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Citizenship and Geographies of Belonging: The Experience of Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican Communities "Returning Home"

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CITIZENSHIP AND GEOGRAPHIES OF BELONGING: THE EXPERIENCE OF PORTUGUESE-ANGOLAN AND INDO-MOZAMBICAN COMMUNITIES "RETURNING HOME"

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ABSTRACT

This research project seeks to explore negotiations and reconstructions of sense of belonging among Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican migrant communities by engaging with the concepts of citizenship and sense of belonging. It examines both communities' conflictive "return home" to understand how decolonisation deeply challenged and interwove in communities' sense of belonging. In doing so, it explores experiences of re-requesting Portuguese citizenship and loyalties built in relation to the imagined Portuguese African land. The project examines how these were challenged upon the rapid declaration of independence, and brought the two communities together under states of in-betweeness. Having been caught up in decolonisation politics, the postcolonial migrants -commonly known as retornados at the time- were uprooted from their Angolan and Mozambican motherlands and difficulty re-integrated into a re-imagined, anti-colonial Portuguese community. While younger generations were born and bred in the ultramarine provinces, older generations of Portuguese Angolans literally returned to Portugal. This research project attempts to bring out how migrants –often referring themselves as refugees- negotiated their belonging to the former heart of the empire while keeping a sense of belonging to an African motherland. In doing so, it explores racialised experiences of migration and differentiation. By engaging with the role of material belongings, homemaking and memory, it aims to shed light on the perpetuation and reconstruction of the image of home as a way of re-articulating senses of belonging. With 3 weeks of empirical research, this research project attempted to create a space of collective dialogue with Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican communities as a way of collectively regaining awareness and re-articulating senses of belonging. I argue that Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican communities' experiences of "returning home" shed light on conflictive reconstructions of sense of belonging in relation to decolonisation.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Portuguese decolonisation was and still is deeply intertwined in the lives of Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican communities. The rapid retreat of the Portuguese empire and its socio-political consequences led to conditions of warfare and insecurity which caused the uprooting of both communities(Pinto2012). Caught up in a political transition, the experience of "returning home" that I outline in the title as the migration to the former heart of empire was a controversial one. I use the term "return" because upon their arrival to Portugal, postcolonial migrants were categorised into a homogenous label of *retornado* (returnee). Their uprooting and settlement in Portugal deeply challenged their conception of home, sense of belonging and identity. In exploring both communities' rejection from both Africa and Portugal, this research project analyses the conflictive and racialised experiences of "returning home" as a foreigner through citizenship re-acquisition and processes of differentiation. I use the term Portuguese-Angolan to refer to both generations who settled and were born and bred in Angola, and occasionally refer to returnees as colonial whites. Similarly, "Indo-Mozambican" refers to the generation of Indian migrants who emigrated from India and to the ones who were born in Mozambique. It took thirty years for memoirs, novels and biographies on Portuguese-Angolan lives to re-emerge and be shared after a long period of silenced integration in Portugal (see Acacio2009, Cardoso2011, Garcia2012, Pinto2012, Marinho2012). While I occasionally refer to some of these novels, memoirs on postcolonial migration of Indo-Mozambicans to Portugal remain inexistent, which is why this study also addresses the community's migration experience. Resurfacing invisible stories that were made taboo at the time of settlement in Portugal and still remain formally unrecognised (Acacio2009), has allowed subaltern narratives to become slowly recognised (Garcia2012, Cardoso2011). There is a need however, to further academically examine the relationships between personal constructions of postcolonial migrant belonging in relation to Portuguese decolonisation. Although several accounts on diaspora effectively question migrants' constructions of belonging(Walsh2004, Vertovek2001), Blunt(2005) argues that the colonial and postcolonial contexts that deal with sense of belonging remain unquestioned. There is a growing interest in postcolonial migrants' uprooting and migration to Portugal. Sidaway and Power(2004)'s work for instance, explores the transition of Portugal's images of an empire to a desired European country. This research aims to draw connections between the restructuring of Portugal's image and personal narratives of my family to contribute to the understanding of migrants' senses of belonging. In doing so, I also hope to create a temporary therapeutic space for retornado communities to anchor their unheard experiences and narratives through discourse.

I start by engaging with the concept of citizenship and sense of belonging in chapter two that will help ground the research on conceptions of home in migration, negotiations of imperial loyalties, and processes of "Othering" (Tekin2010)[1]. In chapter three, I elaborate on the methodological framework where I connect my approaches with the project's aims. Chapter four then expands on the analytical framework used on the empirical data. Finally, the analytical chapters provide a critical analysis of the primary data, while linking back to the key concepts examined in chapter two. I engage with gender, race and generations as concepts that interweave in the themes throughout this study. In chapter five, I analyse the meaning of citizenship re-acquirement particularly through Indo-Mozambicans' in-betweeness. This then leads to a discussion of uprooting and regrounding processes in chapter six which highlights challenged loyalties to a no longer existing empire. Chapter seven then engages with processes of racialised differentiation, while chapter eight then examines how participants continue to reconstruct senses of home and belonging through material belongings and memory. The last chapter concludes with further research suggestions and a summary of the findings. I argue that personal imaginations of belonging continue to be challenged and reconstructed in relation to the past re-imagination of the Portuguese nation during the transition from colonialism to postcolonialism.

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[1] I borrow Tekin's(2010) expression of "Othering" to refer to processes of differentiation by the host community

AIMS

To understand the role of citizenship in Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican communities' constructions of sense of belonging

To understand how Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican communities negotiated their sense of belonging in relation to the end of the Portuguese empire

To grasp how sense of belonging and home can continue to be reconstructed through material possessions, memory and discourse

OBJECTIVES

To explore the intertwinement of citizenship with communities' experience of "return"

To analyse how both migrant communities are differentiated and differentiate themselves from the Portuguese community

To examine how migrant communities' interact and appropriate material belongings

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How did the two communities experience processes of uprooting and regrounding in relation to race and generations?

How can sense of home continue to exist or change through memory, homemaking and material possessions after uprooting experiences?

How does citizenship interrelate with the construction of both communities' sense of belonging?

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE INDEPENDENCE OF "ULTRAMAR"[2]

While at the end of World War II Prime Minister Salazar encouraged people to move to Africa as part the expansion of the empire, the national and international political climate in the 1970s pressured the Portuguese government to hand in independence to its "overseas provinces" (Lubkemann2002). The independence of Portuguese ultramarine provinces was given in 1975 and coincided with the overthrow of the Salazar dictatorship regime which took place on the 25ft of April 1974(Khadiagala2005). Facing growing instability in the colonies and growing international anti-colonialism feelings that rose along pressures to integrate into Europe(Sidaway and Power2004), negotiations of Angola and Mozambique's independence were unilateral and rushed within three months, which led to the domination of Marxist communist freedom-fighter political movements in Angola and Mozambique (Pinto2012, Khadiagala2005, Sidaway and Power2004). Although there were plans to negotiate the independence with the nationalist movements in Angola: MPLA[3], FNLA[4], UNITA[5], and the FRELIMO[6] in Mozambique, the new regime handled the negotiations weakly with the interest in abandoning the colonies as rapidly as possible (Khadiagala2005). In Angola for instance, the plans which included the recognition of the three liberation movements, the preparation for a provisional government, and the protection of all residents of Angola regardless of colour, failed (Rothchild and Khadiagala2005). Instead, Portuguese negotiators gave preference for MPLA to take control due to its leftist inclines. Under the political and social chaos of decolonisation both communities shared experiences of a growing climate of insecurity which led to their conflictive uprooting from Africa and their arrival or return to Portugal.

