GLÓRIA – A CONTRIBUTION TO THE (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF PORTUGUESE COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Dissertação apresentada à Universidade Católica Portuguesa para obtenção do grau de mestre em Ciências da Comunicação – Televisão e Cinema

Por

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Setembro de 2022

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Resumo

A ficção histórica é um meio popular através do qual indivíduos se informam sobre o passado. É parte de um processo contínuo através do qual a memória coletiva é criada, reforçada e reconstruída. Ao abordar questões e assuntos que não são amplamente discutidos na esfera pública, encoraja os espectadores a refletir criticamente e a tomar consciência do seu passado. Assim, em vez de informar, ajuda a formar a identidade de um grupo social.

Um exemplo recente de tal ficção histórica é a série Glória, a primeira série Netflix original portuguesa. Esta desenrola-se em 1968 e é baseada na Raret, um centro de retransmissão em Portugal que transmitiu propaganda anticomunista para o bloco de Leste de 1951 a 1996. Apesar do papel importante que desempenhou na propaganda radiofónica durante a Guerra Fria, Raret permaneceu uma parte escondida da história portuguesa, da qual muitos indivíduos portugueses - incluindo historiadores - não têm conhecimento. Assim, Glória traz a atenção do público para a história do centro de retransmissão, retratando as possibilidades de como era viver nesse contexto. Isto inclui não só a representação da Raret, mas também a relação entre Portugal e os Estados Unidos, a guerra que Portugal lutou pelas suas colónias e as experiências das pessoas que viveram durante o regime fascista de Portugal.

Glória (re)constrói assim a memória coletiva portuguesa criando um mundo histórico (*histosphere*) e colocando personagens fictícias dentro dele, teorizando a forma como lidariam com os desafios do seu tempo. Isto permite ao público imergir na histosphere, perceber os desafios das personagens e tomar consciência das experiências de indivíduos de diferentes grupos sociais que viveram num determinado período.

Palavras-Chave: *Glória, Memória Coletiva, Raret, Estado Novo, Guerra Fria*

Abstract

Historical fiction is a popular medium through which individuals inform themselves about the past. It is part of a continuous process through which collective memory is created, reinforced and reconstructed. By tackling issues and subjects that are not widely discussed within the public sphere, it encourages viewers to critically reflect and become aware of their past. Thus, rather than informing, it helps to shape a social group's identity.

A recent example of such a historical fiction is the series *Glória*, the first Portuguese Netflix original. The series is set in 1968 and based on *Raret*, a retransmission center in Portugal that broadcasted anti-communist propaganda to the East bloc from 1951 to 1996. Despite the major role it played for radio propaganda during the Cold War, Raret remained a hidden part of Portuguese history, of which many Portuguese individuals - including historians - are not aware of. Thus, *Glória* brings the public's attention to the history of the retransmission center by portraying the possibilities of what living in that context was like. This includes not only the depiction of the Raret, but also the relationship between Portugal and the United States, the war Portugal waged against its colonies and the experiences of people living during Portugal's fascist regime.

Glória thus (re)constructs Portuguese collective memory by creating a historical world (*histosphere*) and placing fictional characters inside it, theorizing how they would deal with the challenges of their time. This allows the audience to immerse themselves in the histosphere, perceive the characters' struggles and become aware of the experiences of individuals of different social groups who lived in a certain time period.

Keywords: Glória, Collective Memory, Raret, Estado Novo, Cold War

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Introduction

Collective memory is the product of a group's past and plays an essential role in establishing its identity, as well as its values and ideologies. Neither collective memory, nor identity are fixed, but are instead part of a continuous process of construction and deconstruction. This is reinforced through cultural practices and sites, such as celebrations, monuments and museums. Furthermore, with the development of mass media, individuals have become increasingly more reliant on radio, newspaper and particularly television to inform themselves about their history.

Due to its pervasiveness, mass media's representation of history has the potential to shape current recollections of the past (Huyssen, 2000). In Portugal, historical fictions are a popular way of attaining contact with the past, particular through the country's most popular medium, television. They used to be predominantly produced in the form of fictional series and broadcasted by television channels (Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014). However, with the recent major change in the way individuals consume television (from broadcasting to streaming), VoD platforms have attracted an increasing number of consumers. Netflix is the leading streaming platform, present in 190 countries (Afilipoaie et al., 2021). As part of its expansion strategy, the corporation partners with local production companies to produce original content that has an international appeal. Several of its original productions, as discussed later, are in the genre of historical fiction

In 2021, Netflix partnered with the Portuguese production company, SPi, to develop the first Portuguese original for the platform, leading to this thesis' research object, the series *Glória*. The series portrays many relevant events and themes of Portuguese history. It is based on Raret, a retransmission center in Portugal that broadcasted anti-communist propaganda to the East bloc during the Cold War. However, despite the major role it played for radio propaganda during the conflict, the existence of Raret remained largely unbeknown in the public sphere (Lopes, 2021). This leads to the research question of this thesis, namely *How does the series Glória contribute to the (re)construction of the Portuguese collective memory?*. To answer the research question, a thorough research and analysis is conducted, exploring the relation between collective memory and historical fiction, the development of the genre in Portugal and how historical fiction allows the audience to immerse itself into a narrative, inviting viewers to critically reflect about the past.

Chapter 1 enters the scholarly debate about the relation between history, collective memory and fiction. The term *collective memory* is defined, as well as its importance for the formation of a social group's identity. Subsequently, the genre of *historical fiction* is explored and how it serves as an exercise in media memory. I make a case for historical fiction as a medium that may reinforce or challenge dominant collective memory. To elucidate various arguments, I primarily employ examples from Portuguese history and culture, as this is the nation of focus in this study. However, I also employ, to a lesser degree, examples from other countries.

Chapter 2 studies the development of historical fiction in Portugal. It gives an overview of the development of transmitting media, from broadcasting to streaming. As a first step, it examines the era of the first historical fiction works produced in Portugal and broadcasted on the generalist television channels. It defines the concept of *portugality* and highlights its importance within national historical fictions. Additionally, it lays out the various formats of historical fiction, which have developed from the dominant telenovela format. Furthermore, it discusses how streaming platforms, led by Netflix, have revolutionized the media landscape. I examine the main strategies of the leading streaming platform, making a case for the prevalence of historical fiction within Netflix original productions. Importantly, the recent trend of producing Portuguese historical fictions for streaming platforms is also analyzed.

In Chapter 3, I develop and elucidate my theoretical framework, which is based on three theories of different authors, namely Burnay and Rueda Laffond (2014), Rasmus Greiner (2021) and Carl Plantinga (2021). I argue that *Glória* serves as a vehicle for historical reflection. It does so by creating a historical world (*histosphere*) and placing fictional characters inside it, theorizing how they would deal with the challenges of their time. This allows the audience to immerse themselves in the histosphere, perceive the characters' struggles and become aware of the experiences of individuals of different social groups who lived in a certain time period.

Chapter 4 retraces a timeline from 1933 to 1968 and discusses the principal historical topics *Glória* is based on. The first subchapter examines the structure of the Estado Novo, which governed Portugal from 1933 to 1974. The second subchapter analyzes Estado Novo's foreign policy, elucidating why the Portuguese state sought increasingly closer relations to western democracies, even though its ruling ideology completely opposed theirs. The third

subchapter discusses the *Cold War,* the role that radio propaganda played in the psychological warfare and how Portugal became involved in the American effort to stop communist expansion. The fourth subchapter focuses on *Raret*, how the retransmission center in Glória do Ribatejo was built, how it was structured, the importance it gained for the operations of *Radio Free Europe* and how it affected the life of local citizens. The last subchapter discusses controversies surrounding the Estado Novo, particularly the secrecy it kept around Raret's existence and the war it waged against its colonies. The latter subject is tackled recurrently in the Netflix series.

Chapter 5 lays out the methodological design of the case study. The research object and objectives and the research question are elucidated. Subsequently, I explain how the data is collected for the case study, including the coding scheme for the content analysis, as well as samples for the three interviews carried out. I also point out the limitations of the methodology.

In chapter 6, I carry out the content analysis and examine the interviews conducted, drawing similarities and differences between them. The conclusion reiterates the main results gathered in the analysis, defines how the objectives were achieved and answers the research question.

1. Collective Memory, Media and Historical Fiction

"The power of collective memory does not lie in its accurate, systematic, or sophisticated mapping of the past, but in establishing basic images that articulate and reinforce a particular ideological stance" (Zerubavel, 1995, p. 8).

As expressed in the above-cited passage by Yael Zerubavel, a social group's memory of its past does not usually rely on an objective and factual account of historical events. It relies instead on the continuous reconstruction of imagery and narratives that expresses past lived experiences of its members, forming a group's identity and ideology.

Groups united by nationality typically have one dominant narrative of their history, which is reinforced through cultural practices and sites, such as celebrations, monuments and museums. With the development of mass media, citizens have become increasingly reliant on radio, newspaper and particularly television to inform themselves about their history. As argued by Robert Rosenstone (2003), "the increasing presence of the visual media in modern culture and the vast increase in TV channels seems to ensure that most people now get their knowledge of the past, once school is over, from the visual media" (p. 12).

Combining vivid imagery and compelling narratives, historical fiction films and television shows have become a popular site of entertainment and information for consumers, having the capacity to either reinforce or challenge dominant memories about the past of a nation. They do so by tackling controversial topics, exploring experiences of different social strata and at times studying history from a new perspective.

With the aim of providing a clear understanding of the relation between history, collective memory and historical fiction, this chapter is divided into three sections: "Collective Memory", "Media Memory and Historical Fiction" and "Potential Effects of Historical Fiction on Collective Memory".

In the first subchapter, the term *collective memory* is studied, as well as its characterization by several scholars. Subsequently, in the second subchapter, I draw a relation between collective memory and mass media, particularly audiovisual media. I then define the

concept *historical fiction* and explore how it serves as an exercise in media memory (Rueda Laffond et al., 2013). In the last section, I make a case for historical fiction as a medium that may reinforce or challenge dominant collective memory. To elucidate various arguments, I primarily employ examples from Portuguese history and culture, as this is the nation of focus in this study. However, I also employ, to a lesser degree, examples from other countries.

1.1 Collective Memory

A social group's identity is shaped by traditions, commemorations and narratives. Regardless of its complexity and size - be it a family, religious community, social class or nation – it must develop and maintain an identity that unites its members. To preserve this cohesion, Émile Durkheim notes, societies need a link and continuity with the past (Bellah, 1959).

Based on this premise, the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs developed the concept of *collective memory* in his 1925 work *On Collective Memory*. He defines collective memory as the common memories of a social group about its history, in which the group's identity is mirrored (Halbwachs, 1992). Different communities, Halbwachs argues, have unique recollections of the past that their members have developed and passed on to future generations. Thus, collective memory is intimately tied to a particular group, being the product of their past experience. Through an awareness of its own past, rituals and official definitions, a group then becomes conscious of its identity (Russell, 2006).

Being located in a specific group context, individuals draw on that background to remember and recreate the past. On this basis, Halbwachs argues that memory is not a biological component of humans, but rather a socially constructed notion. He believes that individual memories are reconstructed based on the traditions and attitudes of the community of which one is a part of. "It is in this sense," Halbwachs notes, "that there exists a collective memory and social frameworks for memory; it is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in this memory that it is capable of the act of recollection" (Halbwachs, 1992, p.38). Individuals therefore situate what they recollect within the mental spaces provided by their community; it is through membership in that group that they acquire memories of the past (Plantinga, 2021).

Regarding history as another practice of recounting the past, Halbwachs draws a sharp distinction between history and collective memory. The former studies the past from a critical distance, focusing on important events, dates and actors. In contrast, the latter is the continuous (re)construction of past lived experiences of members of a certain group (Halbwachs, 1992), and as added by Erika Dross, these are typically colored by "the fevered pitch of public feelings such as grief, gratitude, fear, shame and anger" (Doss, 2010, p. 2). As such, collective memory is a selective version of the past, which differs between various groups of people. Both history and collective memory can be kept alive through commemorations, traditions, museums, monuments and the like. Examples of these in Portuguese culture include the *25th April*, a holiday which commemorates the end of the dictatorship or *Padrão dos Descobrimentos*, a monument which celebrates the Portuguese Age of Discovery (or Age of Exploration) during the 15th and 16th centuries (Cabecinhas, 2014).

Neiger et al. (2011) highlight two further crucial features of the concept of collective memory:

1. **Collective memory studies the past in present terms**. Halbwachs (1941) described collective memory as "a reconstruction of the past that adapts the image of ancient facts to the beliefs and spiritual needs of the present" (p.7). Taking a *presentist* approach, Halbwachs argues that the past is a social construction shaped mainly, if not entirely, by the concerns of the present (Halbwachs, 1992). Current events, interests and beliefs guide our reading of the past, while schemes and frames of references learned from the past shape our understanding of the present. The process of shaping collective memory is thus continuous and multi-directional.

2. **Collective memory is narrational.** It is structured within a pattern that is culturally familiar. Typically, this takes the conventional narrative form, including "a storyline featuring a beginning, a chain of developing events, and an ending, as well as protagonists who are called upon to overcome obstacles." (p. 5). This structure allows "creators of accounts that address the past to fill these stories with lessons and morals that guide and instruct communities in the present" (p. 5).

Hanna Meretoja (2018) effectively synthesizes the two above-mentioned features, arguing that, "Memory work is something we do in the present; like narrative, it is an interpretative activity. Instead of simple retrieval of what is stored in our minds, it is a present

activity that is intertwined with a narrative process of meaning-making" (p. 33). Collective memory is thus a "construction and negotiation of group identity through a process of narrativization" (Plantinga, 2021, p. 117). Taking the conceptualization and characterization of collective memory into consideration, one can more readily explore the relation between the term and mass media.

1.2 Media Memory and Historical Fiction

Since the publication of Halbwachs' work *On Collective Memory,* this topic has attracted a large number of scholars, who have at times disagreed with many of his observations. Yet, as emphasized by Neiger et al. (2011), academics tend to agree on the following presumption: "social groups construct their own images of the world by constantly shaping and reshaping versions of the past" (p. 3). This process creates a group's unique identity, which allows them to establish boundaries that "separate them from other groups that share different memories of the past, or different interpretations of the same occurrences" (Russell, 2006, p. 3).

Collective memories can only influence a social group through their ongoing usage and without public outreach, there is no collective memory. Hence, several memory studies examine many forms of public expression, including media content, rituals, commemorations and commemoration sites; in a nutshell, "collective memory is an inherently mediated phenomenon" (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 3). Of these various public expressions, scholars who research about collective memory tend to view mass media as the most dominant form of collective representations of the past (Neiger et al., 2011).

This is elucidated by Jürgen Habermas, who argues that mass media has become an important source of information, largely influencing public opinion and debates, or what he terms *the public sphere*. Habermas defines the public sphere as "a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed" (Habermas et al., 1974, p. 49). In the beginning of the 18th century, the public sphere came into being when citizens assembled in bars and cafes to have discussions and exchange their opinions about matters of general interest. In a large public body, Habermas (1974) maintains, "this kind of communication requires specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who receive it" (p. 51). Thus, with the development of mass media, today, radio, newspapers, magazines and television serve as such mediators of the public sphere.

As important part of political systems, the public sphere is rooted in networks of vast flows of messages – images, news, movies, reports, documentaries and discussions with an entertaining, educational or polemical tone. As argued by Habermas (2006), "the dynamics of mass communication are driven by the power of the media to select and shape the presentation of messages and frame public issues" (p. 415). Whereas media outlets, particularly newspapers, sole role used to be to publish news, throughout the second half of the eighteenth century they have become bearers and leaders of public opinions (Habermas et al., 1974). Due to its pervasive characteristic, mass media have become part of citizens' everyday consumption, having the power to select and represent relevant content. The dominance and omnipresence of mass media not only heavily influences the formation of public opinion (Habermas, 2006), but also plays a decisive role in shaping current collective recollections of the past (Huyssen, 2000).

Based on this relation between history, media and memory, a number of scholars have developed Halbwachs' work in various ways that connect the guiding assumptions of collective memory studies to the realm of media research, entering the field of *media memory* (i.e. Kitch, 2008; Olick and Robbins, 1998; Plantinga, 2021; Schudson, 1995; Zelizer, 1995). Neiger et al. (2011) define *media memory* as "the systematic exploration of collective pasts that are narrated by the media, through the use of the media, and about the media" (p. 1). As pointed by Gary Edgerton (2000), audiovisual content is a particularly pertinent source of media memory:

"*Television is the principal means by which most people learn about history today [...] Just as television has profoundly affected and altered every aspect of contemporary life – from the family to education, government, business and religion – the medium's nonfictional and fictional portrayals have similarly transformed the way tens of millions of viewers think about historical figures.*" (p. 7)

This is supported by Burnay and Rueda Laffond (2014), who also emphasize the important role of historical fiction in the shaping of collective memory. Based on the available literature on the concept, I define *historical fiction* as narratives in audiovisual form that are set in the past and provide an account of history, with varying levels of accuracy to historical facts (Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014; Plantinga 2021; Saxton, 2020). Historical periods, characters and settings are recreated in a variety of formats, including film, series and

miniseries that "translate references from the past into the present" (Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014, p. 86).

Historical fiction films and series usually belong to one of two main categories identified by Robert Rosenstone. They are either "based on documentable persons or events or movements" or are works in which "the central plot and characters are fictional, but whose historical setting is intrinsic to the story and meaning of the work" (Rosenstone, 1995, p. 6). Thus, their degrees of historical accuracy vary, "ranging from period pieces to the use of fiction as a vehicle for historiographical reflection" (p. 39). Imaginary events, settings, facts and characters may be added or removed from the plot for entertainment purposes (Plantinga, 2021).

Due to this practice - particularly by mainstream historical fiction intended for the masses – the medium is at times criticized by scholars, the media and in public discourse as an inaccurate account of the past (Saxton, 2020). However, as highlighted by Burnay and Rueda Laffond (2014), historical fiction does not aim to carry out academic historiographical analysis. While journalism, news and documentary are mediums considered closely related to 'true' historiography, fictional outlets are more closely related to practices of collective memory (Neiger et al., 2011). Furthermore, they also intend to entertain and appeal to a wider audience.

In contrast to academic historical analyses – and similar to collective memory - historical fiction studies the past in present terms and appeals to emotions. These two characteristics make it more widely accessible for individuals who may not otherwise have much contact with historical subjects. As noted by Rueda Laffond et al. (2013), historical fiction productions portray the past in a way that is comprehensible for viewers living in the present day - from the characters' language to their attitudes, lifestyles and moral codes. As a practice in media memory, historical fiction provides knowledge about and meaning to the past, forming what Eviatar Zerubavel termed "mnemonic socialization" (Zerubavel, 1996, as cited in Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014). By highlighting shared roots and group feelings through its representation of the past, historical fiction re-creates national identity and reinforces various inclusive dimensions. These include, for instance, national characters, common language and values, environments and so on.

Regarding Portugal, the time period most often portrayed in national fiction - whether in telenovelas, series or movies - has been the twentieth century, a period identifiable by the general audience. This represents a link to the most controversial and widely-deabted discussion topics in the public sphere, Salazarism and decolonization. The temporal proximity to the twentieth century enables viewers' individual memories to the connected to actors and events portrayed. Most importantly, "the representation of these years provides subjective acknowledgement and sentimental evocation of nostalgic and traumatic issues" (Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014, p. 100).

