Ferreira explores the connection between intimacy and global relevance in

Oliveira's work, by studying what she defines as the director's 'universalist method'. Oliveira's cinema, as Portuguese cinema more generally, tends to be a cinema of scales, where the private, national and transnational are always somehow visible and simultaneously challenged, represented but called into question.

The probing of how the nation relates to other spheres of identification is common to several chapters in *Portugal's Global Cinema*. Chapters 5 and 6, as noted above, question the different ways in which popular film projects a global vision of Portugal. Discussing the place of *Amália* in the global film industry, De Melo turns to the history of Portuguese film. On the one hand, *Amália* seems to replicate Portuguese popular comedies of the 1940s. On the other, it wishes to align with international trends of commercial authorship, and as such references the 1960s, when Portuguese cinema, inspired by different 'new waves', developed its own *Cinema Novo* (De Melo 2009).

European cinema is an important reference for Portuguese filmmakers. Similarly, Europe remains a positive point of identification in contemporary Portugal. This is despite the euro-zone debt crisis and growing political opposition to the EU.[4] For instance, as Vincendeau shows in Chapter 6, throughout the course of *The Gilded Cage*, the film's protagonists stop being migrants to become cosmopolitan citizens, who are no longer Portuguese, but significantly, European. Portugal's positive transformation through the rapprochement to Europe is also examined in Chapter 7. Mariana Liz discusses the European Capital of Culture initiative and, analysing *Lisbon Story* (Wim Wenders, 1994) and *Porto da Minha Infância/Porto of My Childhood* (Manoel de Oliveira, 2001) – films produced to commemorate the status of Lisbon and Porto as 'European capitals of culture' – argues that Portugal's Europeanization has as much to do with democracy and modernity as it does with tourism and cultural heritage. By probing the connection between Portuguese and European identity, Chapters 6 and 7 highlight the paradoxical status of contemporary Portugal and its cinema: on the one hand, it seeks openness, international visibility and credibility; on the other, it aims to downplay the consequences of such openness, especially a supposed loss of specificity, cultural dilution and the commodification of values and ideas.

Chapter 8, by Nuno Barradas Jorge, continues the discussion about the 'Europeanness' of Portuguese cinema[5] by investigating the production and financing strategies adopted by Pedro Costa. Jorge discusses the ways in which Costa's approach to filmmaking is simultaneously close to and departs from European art cinema practices, and the extent to which the filmmaker has, in recent years, moved away from an industrial mode of production. The tensions inherent to the cinematic globalization of the nation are once again clearly visible. Although the chapter shows that Portuguese cinema has been increasingly integrated into global filmmaking practices, especially through the development of digital technology, it also discusses what is specific to Portuguese cinema, namely its artisanal character and industrial limitations.

The films of Pedro Costa are also a major example of an ostensibly characteristic interest in 'social realism' in contemporary Portuguese cinema. As stated, Portuguese cinema has, since the 1990s, increasingly focused on issues including (un)employment, migration and social exclusion. Teresa Villaverde is often listed as one of the key filmmakers representative of this new Portuguese cinema. However, Cristina Álvarez López and Adrian Martin show, in Chapter 9, that the social commitment of her cinema is more evident through style than through content. Characterized by 'dysnarration' (a term Álvarez López and Martin borrow from Alain Robbe-Grillet), Villaverde's films often refuse to tell a story, instead showing it in fragments. In her films, framing is also decentred, which visually intensifies ideas of exclusion and displacement.

The concept of displacement is particularly helpful to illuminate the issue of the different scales being employed and challenged in contemporary Portuguese cinema. In Chapter 10, Michael Goddard analyses the work of Raúl Ruiz, particularly the films the Chilean director shot in Portugal. For Goddard, the last film Ruiz completed before his death, *Mistérios de Lisboa/Mysteries of Lisbon* (2010), highlights the same sense of displacement that has characterized many other Portuguese productions, and as such, while far from 'social realist' tendencies, can be seen as a pastiche of Portuguese film.

The remaining chapters in this volume explore Portugal's post-colonial status. Hilary Owen examines Pedro Costa's *Down to Earth* in Chapter 11,

reflecting on the implications of bringing together race and gender in a film that displaces Portugal's 'bad conscience' towards Cape Verde, a Portuguese former colony. The inability of contemporary Portuguese cinema to engage with the colonial period is also explored by Paul Melo e Castro in Chapter 12. Discussing Fernando Vendrell's *O Gotejar da Luz/ Light Drops* (2002), Melo e Castro argues that contemporary Portuguese cinema is not yet sufficiently committed to exploring the trauma of colonialism. For Melo e Castro, a truly Portuguese post-colonial cinema has not yet taken hold. In his conclusion, Melo e Castro points towards the melancholic, even nostalgic tone of *Tabu*, as an example of the limited post-colonial questioning of contemporary Portuguese film.

In the following chapter, Lúcia Nagib addresses Melo e Castro's question about whether *Tabu* is a post-colonialist film – and agrees that it is not.[6] Drawing on the work of Alain Badiou, Nagib returns to the issue of authenticity discussed at the start of the volume. As Nagib argues, *Tabu* is a contradictory film: on the one hand, it denies history (representing the 'atmosphere' of colonialism, rather than colonialism itself); on the other, it is considerably realist, yet it is not grounded in material reality as much as it is grounded on the reality of the cinematic medium. *Tabu* is also one of the films discussed by Natália Pinazza in Chapter 14. Examining the recent history of funding mechanisms and bilateral agreements between Portugal and Brazil, Pinazza challenges mainstream notions of 'European' and 'Latin American' cinema. With reference to films such as *Yvone Kane* (Margarida Cardoso, 2014) and *A Primeira Missa ou Tristes Tropeços, Enganos e Urucum* (Ana Carolina, 2014), the final chapter in this volume investigates Portugal and Brazil's strategies for globalization and internationalization.

Portugal's Global Cinema explores the role played by film in positioning Portugal beyond national borders. Since it is inherently transnational, cinema is a privileged medium for the questioning and projection of cultural visions. As this volume shows, contemporary Portuguese cinema is a cinema of scales, in which the national is increasingly less important, but the international, while gaining currency, is not just taken for granted. The diversity of films, filmmakers and genres examined in this volume testifies to the vitality of Portuguese cinema – a singular case study within global cinemas of the contemporary era.

Notes

1. The stories were collected by journalists during the film's pre-production stage and are available online on the film's website: http://www.as1001noites.com/en/reality/ (accessed 13 September 2016).
2. Lopes's acceptance speech is available on Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xNufcZyi6Sw (accessed 15 September 2016).
3. For a discussion of contemporary Portuguese cinema and cinephilia see also Faulkner (2015) on Miguel Gomes's *Tabu* (2012).
4. The 2015 Eurobarometer standard survey (Eurobarometer 84) shows that 72% of Portuguese citizens consider themselves to be European citizens. This is significantly higher than the European (EU-28) average: 64%. It also constitutes an increase in national terms: only 58% of Portuguese citizens saw themselves as European citizens in 2013. The Eurobarometer surveys reports are online. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/PublicOpinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/STANDARD/yearFrom/1974/yearTo/2015/surveyKy/2098 (accessed 19 September 2016).
5. For more on the meaning of 'Europeanness' in cinema, see Harrod et al 2014.
6. A similar point was made by Margarida Cardoso in the 'Portuguese Film: Colony, Postcolony, Memory' symposium, which took place in London in January 2016; see Faulkner and Liz 2016b.