2.2 CITIZENSHIP AND SENSE OF BELONGING

This section aims to situate the concept of citizenship in relation to constructions of belonging. I initially engage with the concept of citizenship more than nationality to refer to a more exclusive category that entitles members to basic civil liberties, responsibilities and a status of full

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[2] Ultramarine provinces - Refer to Glossary for more details
[3] MPLA [Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola],
[4] FNLA [Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola]
[5] UNITA [Uniao Nacional Para a Independencia Total de Angola] led by Savimby
[6] FRELIMO [Frente de Libertação de Moçambique], Mozambique Liberation Front

membership to the political community (Blitz and Lynch2011). I start by exploring this concept instead of nationality since the latter already assumes a certain degree of national inclusiveness, when in fact both migrant communities' sense of belonging to the Portuguese fatherland was challenged (Blunt2005,Erel2009,Calder et.al.2010). This does not assume however, that migrants developed a purely "legal belonging" in relation to the former heart of the empire. Rather, my objective is precisely to explore the connections between the concept of citizenship and migrants' re-constructions of belonging upon their "return home". Negotiating identity through formal legal-structures reveals interweaving aspects of citizenship in more personal constructions of sense of belonging (Goodwin2005, Erel2009). Apart from being a survival requirement for proving migrant identity upon their arrival to Portugal (Bellamy2008, Reed-Danahay and Brettell2008), citizenship carries a moral significance shared by a community and materialises in systems of categorisation which includes and excludes of migrants (Calder et.al.2010, Reed-Danahay and Brettell2008). Driver(2005) and Reed-Danahay and Brettell(2008) for instance, highlight the intertwinement between the materiality of citizenship documents with people's daily lives by highlighting their dependence on legal access to services, residence, their social positioning, work opportunities but also their portrayal in media that in turn, affect the way we conceive ourselves (Rajan2003):

"the images that constitute a passport are enormously powerful, and mark the extent to which our lives are bound up with the power of the states" (Driver2005:145).

In states such as Britain or France, documented proofs of ancestry relations were requested to reveal a paternal bond with former empire in order to be accepted into their fatherlands (Reed-Danahay and Brettell2008). For Anglo-Indians for instance, the stressful process of proving descent provoked anxieties and fears of not being able to (re)-obtain British citizenship and being considered as foreign in their country of former citizenship (Blunt2005). The role of citizenship is not being essentialised here as a way of measuring one's sense of belonging, but rather serves to explore attachments to place, personal and communal conceptions of belonging through the negotiation of legal documents (Kryzanowski and Wodak2008). What I aim to explore is more particularly the process of citizenship (re)-acquirement or naturalisation, the contradictions encountered between location of citizenship and sense of belonging, as well the relevance of citizen membership for the immigrants' experience. This will allow us to shed light on communities' conflictive constructions of sense of belonging. Seen the emotional relevance of negotiating belonging with institutions, Erel(2009) argues that other types of belonging beyond formal citizenship are invaluable to understand migrants' experience of "returning home", which I will examine through racialised and more personal negotiations of belonging.

2.3 RETURNING HOME: RACIALISED EXPERIENCES AND A CONTESTED SENSE OF BELONGING

To understand the conflictive "return home" of colonial white and Portuguese-Angolans, I draw a parallel on Anglo-Indian diaspora literature (Blunt2005). I often refer to "return" even though most Portuguese-Angolans and Indo-Mozambicans had never lived in Portugal, as the word contains a conflictive meaning, an imagined homecoming to the heart of the former empire, which in reality, unveils much more complex reconstructions of belonging. The Anglo-Indian category refers to descendents of a European father and born in India who share similar migration experiences with Portuguese-Angolans and the generation before them. Whereas Anglo-Indians include both white and mixed descent individuals, the community of Portuguese Angolans that I shall be researching are white African born Portuguese. I also draw a parallel on Asian Ugandan immigrants to understand Indo-Mozambicans' construction of imperial loyalties and their experience of "returning home" to the former heart of the empire. Engaging with literature on these communities will help to shed light on processes of personal experiences of uprooting which played into constructions of sense of belonging of both Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican communities.

A MOTHERLAND AND AN UNFAITHFUL FATHERLAND: NEGOTIATIONS OF IMPERIAL LOYALTIES

I refer to the notion of motherland and fatherland to grasp the communities' multiple senses of belonging. Just as for Portuguese-Angolans, England became portrayed as a "distant father" for Anglo-Indians, an image tied to governance and ancestral, sovereign aspects of belonging (Blunt2005). The loyalty to both India and Europe provoked a dual sense of belonging where India was seen as the motherland:

"England is imagined at a distance as an inspiring source of memory, heritage, tradition and veneration, whilst India is imagined in more immediate terms as the site of daily life, present meaning and the location of home" (Blunt 2005: 42).

The distinction of a motherland and fatherland for the Indo-Mozambican and Ugandan Asian communities is perhaps more complicated due their multiple ties to India, Africa and the former heart of the empire. Although there were major differences in political and migration contexts of Ugandan Asian migration, both communities differ from Portuguese-Angolans' ancestral link to the empire as only started to construct ties with the empire upon their arrival to colonial Africa. Ugandan Asians and Indo-Mozambicans constructed these ties through work, language, common

history, education and citizenship that were challenged and negated as the empires dissolved (Kaplan1993, Castles and Davidson2000)." For Ugandan Asians, work for the British government such as government job roles, military positions, embodied a loyal colonial relationship between African Asians and the former metropolis. It illustrates Erel(2009:195)'s statement that "*citizenship as a lived experience is constructed*". Their migration involved a negotiation of imperial loyalties with the empire and attachments to both Africa and India that need to be further explored. Linking back to proofs of paternal ancestry as a condition for British citizenship, ius sanguinis played an important role in defining who belonged and did not belong to the UK-and-Colonies and perpetuated a fixed sense of belonging by dictating national belonging according to ancestry (Kaplan1993, Castles and Davidson2000). This highlights the conflict between the constructiveness of imperial loyalties developed by the Ugandan Asian communities and the metropolises' essentialised and racialised conception of national belonging, also seen in Algerian's statuses of second-class citizens (Reed-Danahay and Brettell2008, Blunt2005). The sentiment of national belonging or even pride once expressed by Algerians when fighting for the French empire was not recognised and was further negated through forms of exclusionary racism in France (Alibhai-Brown2000, Reed-Danahay2008).What were the implications of decolonisation politics in the communities' conceptualisation of belonging? Alibhai-Brown(2000) suggests that "*the relationship between the end of empire and the immigration of non-white people, the overlap, the confusion, the battle of loyalties and belonging cannot be overestimated or oversimplified" (Alibhai-Brown2000:89)*. Literature on Ugandan Asian migrants (Alibhai-Brown2000) provides an interesting ground for understanding the link between structural conditions and effects of postcolonial migration to Britain, but my aim is to focus more deeply on how migrants personally negotiated and reconstructed conceptions of home and belonging (Lubkemann2002).

2.4 "OTHERING" POSTCOLONIAL MIGRANTS: DELIMITING AN IMAGINED COMMUNITY

Belonging was not only continuously negotiated with institutions but also in everyday life, intersecting with racialised constructions of homeland (Erel2009, Malkki1995). While Alibhai Brown(2000) explores experiences of racism affected African Asians' settlement in the UK, this section aims to clarify how these experiences relate to conflictive claims of home between the host community and immigrants, and how they may have affected migrants' constructions of belonging. In the case of Anglo-Indians in Britain, terms such as "middlerace" were used as a way of framing the racialised other (Tekin2010) but also as a broader way to delimit Britain as a

white "authentic home" by setting a racialised boundary of home in the face of mass postcolonial migration. The "Othering" of Ugandan Asians seen in political and cultural marginalisation reveals national attempts of creating an image of pure homeland and re-emerges deep seated fears of racialised swamping (Anderson1991, Alibhai-Brown2000, Dyer1997). Whiteness interlinks with notions of purity, explaining the racialisation of the "Other". To clarify, racialisation can be defined as:

"A historically contingent and contested process through which racial meanings are extended in attempts to define or redefine relationship, social practise, object, individuals or group" (Gregory et.al.2011).