This appeal to emotion is another important characteristic distinguishing historical fiction from academic historiographical analysis. Although never fully objective, historical accounts usually study the past from a critical distance, focusing mainly on important events, dates and actors. However, as maintained by Laura Saxton (2020), there are "gaps in historical knowledge that are the territory of historical fiction" (p. 129). These include how individuals might have thought, acted or felt in a specific context, layers which are interpreted in historical fiction. Plantinga (2021) argues that this can be achieved through certain film techniques. For instance, by mixing archival footage with reconstructed footage that appears to be archival. This technique was employed in Oliver Stone's *JFK* (1991), about the assassination of US president John F. Kennedy. Stone combines the *Zapruder film*, the only known footage of the actual assassination, with staged footage shot on Super-8, 16 mm, and video, designed to appear to be authentic. As argued by Plantinga (1997), this "makes it impossible for the typical viewer to discriminate between reenactments and archival material (p. 23).

Furthermore, as argued by Bryony Stocker (2012), it is more essential that a fiction is able to "capture the spirit of an era than its actuality" (p. 132). An examination of 'truth' in historical fiction goes beyond 'facts', such as events, actors or dates to include atmosphere, feelings and setting. The more the context and setting are true to history, the more *authentic* the fictionalized segments appear. To illustrate this argument, Saxton (2011) employs a textual analysis of *The Crown*. Released on Netflix in 2016, the series fictionalizes the reign of Elisabeth II. Elizabeth's private conversations with the several prime ministers, as well as members of her family comprise the 'gap' in the knowledge of the queen, while "the wholly imagined representation of this gap gains credibility from the faithful recreation of known detail" (p. 133). In referring to the British royal family, the screenwriter of *The Crown* (Peter Morgan) explained in an NPR interview:

"We pretty much know for every day of their lives where they were and what they were allegedly doing. What we don't know is what they were feeling, what they were thinking. And so it's my job to draw the line between those two in as responsible a way as possible" (Davies, 2019).

Yet, as highlighted by Saxton (2011), although this private and affective world is the focus of the series, *The Crown* also stimulates its viewers to interact with their collective history. Each episode relates to an event that had public consequences and uses it "as a lens through which to examine the individuals at its center" (p. 133). Furthermore, sets, characters, costumes and accents ensure that *The Crown* "resembles the public image of Britain's royal family in the mid-twentieth century" (p. 135). That is, as previously noted by Burnay and Rueda Laffond (2014), an image which the public remembers and is familiar with. This provides evidence for Saxton's argument that in the case of historical fiction, a belief that the historical setting of the text resembles the past is crucial to its *authenticity* (Saxton, 2011). This is achieved by a blending of historical facts and fiction. Authenticity in historical fiction is thus far more pivotal than the extent to which it reports a completely factual account of the past.

Rasmus Greiner (2021) argues that this opens up scope for interpretation concerning the depicted historical location. Oftentimes, it is not possible to identify the filming location from the film images, as *mise-en-scène* transform places into aesthetic units. At times, scenes are not even filmed at original locations for logistical reasons. This demonstrates that the impression of authenticity the audience gets when entering a historical world is "more an effect of how the elements are arranged and staged than an indication of an actual indexical link to history" (p. 98). These historical worlds are thus "the product of a "creative camera" that does not simply reproduce historical images but imprints a particular "vision" on them". (p. 98).

Carl Plantinga (2021) supports Greiner's argument, maintaining that questions about a historical fiction piece's fidelity to the past are not central. More important, he argues, is the role of historical fiction in establishing and questioning collective memory in the present. Narratives add a certain value to accounts of the past, whether fictional or factual ones. By distinguishing a chronicle (listing events in chronological order) from a narrative, one can see how this is the case. As Hayden White argues, the historian must transform the chronicle into a story, with a beginning, middle, and end; highlighted a rising action and important events

(White, 1980). This adds a "valuation - that is, an evaluative perspective, either implicit or explicit. In popular historical fiction film, this evaluative perspective is typically pronounced and explicit" (Plantinga, 2021, p. 118).

Another way in which academic historiographical accounts, collective memory and historical fiction operate similarly is in their process of selection. As maintained by Saxton (2011), "there is not one true version of the past that historians (or historical novelists) are able to access, but there are instead layers of interpretation and representation" (p. 138). Both writers of historical fiction and academic accounts make selections when choosing what historical information they view as pertinent to include in their stories. They are therefore influential in determining what must be remembered and what can be forgotten in the framework of collective memory.

1.3 Potential Effects of Historical Fiction on Collective Memory

As argued by Plantinga (2021), historical fiction is a "form of global storytelling with the potential for significant influence in the formation, consolidation, and/or alteration of collective memory" (p. 131). It therefore may play an important role in the definition of a nation or other social group. This is based on the wide outreach that they have, usually being produced for a mass audience, and two additional important characteristics.

Firstly, as argued by Alison Landsberg (2004) current mass media representations of the past have the capacity to build *prosthetic memory*. Landsberg, who coined the term, defines it as the "deeply felt memory of a past event" (p. 2) through which the person remembering did not actually live. She considers film to be among mass-mediated media that has the potential to influence the public sphere and shape collective memory. Landsberg argues that the embodied nature of film audience is central to the power of the medium since, as she puts it, memory "remains a sensuous phenomenon experienced by the body" (p. 8) and it derives much of its power through affect.

As previously noted, different social groups have distinctive collective memories of their history, based on how members of the group experienced the past. Historical films, however, have the potential for an opening up or sharing, to promote empathy, and to make "group specific memories available to a diverse and varied populace" (Landsberg, 2004, p. 11).

To illustrate this argument, Plantinga (2021) mentions *Selma*, a 2014 historical drama about Martin Luther King and the journey he led from Selma to Montgomery in 1965, demanding voting rights for the black community. The author argues that the movie introduces viewers to important aspects of black history and experiences that they were previously unaware of. *Selma* not only represents factual history, but also has an affective appeal, encouraging viewers to empathize with and better understand past experiences of people from distinctive social groups.

This leads to the second characteristic of historical fiction texts, their ability to encourage *reflective spectatorship* and challenge dominant collective memory. Plantinga (2019) defines *reflective spectatorship* as a spectatorship that is "psychologically active, questioning, critical, fascinated and thoughtful" (pp. 152-153). By dealing with topics that are oftentimes underrepresented in dominant historical narratives, historical fiction encourages the viewer to reflect about the movie's subject matter.

For instance, in Portugal, during the *Estado Novo* dictatorship, the state-controlled media portrayed Salazar as "the intellectual married to his nation" (Rueda Laffond et al., 2013, p. 41), an image that lingered on for decades in the collective memory of the Portuguese. After the dictator's death, filmmakers used alternative subplots to demythologize official images. A significant case of such revisionist trend is the 2009 movie *A Vida Privada de Salazar*. It portrays psychological characteristics of the politician: his melancholic private side, as well as his misogynous treatment of women, breaking drastically with Portuguese collective memory.

However, today there are topics that remain largely untouched upon by history or collective memory practices. In reference to Australian collective memory of the First World War, Paula Hamilton argues:

> "*It is never a memory about how men kill in war. We never mention that people shoot other people; our soldiers shoot and even rape women sometimes. But you cannot imagine that happening [...], because you are never told that that is what they did. So that collective memory is very dominant and secure.*" (Hamilton, 2018).

Regarding Portuguese history, scholars have made a case for a stronger representation of social groups that are marginalized in dominant narratives of the past. Rosa Cabecinhas (2014) researches about the collective memory Mozambicans have of the colonial wars, one

that greatly contrasts the dominant narratives of the post-colonial period in Portugal. She argues that their collective memory must urgently be given voice and visibility in media representation, to raise awareness about Portugal's responsibility in the colonial wars. In another study, Niccolo Reali (2021) studies the role of both Portuguese and African women in the Colonial War. He argues that this social group must receive more attention in practices of collective memory in Portugal, as their experiences are also an important factor to consider in order to understand the past.

As these studies show, historical fiction can be an important mediator between individuals of a group and their history. The process of shaping collective memory is continuous and multi-directional and there are still many topics that remain unexplored by dominant narratives.

2. The Development of Historical Fiction in Portugal

In the previous chapter, it was established that (1) mass media has a central role in forming citizens' opinions and (2) historical fiction has the potential to influence the collective memory of a social group. Based on these premises, one must determine through which medium historical fiction is predominantly produced and consumed today. This is because the larger its outreach, the greater the effect a historical fiction work may have on collective memory.

Traditionally, television has been the primary medium through which Portuguese individuals consume historical fiction. Television remains prevalent, representing the largest fraction of the media diet within the public (Cardoso et al., 2022). Within Europe, Portuguese viewers spent the longest time watching television in 2020, at almost 6 hours a day, which constitutes more than two hours above the European average TV-watching time (Stoll, 2022). However, with the entering of streaming platforms into the audiovisual market, the way historical fiction - and media in general - is produced and consumed changed drastically in the last decade. To better understand current trends in the production of historical fiction today, this chapter gives an overview of the development of transmitting media, from broadcasting to streaming.

The first subchapter examines the era of the first historical fiction works produced in Portugal and broadcasted on the generalist television channels. It defines the concept of *portugality* and highlights its importance within national historical fictions. Additionally, it lays out the various formats of historical fiction, which have developed from the dominant telenovela format. Subsequently, the second subchapter discusses how streaming platforms, led by Netflix, have revolutionized the media landscape. I then examine the main strategies of the leading streaming platform, making a case for the prevalence of historical fiction within Netflix original productions. Lastly, in the fourth subchapter, I study the recent trend of producing Portuguese historical fictions for streaming platforms.

2.1 Broadcasting of Historical Fiction in Portugal

The Portuguese television market incorporates three generalist channels, namely RPT, SIC and TVI. Their programming is centrally based on the role of fiction (Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014), particularly in the form of telenovelas (Burnay and Ribeiro, 2020). As highlighted by Fontaine and Pumares (2020), television drama was traditionally designed with the primary

purpose of achieving large audiences in prime-time programming. Attracting such strong audiences, Brazilian telenovelas constituted the majority of fiction content broadcasted by Portuguese television between 1977 and 1982 (Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014).

However, as emphasized by Cunha (2011), a pertinent function of telenovelas is the emotional connection it builds with its viewers, by way of creating characters, narratives and settings that reflect the realities of the viewers' everyday lives. Due to the cultural and social differences between Brazil and Portugal, Brazilian telenovelas were unable to establish this level of connection with the Portuguese public.

Thus, in 1982, the first Portuguese telenovela, *Vila Faia*, was broadcasted on the public service channel, RTP. As a result of its success in Portugal, the production of several other Portuguese telenovelas followed, first broadcasted by RTP, then by SIC and TVI, from 1992 and 1993 respectively (Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014). This marked an era of pioneering in which production companies, producers, writers and actors sought "the path of *portugality*"[1] (Cunha, 2011, p. 94), through themes, conflicts and characters that realistically represent Portuguese society. *Portugality* hence became an inherent attribute of fiction in Portugal, persisting until today. The concept can be defined as Portuguese identity; in other words, containing narratives, settings, imagery and soundtracks that are unique to Portuguese culture. This enables viewers to identify with narratives they watch and affirm attitudes, opinions, values and styles they have (Custódio, 2021).

Furthermore, as argued by Cagri Yalkin (2021), "television series have traditionally acted as soft power tool to disseminate real or idealized narratives of certain nations or regions" (p. 219). Thus, they also have had several effects on the public, including didactive functions and the ability to reconstruct the collective memory of a nation. The latter effect emerged with the start of productions and screenings of Portuguese historical fiction during the 1990's. It was during this time that genres of Portuguese fiction developed from the dominant genre of melodrama set in contemporary times, (Custódio, 2021), to also include themes, characters and events set in the past and based on Portugal's history. Moreover, their format gradually diversified from telenovelas to also contain series, telefilms, serials and mini-series. As genres

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[1] "caminho da portugalidade" (p.94) in the original text.

and formats developed, so did the quality of productions, with increasingly sophisticated technical, aesthetic and narrative aspects (Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014).

Burnay and Rueda Laffond (2014) analyze all historical fiction productions broadcasted on Portuguese television between 1999 and 2013 to identify their key characteristics. They find that within the works studied, the dominant genre is drama, while their most recurring format is serial and miniseries, together making up 29 works out of the 36 examined. Meanwhile, only 3 of the productions are telenovelas – the most popular format of Portuguese fiction – and 4 telefilms. In terms of themes, the works have two main ways of approaching the country's past: either by depicting the lives of significant historical figures (biopics) or portraying important political and social events.

As maintained by Burnay and Rueda Laffond (2014), "The conversion of the daily lives of Portuguese personalities into audiovisual language was achieved by mixing real facts and fiction, by including actual names in the titles [...] and by recreating historical and local environments" (p. 96). Portugal also began to implement co-productions, particularly with Portuguese-speaking countries, enabling the development of locations, stories and themes that were of symbolical importance to all countries involved.

As previously mentioned, the time period most studied by historical fictions has been the 20th century, particularly Salazarism and decolonization, the most controversial and popular discussion topics in the public sphere. Due to their temporal proximity to today, these recent events still require a large amount of academic research and recollection. Considering this, Burnay and Rueda Laffond (2014) highlight that historical fictions "enhance the importance of a critical and collective perspective on the past for understanding the present from a democratic point of view" (p. 98).

Thus, although telenovelas set in present times remain the dominant format of fiction productions (Blázquez, 2021), historical fictions have gained a prominent place among Portuguese audiovisual productions. They have predominantly been produced in the format of series and the genre of drama and broadcasted by RTP, confirming Afilipoaie et al.'s (2021) statement that "in many member states *public broadcasters* are still the main drivers behind the production and distribution of TV fiction." (pp. 306-307).

2.2 From Broadcasting to Streaming

The way historical fiction is produced and consumed globally changed significantly in the last two decades, due to the major shift in the way media is transmitted, from broadcasting to streaming[2] (Lotz, 2018). Afilipoaie et al. (2021) contend that this change was caused by the emergence of over-the-top (OTT)[3] players that majorly disrupted the production, distribution and consumption of audiovisual content. This event, which is described by some scholars as a 'digital revolution' in the audiovisual market (Lotz, 2018; Afilipoaie et al., 2021) was instigated by Netflix in the mid-2010s.

Founded in 1997, the business model of the American company was based on mailing DVDs to homes of subscribers who paid a monthly fee. However, with the development of high-speed internet by 2007, Netflix introduced its video on demand and streaming service, innovating the media market. This new feature was based on the *Subscription Video-On-Demand* (SVOD) model. Subscribers, who paid a monthly recurring fee, had unlimited access to Netflix' website containing an entire library of videos. In other words, viewers could watch TV shows and movies *on demand*, rather than being dependent on the scheduled programming of television broadcasting channels. Thus, "Netflix wasn't filling a schedule; it was building a library" (Lotz, 2018, p. 123).

Its catalogue consisted of ready-made and licensed content from other media giants, such as Disney, HBO and WarnerMedia (Afilipoaie et al., 2021). As maintained by Yalkin (2021), TV series "are the building blocks of video-on-demand and streaming business models" (p. 217). Lotz (2018) supports Yalkin's argument, by stating that "as the company pivoted from DVD-by-mail to streaming, the core of its business shifted from film to television" (p. 118). By 2016, the share in viewing was 30% film and 70% television (Lotz, 2018).

Netflix' high-quality, niche and specialized titles attracted an increasing number of subscribers, which allowed the platform to expand internationally, first to Canada and Latin America in 2010-2011. Then, from 2012, the company expanded into Europe, reaching 190 countries and almost 40 million subscribers in 6 years (Afilipoaie et al., 2021). In 2015, Netflix

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[2] In this thesis, the term *streaming* refers to the transmission and consumption of video content over an internet-connected device.
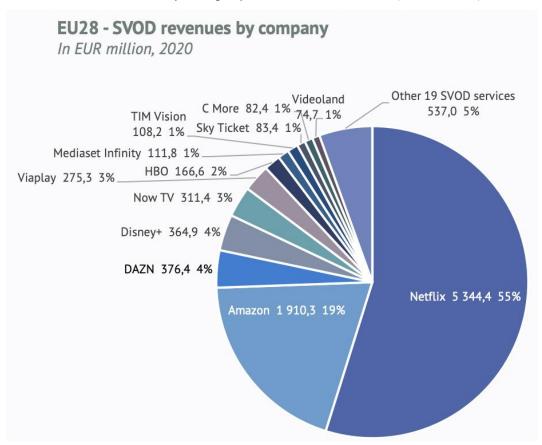[3] The term *OTT* is an abbreviation for "Over-The-Top", referring to media services that are offered directly to consumers via the internet, bypassing broadcast, satellite and television companies, which traditionally controlled and distributed audiovisual content (Lotz, 2018).

launched in Portugal, as the first SVoD service in the country. Today, it is the streaming platform with most subscribers in Portugal, as well as the world (Ussene, 2021).

Based on the increasing global popularity of the SVoD model and aiming to compete with Netflix, several other streaming platforms entered the audiovisual market throughout the 2010s. Therefore, over the past 10 years, there has been an extreme growth of the VOD market in the EU28[4], driven by SVOD revenues. As seen in **Figure 1**, despite growing competition (chiefly by Amazon) Netflix remains the SVOD company with the highest revenues share in the EU28 (Grece, 2021).

Figure 1

EU28 – SVOD Revenues by Company in EUR million, 2020 (Grece, 2021)

Thus, as argued by Lotz (2018), "more than any other development by 2010, Netflix was responsible for changing how people watched television." (p. 120). As stated in the

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[4] EU28 includes the 28 member states of the European Union (EU) before the United Kingdom withdrew from the EU (Pumares, 2020).

yearbook 2021/2022 of the *European Audiovisual Observatory* (EAO), increasingly more television viewers are acquiring an OTT media service membership (Cabrera Blázquez et al., 2021). The popularity of streaming platforms is also reflected in Portugal.

Between the 24th May and 24th June 2022, the Portuguese marketing agency *Multidados* carried out an online survey with its users who are above 18 years old, of both genders and live in the mainland, as well as its islands. The survey found that 77.2% of the participants have a subscription to streaming platforms, with Netflix being the most accessed one (79.1%), followed by HBO (25.2%), Amazon Prime Video (19.4%), NOS Play (13.7%), Disney Plus (11.5%), Apple TV+ (5.8%), MEO Movies & Series (7.9%) and OPTO SIC (4.3%) (Multidados, 2022). To consume audiovisual content, individuals acquire or switch entirely to streaming services due to the various advantages it offers; these include the ability to watch programs on demand, from any device, without being restricted by a programming schedule, limited content or the interruption of advertisements (Ussene, 2021).

2.3 Netflix Originals and Historical Fiction

Although Netflix remained the most popular streaming platform throughout, the emergence of other streaming platforms created some challenges for the company. Media giants, such as Disney+, HBO Max and WarnerMedia began to take back the right to their titles, removing their content from Netflix libraries to aggregate in on their own catalogues (Afilipoaie et al., 2021). Netflix had the disadvantage of not owning its own content and began losing increasingly more titles. Thus, it switched its strategy from mere *distributor* to also being a *producer* of content, ensuring self-sufficiency through full ownership and control of content.

In 2013, Netflix released its first original series, *House of Cards*, as well as *Orange is the New Black*, establishing itself as a source of competitive original series (Lotz, 2018). From then on, its exclusive content investment has risen yearly, from 4,9 billion dollars in 2015 to 17,3 billion dollars in 2020, representing an increase of 253% in five years (Grece, 2021). As stated by Fontaine and Pumares (2020), "today, most original titles attracting subscribers to the SVOD platforms are high-end fiction series." (p. 33). Therefore, the number of fiction productions has been steadily increasing since 2015, driven by short format series that contain 2 to 13 episodes per season (Pumares, 2020).