NEGOTIATING PORTUGUESENESS: RE-IMAGINING THE NATION' BOUNDARIES

The concept of imagined communities is useful in order to grasp how Portuguese-Angolan community coped with integrating in society from which they were alienated, yet were tied by blood or imperial loyalties as for Indo-Mozambicans (Anderson1991). Imagined communities encompass a simultaneous inclusion and exclusion as they classify people according to imagined boundaries and cultural affiliations (Malkki1995,Gruffudd2009). Caught in a paradox of being Portuguese and yet being foreigners in their fatherland, the "Othering" of both communities reflects a clash of their in-betweeness with the Portuguese community's sedentary view on belonging which relates to a linear national sense of belonging as a condition for inclusion (Malkki1995). While Lubkemann(2002) and Acacio(2000) illustrate this stigmatisation through everyday life narratives of the migrant communities, I shall further examine how the racialised label of *retornado* was personally negotiated during their settlement in Portugal. Tenkin(2010)'s analysis of discursive constructions of "out-groups" and on Europe's construction as a homogenous entity in relation to Turkey helps us understand how the transition from a colonial Portugal to a more European nation connects to the concept of "purification" that was reflected in the racialisation of the "Other" upon their "return". At the time of its geopolitical transition, *"as Portugal has attempted to re-imagine a postcolonial national identity, it has engaged in a process of reinventing its past through a carefully crafted process of selective remembering and forgetting"* (Lubkemann2002:208). Sapega(2008) elaborates on this by pointing out the conflict between Portugal's repressed imperial past discourse and its material expressions through imperial monuments (Gruffudd2009). Such material representations of the Portuguese empire represented a sense of collective belonging to "extended Portuguese territory" that was later contradictively denied (Sapega2008, Ribeiro2002). The colonial wars fought to protect that

imagined extended empire were inscribed in monuments yet contested and connoted shameful in political discourse during the decolonization process (Sapega2008, Sidaway and Power2004). The guilt of colonization put a national collective memory in conflict with the *retornados'* migration (Cabecinhas and Feijo2010). By linking this national re-imagination, to personal narratives I further analyse ways in which people's sense of home and belonging were negotiated in relation to their historical contexts (Driver2005,Malkki1995).

2.5 HOME AND SENSE OF BELONGING

The transition from colonial to postcolonial geographies disturbs senses of warm "homely belonging" related to the motherland and "sovereign belonging" linked to the fatherland, suggesting the intertwinement of decolonisation and personal constructions of home (Blunt2005, Alibhai-Brown2000,Blunt and Dowling2006). These spaces of inclusion and exclusion also reflect at the scale of constructions of home. They form points of intersection between political structures and the household that will allow us to explore less visible personal constructions of belonging in more depth (Blunt and McEwan2002). Home is therefore not an apolitical space but is also constructed through politics. The following quote draws attention to the personal meaning of migration experiences, emphasizing the importance of looking at both structural and personal experiences of "returning home" through the scale of "home".

"the greatest movements often occur within the self, within the home or within the family, while the phantasm of limitless mobility often rests on the power of border controls and policing of who does and does not belong" (Ahmed et.al 2003:5).

Too often, *"mobility is held within longstanding ideas of the nation and what is to be a citizen"* and implies that nationally bounded belonging to place (Cresswell2006:750). Rather than essentialising sense of belonging to place, Chambers(1994) argues that belonging is continuously constructed and maintained through memory, lived through discourses and perpetuation of collective and personal memories. "Returning home" for white and Indian communities born in Angola and Mozambique as well as for their parents who emigrated from Portugal requires a deeper analysis of the meaning of "home" for the two communities. Exploring interactions with domestic belongings within the domestic sphere can reveal much on emotions, experiences, collective and personal memories that participate in the construction of sense of belonging and contest fixed senses of belonging to place (Fortier2000, Blunt and McEwan2002, Walsh 2006).

Seeing "home" as a web of connections between individuals and place rather than being limited to its material realm, acknowledges the existence of home as a set of relationships, emotional experiences, and attachments to land (Blunt and Dowling2006). Adopting this perspective can be insightful to explore these personal-place connections that transcend fixed and bounded attachments to a single homeland.

The exploration of geographies of home beyond the fixed boundaries of the nation therefore provides an invaluable gate to understanding constructions and contestations of sense of belonging beyond a bounded identity and sense of belonging to a singular place (Ahmed et al.2000). Exploring home spaces as both materialised and imagined provides an opportunity to understand not only multiple places of attachment but allow us to grasp more distant and imagined attachments to homeland that connect memories of the past in the present (Blunt2005,Fortier2000). Material belongings play a crucial role in this. Walsh(2006)'s research on British expatriates for instance, brings out how particular objects enact affective or sensory memories and allow people to perpetuate imagined relationships in time and space throughout migration (Hill2007, Walsh2006). Blunt(2005) particularly focuses on nostalgia to explore how a longing desire for home has the capacity to materialise and shape sense of belonging. Home superimposes public and private spheres, belonging and exclusion, rootedness and uprootedness and can thus be understood as a process rather than a fixed relationship between people and place (Blunt2005). We will thus remain attentive to the role of memory of an imperial past that participates in maintaining multiple associations with place, yet disturbs a bounded conception of "homeland" as it breaks the duality between a homeland and hostland (Fotier2000).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 THE FAMILY FRAMEWORK

The qualitative methodological framework focuses on daily and past narratives of the Indo-Mozambican and Portuguese-Angolan communities during their uprooting and settlement in Portugal to address the project's objectives of: exploring the role of citizenship in constructions of sense of belonging, examining the construction and challenge of loyalties to the former empire, and grasping re-articulations of sense of belonging through memory and possessions. Although decolonisation was differently lived in Angola and Mozambique, I have chosen to work within a family framework because it brings together two culturally and ethnically different communities that have built loyalties with the Portuguese empire and shared a common experience of uprooting. This however, does not imply homogeneity among the Indo-Mozambican or the Portuguese-Angolan communities. The sampling strategy followed the family framework structure and can therefore be considered biased and non-representative of the wider community of Portuguese-Angolans and Indo-Mozambicans (Limb and Dwyer2001). The low number of gatherings, interviews and oral histories undertaken, highlight that the concern is neither to build representativeness, nor to solely extract stories of migration, but to understand how they were and still participate in the continuous reconstruction of their migrant identities (Grbich2007,Valentine2005). All primary data was collected in Coimbra and Lisbon in Portugal except from the first gathering and oral history that took place in Brussels due to temporal arrangements. The family members that I worked with included two generations of migrants in the Portuguese-Angolan community; the ones who migrated to Angola, and the second generation who were born and raised there, whereas in the Indo-Mozambican community only members of the second generation were available for the research[7].

3.2 GATHERINGS

Gatherings were chosen to be conducted instead of focus groups for their informality which was more appropriate to induce familiar conversation (Conradson2005). The flexible structure of gatherings was inspired by Sue McGregor's interview with Ugandan Asians on Radio 4 and was based around processes of leaving, arriving, settling, wherein other themes including gender or

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[7] See Appendix 4 for family tree

issues of citizenship were interwoven (McGregor2011). Instead of focussing solely on individual accounts of memories through oral histories and interviews, gatherings generated dynamic discussions to allow a collective reconstruction of senses of belonging as a family and negotiations of meanings through collective memory which partially reduced individual bias (Madriz2003, Bosco and Herman2010). Participant observation was used to analyse more ephemeral aspects of conversations, spontaneous emotional reactions or even arguments between conflictive ways of thinking about the past (Madriz2003, Bosco and Herman2010). These conflicts however, were not prevented but instead served to clarify people's positionality, different perspectives as well for their own articulation of identity (Madriz2003).

The methodology was strongly influenced by Katy Beinart's approach on family gathering methodologies her collaborative project Anchor and Magnet and on her PhD Research project "Salted earth" which merged art and architecture methodologies. Like places of salted earth reveal contested history, *retornados'* imaginary spaces are traversed by conflictive senses of belonging. In seeking to understand contested spaces, Katy's approach pays attention to drawing out emotion from such spaces:

"I want to develop intuitive methodologies of practice, in order to understand emotionally contested sites revealed by histories of migration and place" (Beinart 2012).

Anchor and Magnet's open approach on place, identity, belonging and memory inspired me to seek ways of encouraging an exchange of memories and re-articulations of the past to encourage the creation of a sort of therapeutic dialogue platform sensitive to participants' expressions of selves. As Kryzanowski and Wodak(2008) state, in-betweeness is difficult to be socially or politically recognised. Influenced by Katy Beinart's approaches, the objective of the gatherings was to allow the creation of an interactive space for participants to collectively remember, share experiences, validate and anchor marginalised communal pasts and social identities that were once repressed and silenced with fear of being publically caught or excluded from society during the start of the new regime in Portugal[1975] (Conradson2005,Lander2000 Anchor&Magnet2012). As Cabecinhas and Feijo (2010:34) put it, *"the social sharing of emotions promotes a sense of community and may play a crucial role in the process of formation and transformation of social representations of history"*. Communicating narratives to a public with similar experiences of forced migration, in this case Portuguese-Angolans and Indo-Mozambicans, thus became a way of reconstructing and reifying a collective memory and contesting dominant identity discourses such as national linear understandings of belonging or the label of *retornado* (Silverman2006,Erel2009,Lander2000). To complement the one-off

nature of this space of remembering, I am hoping to continue to grow it through the creation of a blog dedicated to narratives of migration. Due to internet restrictions of some participants, the creation of an album with photographs given by the participants is also being done and will be given along with a more complete genealogical tree.

DATA COLLECTION AND IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

Six small gatherings and one big family gathering were conducted over two weeks[8]. Each gathering lasted approximately from one to two hours and a half. Five were conducted with the Portuguese-Angolan community and one with the Indian community except for two which also included Anil from Indian descent[9]. The reason for conducting separate gatherings was to facilitate the exchange of family stories that may not have been openly shared in the presence of less familiar members from the other community. Both communities were later united during the big gathering which created an opportunity to explore how racialised experiences of migration affect people's construction of sense of belonging. Although effort was put into involving as many participants from the Indo-Mozambican and Portuguese-Angolan community, the composition of the gatherings was not representative (Conradson2005). The amount of initially planned gatherings was reduced due to the large amount of data collected but also to avoid exhaustive consultation on a topic that participants claimed to be emotionally draining. Small gatherings involved from three to six people whereas the big gathering included thirteen participants.[10]

Small gatherings were conducted in people's homes which contributed to ease the exchange of personal views and stories compared to foreign or public places[see figure] (Crang and Cook2007). Five small gatherings were conducted during meals to encourage participation (Conradson2005) but also to reproduce familiar settings of annual family reunions. As Driver(2005) states, the contexts in which participants express their sense of belonging also affects the way in which they see themselves and the extent to which they reveal personal thoughts. After the meal, some participants eventually showed me personal belongings in their homes that they had referred during the gathering. Not everyone found themselves in their own homes or comfortable zones which made it more difficult for some to act "authentically" (Madriz2003), but were all were familiar with the family and the environment as they had often

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[8] See Appendix 1 for the calendar of gatherings
[9] See genealogical tree in Appendix 4
[10] See Appendix 2 for the full list of participants in each gathering

been in their family members' home before. The big gathering was undertaken in a canteen of an Indian temple during a meal (see figure1). The location was chosen for the familiarity of both white and Indian communities to the place but also for to financial and practical conditions such as space availability.

FIGURE 1 BIG GATHERING- AT THE INDIAN TEMPLE'S CANTEEN TAKEN ON 11TH OF JULY 2013

FIGURE 2 SMALL GATHERING- TAKEN ON 10TH JULY 2013

DISADVANTAGES

Although all members in gatherings felt concerned and showed much interest in sharing their stories, the informality of gatherings did not allow more silent members of the groups to fully express their views (Crang and Cook2007). Although participants knew each other well, the family framework guarantees does not guarantee equal relations between members, since their family member role, power relations intertwined with gender roles emerged during the gathering (Madriz2003). While more articulate members were able to express themselves and sometimes monopolise or even divert the conversation to their interest easily, it was important to make sure that more silent members had an input in the discussions and to remain aware of body language and attempts to integrate the conversation (Jackson and Russell2010,Bosco and Herman2010). Although the flexibility and openness of gatherings was vital to allow members to express their narratives, the chaotic environment also led to conversations breaking up into groups or off-topic discussions which increased the duration of gatherings, and thus required me to re-introduce open-ended questions (Crang and Cook2007,Conradson2005). The physical conditions of the public environment in the big gathering, such as the rectangular table or bad acoustics inhibited conversation due to the presence of other people.

3.3 INFORMAL OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEWS

Four unstructured open-ended interviews were held with three members of the Portuguese-Angolan and one with the Indo-Mozambican community[11]. Just as for oral histories, they were mostly held in the interviewees' homes and thus reduced the risk of external interaction (Rapley2004). Shorter than oral histories, interviews lasted from thirty to forty minutes. They were chosen for their possibility of addressing specific issues while allowing conversation to complement the information shared during small gatherings and to further grasp individual opinions(Limb and Dwyer2001). They were undertaken with participants who had tight schedules. Although initial themes were planned[12], interviews remained flexible to the interviewee's response in order to provide space for self-reflexion, to adapt to the respondent's sensitivity to the subject(Valetine2005, Rapley2004). Whereas the sharing of past life experiences in gatherings encouraged people to have their say on a common story, face-to-face

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[11] See Appendix 2 for interview participants and schedule
[12] Refer to Appendix 4 for planned interview questions

contact enhanced the possibility of grasping body language, reactions or silences more directly than in the presence of multiple participants in gatherings (McDowell2010).

3.4 ORAL HISTORIES

In collaboration with the participants, oral histories specifically focused on understanding personal constructiveness of belonging and sense of home (Blunt2005, Erel2009, Abrams2010, Bornat2004). As Mayne et.al(2008) notes, personal agency has often been reduced to people's social positions. The advantage of oral histories is that by engaging with life experiences, they highlight the important connection between socio-political contexts and the personal. Despite their subjectivity, dominant realities of the 25ft of April[13] can thus be challenged and understood through subaltern experiences. Personal histories thus do not just speak for individual accounts but also contribute to the understanding of a collective experience of migration since they are embedded in wider structural contexts (Erel2009, Jackson and Russell2010, Abrams2010). By exploring the identity and experience of the narrator, I hoped to delve into the interweaving relationship between personal discourses and social contexts, the connections between the end of the empire and migrants' sense of belonging that participated in the construction of their identities or search of self (Mayne et.al.2008, Abrams2010). Oral histories were more flexible an unstructured than interviews and provided time for people to reflect on their pasts, re-ground their knowledge, bring up themes they felt were relevant, personal narratives and explore their senses of belonging (Erel2009, Abrams2010). They were undertaken in people's homes[14] to facilitate the discussion of material possessions which I shall later discuss. São's oral history was particularly different from the others. Her oral history started with a face-to-face interaction with São and then transformed into a productive gathering of reminiscing past stories with Fátima around São's numerous family albums. Five oral histories were undertaken with three members of the Portuguese-Angolan and two from Indo-Mozambican community. They lasted from two to four hours and some were taken in two parts and two locations[15]. Intersections of themes occurred very often and created new ground for analysis (Bornat2004). Kumud's oral history for instance, revealed stories that emerged new themes intertwining gender and citizenship.

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[13] 25ft of April refers to the regime overthrow of 1975 and the to the declaration of independence- refer to Glossary for more detail

[14] With the exception of Fátima's and Anil's oral histories which took place both in their family's home in Portugal and in their current home in Brussels

[15] Refer to Appendix 2 for location and dates of oral histories

DISADVANTAGES

Since memory is not an accumulation of details but involves a continuous re-creation of meanings (Abrams2010), oral narratives involve fictionalising events and reconstructing past realities in the present (Raport and Dawson1998, Lander2000) which makes their interpretation biased (Erel2009). The objective of this methodology however, is based on the experience and perspective rather than discovering the objectivity of facts (Abrams2010). Oral histories touched sensitive topics and sparked strong emotions which required me to handle the conversation through an intuitive approach according to my relationship with different family members. I thus alternated between descriptive and thoughtful questions as a technique to ease the participant's blockages on painful topics while aiming to grasp links between his or her life experiences and ways of coping with them (Valentine2005).