However, when the platform expanded into Europe, creators faced a new challenge when writing for international audiences. As highlighted by Fontaine and Pumares (2020), "Europe is not a homogeneous territory and audiovisual content tastes (actors, language, rhythm, length, etc.) and audiences vary from country to country" (p. 83). Regarding content, local competitors had an advantage, as they knew the tastes, preferences and expectations of the audience in their country. Netflix became aware that to gain and maintain international subscribers, they needed to add local works to their catalogues (Fontaine and Pumares, 2020). The streamer thus began to collaborate with domestic production companies, financing the creation of originals that would entice its new users. Netflix therefore aims to "produce local for the global audience" (Fontaine and Pumares, 2020, p. 43) with domestic productions that have an international appeal.

Typically, these are big budget works with high-quality content. Furthermore, as emphasized by Bondebjerg (2016), they are often in the genre of historical dramas. On a national level, the genre is valued due to its ability to shape the collective memory of a country's history and set a national agenda in the media. On an international level, historical fictions travel well due to their recognizable features, such as themes, narrative structures and known historical figures.

As a matter of fact, many of the European countries' first original Netflix series were historical or period dramas. This includes, for instance, the aforementioned show *The Crown*, which was the first English Netflix production. It was released in 2016 and depicts the lives of the British royal family members during the reign of Queen Elisabeth II (Pearson, 2020). *The Crown* is one of the most expensive television series ever produced (Seale, 2019) and received numerous awards, including several Primetime Emmy, BAFTA and Golden Globe Awards. Although financed by the American company Netflix, the series was an English product. Not only was it created by a British screenwriter, Peter Morgan, but also produced by the British company, *Left Bank Pictures* (Pearson, 2020).

Furthermore, the first Spanish Netflix original production was also in the genre of historical fiction. The period drama *Cable Girls* was released in 2017 and depicts the story of four women who work at a telecommunications company in Madrid in 1928. While the characters and general plotline are fictionalized, the show is based on Spain's first telecommunication company, *Telefónica,* which offered women the opportunity of having

steady jobs as telephone operators. At the time of release, the show had had the highest budget allocated to a domestic Spanish production (Afilipoaie et al., 2021).

As argued by Castro and Cascajosa (2020), the show "follows many genre conventions that Spanish broadcasters use to attract young female viewers, such as love triangles and family problems" (p. 159). Yet, "it is very international. It's in the 1920's but it could be the '20s in any other cities.", as expressed by Nadia de Santiago – one of the leading actresses of the show – in an interview given to the magazine *NME* (Bartleet, 2017). This combination of a locally produced show with an international appeal proved largely successful, as it generated five seasons in total and won four international awards (Bambú Producciones, 2018).

2.4 Portuguese Historical Fiction in the Age of Streaming

As previously stated, Netflix revolutionized the way audiovisual content is produced and consumed globally. In Portugal, this change started to occur in 2015, when not only Netflix, but also NosPlay and FOXPlay were launched in the country, establishing a domestic streaming market. Since then, several other SVoD platforms have appeared on the market, including Amazon Prime Video and Filmin (launched in late 2016); HBO Portugal and Apple TV+ (launched in 2019); Acorn and Disney+ (launched in 2020).

However, OPTO was the first Portuguese streaming platform to produce and release its own premium content (ANACOM, 2021). The service was developed by the private channel SIC and launched on the 24th November 2020. It has a free and a paid subscription-based version with available programs ranging from series, documentaries, telenovelas, movies, newscast and reality shows. Many of its features are based on Netflix' business model, such as its monthly subscription offer, its focus on fictional content and the possibility to access its catalogue from any device and on-demand. OPTO was found with the aim to establish itself as a premium content provider with competitive original series.

Its primary strategy to distinguish itself from the various other available streaming platforms is to offer content that highlights the characteristics of portugality. While other services offer international content only, OPTO contains "hours of high quality portugality that others lack" (Ferreira, 2020). This trajectory is similar to the production of the first Portuguese telenovela, at a time when the media landscape only offered Brazilian ones. Much like the first

Portuguese telenovela sought to portray narratives the Portuguese public could identify with, so did OPTO with its first production, *A Generalia*.

The show was released on the same day as the platform launched and tells the story of Maria Luísa, a woman who disguises herself as a man and army general for almost 20 years, between the 1970's and 1990's. The biopic is based on the real-life story of Maria Teresinha Gomes, colloquially known as *Generala*, the Portuguese word for "female army general" (Calheiros, 2020). Another historical fiction produced by OPTO is the 8-episode series *Vanda*. Released in March 2022, it recounts the story of Vanda, who commits bank robberies to recover the financial loss caused by her husband. This biopic is also based on the real-life story Vanda Lopes, who robbed 12 banks within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area between 2011 and 2012 (Farinha, 2021).

OPTO's investment in and focus on historical fiction showcases the importance of the genre. Similar to the first Netflix Originals in the United Kingdom and Spain, OPTO chose its first production to be one that recounted a part of the country's past. It did so again with the production of another biopic in 2022, *Vanda*. Following the path of portugality, through themes, conflicts and characters that represent Portuguese identity, these narratives have the potential to attract large viewership and reconstruct the collective memory of Portuguese people.

On the 5th November 2021, one year after the release of the first OPTO original, Netflix brought out its first Portuguese production, *Glória*. Similar to the previously mentioned first original productions, it is a historical fiction series, as well as an espionage thriller. It is centered around RARET, a retransmission center located south of Lisbon, that was installed by the United States in the 1950s to broadcast western propaganda to the Eastern bloc. The protagonist, João Vidal, is hired in 1968 as an engineer at RARET, while also being a spy for the KGB – Moscow's secret police – and whose father is a high-ranking dignitary of the Estado Novo, Portugal's former dictatorship. Torn between these commitments, he undertakes several high-risk espionage missions that could change the course of Portuguese and global history. While the characters and plot are fictitious, the series is based on real facts, most notably the largely unbeknown existence of RARET (Observador, 2021).

Following the trend of high-end and short season series, this 10-episode series has received the largest budget in the history of Portuguese domestic production. Although Netflix financed the project, the production was carried out by a predominantly Portuguese team, most prominently the creator and screenwriter Pedro Lopes and the director Tiago Guedes. This allowed for the series to carry important characteristics of portugality, while also having an international appeal. It thus fulfills Netflix aim to "produce local for the global audience" (Fontaine and Pumares, 2020, p. 43).

In the words of Pedro Lopes, the story is "intrinsically Portuguese but has an international appeal. For the entire fictional part, we looked for characters with some universality, but it is still a deeply Portuguese story, and one that is still very much unknown to our population[5]" (Torres, 2021). Lopes' statement also points to the potential of fiction to contribute to the reconstruction of collective memory. By way of dealing with a topic that not many people are aware of, the series invites viewers to reflect about the past of their country.

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[5] Translated from the original interview quote "[...]é profundamente portuguesa, mas tem um apelo internacional. Para todo o lado ficcional, procurámos personagens com alguma universalidade, mas não deixa de ser uma história profundamente portuguesa e que ainda por cima é muito desconhecida da nossa população." (Torres, 2021).

3. Theoretical Framework

The past chapters have scrutinized the connection between collective memory and historical fiction, as well as the development in the production of historical fiction in Portugal. As a last step of the literature review, I present and elucidate my theoretical framework. Subsequently, I closely analyze the main characteristics of historical fiction which lead viewers to immerse themselves a fictitious world and reflect about history. In the analysis chapter, I apply this theoretical framework on my case study, the Netflix series, *Glória*.

My theoretical framework is built by three theories of the following authors:

1. Rueda Laffond et al. and Burnay and Rueda Laffond: *fiction as a vehicle for historical reflection*
2. Rasmus Greiner: *Histosphere and immersion*
3. Carl Plantinga: *emotional appeal and reflective spectatorship*

Rueda Laffond et al. (2013) argue that fiction may be used as a vehicle for historical reflection. Attracting a large, non-specialist audience, historical fiction works "translate references from the past into the present" (Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014, p. 86), making them widely understandable to modern viewers. They also employ characteristics of a national identity, such as common values, landscapes, language and so on (Rueda Laffond et al., 2013); in the case of Portuguese historical fiction, reinforcing *portugality*.

By portraying history in a way that is familiar to the audience, historical fiction appeals to their collective memory. However, as argued in the first chapter, the process of shaping collective memory is continuous and subject to change. More than merely passively depicting past events and national characters, historical fictions may interpret them from a new and current point of view. They are thus part of generalist practices in media memory that contribute to the construction of the past. They do so by "reporting unjust facts, recovering forgotten situations, rehabilitating victims, legitimating projects and educating the younger generation" (p. 86).

Historical fiction encourages viewers to reflect about past events by resituating them in the immediate experience of the viewer. In contrast to written accounts, which examine history from an exterior, factual point of view, fiction offers a view of historical worlds from the inside.

This, as argued by Rasmus Greiner (2018) is achieved by creating a *histosphere*. He defines the concept as a "spacetime structure constructed by film that models a historical world and opens it up to audio-visual experience" (p. 1).

Due to their ability to depict images and sounds, histospheres are "better suited than written discourse to the actual representation of certain kinds of historical phenomena" (White, 1988, as cited in Greiner, 2021). These includes the spatial surroundings, such as landscapes, objects, atmospheres and wars, but also sociocultural elements, such as clothing, language, mentalities and music. A historical world is created for the viewer's eyes and ears, establishing an important connection between the film's aesthetic elements and the audience's perception. This gives particular importance to the *mise-en-scène*, which constitutes the filmic space, meaning the arrangement of visible and audible elements.

Greiner (2021) also highlights the importance of what he terms *mise-en-histoire*, which establishes references to collective and popular conceptions of history. This creates a world that is recognizable to the viewer, even though he may never have lived in the time-period the narrative is set in. Offering this introspective view, histospheres allow viewers to immerse themselves in the narrative, experiencing the historical world as if they were inside it.

As argued by Carl Plantinga (2021), this impression of direct contact with the past is reinforced by the elicitation of powerful emotions. Individuals tend to remember events that evoke strong feelings better than unremarkable ones. Therefore, the author argues, "a vivid and dramatic historical fiction, is an apt vehicle for the formation and preservation of the collective memories of individuals" (p. 124). The classical narrative is specifically developed to elicit intense emotions, in order to entice and entertain viewers. It features a goal-oriented protagonist, who faces obstacles and includes rising action, a dramatic conflict and resolution. While the intention of evoking powerful emotions is to entertain viewers, it also has the effect of impacting their memory.

An emotionally involved viewer is also more likely to empathize with the characters of the narrative. However, Plantinga highlights that it is important to never fully empathize with one character (2019). In order to do so, Greiner (2021) argues, the historical world must be explored from different perspectives, by portraying the experiences and perspectives of multiple characters and social groups. This allows the audience to consider history not only

from a singular, dominant point of view, but also from ones they may not had regarded yet. Historical fiction thus encourages *reflective spectatorship*, which the author defines as an audience that watches a content passively. Instead, they are "psychologically active, questioning, critical, fascinated and thoughtful" (Plantinga, 2019, pp. 152-153).

Historical fiction therefore not only reinforces individual and collective memory, but also deconstructs and works through it. They allow society to process certain historical traumas by examining them with this experienceable perspective. As a result, they have the capacity to challenge dominant collective memories, promoting new perspectives/ideas and discourses in the public sphere.

In a nutshell, my theoretical framework – which I apply to the case study in my analysis chapter – is: Historical fictions can (re)construct collective memory by portraying the past in a way that allows the audience to immerse themselves in the historical world created. This is done mainly in two ways:

1. By creating a histosphere that allows the viewer to experience the world portrayed as if they were inside it.
2. By placing characters inside this histosphere and theorizing how they would experience and deal with the challenges of their time.

This introspective look into history allows an understanding of the past that may not have been explored within the public sphere and dominant collective memory.

Hence, historical fiction is a vehicle for the reconstruction of collective memory, as it encourages reflective spectatorship through certain techniques that allow viewers to experience the fictional world as if they were inside it.

4. Historical Context

> "*Grande número de países europeus, ameaçados na sua vida e liberdade, contam desde agora com o auxílio dos Estados Unidos e uns com o auxílio dos outros para a defesa do seu património de divulgação. Pareceu difícil em tais circunstâncias estarmos ausentes.*" (Salazar, 1952, as cited in Madail Herdeiro, 2021).

The three past chapters have reviewed important literature and theories about historical fiction, as well as contextualized the development of historical fiction within Portugal. In the following chapters, the research object will be tackled, namely the Netflix series *Glória*, as well as the research question, namely *How does the series Glória contribute to the (re)construction of the Portuguese collective memory?* To be able to answer this question, the historical context of the series must be examined. Only by elucidating this will it be possible to grasp how the series approached and portrayed pertinent themes, settings and characters, contributing to the (re)construction of the Portuguese collective memory.

Glória is set in 1968 and centrally based around *Raret*, a retransmission center in Portugal that broadcasted anti-communist propaganda to the East bloc. Although it played a pertinent role for the Cold War radio propaganda for 45 years, Raret remained a hidden part of Portuguese history, of which many Portuguese individuals - including historians - are not aware of. Thus, *Glória* brings the public's attention to the history of the retransmission center by portraying the possibilities of what living in that context was like. As highlighted by Pedro Lopes, this includes not only the depiction of the Raret, but also "the role that radio played in the propaganda war during the Cold War, the institutional relationship between Portugal and the United States, but also, in a less institutional dimension, what the American presence was in that rural community that lived in great isolation." (Lopes, 2021, p. 7)

Bearing this in mind, this contextual chapter will be segmented into fives subchapters, retracing a timeline from 1933 to 1968 and discussing the principal historical topics *Glória* is based on. The first subchapter examines the structure of the Estado Novo, which governed Portugal from 1933 to 1974. The second subchapter analyzes Estado Novo's foreign policy, elucidating why the Portuguese state sought increasingly closer relations to western democracies, even though its ruling ideology completely opposed theirs. The third subchapter

discusses the *Cold War*, the role that radio propaganda played in the psychological warfare and how Portugal became involved in the American effort to stop communist expansion. The fourth subchapter focuses on *Raret*, how the retransmission center in Glória do Ribatejo was built, how it was structured, the importance it gained for the operations of *Radio Free Europe* and how it affected the life of local citizens. The last subchapter discusses controversies surrounding the Estado Novo, particularly the secrecy it kept around Raret's existence and the war it waged against its colonies. The latter subject is tackled recurrently in the Netflix series.

4.1 Estado Novo

Installed in 1933, the *Estado Novo* was an authoritarian, single-party regime with ideological links to fascism (Ribeiro, 2019). Its foundation was part of a fascist wave that swept across Europe in the early 1930s, particularly in Germany and Italy (Madail Herdeiro, 2021). The Estado Novo was developed and led by the dictator António de Oliveira Salazar and opposed communism, liberalism, syndicalism and anti-colonialism. Its central pillars entailed Catholicism, nationalism, corporatism and imperialism. The latter envisaged the "preservation of the empire" (Coelho, 2002, p. 129), thus regarding Portugal's colonies in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau as extensions of Portuguese territory.

Although Article 8 of the Constitution guaranteed "freedom of thought of any form" (Artigo 8, 4º, 1933) to all citizens, in reality media was subject to strict regulation and freedom of speech was virtually eradicated. This was reinforced by the formation of the political police, PIDE[6], which persecuted dissidents (Madail Herdeiro, 2021). Media censorship was reinforced with the establishment of the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN), which prevented the dissemination of views opposing the state over the television, press and radio. SPN also generated national propaganda, supporting the regime's ideology and Salazar as its leader (Madail Herdeiro, 2021). SPAC, the national newsreel agency, was also responsible for Estado Novo's image and advertised rural and public works as the greatest national achievements (Rueda Laffond et al., 2013). Furthermore, as argued by José Conteiro (2015), the widespread 3F's trilogy – Fado, Football and Fátima – enabled the Salazarist autocracy to continue having control over the country by diverting their attention away from political issues. *Fado* represented Portuguese nationalism, its values and traditions, while *Fátima* represented

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[6] PIDE is an abbreviation for "Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado" (Madail Herdeiro, 2021), meaning "International and State Defense Police".

Catholicism. *Football* was closely followed in the country, representing the greatest distraction from the brutal activities of the dictatorship.

Furthermore, the majority of the population was uneducated. Half of the population above age 14 did not attend primary school. Universities were only accessible to a small elite and attended mainly by men. The majority of women stayed at home; only a quarter of the workforce was made up of women, who earned significantly less than men. Outside the urban centers, few villages had basic sanitation - and piped water and electricity did not cover the whole country. Few households had television receivers and landline telephones were scarce (Contéiro, 2015).

As maintained by Contéiro (2015), "the generation that lived through that time – born in the 40s and 50s – would be called to a war they did not want and which would drag on much longer than expected, against everything and everyone, *proudly alone*" (p. 4). The last reference refers to a statement made by Salazar in his 1965 speech *Mistakes and Failures of the Political Era*. In it, the dictator spoke about the Colonial War and the lack of support from his allies, declaring that Portuguese soldiers fought "proudly alone". This statement became a symbol of Portugal's isolation from other European countries (Oliveira e Costa, 2020).

4.1.1 Estado Novo's Foreign Policy

During the Second World War (from 1939 to 1945) Portugal maintained a predominantly neutral position, which, according to Nelson Ribeiro (2019), "allowed the regime to survive after the end of the military conflict" (p. 2). While Germany's and Italy's fascist regimes were toppled by the Allies[7], Portugal's dictatorship persevered. Although never actively supporting any side with its own military, Portugal did grant the United States access to its military basis in the Azores in 1944. This marked the "process of gradual Portuguese integration into the American sphere of influence" (Rodriges, 2002, as cited in Madail Herdeiro, 2021).

After the end of World War II (WWII), there was a reordering of the international system, in which two spheres of influence emerged, the United States (US) and the Soviet Union, or USSR. While the US led the western capitalist bloc, the USSR led the eastern

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[7] The Allies were countries that fought and defeated Germany, Italy and Japan during World War II. They included mainly the United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union and China (Madail Herdeiro, 2021).

communist bloc (Gonçalves, 2021). The latter included eastern and central European countries the Soviet Union had taken control over during the Cold War. Of these so-called *satellite states*, the most central for this thesis are Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. With nationalist dictatorships toppled and the resulting democratic wave sweeping across western Europe, Salazar feared for his hold to power over fascist Portugal. Thus, he began to integrate the nation in the western sphere, seeking better relations by demonstrating how his regime was an important ally for the west (Ribeiro, 2019).

One of the first opportunities to do so was in 1949, when Portugal was invited to join NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), due to the value of its military basis in the Azores. This intergovernmental military alliance was signed between 12 countries, who guaranteed to defend each other in the case of an attack by the Soviet Union. By joining NATO, Portugal clearly aligned itself with the west in the fight against communism, while managing to keep its adherence to its fundamental anti-democratic and colonist stance (Madail Herdeiro, 2021).

4.2 Cold War and the Role of Radio Propaganda

The *Cold War* was a period of geopolitical and ideological tension between the United States and the USSR, as well as their allies, referred to previously as the western and eastern bloc respectively. Both superpowers had emerged victorious after WWII and having antagonistic ideologies – capitalism versus communism -, they aimed to achieve global dominance. Although there was no direct physical battle between both countries, the period can be characterized as an intense psychological warfare. Tactics employed by both nations against each other included propaganda campaigns, technological competitions, espionage and embargoes (Sempa, 2017).

After having defeated fascism during WWII, the United States now feared the growing Soviet influence over Europe. Thus, it developed efforts that aimed to contain this threat. These encompassed all spheres of power: *militarily*, by founding NATO; *economically*, by providing financial aid to western nations through the Marshall Plan; *diplomatically*, by strengthening ties with western nations; and by exerting soft power through the *media* (Madail Herdeiro, 2021). Regarding the latter, radio broadcasting and the intensive use of propaganda assumed a central role in the psychological warfare. Due to their ability to reach masses of people and

cross borders, it was believed that they could reach and persuade audiences in the eastern bloc (Ribeiro, 2019).