3.5 POSITION OF THE RESEARCHER

Interviews, oral histories and gatherings are mutually constructive processes influenced by the researcher's and the participants' gaze, perspectives and knowledges where "talk is locally and collaboratively produced" (Rapley2004:16,McDowell2010). By openly participating in discussions, their knowledges were filtered through my own personal experiences and involved an inherently subjective process of co-constructing knowledge through my interaction with the participants, thereby creating potential changes in the research context (Limb and Dwyer2001, Erel2009, Bornat2004). It was thus essential to balance my position as a researcher and as a family member. For example as McDowell(2010) notes, the selection of transcripts oral histories and interview material is a subjective and political process influenced by contextual cultural influences and my own knowledges (Limb and Dwyer2001). An important aspect of my position as a researcher is my relationship with the family which accentuates my subjectivity in the interpretation framework (Jackson and Russell2010). Basing the interactions on pre-established family relationships of trust for instance, made me prone to make assumptions on stories of migration that were familiar to me(Silverman2006). In Fátima's oral history for example, some conversations were based on my previous knowledge of the person's life history. However, although my perception of her identity may have increased the bias of my analysis, this relationship strongly facilitated my understanding of her constructions of sense of belonging. The research was carried in Portuguese, which also served as a marker of similarity and did not pose additional translation obstacles. Being from a younger generation sparked an enthusiastic

urge from some of my family members to tell me the integrity of their stories as a way of passing on heritage. This contributed to a wider process of anchoring unrecognised narratives and memories. The informality of my relationship with my family often blurred the boundaries between my position as a researcher and family member and thus required me to balance my roles(Bryman2008).

3.6 MATERIAL BELONGINGS

Based on Tolia-Kelly(2004b)'s approach, people who participated in oral histories, interviews and small gatherings were asked to bring an object or show meaningful objects in their homes that they felt helped them reground senses of belonging to Africa when settling in Portugal, but also to refer to material belongings from which they were cut off when leaving Africa. This method takes into account the interaction between the viewer and the material belongings but also acknowledge the placement of the object in the house (Tolia-Kelly2004b). It was chosen for analysing the crucial importance of material belongings' role in connecting memories, emotions and experiences with migrants' experience (Blunt2005). Unfortunately, participants did not feel comfortable bringing objects to the big gathering or even small gatherings for practical reasons, fears of damaging them, or because the ones they had in mind were simply too big to carry to the location of the gathering if they were not at home. In this case, people were asked to refer to objects instead, which slightly limited the opportunity to have a direct connection with the object and to share their thoughts on it with other participants. Using material belongings in the methodology also allowed the interviewees to actively reconnect with the values and memories emanated from the objects instead of reflecting on their migration experience abstractly (Tolia-Kelly2004b).

This methodology is grounded in the understanding that sense of belonging is also practised and materialised in homemaking through everyday interactions with material and domestic life (Walsh2006, Blunt and Dowling2006). It draws from literature in material geographies and borrows from Tolia-Kelly's research on material belongings and diaspora in domestic spaces (see 2004,2004b). Ahmed et.al(2003) refer to the process of homing as a way of recreating pasts and futures by inhabiting the present which materialises into processes of affective work. The methodology thus focuses addressing how material belongings participate in processes of grounding existent, imagined or lost relationships to people or place(Marcoux2001, Pels et.al.2002, Walsh2006).

PHOTOGRAPHS

Particular attention will be paid to photographs as objects since they enact feelings, memories and sensory experiences of past relationships with homelands or people (della-Dora2007). They are part of the methodology for their capacity to spark interpretations of past experiences of migration (Tolia-Kelly2004b). Landscape and family photographs in particular provide a way of interacting with past moments and perpetuating an imagined community or common past thereby maintaining a transnational connection with a lost home (Tolia-Kelly2004, Edwards and Hart2004). What mainly differentiates family photographs from domestic material objects is the extension beyond the house that the family entails (Rose2003). Relationships with people or places that are no longer accessible or presents can thus be made through photographs (Rose2003). They "become a means of 'being'" within people's memories (Tolia-Kelly2004b:681). Photographs' physical existence throughout time and space reveal invaluable information on people's interpretation of past and present senses of belonging (Edwards and Hart2004). The image and the materiality of the object interact simultaneously with the viewer and participate in the process of homemaking (Edwards and Hart2004, della-Dora2009).

3.7 RECORDING, CONFIDENTIALITY AND ETHICS

Audio recording and photography were used as major tools for small gatherings, the big gathering interviews and oral histories (Conradson2005). Jotted-notes were also used during and after small gatherings and oral histories to complement more visual data collection such as non-verbal communication, body language, emotional reactions, expressions, group dynamics, aspects of interactions, and photographs of people's homes were used to record home environments [see figure 2] (Crang and Cook2007). In gatherings, oral histories and interviews, confidentiality was ensured on both the content of the interview and on photographs taken in participants' homes (Rapley2004). Photographs were only taken after the participants' consent for using them in the research project. Participants were asked for their permission for audio-recording and to use their stories for the research project before interviews, oral histories, small gatherings. The big gathering for instance, started with a short presentation of the research project, my research interests, the importance of their participation and the handing in of consent

forms[16]. Participants were contacted before the research gatherings by phone and email but I remained flexible to changes that occurred because of participants' availability.

FIGURE 3 TERESA AND VASCO'S LIVING ROOM

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[16] See Appendix 7 for a sample of consent forms

CHAPTER 4: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 TRANSCRIPTION AND CODING

Transcriptions of gatherings, oral histories and interviews[17] were made partially with a direct translation from Portuguese to English due to time restrictions[18]. The disadvantage of audio-recording was the loss of non-verbal communication, overall moods which were nevertheless recorded in jotted notes during all gatherings and oral histories (Bosco and Herman2010). Data coding was used on transcripts of interviews, gatherings, oral histories and jotted notes with the help of Nvivo software[19] to identify key abstract, descriptive content and conceptual elements for developing in-depth understandings of migrants' senses of belonging in relation to their postcolonial migration experience (Bryman2008). Material was classified into hypercodes and subcodes related to the two main concepts of sense of belonging and citizenship which facilitated data analysis of such fluid and complex concepts (Saldanha2009, Cope2010). The aim of the analysis is not to reach a consensus or a generalised perception of past experiences of migration but rather to understand how they are articulated, interpreted and interfere in people's construction of sense of belonging (Conradson2005, Bryman2008).

4.2 ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS, ORAL HISTORIES AND GATHERINGS

Although data collection partially aimed at capturing the content of people's realities as Rapley(2004) refers to as "data-as-resource", the analytical framework does not just rely on the content of the data but also on the interaction between the researcher and participant(s) (Rapley2004). Assuming that interview questions should remain as neutral as possible would limit the interviewee's input, especially regarding sensitive topics and past narratives which are socially constructed (Grbich2007, Jackson and Russell2010). For this reason, I pay attention to the way people make sense of their experience in relation to their sense of belonging and how language, emotions verbal and non-verbal language, tones of voice, speech can reflect ways in which people construct themselves and helped to articulate stories and perspectives in the context of the interview (Grbich2007, McDowell2010, Bryman2008, Rapley2004). More

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[17] See Appendix 5 for a sample of a transcription of a gathering
[18] Expressions, or particular political characters are translated and explained in the glossary
[19] See Appendix 6 for a snapshot of data coding process with Nvivo

specifically, I also examine the selection and sequences of words or sentences, lexical fields of rational, emotional verbs to grasp how participants desire to see themselves and conceive their senses of belonging(Kryzanowski and Wodak2007,Coffey and Atkinson1996). Facing a large quantity of data acquired in oral histories, the selection of material was made based on the relevance of topics and the emphasis placed on certain themes by the interviewee (Jackson and Russell2010).

4.3 TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL CONSTRUCTION: PAST AND PRESENT LINKS

Processes of remembering are diverse. While some interviewees preferred to remember aspects chronologically, others expressed a clearer and more emotional way of articulating memorised experiences (Coffey and Atkinson1996). Despite the initial aim of focusing on the period of decolonisation in participants' lives, I recognised the need to acknowledge people's life experiences as non-linear and to look for thematic connections that link deep seated values in participants' present lives. The most important aspect of the methodology was the temporal and spatial difference from when participants migrated in the 1970s to the time they were interviewed, 2013. Drawing on Lefebvre's theory of space as constructed, the methodology acknowledges that the processes of recalling pasts bring different temporalities and imagined spaces together which produce unique individual ways of remembering place. Memories are thus affected by present perspectives which in turn are affected by shared views of a communal past. Being asked to reflect about their pasts was a delicate task for participants, and while some agreed in projecting themselves into past experiences for brief moments, others felt the exercise more difficult and preferred to remain anchored in contemporary or more distant gazes of their past histories (Abrams2010):

"[...] life histories involve a dialogical relationship between past and present, where past events are viewed through the lens of the present and where present-day concerns shape what is remembered and forgotten from the past" (Jackson and Russell2010:187)

In the analysis I thus consider how ways of remembering past experiences and homes were affected by present circumstances, contemporary institutional and social contexts, and individual ways of reminiscing (Rapley2004).

4.4 SEEING "THROUGH" MATERIAL BELONGINGS

While possessions become vehicles for reconstructing a sense of belonging, remaking home is done in parallel to shifting meanings of these material belongings, ties multiple places together (Tolia-Kelly2004, Ahmed et.al.2003, Basu and Coleman 2008). The analysis pays attention to objects in current or past domestic spheres as their place in the house can reveal relevant links to migrants' reconstruction of home and sense of belonging which interweave in their everyday life (Tolia-Kelly2004, della-Dora2009).To clarify, rather than being seen as agents with intrinsic symbolic meanings(Miller1998), objects participate in a network of relationships and interactions between people, place and objects that help constitute sense of belonging (Knappett2002). We will thus examine how objects beyond their 'content', how they are appropriated in contexts to grasp how relationships between people, temporal, political contexts and place merged and are conceived by the migrant communities (Miller1998, Basu and Coleman2008, Tolia-Kelly2004). These processes of managing objects reflect people's repositioning in relation to their experiences of uprooting and regrounding as they participate in processes of self-reconstruction or mourning the loss of objects, places or pasts (Marcoux 2001, Whatmore2006,Hecht 2001).

PHOTOGRAPHS

In the analysis of photographs' materiality, I will thus pay attention to the owner's interaction appropriation of the object in time and space (Edwards and Hart2004), as people in the same household may keep or display them differently showing different roles in people's process of regrounding (Rose2003, Marcoux2001). Photographs will be analysed as material belongings instead of just texts as they allow the materialisation of past memories, or bring themselves closer to lost homelands in the present instead of just revealing the past (Rose2003). I also analyse how viewers situate themselves in the present in relation to the memories that the photographs evoke (Rose2003, Tolia-Kelly2004b).

CHAPTER 5: RETURNING HOME AS A FOREIGNER: A COMMON IN-BETWEENESS

5.1 FROM CITIZENSHIP TO NATIONALITY

Upon their arrival to Portugal, postcolonial immigrants underwent negotiations of their legal identity as they had to request the conservation of Portuguese citizenship or start naturalisation processes (Acacio2000). The insistence on having the right to Portuguese citizenship was particularly expressed in the Indo-Mozambican community. Linking back to the literature on citizenship, participants often referred to nationality instead of citizenship, suggesting a deeper engagement with *being* Portuguese. For example, it was interesting to note how in the small gathering[20] between Anil, Fátima, Vasco and Teresa, the issue of citizenship was only brought up by Anil. The dynamics of the interactions clearly highlighted his concern on nationality issues:

> "Anil: It was not about acquiring nationality, it was about *demanding* the *conservation* of Portuguese citizenship. Article 5ft, decree law number 375. It said, that any individual who was not born in the metropolitan territory, which is Portugal, whose parents were not born on the national territory,... whose grandparents were not born on the national territory,.... whose great grandparents were not born on the national territory
>
> Fátima: [interrupts]Alright, we get it...
>
> Anil: No it's not enough. This individual, thus has to request Portuguese nationality according to article 5ft decree law number 375. And why? This was done to prevent black people to acquire Portuguese nationality. They did this only for people born in the metropolis. So your mother, Beto, Teresa, Vasco, could all have Portuguese nationality more easily. The rest, were left out. And the Indians and Chinese were caught."[21]
>
> [...]

Despite the interruption, Anil's affirmation of carrying on explaining the details of the legislation requirements he had to deal with when he lost his citizenship, reflect Fátima's and Anil's different priorities of concern on their arrival to Portugal. The lack of citizenship discussed in Chapter two, was in fact not directly recognized as major restrictions in accessing rights, but rather as a right of its own. It concretized in the physicality of identity documents, without which

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[20] Small gathering 9th of May
[21] Small gathering 9ft of May 2013, see Appendix for the list of participants

migrants' state of in-betweeness was accentuated. This shared feeling of fated identity dispossession was highlighted by the governments' abandonment of identity documents when leaving the colonies:

> "TARUN: I had lost nationality...there were consequences on that... I had no right on what was mine! I couldn't have Mozambican nationality because my father didn't acquire Mozambican nationality... it was the only family that had no path to escape! I couldn't stay in Mozambique because I didn't have Mozambican nationality so the only path I had was Portugal."[22]

In this sense, Tarun refers to citizenship not so much as a useful legal status but as a possession that grew from a legal status to a feeling of belonging to the wider empire which explains the use of "nationality" instead of "citizenship". Having become foreigners in their fatherland, the brothers of the Indo-Mozambican community were only allowed to start naturalisation processes after nine years of residency. During her oral history, Kumud[23] stated that not possessing Portuguese citizenship did not restrict her in everyday life, but acquired a deeper sense of right of belonging to Portugal:

> "Jessica: But did you really want to have Portuguese nationality?
>
> Kumud: Yes I wanted it...
>
> Jessica: why...?
>
> Kumud: Because I wanted it...you know, I've already been living here for a long time....
>
> Jessica: yes....
>
> Kumud: ..So I wanted it... it's a right isn't it?"[24]

Searching for proofs of identity, was a frustrating twenty-five year bureaucratic fight for a right between the Indian and Portuguese government, until Kumud was given Portuguese citizenship in 2005 after her husband's (Kumar)[25] death. Requirements to prove political belonging reveal how being recognized formally through citizenship played a part in personal negotiations of belonging especially for Indo-Mozambicans.

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[22] Big gathering 11th July 2013, see Appendix for the list of participants
[23] Refer to the genealogical tree in Appendix 4
[24] Oral history with Kumud 8th of July 2013
[25] Refer to the genealogical tree in Appendix 4

5.2 CITIZENSHIP: NEGOTIATING A RACIALISED BELONGING WITH THE FORMER HEART OF EMPIRE

5.2.1 TRAGEDIES OF IN-BETWEENESS

Kumud's inability to obtain Portuguese citizenship also deeply affected her husband who was born in Mozambique. In his oral history, Anil recalled a part of his brother's (Kumar)[26]struggle to obtain the series of required documents for Kumud's nationality:

> ANIL: "[Kumar] was very desperate at that time, he didn't know what he was doing. He couldn't think about what he was doing. He had the form and then he had brought t-pex, erased.... wrote again... and I told Kumar: "listen Kumar, what do you want to do? What's happening here?" (imitating Kumar): "Oh I have to deal with this, and there is no way ...[...]
>
> JESSICA: Hmm
>
> ANIL: And it was from there on that I saw that something was not right. And then, this was in February, and it was end of August that the tumour was detected."[27]