Consequently, Radio Free Europe (RFE) was founded in 1949, financed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and contributions raised by the organization *Crusade for Freedom*. RFE was led by the National Committee for a Free Europe, which was an anti-communist CIA organization. The main objective of RFE was to encourage dissidence in satellite states and ultimately combat communist rule in eastern countries. RFE started its broadcasts in July 1950 from Munich, Biblis and Holzkirchen, located in the American sector of occupied Germany, on short and medium wave (Gonçalves, 2021). The station established its headquarters in Munich, where it also produced the content to be transmitted (Ribeiro, 2019). Countries targeted were mainly Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

Since the target of transmissions were the satellite states, content was produced in the languages spoken in the receiving countries. Under US supervision, intellectuals and political exiles conducted broadcasts (Madail Herdeiro, 2021). These consisted of political content, such as censored news and readings of works banned by the communist regime, but also entertainment, to attract a larger audience. As emphasized by Ribeiro (2019), "the hope was that people who have tuned in for a drama, music or comedy show would not turn the dial when a political commentary came on" (p. 6).

However, the physical proximity between the radio stations in Germany and the receiving countries quickly revealed its drawbacks, due to the interference produced by transmitters in the eastern bloc (Madail Herdeiro, 2021). The US government thus commissioned a study with the objective to identify an alternative location that would increase the quality of reception in the targeted areas (Gonçalves, 2021). It was learned that "to improve their signals, it was necessary to install transmitters a great distance from the Eastern countries" (Ribeiro, 2019, p. 3).

Portugal was promptly found to be the best substitute. Being one of the westernmost territories in Europe, it was considerably geographically distant from the east and therefore ideal for shortwave broadcasting (Madail Herdeiro, 2021). Its relatively flat area also would allow for a stable circuit that started in Munich and would reach Portugal. Furthermore, the American government was aware of the anti-communist sentiment Portugal shared with the

US. It was hoped that this common ground could be utilized to receive Salazar's assistance in their mission (Ribeiro, 2019).

4.3 The Establishment and Success of Raret

Following the decision made by the US government, in December 1950 a meeting was set up between Salazar and Lincoln MacVeagh, the American ambassador in Lisbon. The purpose of the meeting was twofold. Firstly, MacVeagh revealed the efforts made by the US to combat the communist expansionism in Europe. Secondly, he requested Salazar to participate in this fight by authorizing the construction of a RFE radio retransmission center in Portugal (Gonçalves, 2021). Salazar agreed due to the several advantages of this collaboration for the Estado Novo. On a diplomatic scale, this was a further opportunity to strengthen Portugal's ties with the West. Politically, Salazar shared America's anti-communist stance and intention to prevent the spread of the ideology. Economically, Portugal would profit from American payment of annual rents and the employment of mostly Portuguese labor.

Thus, in April 1951, Portugal authorized the construction of a retransmission center, which would place the nation at the epicenter of the Cold War propaganda struggle (Madail Herdeiro, 2021). However, being fundamentally nationalistic, the Estado Novo wanted to avoid having an officially foreign organization in the country. Hence, it was suggested that a Portuguese company be established that would manage RFE's activities in the country. As a result, the Radio Retransmission Public Limited Company – more commonly referred to as *Raret* – was formed. Although it was fully financed by the US, 60% of the board members were Portuguese, in order to comply with national legislation (Ribeiro, 2019).

Subsequently, three RFE bases were built in Portugal. The Portuguese RFE headquarters were based in Lisbon. These also contained a recording studio for translators, who would "ensure that the broadcasts that were being recorded and retransmitted originated from RFE and not from Soviet stations" (Ribeiro, 2019, p. 5). They were also needed at times when last-minute changes had to be made to the content before transmission. In Maxuqueira, a receiving station was built, which would receive broadcast content from Munich and send it to the retransmission center, based in Glória do Ribatejo. This was RFE's most crucial station in Portugal, from which RFE's content would be broadcasted through powerful transmitters to the eastern bloc (Gonçalves, 2021).

A land site in the small village of Glória was chosen as it met the desired conditions. It covered almost 200 hectares, which allowed for the construction of a large broadcasting center and future expansion, as was the case in the following decades. Located about 80 kilometers from Lisbon, it was isolated and flat enough, without any natural obstacles to impede the propagation of radio waves. The short distance from the main communication routes by land, air, or sea gave it the necessary discretion and seclusion, conditions that RFE's managers considered important (Madail Herdeiro, 2021).

Due to its success, Raret became a central station for RFE's operations and played an increasingly crucial role for CIA's strategies to combat communist. While in 1951, it had solely 24 employees, by 1955 it employed 504 staff, of which 247 were Portuguese, 21 from Eastern countries and 8 Americans. Regarding directors, engineers and technical staff, Raret recruited employees of Emissora Nacional, the navy and final year students from the Instituto Superior Técnico (IST), Portugal's largest engineering school. Hours of transmission increased yearly until the end of the 1950's, as did the number of listeners in the satellite states (Ribeiro, 2019). In the following years, Raret became a fully-fledged complex, in other words, an "American base" (Gonçalves, 2021). It contained a supermarket, swimming pool, a residential area for foreign employees, a clinic (including a maternity unit), a school and several sports fields (Madail Herdeiro, 2021).

Madail Herdeiro (2021) argues that when discussing Raret's history, it is pertinent to remember and highlight how Glória do Ribatejo and its inhabitants benefited from the American presence. Glória was a small parish, which the author describes as severely underdeveloped, having a rural population whose main source of income was based on farming and cork harvesting. Citizens had no access to health care, education and only received seasonal income. Thus, as maintained by Madail Herdeiro, "the coming of the Americans to Glória brought modernity to a sleepy land" (p. 43), improving the quality of life of many of its inhabitants.

The first electric light in Glória do Ribatejo was installed by Raret, as an electric branch line was built to supply the retransmission center (Gonçalves, 2021). Furthermore, Raret's unskilled personnel were recruited from among the population of Glória. This allowed for a significant change in the socio-economic conditions hitherto experienced by this population,

who now had increased and stable incomes. Initially, the male population was hired for the construction of Raret's transmitter center and other necessary works. Thereafter, they were hired to work as welders, locksmiths, drivers, mechanics, among other occupations. Women, in turn, were employed to work as cooks, waitresses, or cleaners. Medical care and education were made available to the general population, allowing for a conversion of rural workers into technicians and skilled laborers (Madail Herdeiro, 2021).

4.4 Estado Novo's Controversy and the Colonial Wars

Despite the great benefits that Raret brought to Glória, the Estado Novo avoided making its existence a matter of public disclosure. Although it was never a secret affair, the subject was handled very discreetly. As argued by Madail Herdeiro (2021), this may have been due to the very nature and objectives of RFE. Essentially, it aimed to combat Soviet control in other countries, contributing to a climate of freedom and uncensored media. It would thus be difficult to justify Portugal's alliance with the US on a domestic level, considering the restrictions the government imposed on its own people. These included PIDE's political persecution, the imprisonment of dissidents, the ban of political parties aside from Salazar's *National Union*, and widespread censorship. In other words, Portuguese authorities allied themselves with the US to combat oppressive practices in socialist regimes when, internally, they held the same undemocratic regime structure.

As the country increasingly integrated itself in the western sphere, particularly with its efforts to combat the Soviet expansionism, it was able to avoid major international criticism on its domestic policies. However, after joining the UN in 1955, Portugal faced increasing pressure about its overseas colonies. As one of its fundamental pillars was to preserve the empire, though, the Estado Novo was unwilling to declare its colonies independent. Tensions started to build as African anticolonial movements demanded complete independence of African territories from Portugal (Coelho, 2002). This led to the offset of the *Portuguese Colonial War*, also known as the *War of Liberation*. It originated in an armed insurrection by cotton farmers in Angola in 1961 (Rosas and Moraes Cabral, 2017). Later, it extended to the other Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau in 1963 and Mozambique in 1964 (Madail Herdeiro, 2021).

Portugal began a brutal counterinsurgency campaign, which led to further criticism from the west, particularly from the US. Nationally, the conflict was labelled as "terrorism in Africa" by the governmental media. Thousands of young Portuguese men were deployed to the African colonies to fight on the front lines, leaving families back home distraught (Ribeiro, 2019). The anti-colonial stance taken by the new US administration, the growing pressure from the UN and the beginning of the independence struggles in Africa, marked 1961 as the lowest point in relations between Portugal and the US.

The rapprochement between Portugal and the US restarted when Richard Nixon was elected in 1968, after which "relations with Portugal improved immediately" (Rodrigues, 2013, p. 177). Nixon assured that his government would support the Portuguese administration. Furthermore, the US regularly abstained on UN resolutions against Portuguese colonialism. The Estado Novo, in turn, extended American base rights in the Azores until 1974, when the Carnal Revolution toppled the fascist regime (Rodrigues, 2013).

5. Methodology

Having analyzed pertinent concepts and theories in the literature review and provided the historical background on which the series *Glória* is based, I now lay out the methodological design. In the first section, the research object and objectives and the research question are elucidated. Subsequently, I explain how the data was collected for the case study, including the coding scheme for the content analysis, as well as samples for the three interviews carried out. In the third section I point out the limitations of the methodology.

5.1 Research Object, Objectives and Research Questions

Situating this study within the scholarly debate about functions of historical fiction for collective memory, the research object is the Netflix series *Glória* and its portrayal of the Portuguese past. As previously maintained, several historical fictions have been produced in Portugal; these were predominantly centered around Salazarism and decolonization, the most dominant discussions within the public sphere.

However, *Glória* is the first production to explore the history of *Raret*, whose existence is largely unbeknown in the public sphere. Being a work of historical fiction, it is based on true events, but also explores gaps in historical knowledge, creating narratives around it. These include how individuals that lived in that context may have thought, acted or felt. Offering this introspective view potentially creates an understanding of their living experiences, influencing Portuguese collective memory and identity.

This leads to the research question, *How does the series Glória contribute to the (Re)construction of the Portuguese Collective Memory?*

In order to answer the research question, the objectives of this research are:

1. To analyze how *histospheres* are constructed in Glória;
2. To understand how *subjects* pertinent to Portuguese collective memory are portrayed;
3. To identify how fictional *characters* depict the experiences of individuals living in Glória in 1968.

The first objective is based on Greiner's concept of *histosphere* and entails the analysis of audiovisual elements that assemble an aestheticized world, as well as sociocultural elements,

such as clothing, language, mentalities and music. Reiterating Stocker's (2012) argument, the more the context and setting are true to history, the more *authentic* the fictionalized segments appear. This also allows viewers to immerse themselves in the fictious world, as if they were inside it. The second objective aims to define the central historical topics that are tackled in *Glória* and how they are portrayed, including ones that constitute traumatic memories of the Portuguese past. The third objective focuses on the portrayal of characters of *Glória* and whether they help understand the experiences and perspectives of people who lived in Glória in the time period depicted. In other words, whether they help translating "references from the past into the present" (Burnay and Rueda Laffond, 2014, p. 86).

5.2 Methodology Design

In order to answer the research question and research the objectives, a mixed-method design was adopted to collect and analyze data. Tashakkori and Creswell (2007) define mixed methods as "research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of inquiry" (p. 4). Creswell and Clark (2018) maintain that the qualitative data supplements and augment the quantitative evidence, allowing the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the problem being researched.

More specifically, I implement the *convergent design*, as presented by Creswell and Clark (2018). This entails collecting and analyzing two separate databases – one quantitative and the other qualitative – and subsequently merging them to compare or combine the results. The purpose of this design is "to obtain different but complementary data on the same topic" (Morse, 1991, as cited in Creswell and Clark, 2018). There are four major steps in the convergent design:

1. The researcher gathers both quantitative and qualitative data about the research topic. The collection is carried out concurrently, but separately from each other. In other words, one is not dependent on the results of the other. Both data sets have equal importance for the answering of the research question.
2. The researcher examines the two databases independently and separately from each other, employing quantitative and qualitative methods.
3. The researcher merges the results of the two databases to compare and combine the results.

4. The researcher interprets to what extent the two results "converge or diverge from each other, relate to each other, and/or combine to create a better understanding in response to the study's overall purpose." (Creswell and Clark, 2018, p. 127).

For this case study, the data set chosen to be studied quantitatively was a **content analysis**, while **interviews** constituted the data to be analyzed with a qualitative method. These are elucidated in more detail below.

5.3 Content Analysis

The methodology design is based on the perspective of production. Thus, a content analysis of the available episodes of *Glória* was carried out, concurrently and independently from three interviews conducted with the series' scriptwriter and two actors. The codebook and the interview questions were generated after watching the entire series once, in order to establish preliminary knowledge about the case study and its most important content.

5.3.1 Research Sample

To allow for an in-depth and holistic analysis, the sample chosen for the content analysis consists of the entire available series. This entails one season with ten episodes, with each lasting about 45 minutes. These were accessed through the online platform *Netflix*.

Table 1

Description of the Sample

Episode	Title	Duration (minutes)
1.	Onwards to Victory	47
2.	Confessions Absolves Us of Any Guilt	42
3.	We Do Not Discuss the Nation	41
4.	Death Is Never Natural	45
5.	Looking at the Moon from Below	40
6.	The Misfortune	41
7.	The Leak…	46
8.	Public Virtues	42
9.	The Mole	45

10.	New Man	47

5.3.2 Codebook

To carry out the content analysis of the research sample, namely the abovementioned ten episodes, a codebook was developed. This was based on Sydney W. Head's (1954) work *Content Analysis of Television Drama Programs*. The process of *coding* involves labeling and organizing data into different categories. This allows the research to identify common themes and relationships between them (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). A codebook is developed, in which the various categories are presented and described, the criteria utilized to make decisions on content classifications, as well as rules covering outlier cases (Head, 1954).

Thus, as a first step, important units which were related to the research question and objectives were identified. Subsequently, in order to quantify the collected data and have an overview over the results, they were organized into five main categorical tables:

1. **Spatial Categories**
2. **Sociocultural Categories**
3. **Character Categories**
4. **Dialogue Categories**
5. **Narrative Categories**

These five criteria were developed based on Burnay's (2010) thesis *A Açorianidade na Ficção da RTP-Açores*. Furthermore, they are based on the theoretical framework (chapter 3), allowing for it to be implemented onto the content analysis. The two first tables, *Spatial* and *Sociocultural Categories*, include all categories that constitute the *histosphere*. The following tables, *Character Categories*, *Dialogue Categories* and *Narrative Categories* consider how the fictional characters experience and interact with their world. Additionally, as the content analysis was carried out by watching each episode successively, technical information about each episode was recorded. This section and the five categorical tables – which constitute the codebook – are presented below:

Technical Information

Episode number:

Title:

Length:

Table 2

Spatial Categories

Category	Description
Country	Territory in which scene takes place.
City/town	Geographical area within country.
Locations	Inside and outside.
Sounds	Conversations and music are not considered.
Scenography	How objects and lighting are composed within a set to craft certain environments and atmospheres.

Table 3

Sociocultural Categories

Category	Description
Languages	Number of languages spoken.
Religion	References to religion.
Music	Music played within the fictional reality.
Culture	References made to cultural characteristics/traditions.
Flags	Nationality and number of flags.
Violent scenes	Frequency and context in which violence takes place.

Table 2 and **table 3** features the setup of *histospheres*, relating to the first research objective. These include categories related to the arrangement of each space portrayed, as well as sociocultural elements, depicting life in Glória do Ribatejo in times of the Estado Novo, as well as how it was influenced by the American presence in the village. The categories *sounds* and *scenography* were analyzed qualitatively. This means that instead of recording their frequency, it was noted down how these categories set a certain atmosphere, lead viewers to immerse themselves the fictitious world.

The *culture* category refers to elements that highlight Portuguese identity, also described as *portugality*. The category *religion* was developed based on the historical research done for chapter 4, in which it was found that Catholicism was a central pillar of the Estado Novo. The category refers to any symbols or traditions depicted in the series that are related to

religion, such as crosses, masses and so on. During the historical research it was also found that the Estado Novo era was marked by elements of violence (through PIDE's persecution of dissidents and the Colonial Wars). Thus, this category was added the sociocultural categories table, to analyze whether this element of violence was also reflected in the series.

Table 4

Character Categories

Category	Description
Number of characters (total)	Extras are not considered. Character must have appeared in at least two scenes.
Nationalities	Character's country of origin.
Number of female characters	Number of actresses.
Number of male characters	Number of actors.
Perspectives	Number of points of view portrayed. Which character the series is following in a particular scene.
Clothing	Way of dressing; colors. Including uniforms, as well as way of dressing outside work.
Occupations	Job location and role.
Social classes	I.e. upper, middle, lower class – based on economic status.

Character categories were developed based on the theoretical framework and the third objective (how fictional ***characters*** depict the experiences of individuals living in Glória in 1968). These allow for an assessment of how characters viewpoints and experiences are portrayed and whether their background (nationality, social class, occupation) correlate with their personality and mannerisms.

Table 5

Dialogue Categories

Category	Description
Terms	Words related to the historical context and their frequency. For instance: Raret, Salazar, Estado Novo, Cold War, PIDE, war.
Characters	Characters who are having the dialogue.
Topic of conversation	Broad and short description of conversation topic, when these are considered relevant to the plot or are in reference to the historical context.

Dialogue categories are based on the second objective (how **subjects** pertinent to Portuguese collective memory are portrayed). Analyzing dialogues allowed for an insight into how they experience living in Portugal in 1968, what their thoughts are about their government, head of state and the Estado Novo's ideology. As noted on the *terms* category, only words related to the historical context of 1968 (based on topics discussed in chapter 4) were recorded.

Table 6

Narrative Categories

Category	Description
Micronarrative	Personal relationships between characters and their experiences.
Metanarrative	Sociocultural themes.
Macronarrative	Historical context.

The final table *Narrative Categories* is based on the notion shared by several scholars that "collective memory is a construction of group identity through a process of narrativization" (Plantinga, 2021, p. 117). It aims to test whether *Glória* follows the classical narrative historical fictions usually follow to elicit emotions, as argued by Plantinga (2021). These contain a goal-oriented protagonist, who faces obstacles and rising action, a dramatic conflict and resolution.

These five categorical tables were developed on the basis of the *deductive* coding approach. This means that they were created before carrying out the content analysis and were based on established theories or concepts. In contrast, *inductive* coding allows the researcher to study the data without any preconceived theories or concepts. The categories are instead derived directly from the data studied (Chandra and Shang, 2019). Although the categorical tables were fixed, it was established that additional categories could be added to the tables if found during the recording of the codes. Thereby, a hybrid approach of both *deductive* and *inductive* coding was adopted (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). After collecting and categorizing the data, a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the results was carried out.

5.4 Interviews

To obtain a greater insight about the case study, *Glória*, and the work that went behind its production, interviews were conducted with three crucial individuals. These included:

1. **Pedro Lopes**; the creator and screenwriter of *Glória*. He has written several national and international award-winning audiovisual works and is the content director of the production company SPi.

2. **Miguel Nunes**; who played the role of João Vidal, *Glória*'s protagonist. João is hired as an engineer at Raret and his father is a high-ranking dignitary of the Estado Novo. He is, however, also a spy for the KGB, Moscow's secret police.

3. **Carolina Amaral**; who played the role of Carolina Ferreira. Carolina works as a waitress at Raret's cafeteria and lives in the rural area of the village Glória. After her fiancé is deployed to Angola to fight in the war, she develops an increasingly romantic relationship with João.