Anil refers to his brother's story to illustrate the anxiety and frustration which he and his brothers went through when attempting to prove their belonging to Portugal, a birth right which was denied to them[28]. By making a parallel to gender studies, we can grasp how the concern of ensuring his wife's citizenship, perhaps reflects a repressed expression of his breadwinner role which combined with his difficulties in the outcome of his shop business, deeply affected Kumar's masculine role of ensuring security and the stability of the family which he struggled for by ensuring the citizenship of his wife and sustaining his family (see Chant2000 on masculinity). This story relates to Caribbean migrants' rejection from both the UK and upon their return to Jamaica where Miller(2008) uses the concept of tragedy to explain their fated uprootedness and in-betweeness. A tragedy for Portugal's postcolonial immigrants, because the forced uprooting of both communities was not only beyond their agency, but also in literal terms as Kumar's story illustrates, because the frustrating processes of attempting to re-build ties with the Portuguese empire for his wife only succeeded after his death. These "tragedies" of in-betweeness and dispossession, enlighten us on the way in which citizenship connects wider political frameworks with the very personal constructions of belonging and identity. This

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[26] See genealogical tree under point.... in Appendix
[27] Oral history with Anil 7th July 2013
[28] Anil's oral history 7th of July 2013

connection was highlighted in Anil's six-year experience of succession-statelessness (Blitz and Lynch2011), where trapped in a legislative gap, he was forced to leave his studies in the UK to migrate to Portugal where his citizenship request process had been lost and birth certificate had been left by the government in Mozambique [see figure3]. His trapped in-betweeness was further illustrated when he and his wife Fátima were ping-ponged between the Portuguese Interior Ministry which claimed Anil was Mozambican; to the Mozambican embassy which claimed he was Portuguese. Indu's rejection at the border further reveals a racialisation of citizenship through his embodiment of in-betweeness at the airport:

> INDU: "one thing. When I arrived here, (exalted) I had the Portuguese passport and they didn't let me go through! I was detained in the airport for 24 hours!!! WITH the PORTUGUESE PASSPORT [laughs nervously]
>
> JESSICA: why was that?
>
> INDU: Go ask the authorities!!! [laughs] WITH THE PORTUGUESE passport, I was detained!!! [laughs nervously]
>
> JESSICA: Was that because they knew you were from Mozambique...?
>
> INDU: Doesn't matter!! [firmly] I have Portuguese nationality I can enter the country!! Country of origin, OK?[29]

During the big gathering in which this conversation took place, São attempts to justify the situation of Indu with the lack of ways of checking fake or real passports, and with the immigration officers' prejudice. Unconsciously, this interaction reproduces a small-scale racialised understanding of nationality. São's attempt to explain the point of view of the Portuguese borders opposes Indu's repeated claim of "go ask the authorities!" suggesting his clear choice of not accepting to understand the point of view of the government, and expressing his fated powerlessness to claim back his belonging to the Portuguese community or to quote Indu, his "country of origin" (Anderson1991). While São's career as a civil service teacher entitled her to a facilitated procedure of conserving nationality, it did not mean however, that she did not understand Indu's anger, but reveals a more flexible approach to understanding the situation which Indu appears to still not have accepted. Unlike Portuguese-Angolans who like Beto could choose to almost automatically conserve Portuguese nationality, Indo-Mozambicans lost Portuguese nationality and legally became foreigners upon the independence of colonies, having to be naturalised in order to obtain citizenship documents (Erel2009). As Indu's quote

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[29] Big gathering 11th July 2013

reveals, Indo-Mozambican identity which was once included in notions of wider Portugueseness, became racialised upon their arrival. This experience at the airport of "returning home", was marked by a racialised corporal exclusion reflecting Portugal's restrictive legislation of postcolonial citizenship and its re-imagination of racial belonging at the time of preparing to enter a whiter Europe (Barot and Bird2001). Thus, the rapid re-construction of belonging conditions to a whiter Portugal emphasises the fluidity of socio-political constructiveness of whiteness (Barot and Bird2001, Dyer1997).
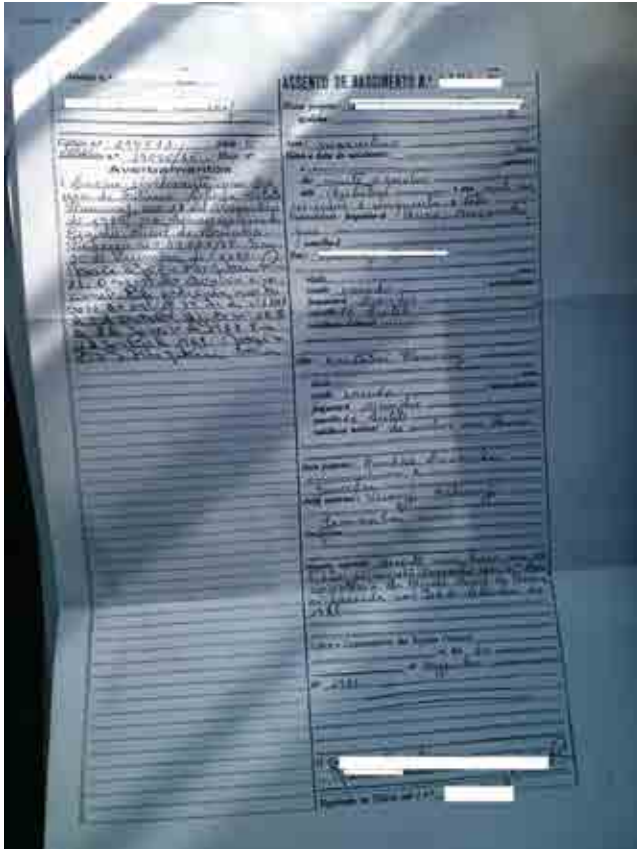
FIGURE 4 ANIL'S FOUND DOCUMENTATION

CHAPTER 6: THE END OF THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE: CONFLICTIVE LOYALTIES AND UPROOTING FROM HOME

6.1 CAUGHT UP IN PORTUGAL'S RE-IMAGINATION AS A NATION

Indo-Mozambican and Portuguese-Angolan communities share a sense of not being able to anchor a multiple sense of belonging or in-betweeness (Blunt2005) since they felt rejected from the homeland and by the Portuguese government, which echoes the tragic two-way rejection felt by Ugandan Asians (Alibhai-Brown2000) as well as by Caribbean migrants returning to Jamaica (Miller2008). As Fátima puts it:

> FÁTIMA: [...]"So we were pushed away by the blacks in Angola and pushed away by the whites in Portugal. We had nowhere to go! Do you understand? We just had nowhere to go to!"[30]

Interestingly, Fátima's quote exposes a feeling of trapped between two races where her "Angolan whiteness" started to become marked during her settlement in Portugal (Dyer1997). The feeling of in-betweeness in this case, became embodied in a racialised corporeality. As a result of a sudden decolonisation, citizens who had developed a sense of belonging to a wider empire as Vasco suggests, were abandoned, and left in-between a new Portugal and the independence wars of Angola and Mozambique (Sherman2011):

> Vasco: [...]"people didn't have any other concept of nation except from
> Portugal... and Portugal just withdrew like that...[...]"[31]

Postcolonial sense of belonging thus challenges singular imaginations of the bounded nation as home, allowing us to grasp the conflictive senses of belonging to a dissolved empire (Sherman2011). Acacio(2009:220) describes *retornados* as "victims of a relentless love triangle: the land we left, received us with disesteem, whereas the other, the one we had chosen denied us"[translated from Portuguese]. *Retornados'* material, emotional and civic loyalties to a wider empire, highlight the clash between their in-betweeness and the nation's need to categorise in order to redefine its international image from colonial to European(Ribeiro2002, Kryzanowski and Wodak 2008). Here, it is useful to grasp the connections between individual and historical-political scales. Malki(1995) refers to categorical systems of nations that involve processes of

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[30] Small gathering 9th of May 2013
[31] Big gathering 11th of July 2013

inclusion and exclusion, processes which shifted during Portugal's reconstruction as a nation during the simultaneous procedure of decolonization and change of regime. Such imaginations of inclusion/exclusion, shifted from colonial to postcolonial times pushing Portuguese-Angolans and Indo-Mozambicans into categories of foreigners or second class citizens. In the following extract, Tarun interestingly highlights the state's racialised categorisation of in-between citizens:

> "JESSICA: So you feel differentiated through nationality because you had been categorised as Portuguese of second class or...
>
> TARUN: differentiation was a question of ethnicity because we were Portuguese of "Ultramar"[see glossary] and stopped being Portuguese when we came to the metropolis!...so we had to ask for the obtention of the nationality AGAIN! It was unfair in international rights, international law. But, the Portuguese democratic dictatorship was like that, we had to request the nationality, and then for example I asked for it and managed to get it, my brothers they did this too I think, and it was like this that we managed to integrate Portuguese society, through a study of Portuguese law that differentiated, I used to say... with uglier words, the racism that they had created. Speaking openly. Because why would we, who were from Ultramar[se glossary], and had the nationality, why did the government of probably Mario Soares[see glossary] said that the descendents of those who were born in Goa, Damao and Diu had Portuguese nationality automatically and had never been in Ultramar, had never known the Portuguese flag?... I think it was the GREATEST STUPIDITY.... of Portuguese governance of knowing how to distinguish who should have nationality and who shouldn't. [...]... they don't know if it was well negotiated or badly negotiated, if our decolonisation was good or bad. [...]"[32]

Tarun's argument reflects how the reinvention of the nation was thus a process in which *retornados* who shared a sense of being Portuguese in Africa were caught by fate and excluded from the Portuguese re-imagined community at their arrival(Anderson1991).