Pedro Lopes was chosen due to his central role as the creator of the series. He has the greatest insight about the processes that went behind the writing and production of the series. Besides having extensive experience in the audiovisual field, Lopes also has a bachelor's degree in History. Therefore, he is well aware of the relation between fiction and history, which was taken into account when formulating his interview script. Questions asked to Lopes were related to the three research objectives, as well as additional information about the creation process. The actors Miguel Nunes and Carolina Amaral were chosen due to the major roles their characters play in the plot. João and Carolina represent the different experiences of individuals who have contrasting backgrounds. These included their gender, social class and occupations. The questions asked to the actors thus considered the second, but predominantly the third research objective, related to how important topics and characters are portrayed in *Glória*.

Due to their limited time availability, the three interviewees had stated that they preferred the questions to be sent via email, so they could send the answers back in written form. Therefore, the interviews were structured, as opposed to semi- or unstructured, meaning that there was a complete script with all the questions prepared before the interview (Wethington and McDarby, 2015). Although this leaves "no room for improvisation" (Myers and Newman, 2007, p. 4), there is also no time pressure, allowing the interviewees to carefully think about their answers (Myers and Newman, 2007). The interviewees confirmed that in case there were remaining doubts or follow-up questions after the answers were sent, these could also be sent via email. There were four main categories in the interview script:

Table 7

Interview Categories

Category	General description of questions
Pre-production questions	**Pedro Lopes**: Questions related to how and why series was written. Why it is set in 1968 and how it was ensured that the series was contextually accurate.
	Actors: What interested them in the role, description of fictional character and how they prepared for the role.
Questions about the plot and characters	**Pedro Lopes**: Questions about his thought-process behind the development of characters or certain elements of the plot.
	Actors: Questions about their character's perspectives, thoughts and feelings.
Production questions	**Pedro Lopes**: Locations of filming. Also, the difference between his previous experiences and writing a series for Netflix.
	Actors: Difference between their previous experiences and participating in a Netflix production.
Relation to collective memory and history	**Pedro Lopes**: Questions related to whether there was an intention to make Portuguese audience aware of its history. Additionally, he was asked about the role of fiction in making viewers aware of their history.
	Actors: Whether they learned things about Portuguese history they were previously unaware of when conducting the historical research in preparation for the character. Furthermore, whether they think the series has the potential to (re)construct Portuguese collective memory.

5.5 Limitations of Study

There are several limitations of this empirical study that point to future research possibilities. These are listed below.

No participant observation. It was not possible for the researcher to be present during the shootings of the series, as these had already taken place and the series had been released when the research started. This would have allowed for more data to be collected and a deeper understanding to be acquired on the conditions under which the series was produced.

No face-to-face interviews. These would have allowed for a semi-structured interview, in which spontaneous follow-up questions may have arisen more naturally and frequently, leading to a larger gathered sample size. In this case, the material could also have been recorded and transcribed by the researcher. Furthermore, it was not possible to conduct an interview with the actor **João Arrais**, who played the role of **Fernando Marcelino**, Carolina's fiancé. His character is central in portraying the experience of soldiers deployed to fight in the Colonial Wars. Thus, an interview with the actor would have allowed for a greater understanding of the character and what historical researched he carried out in preparation for the role. Attempts to establish contact with the character did not succeed.

No reception study. Netflix does not release statistics on viewership on their content. Hence, it was not possible to find out how many views each episode received, which would have allowed to assess its outreach. Furthermore, the implementation of a focus group interview may have allowed for an assessment of how the content was received by viewers.

6. Analysis and Discussion of Results

6.1 Brief Information About the Production and Plot of Glória

As part of Netflix' expansion strategy, the streaming platform sought to finance Netflix Originals in various European countries. Aiming to internationalize its content, the Portuguese audiovisual association, SP Televisão, founded the production company SPi (SP International) in 2017. In the same year, contact was established between SP Televisão and Netflix and in 2018, the former was invited to make a pitch in Madrid (Alves, 2021). Pedro Lopes - the content director of SP Televisão - proposed to present a story about Raret that originated from his childhood. As the screenwriter expressed "My maternal family worked at the Emissora Nacional (now RTP) and so I grew up hearing stories about the radio, and Raret was a recurring theme" (Lopes, 2022). Lopes felt that this was the ideal story to be the first Portuguese Netflix Original. Although the narrative is intrinsically Portuguese, it could also appeal to an international audience. The idea was pitched in Madrid and "the head of the Portugal and Spain territory liked the concept and asked us to develop a pilot episode. Then, at NATPE[8], in Miami, we got the green light and started the pre-production process and building together a team." (Lopes, 2022).

The series was written and filmed in three years, with a team of 200 people in total. Financed by Netflix, it received the largest budget in the history of Portuguese domestic productions. It was co-produced by SPi and RTP, and directed by Tiago Guedes, a renowned Portuguese film and television director. Its 10 episodes were released on the 5th November 2021 on Netflix and the channel RTP1.

Glória was received well by audiences. Three days after its release, it already ranked first place of "the most watched series on Netflix in the last 24 hours" (Santos, 2021). It also attracted attention from the international press, receiving positive reviews from the prestigious American magazines *Forbes* (Scott, 2021) and the newspaper *New York Post*, as well as the Spanish international news agency, *EFE* (Luxemburger Wort, 2021). Furthermore, it won the Portuguese Sophia Award 2022 in the category "Best Series/Telefilm" in June 2022 (Resende, 2022).

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[8] NAPTE is the abbreviation for "National Association of Television Program Executives". It is headquartered in Miami (the United States), collaborates with Netflix and consists of television and emerging media executives (*About NATPE*, n.d.).

Regarding the plot, *Glória* takes place at the height of the Cold War in 1968 in the village of Glória do Ribatejo. It predominantly follows the protagonist, **João Vidal**, an engineer who works at Emissora Nacional in Lisbon and whose family is firmly established within the Estado Novo. His father, **Henrique**, is the Secretary of State of the authoritarian regime and has close ties with the head of PIDE. Regarded as trustworthy by the government, João is hired at *Raret* as the new technical coordinator for the antennas. However, despite all appearances to the contrary, he is a state dissident. This is a result of his experiences in Angola, where he was deployed as a soldier and experienced the brutality of his regime. Thereafter, he is hired by the KGB as a spy, taking on "several high-risk espionage missions that could change the course of Portuguese and world history" (SPi, n.d.). At *Raret*, in Glória do Ribatejo, João meets **Carolina** at work. In contrast to João, Carolina comes from a poor background. Her family lives and works at the rural area of Glória do Ribatejo. **Fernando**, Carolina's fiancé, grew up under the same conditions. He is recruited to Guinea-Bissau, to fight on Portugal's side in the Colonial War. There, Fernando disappears after a combat and is presumed dead. Meanwhile, Carolina develops a romantic relationship with João, which becomes physical after the announcement of Fernando's death. Fernando, however, reappears at his military base in Guinea a few days later. However, when sent to fight at the front again, he shoots himself in the foot, rendering him physically unable to go. Consequently, he is sent back home to Glória, traumatized by his experiences.

As discussed on the first chapter, Robert Rosenstone argues that historical fictions are either "based on documentable persons or events or movements" or are works in which "the central plot and characters are fictional, but whose historical setting is intrinsic to the story and meaning of the work" (Rosenstone, 1995, p. 6). *Glória* falls into the latter category. Although the plot and *all* characters portrayed are fictional, the story is based on a real historical context.

6.2 Content Analysis

The following section presents the results obtained during the content analysis of the 10 episodes of the series *Glória*. These are divided into 5 subchapters, corresponding to the 5 categories examined, namely *spatial categories*, *sociocultural categories*, *character categories*, *dialogue categories* and finally *narrative categories*. Results were quantified with either one of the two main units of measure: number of episodes or frequency. The

former is a macroanalysis, stating in how many episodes a unit was present. It was considered sensible to apply this unit of measure to categories such as spatial categories, some sociocultural categories and character categories, as showcased below. Frequency was recorded when categories contained several subcategories, allowing for a more detailed evaluation of each. During the conduction of the content analysis, important additional units were noticed. Thus, adopting inductive coding of the hybrid approach (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006), additional tables were developed and included in the sociocultural and character categories, based on the posteriori knowledge acquired during the content analysis. After recording the quantitative data, a quantitative and predominantly qualitative analysis of the results was carried out, stating observations made, as well as comparisons and differences between them.

6.2.1 Spatial Categories

As a first step in the content analysis, spatial categories were analyzed. The primary aim of this chapter was to *analyse how histospheres are constructed in Glória*, the first research objective. To do so, the locations in which the series is set were recorded, as well as the frequency in which they are depicted. Important scenes were closely analyzed, as well as how their scenography and sounds create an atmosphere that allow the audience to experience the fictional reality.

Table 8

Countries and Cities

Countries	Nr. of episodes	Cities / Villages	Nr. of episodes
West Germany	1	Munich	1
Portugal	10	Maxuqueira	1
		Lisbon	9
		Glória do Ribatejo	10
Angola	4	Cabinda	4
Guinea-Bissau	7	Fernando's military base	7

There are four countries in which *Glória's* plot unfolds. Two of these are in Europe (West Germany and Portugal) and relate to *Radio Free Europe's* operations. The two African countries (Guinea-Bissau and Angola) are the settings of the narratives about the wars Portugal

waged against its colonies to prevent their independence. Two of the locations, Munich and Maxuqueira, only appear once, namely on the first episode.

In the opening shot we see a man sat in the back of a car, along with the caption "August 1968 – West Germany". He arrives at a building, where three people are waiting for him, one of which greets him by saying "Welcome to Radio Free Europe." in German. A woman standing next to him translates this to Russian, adding "It's an honor, General." and they go into the building. The next scene depicts a tape recorder being activated, before the camera turns, showing a recording studio. The General sits in front of a "ON AIR" sign, speaking on a microphone that has the letters "RFE" on it. In his recorded speech, he urges Russian soldiers not to obey if there is an order to invade Czechoslovakia. **In the following scene** we see the outside of a house in front of an antenna with the caption "Portugal – Maxuqueira Reception Center". The last lines of the General's speech are heard as the interior of the reception center is depicted, with a close-up of a tape recorder. A young man stops the recording, takes out the reel and places it inside a case. He then puts a tape on it with the label "**General Boris Barkov**" and heads to *Raret* with his car.

Figure 2

Tape Recorder

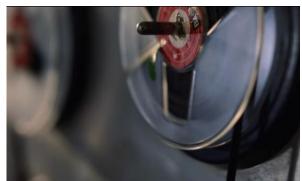**Figure 3**

VU Meter

Figure 4

Boris Speaking on Microphone

Figure 5

Reels

Hence, within the first two minutes of the series, much of the important processes of RFE are already introduced. The fictional character, **Boris Barkov** (**figure 3**), represents a Russian political exile who collaborates with the RFE to broadcast a speech with the intent to prevent the invasion of Czechoslovakia. This speech is produced in the RFE headquarters in Munich and transmitted to the Maxuqueira receiving center, where it is recorded and transported to *Raret* in Glória do Ribatejo. The close-up shots of the technical equipment, such as the recorders (**figure 1**), VU meter (**figure 2**) microphone (**figure 3**), and reels (**figure 4**), as well as the sounds, such as the pressing of buttons and the reels turning, allow the viewer to experience the fictional reality, while having a direct insight into the RFE operations. This supports Landsberg's (2004) argument that the sensuous, embodied nature of film spectatorship is central to the power of the medium since, as she puts it, memory "remains a sensuous phenomenon experienced by the body" (p. 8).

Table 9

Lisbon and Glória do Ribatejo

Cities	Inside / Outside	Cities / Villages	Nr. of episodes
Lisbon	Inside	João's parents' house	5
		Portuguese Ministry	4
		Portuguese National Assembly	1
		RFE headquarters	3
		American Embassy	3
		PIDE torture cells	2
		Caxias Prison	2
	Outside	Wide shots of the city	2
Glória do Ribatejo	Inside	Transmission Room	8

		Cafeteria	3
		Office of James Wilson	7
		Health center	5
		João's house	6
		Wilson's house	8
		Gado Bravo Inn	3
		Dorm of Raret employees	3
		Carolina's house	6
		Tasca do Tomé	4
		Ramiro's house	6
		Church	4
	Outside	City center of Glória do Ribatejo	4
		Bird's-eye view from Raret's complex	6
		Tennis court	1
		Bird's-eye view from Glória's natural landscape	4
		Antennas	5

As showcased in **table 8** (*Countries and Cities*), nearly all episodes (9 out of 10) depicted one or more locations in Lisbon. In total, there are 7 "inside" locations in Lisbon. Out of these, João's parents' house is portrayed most often. They introduce João's family background and the relation he has with them. Lisbon is also the location of several governmental buildings, such as the Portuguese Ministry, the Portuguese National Assembly and the American Embassy. Furthermore, the RFE headquarters in Portugal, Caxias Prison and PIDE torture cell are also set in the city.

The wide shots of the capital greatly contrast the various wide shots of Glória do Ribatejo. While Lisbon is filled with buildings and densely populated, the village area is predominantly filled with trees and only a small, populated area. The wide and bird's-eye view shots of Glória help demonstrate why the area was ideal for the building of a retransmission center: it is vastly empty and flat, without high buildings or mountains to block radio waves. This supports White's (1988) argument that cinema is more effective in the representation of certain historical phenomena, such as landscape. While written accounts can certainly describe

Glória's landscape and its advantages as base of a retransmission center, the visual aspect of the series helps the viewer visually perceive and better understand the scenery.

The audience gets introduced to Glória do Ribatejo in the first episode. A bird's eye view of Raret depicts the large building, surrounded by trees and several antennas. **João** arrives at the gates of Raret, where **Gonçalo** greets him, saying that he has not seen him since they studied together at Técnico. Here, the series highlights that many of the engineers hired at Raret had studied at IST, Portugal's largest engineering school. The two enter João's car to drive to Raret, as Gonçalo introduces the transmission center to João.

> **Gonçalo**: "The work here is nothing like the National Broadcasting Service. It's light-years ahead."
>
> **João**: "Yes, I can tell from the antennas."
>
> **Gonçalo**: "Yeah, each of them has a specific tilt angle for the receiving country. But the Russians don't make our job easy. They're always trying to jam our broadcasts."
>
> **João**: "And do you manage to stop them?"
>
> **Gonçalo**: "Most of the time. But it's not so bad for us if the Commies win every now and then. As long as there's a Cold War, our jobs are guaranteed. […] Portugal is at the right distance to send the signal to the Eastern bloc. Shortwave antennas could only be set up here, in the middle of nowhere, in Glória do Ribatejo. We keep hearing them say that the Soviet Union won't hold much longer. But we don't know if that's true or if that's part of the propaganda."

Again, the benefit of Glória's seclusion is highlighted by Gonçalo, as well as the experiences and perspectives of individuals working at Raret. While Raret was built with the purpose of defeating Soviet communism, the Portuguese employees hope that this does not occur in the short term. They are happy with the opportunity they have at Raret. As João and Gonçalo enter the building, cicadas can be heard in the background, signifying that it is summer and highlighting Glória's rural and natural surroundings. The camera follows the two from the back, giving viewers an impression of accompanying João and Gonçalo.

After entering the retransmission center, João stops to behold a large sign on the wall, on which it is written "May God Allow the World to Rise Again to Liberty" in Portuguese and capital letters. This clearly exhibits the collaboration of the Portuguese and American

government that was inherent in the creation of Raret. On one side, the word "God" highlights the importance Estado Novo places on religion, while "liberty" emphasizes the American government's highest value. Noticing João's interest, Gonçalo explains, "War's waged with more than weapons. That's where we come in.", emphasizing the importance of Raret. João responds "Amen" in a rather sarcastic tone, indicating that his state's highest value is not reflected by the entire nation.

The two chuckle and continue walking through the halls of the building. Gonçalo resumes his introduction:

Gonçalo: "The whole complex is like an American city in Ribatejo. This is where we receive the transmissions in VHF and UHF from Lisbon. Some come in reels from the Maxuqueira Compound, which is close by."

João: "Are the recordings in Russian?"

Gonçalo: "Russian and other languages. We don't understand a word. Everything's sent to translators to make sure we have the correct recording. We also have a telegraphist who is in permanent contact with someone on the other side of the Iron Curtain to ensure the signal is properly transmitted."

The two encounter **James Wilson**, who introduces himself as the director of Raret and invites them to view the transmission room. Again, the camera follows them as they enter the transmission room, where multiple voices are heard speaking simultaneously at a fast pace. These voices belong to three engineers, who are inside the room changing frequencies in order to deter the Russian blocking of their broadcast. After they succeed, the mood immediately becomes lighter. Two of the engineers light up a cigarette, while João is introduced to the technical director, **Ramiro** and the two other engineers, **Bernadino** and **Hernâni**.

Thus, within the first 14 minutes of the series, RFE's central centers are introduced. After depicting the headquarters in Munich and the receiving center at Maxuqueira, Raret and its central functions are represented. The moving camera gives the viewer the impression of actively following the characters and their activities. The hectic mood of the engineers while frequency hopping demonstrates the tension involved in the task, while also building suspense. This supports Greiner's (2021) argument that fiction encourages viewers to reflect about past events by resituating them in the immediate experience of the viewer. Through the *mise-en-*

scène and camera motions, viewers experience the *histosphere* of Raret as if they were inside it.

Out of all areas inside Raret's transmission center, the transmission room is the one present in most episodes (8 out of 10, as seen in **table 9**) and the most important one for Raret's operations. Other areas inside the building are the cafeteria and James' office. Outside the transmission center, but within the Raret complex, there are five other locations depicted in *Glória*. These include the tennis court, the health center and the residential area, where João's and James' house is located, as well as a dorm for Raret employees. Bird's-eye shots of the complex (present in 6 out of 10 episodes) reveal the vastness of the 500 hectares area, which Gonçalo labels as "an American city in Ribatejo".

Outside of Raret's complex, there are five main locations of Glória do Ribatejo portrayed in the series, namely Tasca do Tomé, the church, Ramiro's house, Carolina's house and Gado Bravo Inn. The scenography of the locations displays the great difference between the social classes portrayed in the series. For instance, the bar of the Gado Bravo Inn (GBI), that upper class employees (such as João or James and his wife) frequent, has three painting (one of them covering a major part of the wall), a marble bar counter, wooden furniture, patterned curtains, a painted wall with Azulejos and three lampshades. The waiter wears a suit and serves cocktails. In contrast, Tasca de Tomé, the bar belonging to João's dad has a much simpler interior décor. It only has one light, hanging from the roof and shining a much dimmer light than the GBI. The counter is made from unpainted wood and the walls are also unpainted. The bartender, Tomé, does not wear a suit, nor serve cocktails, but rather wine and liqueurs.

The large contrast between social classes is also showcased by the scenography of the homes. As technical director, Ramiro has a whole house for himself and his wife. However, it is still not as large as João's house inside the Raret complex, which in turn is not much smaller than James' house. Due to the influence of João's dad, **Henrique**, and his connection to the state, he is able to secure João an entire house for himself, while the other Raret engineers have to share a dorm. However, the greatest contrast is between the villa of João's parents in Lisbon and **Carolina**'s home, where she lives with her parents.

The villa in Lisbon is portrayed in five episodes. It is introduced in the first episode, when João's parents host a party. As piano is played by one of the guests, the camera moves

along the immense living room, showcasing the large mirror and the classical paintings hanging on the blue-painted walls of the house. Chandeliers hang from the decorated ceiling and the door frames are made of dark wood. The room is decorated with big plants and yellow flowers, as well as vases and candles, which are placed on marble tables. The living room is covered by a golden cloth and candles. A sofa is placed in the middle of the room, over a dark red carpet. Waiters go around the room serving drinks. It becomes evident that João comes from a wealthy background and thus grew up in privileged conditions.

Carolina's home is much plainer. Living in the rural are of Glória do Ribatejo, the house has no electricity and is instead lighten by a candle lamp. The rooms are much smaller than João's house, with cracks and blemishes on the walls. The table does not have a cloth, but always an alcohol bottle placed on it, from which Carolina's dad drinks on various scenes in which he appears. Clay jars are placed on counters in the background. The house does not have a television, sofa or any notable decorations. The setting of the room reveals that, in contrast to João, Carolina grew up in very poor conditions and, as discussed later, with a tyrannical father. The contrast in the setting of the two homes highlights Landsberg's (2004) argument that historical fiction has the potential to make "group specific memories available to a diverse and varied populace" (p. 11). João and Carolina have opposing experiences living during the ruling of the Estado Novo. The portrayal of these, as argued by Plantinga, encourage viewers to better understand the past experiences of people from different social groups.

Furthermore, two out of the three colonies fighting a war against Portugal are portrayed in the series. These are the settings of traumatic memories of Portuguese history. Angola is depicted in four episodes, while Guinea-Bissau in seven (as seen in **table 8**). Importantly, Angola is only depicted as part of João flashbacks of his time in the war, while the audience participates in Fernando's experience in Guinea-Bissau in the present time. As it is not clarified in the plot in which city or village Fernando is stationed at, it was labelled as "Fernando's military base" in the table.

The first two episodes introduce João's past experience in the war, which led him to turn against his government. These foreshadow the scarring experiences Fernando has in Angola, from episode 3 to 9. On episode 6 and 7 João has two other flashbacks, which connect to his present experience. On **episode 6**, after João is shot, he remembers that this is not his first near-death experience. Through a flashback, the audience experiences João lying on the

ground, before being carried and placed next to a dead soldier. On **episode 7**, João remembers looking around, while soldiers of his troops assault a village and burn it down, while shooting the men and taking hold of the women. The scenography of the memories conveys the traumatic experiences soldiers and their victims endured during the Colonial Wars.

6.2.2 Sociocultural Categories

The following subchapter examines sociocultural categories. It corresponds to all three research objectives, as it analyzes how sociocultural elements of the histosphere are constructed (1st objective), how subjects pertinent to Portuguese collective memory are portrayed (2nd objective) and how characters depict the experiences of individuals living in Glória in 1968 (3rd objective). Important scenes are closely analyzed, as well as how their scenography and sounds create an atmosphere that allow the audience to experience the fictional reality.

Table 10

Languages

Languages	Nr. of episodes
German	1
Portuguese	10
American English	10
Russian	3

In total, there are 5 languages spoken in the series, namely German, Portuguese, English and Russian. As previously mentioned, German is only spoken once in the first episode, when the head of the RFE in Munich welcomes General Boris Barkov. Russian is only spoken briefly in 3 episodes, either by Soviet dissident or KGB spies. The languages spoken in every episode are Portuguese and American English. English is predominantly spoken between the American ambassadors living in Portugal, James and his wife **Anne**. It is also the language they speak with Portuguese Raret employees. However, there are two scenes in which Anne speaks in Portuguese to her housemaids, as they are local inhabitants who only speak Portuguese. This highlights the contrast between the lower education level at Glória and the higher education level of Lisbon, from which most Raret engineers originate. Furthermore, the different languages spoken allow viewers to imagine and experience how American expats and Portuguese individuals coexisted in Glória do Ribatejo.

Table 11

Religious References

Explanations	Frequency
Religious expressions in writing	2
Rosary necklace	3
Religious events	4
Henrique watches missionary propaganda	1
Cross on wall	1
Verbal religious expressions	4

Overall, there are 6 religious categories and 15 religious references made in the series. There are two *references expressed in writing*. The first one is the sign "May God Allow the World to Rise Again to Liberty" inside Raret, as discussed in *chapter 6.2.1*. The second one is the letter from Fernando's mother, **Vitalina** to her son in Guinea, in which she expresses, "I have faith and I pray to Mary every day for you to return in good health". The scene portrays Vitalina dictating her words to Carolina, as she writes down the letter. Again, this emphasizes the low level of education in Glória to Ribatejo. Vitalina represents the majority of Glória inhabitants who were illiterate. Though she comes from the same background, Carolina received basic education and hence is able to read and write.

A *rosery necklace* appears thrice, always in Carolina's hands when going or returning from church. Furthermore, there are four *religious events* depicted in the series, namely (1) a Catholic procession in Glória do Ribatejo, (2) a funeral of a soldier killed in the Colonial War, (3) Carolina's proxy marriage and (4) Fernando's funeral when presumed dead (the three later events take place in Glória's church). All these religious ceremonies are performed by Glória's villagers, indicating that this is the social group that most value and practice Catholicism in their daily life.

Another scene – besides the sign on Raret's wall – that depict the Estado Novo's link to Catholicism is when *Henrique watches missionary propaganda* on **episode 7**. In the footage, African slaves are blindfolded and kneeled to the ground. When their masks are taken off, they see a cross placed in front of them. While Henrique watches the content, a knock is heard on the door and James enters, after Henrique invites him in. Beholding the footage, James asks, "Afternoon movie?", to which Henrique replies, "Missionary propaganda. The cardinal

Cerejeira just sent it to me". This epitomizes the Estado Novo's intention to spread Catholicism to their African colonies. On **episode 9**, this is re-evoked by the *cross on the wall* of the hospital in Guinea, in which Fernando is placed after shooting his foot. Talking to one of the nurses, Fernando says, "When my wife sees me like this…" to which the nurse responds, "Your wife will thank God that you came back alive". This is one of the four *verbal religious expressions* that emphasize the pervasiveness of religion.

Two further poignant *verbal religious expressions* are said by **Mário**, a fellow soldier of João's and the priest officiating his wedding in **episode 5**. During Carolina's proxy wedding in Glória, the scene is crosscut with Fernando's current experience in Guinea-Bissau. His troop has just taken over a small commune and Mário encourages him to hand him over the gun and go into the hut behind them. Hesitant at first, Fernando follows Mário's advice. In the hut, he finds a woman his troop has enslaved. As she cries, Fernando takes off his pants and rapes her. The scene is crosscut with the audio of the priest officiating Carolina's wedding:

> **Priest**: "Carolina, I give you this ring, as a form of Fernando Marcelino's love and his loyalty to you. In the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit. Amen. Let us ask for our Lord's blessings to Fernando and Carolina, so that, united in Christ, by the holy bond of matrimony, they may be one heart and soul. Go in peace, and may the Lord be with you. Amen."

The crosscutting of the two scenes evokes a mood of distress and a gloomy atmosphere. While Carolina is getting married, her husband violently violates his vow of loyalty. His action also greatly contrasts the rather timid personality he had before. When stepping out the hut, Fernando looks indignant, while Mario remarks, "Finally, a baptism by fire!". As Fernando angrily storms towards their vehicle, Mário holds him back, saying "Fernando, you better enjoy it. You can't do this to your wife when you get home."

Mário's remark portrays the dominant perspective of the Estado Novo regime. Natives of their colonies were seen as inferior to Portuguese citizens and thus Fernando was "allowed" to sexually assault a Bissau-Guinean woman. Furthermore, his reference to Fernando's act as *baptism by fire* denote the dominant perspective inherent in the military. Having carried out the assault on an African woman, he is now an official recognized as a member of the group of soldiers. Here, the series challenges the dominant belief that soldiers sent to war are mere

victims of their oppressive government – as Fernando was initially - and instead are themselves also aggressors. This supports Plantinga's (2021) argument that historical fictions have the potential to challenge collective memory. Furthermore, it depicts the moment when Fernando's personality begins to change from a shy and quiet individual to a cynical man.

Table 12

Portuguese and American Culture

Category	Explanations	Frequency
Music	Piano music	5
	American surf rock	1
	Jacqueline Taïeb	1
	Fado	1
References to Art and Literature	Fado	2
	Poem	1
Flags	Portuguese flag	7
	American flag	2

As presented in **table 12**, the most often played music was *piano*. It was usually heard as background music in establishments or homes of the upper class, such as João's parents' house or the Gado Bravo Inn. American surf rock was only played once, on **episode 7**, during Anne and James' pool party. This highlights the contrast between the culture and taste of the Portuguese sophisticated high-class and the American lively and upbeat music. As Raret also broadcasted entertainment content to attract more viewers (Ribeiro, 2019), the broadcaster also received reels with western music. This is depicted in **episode 2**, when Gonçalo, Bernadino and Hernâni listen to a reel with content to be broadcasted. As João joins them in the recording room, Gonçalo explains:

> **Gonçalo**: "We just received some new music reels. We're making a copy for the boys."
> **Bernadino**: "I like this song. *Jacqueline Taïeb*."

Furthermore, references to characteristics of Portuguese culture are made twice in the show. In **episode 5**, Dr. Dassaev - the former head of the Soviet space project - visits Glória do Ribatejo. James asks for João's help in escorting Dr. Dassaev, suggesting "Maybe take him to a *bullfight* or *fado* shows". Another reference to *fado* is made in **episode 10**, in a flashback of

João. He remembers encountering **Alexandre**, a longtime friend of his parents, at a Fado bar. As the two begin to talk, a gentleman sitting on the table next to them says "silence!". Alexandre apologizes and whispers to João, "Fado is being sung". This is a reference to the common Portuguese phrase "silêncio, que se vai cantar o fado!" often pronounced during fado shows, when there is noise in the room.

João replies to Alexandre's comment by remarking, "Fátima, football and fado. The Holy Trinity of the regime". As discussed in *chapter 4* these are referred to as the three pillars of Salazar's dictatorship for the pacification and alienation of the population regarding Estado Novo's policies. Today, the expression is still part of the dominant collective memory, referring to the little participation the Portuguese population had in the affairs of society (Conteiro, 2015). Thus, with these two references, the series evokes characteristics of *portugality*. João's remark also emphasizes that he is aware and critical of the regime's distraction tactic.

João's critical stance of Estado Novo is also revealed on **episodes 2** when he recites *a poem*. At a party in the dorm of the Raret employees, Bernadino asks João about his experiences in Angola, a question the protagonist gets asked repeatedly throughout the plot and is always uncomfortable answering.

> **Bernadino**: "João, did you smoke any liamba when you were stationed in Africa? They say it helps with the fear when you're sent to the front line."
> **João**: "I don't trust those who are fearless."
> **Gonçalo**: "Depends on the situation. Many come back with serious anxiety disorders."
> **João**: "And the brave return dead."
> After João's last remark, the music stops and the room quietens, as everyone looks at him.
> **Gonçalo**: "Indeed."
> **João**: "Do you know a poem called *A Recipe for a Hero*?"
> **Gonçalo**: "No."
> **João**: "It goes, *Take a man made of nothing, like we are. A full-sized man. Soak his flesh, slowly in a sharp, irrational certainty. As intense as hatred or hunger. Then, near the end, wave a flag, sound a bugle. Serve him dead*."
> João smiles as he says the last line, while the men around him behold him with a shocked facial expression.

João: "Renaldo Ferreira."

The scene vividly depicts the perspective of a man who is unable to talk about his traumatic experience, expressing his views only by reciting a poem. The tone of the poem is clearly critical, vividly describing the slow indoctrination of a man sent to war. This invites the viewer to critically reflect about the experiences of men who were sent to fight in the Colonial Wars. Although João's colleagues were the ones to approach the subject, they suddenly feel uncomfortable and do not ask João further but switch the conversation topic. João is thus able to avoid talking about the subject any longer. The sad atmosphere that is created in this scene evoke a feeling of empathy towards João. This provides evidence for Plantinga's (2019) argument that an emotionally involved viewer is more likely to empathize with the characters of a narrative, as well as reflect about the experiences of individuals who lived in a certain time period.

As demonstrated in **table 12**, the *Portuguese flag* is depicted 7 times in the series. It is placed in front of Raret, as well as inside governmental buildings, such as the Portuguese Ministry and military bases, such as Fernando's base in Guinea. The frequency in which Portuguese flags are displayed highlights Estado Novo's nationalism. In contrast, the *American flag* is only located in two rooms; one is in the American ambassador's office in Lisbon and the other is inside James' office, next to a Portuguese flag. The two flags inside James' office represent the collaboration of the American and Portuguese government, as well as the coexistence of both nationalities at Glória do Ribatejo.

Table 13

Violent scenes

Description	Frequency
Torture	3
Robbery	2
Bleeding	2
Beating	5
Ramiro locks wife in storage room	1
Rape	2
Murder	9
Fernando shoots himself in the foot	1

As presented in **table 13**, violence is prevalent in the series *Glória*. In total, there are 23 violent instances, which can be classified into 7 categories. There are 3 scenes of *torture*. One is while João trains to be a KGB spy, while two are scenes of PIDE torturing dissidents of the state. The most notable one occurs in **episode 1** when João sights **Jaime Ramos** in his parents' villa during their party. He instantly remembers this man, now the head of PIDE, from a childhood experience. In João's flashback, we see a man tied to the ground and bleeding, while Jaime hits him repeatedly with a wooden baton. A nine-year-old João, stands on the other side of the room, next to his dad, who instructs him to keep watching the violent scene. The sounds of the baton hitting the bleeding man, along with his desperate screams evoke feelings of agony and immerse the audience into João's memory. The images and sounds not only depicts PIDE's brutality, but also how from a very young age, João was exposed to it and fear and discipline were instilled in him. PIDE's persecution are thus explored from the perspective of a fictional character, serving as evidence for Burnay and Rueda Laffond's (2014) argument that historical fictions contribute to the process of traumatic memories.

Furthermore, there are 2 scenes of someone *bleeding*, both are connected to Fernando's experience in Guinea-Bissau. **In episode 2**, Carolina has a nightmare of Fernando appearing in his room, imploring for her help and with one eye shot, full of blood on his face. This foreshadows his experience in the war and the shooting of his foot. Furthermore, it portrays the suffering endured by families of soldiers who were deployed to Portugal's colonies to fight (Ribeiro, 2019). The other *bleedings* instance takes place in **episode 3**, when Fernando first experiences death around him in Guinea. A vehicle arrives at Fernando's military base carrying soldiers who were attacked in an ambush. Fernando struggles to carry the bleeding bodies to the base and noticing this, Mário says:

> **Mário**: "Don't you dare cry. If they see you, you're fucked."
> **Fernando**: "Mário, I can't handle this place."
> **Mário**: "No one wants to be here. Come on. You still have two more years left here. So, you better get used to it, or you'll go crazy. We're here to do what we're told. The less you think about it, the better."

The dialogue between the two soldiers reflects Contéiro's (2015) statement that soldiers were forced to go to a war they did not want to participate in. Mário's statement also relates to

João's poem reference to the numbness of emotions and helps explain why João learned to not think about his experiences. Stating that they are in Guinea to do what they are told, also refers back to the Estado Novo's values of discipline and duty, that were instilled in João since childhood.

Depicted in 5 scenes, *beatings* were the second category to occur most often in the series. This is carried out by governmental agents, such as the ones from PIDE, but predominantly in the form of domestic violence against women. For instance, in **episode 4**, Carolina goes on a trip to the sea with João. When her father finds out about this through gossip, he beats Carolina with a belt as she cries loudly. Three other scenes of domestic violence are carried out by Ramiro against his wife, **Sofia**. In the **second episode**, he *rapes* her when she arrives home, in the **fourth episode**, he *locks Sofia in the storage room*, after she is "disobedient" and in the **fifth episode**, Ramiro *beats* Sofia. This vividly depicts the hardship women oftentimes had to endure during the Estado Novo, as there were no laws or support systems to protect victims of domestic violence. Sofia attempts to run away several times but fails repeatedly.

Murder, the most extreme violent act, occurs the most often, namely 9 times. It is carried out by KGB spies, PIDE agents and by troops fighting in Portugal's colonies. A particular striking murder is carried out by Fernando in Guinea-Bissau. In **episode 6**, he disappears during a combat and is declared dead thereafter. However, in **episode 7** he returns to his military basis. Inside the captain's office, the sergeant and captain command Fernando to share what has happened. Fernando is hesitant to share, but as **Mário** enters the room, he tells a "heroic" story of his experience. He describes that after the battle, he walked back towards the military base for days, but sighted a group of five guerrilla fighters on the way, who were heavily armed. Fernando recounts attacking them, shooting four of the men and after being grabbed by one of them, struggling with him and holding the gun to his neck "until he laid still".

However, the actual story of what happened is very different, as revealed by crosscuts of Fernando's memories during the scene. As he tells the heroic story, we see in his flashback that he stays lying on the ground and hiding after the combat. A very young Guinean boy approaches one of the dead soldiers and as he sees Fernando, the boy runs away. However,

before he can escape, he is shot by Fernando. Astonished by the account, the captain comments, "We need more tales of bravery like yours. This war is far from won".

This scene thus illustrates Hamilton's (2018) argument that collective narratives about soldiers' experience in the war never addresses atrocities they commit. As maintained by the scholar, "We never mention that people shoot other people; our soldiers shoot and even rape women sometimes. But you cannot imagine that happening [...], because you are never told that that is what they did. So that collective memory is very dominant and secure" (Hamilton, 2018). Consequently, when returning to Glória, Fernando is celebrated in his hometown as a war hero. The series therefore also presents a part of the past that is not widely discussed in dominant Portuguese collective memory. Fernando not only follows orders, but is also an aggressor himself, raping a woman and killing a child.

Table 14

Pertinent Events of Portuguese History

Description	Episode
Salazar is admitted to the hospital	4
Marcelo Caetano becomes president	6

While carrying out the content analysis, it was noticed that there was one additional category among the sociocultural elements that was important to consider, namely *pertinent events of Portuguese history*. This category included two events that, although not central to the plot, provided additional information about the historical context of the series. Consequently, **table 14** was developed based on the posteriori knowledge acquired during the content analysis. In the 4th episode, Salazar is admitted to the hospital. This is a reference to the hematoma the dictator suffered after falling from a canvas chair. Shortly after, he suffered a stroke that left him in a coma for several weeks. Declared incapacitated, he was replaced in his duties by Marcello Caetano on September 27, 1968 (Fernandes, 2018).

Figure 6

Caetano's Speech

Caetano's inauguration is also briefly portrayed in *Glória*, providing further historical context. In **episode 6**, the original footage of his inauguration is mixed with reconstructed footage, appearing to be archival. In the recreated footage of Caetano's speech - originally presented to the National Assembly on the 27th November 1968 (Assembleia Da República, 1968) - Henrique is added to the background (see **figure 6**). In the words of Plantinga (1997), this "makes it impossible for the typical viewer to discriminate between reenactments and archival material (p. 23).

Furthermore, it follows the important characteristic – emphasized by Burnay and Rueda Laffond (2014) – of creating an image which the public remembers and is familiar with. This provides evidence for Saxton's argument that in the case of historical fiction, a belief that the historical setting of the text resembles the past is crucial to its *authenticity* (Saxton, 2011). This is achieved by a blending of historical facts and fiction.

6.2.3 Character Categories

The following subchapter examines characters categories. The primary aim of this chapter is to *identify how fictional characters depicts the experiences of individuals living in Glória in 1968*, the third research objective. Important scenes related to the characterization of the protagonist, João, are closely analyzed.

Table 15

Character Categories

Categories	Description	Number
Gender	Characters (total)	37

	Male characters	26
	Female characters	11
Nationality	Portuguese	25
	American	6
	Russian	5
	Brazilian	1
Occupations	Engineer	7
	Translator	1
	Guard	1
	American diplomats	3
	Portuguese ministry employee	2
	Head of PIDE	1
	Army	3
	Doctors	3
	Glória workers (outside RARET compound)	4
	Service (cleaning, waitress, etc.)	4
	KGB spy	3
	Wives who do not work	3
	Not revealed	2

In total, there are 37 fictional characters in *Glória*, a majority of which is *male*, namely 26. There are 11 *female characters*, less than half of the number of men. The vast majority of characters are *Portuguese* (25 out of 37), as to be expected in a series set in the country. Six of the characters are *American* and either diplomats or wives of American Raret employees. The 5 *Russian* characters are either Soviet dissidents (General Barkov and Dr. Dassaev) or KGB spies. Furthermore, the singular *Brazilian* character is Raret's doctor, Miguel.

Of all the occupations, most characters work as *engineers* at Raret, of which all are male. This illustrates Conteiro's (2015) statement that universities were only accessible to a small elite and attended mainly by men. A *translator*, *guard* and two *American diplomats* (James and Anne) also work in the retransmission center. One *American diplomat* is the American ambassador in Lisbon. Jaime Ramos represents the brutality of the political police as the *head of PIDE*. Three of the characters are or were formally in the *army* and three others are *doctors*. Four are citizens of Glória do Ritatejo, who *work outside of the Raret compound*,

namely Fernando and Carolina's parents. Carolina has various jobs, initially working at Raret's cafeteria, then in the fields alongside her mother and towards the end of the series in James and Anne's house as their maid.

Table 16

Social Class and Clothing

Social Class	Gender	Clothing
High and middle class	Male	Suits / button-ups
	Female	Dresses or blouse and skirt with bright colors
Lower class living in rural Glória	Male	Flat caps and vest over button-ups
	Female	Long skirts, dark clothing/patters, headscarves

As presented in **table 16**, the characters' social class, as well social group is reflected in their *clothing*. Three general social classes were identified in the series, namely high, middle and lower class. The high and middle class were grouped together, as they wear similar clothing in the series. These include those working for the Portuguese government, at Raret and their wives. Men of the high class predominantly wear suits to work, Raret engineers usually wear button-ups and formal trousers. Men of the lower class living in rural Glória, in turn, wear flat caps and vest over button-ups to work. All women wear either skirts or dresses, except for one scene in which Anne wears trousers at home. Female women of the high and middle class, who are mostly housewives, wear makeup, jewelry and bright-colored clothes. Their skirts usually go up to their knees.

In contrast, women of the lower class living in Glória wear long skirts, dark clothing with simple patters and headscarves when going to work or church. The custom of wearing headscarves and clothes that cover the majority of the body is a sign of Catholic modesty, but also protects women from the sun while working in the fields (Peixoto, 2020). Thus, by highlighting the clothing traditionally worn by Portuguese women in the countryside, the series again evokes sociocultural characteristic of *portugality*. Furthermore, it is an element of what Greiner (2021) terms *mise-en-histoire*, establishing a reference to collective conceptions of history. This creates a world that is recognizable to the viewer, establishing the crucial element of *authenticity* (Saxton, 2020). Furthermore, there are professions that require the wearing of a uniform, such as doctors, nurses, soldiers, maids and waiters. However, it could not be identified with certainty what social classes they belonged to.

Table 17

Other observations about characters

Description	Frequency
João having intrusive war flashbacks	7
João drinking alcohol by himself	12
Remarks made about João's drinking	5

During the execution of the content analysis, it was noticed that there are two additional traits of João that are important to his identity. Both are results of his traumatic experience in Angola. Consequently, **table 17** was developed based on the posteriori knowledge acquired during the content analysis. The first, *João having intrusive war flashbacks* occurs 7 times. These refer to sudden memories that emerge in his mind involuntary and relate to what is happening around him in present time. For instance, in **episode 1**, when he hears knocking on his front door, he has an intrusive memory of being in battle in Angola. In **episode 2**, when he asks Raret's canteen lady what happened to the local man who died in war, she informs him that it was a land mine. He instantly remembers a land mine exploding just meters behind him in Angola. This allows viewers to have an insight into the long-term effects João experiences after being in a war. Understanding his perspective evokes empathy, encouraging a *reflective spectatorship*, who actively contemplates about the experience of people who lived in a certain historical context (Plantinga, 2019). In this case, about soldiers who were forced by their state to participate in a war they did not want to.

João's intrusive memories indicate that the protagonist suffers from post-traumatic stress disorder, which he copes with by drinking excessively. Besides the times he drinks in a social context, *João drinking by himself* occurs 12 times in the 10 episodes. He either does so at home, or at *Gado Bravo Inn*, one time in which the waiter advises him not to continue. João's alcoholism is also noticed by those around him. Five *remarks* are made to him *about his drinking*. Besides GBI's waiter, four people share comments to João about it. Raret's guard tells him that his "rough nights" seem to have become a common occurrence. His father also finds out about this habit through gossip. In **episode 2**, he tells João, "You've been seen drinking almost every night at the Gado Bravo Inn. Hope you haven't made a fool of yourself". This quote highlights that rather than concerned, João's father is embarrassed of João's behavior, highlighting again the value of discipline that was instilled in him. In **episode 6**, João

has a flashback about a time he was drinking with **Mia**, who trained him to be a KGB spy. She warns him:

> **Mia**: "Be careful, drunk people tend to talk too much."
>
> **João**: "Don't worry. I **only drink alone**."
>
> **Mia**: "You should try to **fix what's going on inside you**."

In **episode 9**, when João's mother, **Madalena**, pays him a visit at his home in Glória, she notices four empty alcohol bottles on his kitchen table.

> **Madalena**: "You should drink less."
>
> **João**: "It **helps me sleep**. I'd rather have **whiskey than pills**."

Both dialogues highlighs that João drinks to cope with his psychological issues. Although several individuals express concern, he is not able to overcome his addiction, nor even attempts to do so.

6.2.4 Dialogue Categories

The following subchapter examines dialogue categories. The primary aim of this chapter is *to understand how subjects pertinent to Portuguese collective memory are portrayed* (2nd objective), as well as *to identify how fictional characters depicts the experiences of individuals living in Glória in 1968* (3rd objective). Important dialogues related to life in the Estado Novo regime, state relations and relationship between characters are closely analyzed.

Table 18

Terms and Conversation Topics

Terms	Nr. of episodes
Cold War	7
Raret	10
PIDE	5
Communism / Communist Regime	9
Soviet Union / Eastern bloc	8
"The Russians"	4

"The Americans"	5
UN	2
"The Soviet Union won't hold much longer"	3
Emissora Nacional	3
"Proudly alone"	1
Salazar	4
Angola	7
Terrorists	3
The Empire	1
"Darkies"	3
Conversation Topics	
Dialogues about **Portugal–United States** relations	3
Carolina asks **João** about his time in **Angola**	3
End of **Colonial War**	4

Table 18 presents all terms and conversation topics in the series that are related to the historical context of 1968. Importantly – and as shown in the table - it was not recorded how many times each was said, but rather in how many episodes. For instance, while the term *Cold War* is mentioned in all 7 episodes, it is said several times in each of these episodes. At times, several of the above-mentioned terms are used in the same dialogue.

Raret is the only term mentioned each episode, as the retransmission center is the central context of the plot. In the majority of the episodes, terms related to the Soviet Union were employed. *Communism* or *Communist Regime* was mentioned in 9 episodes, *Soviet Union* or *Eastern bloc* in 8 and *the Russians* in 4. This was usually in the context of Raret operations, or dialogues between Estado Novo ministers. The prediction that *the Soviet Union won't hold much longer* was made in 3 episodes. This depicts the frame of mind of leaders of Portugal and the United States in 1968, who strongly believed that Raret would help defeating Soviet communism. Furthermore, the independence fighters of Portugal's colonies were labelled as *terrorists* by Portuguese leaders in 3 episodes.

Salazar is mentioned in dialogues on 4 episodes. In **episode 1**, João meets his colleagues at night outside their dorm for drinks. Raret's guard, **Elias**, approaches the group and tells them that rules are rules, and they must cease their gathering, as neighbors wish to

sleep. Raret's doctor, **Miguel**, replies, "He is absolutely right guys. Rules are rules. In fact, that is what I'll tell you, Elias, the next time you come to me asking for prescriptions for family members". Without being able to retaliate the comment, Elias takes a beer and walks away.

> **Gonçalo**: "Yes, I'm proud of you! You brought him into line and established order."
>
> **João**: "Order is not a spontaneous product of society. It's the outcome of intelligence and authority."
>
> Gonçalo bursts into laughter.
>
> **Gonçalo**: "You've got a silver tongue, but you're not impressing me."
>
> **João**: "I didn't come up with that. It was professor Oliveira Salazar."
>
> Again, the mood instantly changes. The guys stop smiling and become quiet.
>
> **Gonçalo**: "Makes sense!"
>
> **Bernadino**: "Yes, it makes sense."

This vividly depicts the conditions Portuguese society lived under the Estado Novo dictatorship, afraid to resist authority. João's reference to Salazar as "Professor Oliveira Salazar" creates the impression that he respects the dictator and having ties to the government through his family, his colleagues avoid making any critical remark about the citation. Another time *Salazar* is mentioned is in **episode 2**, in a talk between João and his father, in which Henrique states, "Salazar has the Americans eating out of his hand because of Raret and the Lajes Air Force Base in the Azores". This is supported by James' later remark, "Our relationship with the Portuguese government is very fragile". Two other dialogues in the series reflect and elucidate the *relationship the two states had*. In **episode 3**, Henrique notifies João that the minister wants to talk to him. The three thus meet in the minister's office.

> **Minister**: "If it were up to *the Americans*, all radio shows would be produced here."
>
> **Henrique**: "We only authorize transmission, as we want to remain neutral."
>
> **Minister**: "Right now we have a common enemy, but we are not on the same page as the Americans. Our clashes at the *UN* are proof of that. […] This war won't be over until *communism* is taken down. And the *darkies* stop receiving weapons from the *Soviets* and the Cubans."
>
> **João**: "Ever since I came back, I've been hearing the *Soviet Union's* days are numbered."

Minister: "They are. The question is by how many. And we have to control the Americans. My name won't go down in history as the minister who handed over a territory, we've owned for 500 years. The humiliation of losing Goa to the Indian army in 1961 was enough."

The opposing perspective of the American government in 1968 is expressed through a dialogue between João and James in **episode 4**, when the two meet to play in Raret's tennis court. Similar to the Portuguese government, the American diplomats repeatedly express that the Colonial War will end soon. However, while Portugal believes they will win the war, the Americans presume that Portugal will have to relinquish its colonies.

James: "You play pretty good for a Portuguese."
João: "[…] In Africa I played with other officers."
James: "I served in Korea. Your *war will end* too."
João: "It will, but I don't see the end in sight."
James: "Well, even if the Portuguese win, they lose. The cost of keeping the colonies is way too high."
João: "I know the position of the US on this subject."
James: "I'm sure you're well informed. Your father plays the hand he was dealt, and he does it well, but…you were there. You know. Winning a war fought on three fronts is practically impossible."
João: "The government has a different opinion."
James: "And you?"

João does not answer the question. As always, the protagonist is very careful with whom he expresses his true opinions. The only time the audience witnesses him being fully transparent is in **episode 10**, in João flashback of his encounter with Alexandre in a fado bar. Having noticed João shares Alexandre's skepticism of the Estado Novo regime, he invites João to his home to discuss it further. João feels more comfortable with Alexandre to express his opinions openly.

João: "*We are proud to be alone,* as Salazar professes. But less and less by choice."
Alexandre chuckles
Alexandre: "Don't let your father hear you say something like that."

João: "Alexandre, we are burying an entire generation in Africa."

Alexandre: "You must have seen a lot while you were there."

João: "The empire…the empire. It will fall. It's inevitable"

Here, João makes a reference to Salazar's 1965 speech (Oliveira e Costa, 2020). This is the only time in the series we see João criticize Salazar and the Colonial Wars. It creates an idea of how Portuguese citizens lived under the repression and censorship of the Estado Novo regime. Unable to express their true opinions if these were critical towards the dictatorship and its policies. Furthermore, the only person João opens up to about his experiences in Angola is Carolina. As presented in **table 18**, Carolina asks João about his time in Angola 3 times. But he only reveals this information in the third time, when they walk home together in **episode 3**.

João: "Nights are the worst. We try to forget what we've seen and what we've had to do."

Carolina: "I've never told anyone this, but sometimes I look at other people […] and I don't feel anything. It doesn't make any sense, does it?"

João: "We are all on our own."

Carolina: "Do you feel that way too?"

João: "I do."

Although coming from different backgrounds, João and Carolina are able to find a common ground in their perspectives.

6.2.5 Narrative Categories

Table 19

Micro-, meta- and macronarrative

Category	Description	Number
Micronarrative (The experiences of characters)	• João and his choices • Carolina as a woman living in rural Glória • João and his experiences in Guinea-Bissau	3
Metanarrative (Sociocultural themes)	• Authority and resistance • Experiences of people of different social groups	2
Macronarrative (Historical context)	• Life during the Estado Novo • Portugal's role in the Cold War	3

		• The Colonial War	

There are 3 central themes identified as belonging to the historical context of the series. The first is *life during the Estado Novo*, including the brutality and censorship Portuguese citizens had to endure living in Portugal in 1968, as well as the changes that occurred internally, after Salazar's accident and Caetano's presidency. The second is *Portugal's role in the Cold War*, specifically with the establishment of Raret in Glória do Ribatejo, a historical fact not many Portuguese individuals are or were aware of. The third one is the *Colonial War*, considering not only the suffering of Portuguese soldiers and natives of the African colonies, but also the atrocities carried out by soldiers during the war. Dealing with topics not widely discussed within the public sphere, *Glória* thus has the potential to (re)construct Portuguese collective memory.

Furthermore, it was found that the 3 *micronarratives* were directly related to the 2 *sociocultural themes* of the series. The first is *authority and resistance*. Authority is a recurring theme in the series, portrayed through the eyes of João, Carolina and Fernando. **João** grew up with a father who instilled discipline and order into his son. With a strong sense of duty, João went to the war in Angola, but was disillusioned by what he witnessed there. He thus decided to resist the authority of his government, by becoming a KGB spy and plotting against the Estado Novo. However, this does not lead to his complete independence from authority. Following orders from the KGB, he still must do things he disagrees with. This includes killing Dr. Dassaev (in **episode 6**) and passively witnessing a woman killing herself as intervening could risk his mission when later interrogated by the police (in **episode 7**). **Carolina** lives a life following her parents' will and orders, afraid of change. But when she meets João, who shows her she does not "always have to do what others expect of you" (**episode 4**), she begins to think independently and resist against her tyrannical father, although unsuccessfully.

Fernando's struggle with authority is a constant one throughout the plot. Deployed to Guinea-Bissau, he attempts to resist authority by asking Carolina to flee with him to France. However, she denies his idea and he goes to Guinea-Bissau, where he is pressured to join fighting on the frontlines, but eventually manages to return home by shooting himself in the foot. Differently to the other two characters, what drives João to resist authority is his fear, not a critical spirit. As showcased through these 3 characters, exploring history from the perspective of various characters is pertinent, as maintained by Greiner (2021). Furthermore,

as argued by Plantinga, this encourages reflective spectatorship, as the audience is able to perceive past experiences of individuals belonging to different social groups.

Another purpose of the narrative categories was to test one of Plantinga's (2021) argument that historical fictions usually follow the classical narrative. This narrative is specifically developed to elicit intense emotions and entice viewers. It features "a sympathetic, goal-oriented heroes who face strong obstacles as they pursue their righteous goals" (p. 124). As a matter of fact, *Glória* does not follow the classical narrative entirely. It does provide entertainment and impact memory by eliciting powerful emotions, such as through violence or sympathy when characters suffer. However, João does not pursue a "righteous goal". Out of spite for his government, he follows many missions to sabotage its operations, but in the process, he kills many innocent individuals. In fact, none of the characters are purely portrayed as "evil" or "good". They all have inherently bad and positive traits. João follows orders to kill innocent people but wants to help those he cares for. Carolina continues her affair with João, even after Fernando is discovered to be alive. However, she does her best to help her family and Fernando when he returns. Fernando commits many atrocities in war, but these are usually out of fear, rather than evil intention. Viewers therefore do not fully sympathize with any of the characters.

6.3 Interviews

The following section analyzes the interviews conducted with Pedro Lopes, the screenwriter of *Glória*, and two central actors of the series, Miguel Nunes and Carolina Amaral. For the purpose of comparing and combining the results, the interview answers were divided into five sections, namely *Pre-production*, *Characters*, *Production*, *the Themes of Violence and Abuse of Power* and *Portuguese History and Collective Memory*. Following Creswell and Clark's method (2018), connections are also drawn between data gathered from the content analysis and interviews.

6.3.1 Pre-production

Interview with Pedro Lopes

Why did you choose 1968 specifically as the year for this storyline?

I found it interesting to begin with the invasion of Czechoslovakia. It also sets us in the transition phase in the regime, from Salazar to Caetano. There was hope for the opening of the regime, for a solution to the Colonial War, but this did not materialize, putting our protagonist in a situation where he decides to act.

While writing the script, was it pertinent that the series accurately depicted the historical era in which it was set? If so, how did you ensure it did?

Nowadays there are many series that just take advantage of the period aesthetics, but then the characters behave, think and speak as they do nowadays, and I personally do not like that. The way to make sure we stayed true to the spirit of the time was to do a lot of research, especially on social issues and not just political ones.

How was this research done? By reading archival documents, or also by talking to people who lived in that era?

Both. My background in History greatly helped me to do a thorough research.

You play the protagonist in the series *Glória*, João Vidal. When you found out about the role, what interested you about it?

I was chosen to participate in a casting that was initially for a secret project and only later, as I went through the various stages of casting (namely 4) was the script and its team revealed to me. I was interested from the start, even though I had very little information about João Vidal's character. Despite coming from an elite family, he did not let that take away his opportunity to be politically educated. The fact that he had been in the Colonial War was crucial in the construction of a new way of thinking that went against all the education he had had, which caused a great conflict in him. That really appealed to me.

How did you prepare for the role? In terms of research, creative process, defining your character traits, etc.

The first phase consisted of a psychological construction or structure of thought. I cross-checked some reflections and/or life stories of individuals who lived during the dictatorship and actively fought against it, particularly women. Margarida Tengarrinha[9] and her story was something that influenced me a lot, as well as Grada Kilomba's Plantation Memories and Franz Fanon's Black Skin, White Masks, were all references that helped me to build a line of

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[9] Margarida Tengarrinha is a Portuguese teacher, writer and revolutionary. As a member of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) she was an active opponent of the Estado Novo during its rule (Aranha, 2017).

thought and a point of view. Moreover, the physical work I did with David Chan was also very important. He trained me for the fight scenes for a few months. The last - and in my opinion most important – phase was to merge these two phases of individual work and perform them with other actors in confrontation with their ideas and their bodies.

In the series Glória you play one of the main characters, Carolina Ferreira. When you learned about the role, what interested you most about it?

Carolina is caught in a tension between what is expected of her (and here all the conditioning associated with her social class and the role she was supposed to play as a woman in the Salazar period come into play) and what she envisions for herself, her inherent curiosity and electric spirit. This continuous questioning that inhabits her and throws her into constant internal and even external abysses, is what I was most excited to explore.

How did you prepare for the role? In terms of research, creative process, defining character traits, etc.

We had some rehearsals with Tiago Guedes which allowed us to discuss the various perspectives and approaches to the characters in the various scenes. The fruitful sharing of impressions, intentions, and tone of what we were building was always nourishing to the creative process. I would say that the exchange of sensations and points of view about the material was the most important.

As elucidated by Lopes, the year 1968 was chosen due to many major historical events that characterized this period. This allows for a fictional narrative that entices the viewer, while also making references to important parts of international and national history. It places characters in a certain context and theorizes how they would feel and act. As highlighted by Lopes and Nunes, the process of research was pertinent in the development of the plot and characters. This regarded not only historical research, such as by reading documents, but also the social aspect of collective memories. Both Lopes and Nunes explored memories of people who lived during the era in which the series is set; Lopes did so by talking to individuals who experienced the context he depicts, while Nunes read several memoirs. The three interviewees express interest in imagining the way an individual in a certain historical context would think or act. In other words, explore the "gaps in historical knowledge" through fiction (Saxton, 2020, p. 129). For Lopes, it was important to not only ensure that the aesthetic elements were accurate, but also that the characters' behavior fit the mentality and general atmosphere of that

era. This highlights the importance of *authenticity* in historical fictions (Saxton, 2020), through a *histosphere* that entails sociocultural elements that accurately portray a certain time period (Greiner, 2021).

6.3.2 Characters

João is the only character who has connections to all three antagonistic political groups, the PIDE, KGB, and the Americans working at RARET. Why did you make the decision to create a character who was connected to these three groups?

Because it makes it a much more exciting and dangerous game. Also, the KGB chooses João due to his ability to move in a social milieu that few would have access to.

Watching the series, one notices that not only the context, storytelling and settings were important, but also the characters and their "inner worlds". While developing the script, was there an intention to make the audience empathize with the challenges, feelings, and thoughts the characters were experiencing?

Emotional connection is important, but I didn't want to facilitate this process by looking for obvious situations so that the audience would understand the motivations or take the side of certain characters.

As the series develops, it seems that none of the political, social groups or even characters (Americans in RARET, Portuguese with ties to the Estado Novo, and Russians in the KGB) are portrayed as being heroes or villains. Almost everyone seems to have both flaws and virtues. Was this your intention? If so, why?

Because that is how I see humanity. Rather than heroes and villains, I believe that people view the world differently. They may have more or less moral scruples, giving themselves up to causes in a more or less convinced or radicalized way.

Fernando goes through a very traumatic experience in Angola. He is a victim, but also an aggressor. What was your main intention when creating the story and development of the character?

To discuss the colonial war in an earnest manner, with respect for all the people who were involved in the conflict.

Interview with Miguel Nunes

How would you describe João? His background, personality, values and fears, etc.

João is a man going through a deep process of change. He became consciously aware of his class, gender, race etc. through his experiences in the war. He realized he did not want to be part of a society that was socially and economically built on oppressive pillars. He also has some mysterious characteristics, which is why he was hired by the KGB as a spy.

João has connections to 3 political groups (American Liberalism, Portuguese Fascism Portuguese Fascism and Soviet Communism), which means that he is constantly confronted with 3 opposing political ideologies. How does he deal with this? Is he confident about his actions/values, or does he question himself, without having a defined course of action?

In my view, João believes that neither of them is the solution to the world's problems, nor his country's. Allying himself with the Soviet Union was the only possibility he found to join those fighting the dictatorship. This is also made possible due to his family background, which allows him to move around to get information both from Portugal's fascist regime and from the Americans. This ambivalence was not only to make the narrative unfold in an unexpected way, but also to reveal several sides of a political context on this scale.

How would you describe your character? Her background, personality, values and fears, etc.

Carolina was born in Glória do Ribatejo in a family that lives off agricultural work. She was not allowed to continue her education beyond basic schooling. However, her restlessness and curiosity led her to seek other professional paths, leading her to work in Raret's cafeteria. She is communicative and outgoing, which leads to both favorable encounters and some problems. She has an injudicious side, but at the same time she is sensible and seeks a path that is different from the one instilled in her by others. She challenges the state of things and her hunger for the unknown is greater than her caution.

In the third episode, when walking with João, Carolina says "I've never told anyone this, but sometimes I look at people, at my parents, at Fernando...and I don't feel anything." What does she express in that moment? Why do you think she feels that way?

Carolina grew up in a conservative, I would even say oppressive environment, where her voice is not taken into account, and she herself does not dare to talk too much about her stifled desires. There is a major disconnection between what is projected onto her and what moves her on the inside. But she does not freely express her restlessness, because she cannot confide in the people she lives close to (except for her friend Ermelinda). She looks at them and does

not feel identified with their choices and ways of living. She therefore increasingly distances herself - even affectionately - from these people, who she feels do not know her in the free expression of her individuality.

Unlike her mother, Carolina seems to think about possibilities other than following a path of working in the fields and having an unhappy marriage. In your opinion, what makes Carolina have this more "independent" thinking?

An inordinate hunger for the unknown, which distances her from that context. This restlessness was born with her, and against all expectations, she did not abandon her truth.

The three interviewees highlight the importance of exploring and reflecting about the experience and perceptions of people who have lived in the past through the eyes of fictional characters. Although it is important to create emotional connections between the audience and characters, Lopes supports Plantinga's (2019) argument that one must never fully empathize with one character. In order to do so, Greiner (2021) argues, the historical world must be explored from different perspectives, by portraying the experiences and perspectives of multiple characters and social groups. *Glória* does so by depicting the point of view of characters from different social and political groups, without portraying them as being neither purely good nor evil. That is because, as expressed by Lopes, this reflects the true nature of humanity. Furthermore, it allows to consider traumatic memories, such as the Colonial War, from the way different social groups experienced it. Fernando's narrative allows the audience to experience and perceive the hardships Portuguese soldiers suffered, as well as the atrocities natives from Portugal's colonies endured, which are now part of their collective memory.

6.3.3 Production

<mark>Interview with Pedro Lopes</mark>

Was the series filmed in the old RARET facilities in Glória do Ribatejo?

At Raret we managed to recover the residential area, but it was not possible to film in the studios because the degree of its degradation was extreme, and it would be impossible to recover the building. In addition, the RTP shortwave studios in Pegões were in an excellent state of conservation, they are from the same period, so we opted to film in that space which has fantastic architecture.

So, the scenes inside the residential areas were filmed in Glória do Ribatejo, and the scenes in the relay center were filmed in the old studios in Pegões?

Yes, exactly.

So, the series was shot in 3 locations: Glória do Ribatejo, Pegões and Lisbon. Correct?

*Yes, and two additional locations. The village scenes were filmed in **Cabrela** and the ones of Africa in the Field Firing Range of **Alcochete***

You have extensive experience writing scripts for Portuguese audiovisual works, several of which have been nominated and received national and international awards. Were there any differences in the creation and writing process between your previous works and this series for Netflix? If so, what were those differences?

There wasn't much of a difference. If anything, it was the total creative freedom. I don't know if it's usual or not, but I was fortunate to find a group of people at Netflix who trusted our creative ability.

<mark>**Interview with Miguel Nunes**</mark>

You have extensive experience in the audiovisual industry, having worked on several films and series. What were the main differences between these and the work you did at Glória?

It was a project that took up a lot of time in our lives, in my case it was 6 months of very intensive work. But it was also very enjoyable because we had a very competent team in all departments. There is a very particular demand in these series of a few episodes, which is to understand the ten episodes as a whole without letting the character escape us, I think that this is the biggest challenge, which is basically a kind of cat and mouse game (quoting Henrique: "And who are you, the cat or the mouse?").

<mark>**Interview with Carolina Amaral**</mark>

Having worked on films and various series before, what were the main differences between your previous experiences and the work you did at Gloria?

The higher budget gave us more freedom to focus on the careful development of the series and not have the usual rush or a feeling of over-compromising the vision of what you wanted. The later distribution also proved to be quite influential in reaching a wider audience.

As maintained by Greiner (2021), at times scenes are not filmed at original locations for logistical reasons. *Glória* represents an example of such a series, wherein not all the scenes could be filmed at original locations. However, as highlighted by Greiner (2021), the impression of authenticity the audience gets when entering a historical world is "more an effect

of how the elements are arranged and staged than an indication of an actual indexical link to history" (p. 98). The RTP shortwave studies in Pegões, as noted by Lopes, served as the ideal location to build a *histosphere* that represented Raret, allowing the audience to immerse themselves through the series' *mise-en-scene* and *mise-en-histoire*. Regarding their experiences working with Netflix, both Lopes and Carolina highlight the advantage of having more creative freedom in comparison to their previous works in the audiovisual field. Nunes also highlights the characteristics of the 10-episodes-series format, which created a new challenge regarding understanding the product as a whole.

6.3.4 The Themes of Violence and Abuse of Power

***Glória* deals with some themes and images that are not "easy to watch", mainly related to the abuse of power. For example, beatings of people kidnapped or arrested by Russian spies and the PIDE, the abuse of a woman by her husband, and the rape of an enslaved woman. Do you think it's important to confront the audience with parts of Portuguese history that are perhaps not often discussed?**

Violence is part of human nature. And ideology has been the support of much of the violence that is still perpetrated on others today. For example, on one day – under the regime that ruled the country for 48 years - the PIDE agents were simply public servants doing their jobs, and the political prisoners were terrorists, and the next day everything changed, and this shows how things are. Power can dehumanize...

Would you say that the series addresses issues in Portuguese history that are not widely discussed, encouraging the audience to reflect on them? For example, traumas experienced by soldiers in the colonial wars, atrocities committed by the State during the war and to its own people, treatment of women, etc.?

Undoubtly. I think that there are very harsh portraits of what it was like to live in Portugal at that time. And in my opinion, it is very necessary to go into the past to understand what society we have built from that history, what we have decided to reveal and what we have decided to omit and why. The Portuguese dictatorship was long, and the Colonial War was long. They left us with a violent legacy that must be discussed and questioned. Otherwise, we will continue to

perpetuate a narrative that glorifies a notion of homeland that does not serve the multiple identities that are born and live in Portugal of 2022.

Would you say that the series addresses issues in Portuguese history that are not widely discussed, encouraging the audience to reflect on them? For example, the treatment of women, traumas experienced by soldiers in the colonial wars, atrocities committed by the state in the war and to its own people, etc.?

Undoubtly, these issues are inherently imbedded in the narrative.

There is a scene in which Carolina's father beats her after discovering that she "skipped work to ride around in a car with a man." In your view, what is the value, if any, of portraying shocking or violent scenes like this?

It was a reality. The patriarchy, violence against women, the subjugation of individual freedom to machismo, to misogyny; and the father figure in the Estado Novo was celebrated as the master of the house to whom everything was allowed, including claiming his daughter's body as an object, and his possession.

All three interviewees highlight that violence and abuse of power were part of the everyday experiences of people living during the Estado Novo regime. Lopes argues that during the regime, the dominant view greatly contrasted the knowledge we have today about. This highlights Burnay and Rueda Laffond's (2014) argument that historical fictions are a product of the present, interpreting the past with a modern point of view and current agendas. Amaral expresses how her character vividly portrays the experiences of women who lived in the patriarchal structure of the Estado Novo. Nunes emphasizes the importance of dealing with these subjects today, as part of the continuous reconstruction of imagery and narratives that expresses past lived experiences, forming Portuguese identity and ideology.

6.3.5 Portuguese History and Collective Memory

Interview with Pedro Lopes

In previous interviews, you've said that the history of RARET is unknown to the vast majority of Portuguese people. When you wrote *Glória*, was there also a purpose to inform the public about this unknown part of Portuguese history?

Not at all. I knew that I had an original story there and that this could put me at an advantage over other screenwriters who were always approaching the same themes. Raret allowed me to explore a different angle of Portuguese society in the late 1960s. In the works I write I'm always very careful not to take a didactic approach, in other words, one that aims to inform, educate or moralize, because that always leads to bad fiction.

You graduated in History. Having experience as a professor in the subject, as well as a scriptwriter for a historical series, can you point out some differences and similarities between the academic and fictional approach in the study/interpretation of history?

In fiction you don't have to be attached to documentary evidence, so you can speculate; you can imagine and visualize a certain conversation between two historical figures of which there are few records. Standhal said that fiction is the somewhat detailed truth.

Overall, do you believe that fiction has an important role in informing the public about its history?

More than informing, it has the power to transform us, because it is a way of building collective memory.

<mark>Interview with Miguel Nunes</mark>

Did you conduct any historical research for this character? If so, were there historical facts that you were previously unaware of?

I was completely unaware of the existence of Raret and it was very impressive to realize that it was a gigantic complex that had remained hidden from the society at large until the series' premiere.

Do you think there is any intrinsic value in creating a fictional story based on real historical facts?

I don't believe it has any more value for being based on real facts. I think there is intrinsic value in any fiction that builds and challenges itself with depth and truth, in what it proposes. It is with the actors and their relationship with their characters and their stories that we access that truth, and it doesn't need to be real to be true.

Beyond the main objective of entertaining the audience, do you think that this series also has a didactic purpose in relation to Portuguese history?

Yes, I think it does, although that is not the main objective. Rather, I believe that Glória leaves several questions in the air, and this is due to the directing work with the actors, which I think was extremely successful. Tiago has always directed this group of actors very well, constructing characters with truth, who impact viewers by what they experience. And this is

also visible in the way the actors worked, delivering to the public a hard reality, which was inherently Portuguese and perhaps still is.

Interview with Carolina Amaral

Did you conduct any historical research for this character? If so, were there historical facts that you were previously unaware of?

The existence of RARET and the simultaneous presence of the CIA in a small village in rural Portugal in the 1960s was undoubtedly the most fascinating discovery, and what nourished my imagination the most.

Do you think there is any intrinsic value in creating a fictional story based on real historical facts?

Of course. The stories are already valuable by themselves, from a narrative point of view. But the fact that they draw from a context of what happened in the past allows us to reflect about it more deeply. And in my opinion, it also allows us to approach the current state of affairs in a more implicit way, through the Brechtian V-effect[10].

Beyond the main objective of entertaining the audience, do you think that this series also has a didactic purpose in relation to Portuguese history?

This series has above all an artistic commitment. It explores and imagines a historical era, inviting us to immerse in it. It combines historical facts and imagined experiences, creating a fascinating apprehension.

The answers and perspectives of the interviewees vary regarding questions about the relation between *Glória* and Portuguese history/collective memory. Although Lopes explains that he did not have the purpose of teaching viewers about Portuguese history, it appears that the series has this effect, even if unintentionally. Both Nunes and Amaral state that the series informed them of the existence of a large American retransmission center located in a secluded part of Portugal. A fact neither of them were aware of before working in the series. However, as highlighted by Lopes, beyond informing, fiction has the important role of building collective memory and as added by Lopes, of accessing truth regarding the past, no matter if through fact or fiction. The interviewees thus all emphasize the importance of an active and *reflective spectatorship* (Plantinga, 2018). Furthermore, pointing out differences between academic and

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[10] The *V-effect* originates from the German playwright Bertolt Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt* (alienation effect) theory. It contends that instead of losing itself completely in the narrative, the audience should consciously and critically reflect about it (Plantinga, 2019).

fictional approaches in the study/interpretation of history, Pedro argues that fiction allows you to speculate about the past. This supports Plantinga's (2021) argument that fiction does not have the obligation to only portray historical facts and can explore "gaps in historical knowledge" (Saxton, 2020, p. 129).

Conclusion

Historical fiction is an interpretative and creative medium, which allows for the study of the past, serving as a vehicle for historical reflection, as well as a media memory practice. Entering the scholarly debate about functions of fiction and aiming to contribute to the advancement of academic knowledge in the fields of audiovisual studies, this thesis carried out a case study of the Netflix series *Glória*. The series is set in 1968 and based on *Raret*, a retransmission center in Portugal that broadcasted anti-communist propaganda to the East bloc from 1951 to 1996. Despite the major role it played for radio propaganda during the Cold War, Raret remained a hidden part of Portuguese history, of which many Portuguese individuals - including historians - are not aware of. Thus, *Glória* brings the public's attention to the history of the retransmission center by portraying the possibilities of what living in that context was like. This includes not only the depiction of the Raret, but also the relationship between Portugal and the United States, the war Portugal waged against its colonies and the experiences of people living during Portugal's fascist regime.

This led to the research question, *How does the series Glória contribute to the (re)construction of the Portuguese collective memory?*. As a first step to answer the question, the relationship between history, collective memory and fiction was established. Subsequently, the evolution of historical fiction in Portugal was studied, within the framework of the "revolution" VoD platforms brought to the audiovisual market – involving practices of consuming content shifting from broadcasting to streaming. In the last theoretical chapter, a theoretical framework was developed, which served as basis for the development of three research objectives that guided the empirical analysis.

A mixed-methodology approach allowed for a wholistic and detailed analysis of the case study. The content analysis examined the 10 episodes of *Glória*, based on a codebook that established 5 categorical tables. The additional 3 interviews conducted with individuals who played a central role in the development of the series allowed for the researcher to have a deeper insight and understanding of the results obtained during the content analysis. It was concluded that the series *Glória* contributes to the (re)construction of Portuguese collective memory in three ways.

Firstly, the series affirms dominant collective memory, by portraying elements that are familiar to the Portuguese audience. This includes the depiction of widely known historical figures (such as Oliveira Salazar and Marcello Caetano) and well recorded historical events (such as Colonial Wars, Salazar's accident and his replacement by Caetano). This creates a *histosphere* that the audience can identify with and connect to their individual references of the past. It also establishes authenticity, by reaffirming elements of *portugality*, such as the references to Fado, the traditional headscarves worn by Portuguese women in the country and the 3F's, the "Holy Trinity of the regime", as remarked by João in *Glória*.

Secondly, *Glória* constructs Portuguese collective memory by portraying an angle of Portuguese history previously unbeknown in the public sphere. This includes the existence of a retransmission center built in a small village near Lisbon. Not only does the series make viewers aware of its existence, but it allows them to immerse themselves in the historical world, imagining how life was like in Glória during 1968. Through detailed scenography and camera movement, the viewer is able to experience the walking around the halls of Raret, entering its transmission center and facing challenges involved in transmitting propaganda during the Cold War.

Thirdly, the series challenges dominant Portuguese collective memory. Traumatic memories of the Colonial Wars are perceived through the eyes of João and Fernando. The series demonstrates the contrast between the memory of the Portuguese population and the experiences of natives of the colonies, ultimately challenging the notion that Portuguese soldiers were only victims by also depicting the atrocities Fernando committed in Guinea.

Regarding the first objective, to *analyse how histospheres are constructed in Glória.* It was found that histospheres are built in the series through a scenography that resembles the former retransmission center, Raret, as well as homes that reflect the different social classes of individuals living in 1968. The camera movement, noises and angles allow viewers to immerse themselves in the historical world and experience it as if they were inside it.

The second objective, to *understand how subjects pertinent to Portuguese collective memory are portrayed* is inherently tied to the third objective, to *identify how fictional characters depict the experiences of individuals living in Glória in 1968*. Pertinent subjects were portrayed through the mixing of archival footage with reconstructed footage, allowing the

viewer to perceive how important events were recorded and transmitted at the time period. Furthermore, traumatic events are portrayed in the eyes of characters who lived through them.

Through João, it becomes clear how intrinsic belief and ideologies were instilled in individuals during the Cold War. Carolina portrays the experience and constrains women living in rural Portugal endured, with limited opportunities for change. The portrayal of Fernando, in turn, challenges dominant Portuguese collective memory, reminding viewers that soldiers deployed by the Estado Novo to fight in the colonies were not purely victims of a dictatorship, but also committed atrocities.

This thesis opened a discussion about the functions of the series *Glória* for Portuguese memory. There are several considerations for future studies. For instance, to obtain an insight into how the content is received, an audience study may be conducted, in which surveys or a focus group interview investigates how consumers receive the series. This may be in regard to Portuguese history, as well as its central themes, cinematography, plot or other audiovisual elements. At a later stage, when the series has been in the market for a longer time, a larger number of individuals may have watched it, allowing for a deeper inquiry into *Glória's* effect on the Portuguese collective memory.

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