6.2 A FORCED CHOICE TO LEAVE HOME AND CONFLICTIVE LOYALTIES

In examining how *retornados* personally made sense of their experience of uprooting, we can understand more deeply how the loyalties built over the years with the Portuguese empire were suddenly challenged, leaving an inner conflict of belonging and not belonging among both

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[32] Big gathering 11th of July 2013

communities. What echoes Portuguese-Angolans' contested feelings of belonging to the heart of the empire, was their forced "return home" which was ironically characterised by "feelings of exile and dispossession" (Blunt2005:108):

> "JESSICA: So it was your choice to leave?
>
> OLIMPIA: "It had to be yes... it had to be... we had to swap our whole lives for our survival. Forget everything, all the work we had done, because no one gave us anything, all the efforts we had made throughout our lives... and we had to let go of everything to save the children, the family etc...."[33]

The process of uprooting started with growing insecurity in Africa for both communities. Among many stories of growing fear, political instability, experiences of being threatened of death, assassinations, war, and deteriorating living conditions in their homes in Angola and Mozambique, São recalls her uprooting from home in detail, a last minute trip by ship (Gil Eanes) [see figures4,5,6,7][34] which transported thousands of *retornados* in conditions that she describes by referring to World War II refugees. She clearly recalls the anxiety of travelling under the MPLA's machine guns pointing at them on the deck.

FIGURE 4 QUEUE FOR THE LAST TRIP ON THE GIL EANES-SÃO'S PHOTOGRAPH

FIGURE 5 TRIP ON THE GIL EANES- SÃO'S PHOTOGRAPH

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[33] Interview with Olimpia 18th of July 2013
[34] São's Oral history, 17th of July 2013

FIGURE 6 LOADING BELONGINGS ONTO THE GIL EANES-

SOURCE: SÃO'S PHOTOGRAPH

FIGURE 7 CONTAINERS WITH BELONGINGS (BEFORE THE TRIP)

SOURCE: SÃO'S PHOTOGRAPH

Facing a conflictive or "forced choice" of leaving home, illustrates shared mixed feelings of belonging in regard to what he indirectly refers as a racialised uprooting:

> VASCO: "I had to come! Revolted! Because all my life that was in that country, I left it, why? For being white?" [...]Because I didn't steal anything, or from anyone there, and Angola was ours, it was ours too. Why? [...]"[35]

Vasco emphasised his sense of belonging to a multiracial Angola, suggesting a sense of loss, a separation from his territorial attachment to Angola. More personally, Indu refers to his stamp collection which he could not take due to restrictions on belongings *retornados* could take from Africa, to evoke his sense of loss of a possession that took him years to compile:

> INDU:"I had so many stamps!!! So many! My dad used to give me pocket money and I collected them step by step. I had at least, 20,000 escudos of it! At that time it was a lot of money!! It was a LOT of money! And EVERTHING stayed behind!
>
> JESSICA: And you couldn't take any?
>
> INDU: No even an escudo! [laughs nervously]"[36]

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[35] Big gathering 11th of July 2013
[36] Big gathering 11th of July 2013

The accumulation of stamps and the emphasis on Portuguese money reveal a metaphor of loyalty to Portugal and the achievements Indu accumulated over his years in a Portuguese Mozambique which collapsed along with his material and educational achievements. The feeling of betrayal was illustrated by the clash of being born and bred in Portuguese *ultramar*[37], having developed national belonging to the Portuguese empire over the years and having lost citizenship upon their arrival to their Portuguese fatherland (Castles and Davidson2000). During his oral history, Anil refers to the loyalties built between the Indo-Mozambican community and the Portuguese empire mentioning his brothers' oath to the national flag during their years of compulsory military service and to the Portuguese education they all received, to reveal a sense of betrayal and a conflict between feeling Portuguese and being rejected as Portuguese: a conflictive sense of belonging that echoes French Algerian's inclusion in military activity (Reed-Danahay and Brettell2008).

Participants attempted at each gathering to collectively re-articulate the causes and political processes with words such as "betrayal", "traitor", as a way of clarifying the "reality" of their forced uprooting and a cathartic way of re-facing the causes of their migration. Fátima for instance, quotes Prime Minister Mario Soares' popular sentence in relation to the outcome of colonial whites, "Atirá-los aos tubarões[throw them to the sharks!]" to highlight the community's betrayal by their fatherland[see figure8].These conversations on past politics participated in a collective reconstruction of a lost past against a perceived betraying enemy, the Portuguese government (Malkki1995).

FIGURE 8 SOURCE: NEWPAPER EXTRACT FROM 1975 HTTP://THEYWEREBORNWARRIORS.BLOGSPOT.BE/ [TRANSLATION OF HEADLINES: "WHAT TO DO WITH THOSE WHITES? AND MARIO SOARES SAID: "THROW THEM TO THE SHARKS"]

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[37] See Glossary

Similarly, Beto recalls the difficult moment they had to stop trusting some native black Angolans, due the communist brainwash that MPLA made. As Vasco's earlier quote "I left, why? For being white?"[38] suggests, conceptions of whiteness embodied in their everyday relationship with Angolans became suddenly marked in parallel to shifting political processes (Dyer1997). Fátima confesses her ingenuous sense of belonging to a multiracial home became impure due to Portuguese political manipulation of the native Angolan and broke her mystical connection to her Angolan homeland. Re-calling political manipulation thus became a way for uprooted migrants to understand their separation from their sense of multiracial home which was felt in destabilised race relations. This does not mean however that race relations used to be invisible for the colonial community, rather, decolonisation restructuring re-emerged seemingly settled race relations, while disturbing the Portuguese-Angolan community's imagined multiracial home. Like Vasco, Fátima expresses to have felt marginalised as "second class" white in Portugal, in processes of differentiation that I shall explore in the next chapter.

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[38] Big gathering 11th of July 2013

CHAPTER 7: DIFFERENTIATION AND RACIALISATION

7.1 ARRIVAL TO PORTUGAL: THE LABEL OF "RETORNADO"

I now turn to examine the differentiation of *retornados* to grasp both imposed and personal ways of constructing difference and shaping belonging. The institutional alienation of *retornados* in Portugal that Tarun refers to was shared with the Portuguese-Angolan community too. While Lukbkemann(2002) states that after the 1980s, the label of "retornados", which connoted stigma was no longer significant or emphasised in social interactions, the experience of both structural and self-differentiation was embodied much more deeply and affected both white and Indian communities' sense of belonging and identity. Popular politics-media portrayals of *retornados* created a sense of invasion such as in the case of Ugandan Asian's arrival to the UK (Acacio2009, Alibhai-Brown2000, Cabecinhas and Feijo 2010). Once Portugal's colonial past became a shameful part of history, the label of *retornado* which became a racialised category, carried connotations of unwanted old regime, colonial exploitation, dependency on the state and charities which in fact did not reach many *retornados* (Acacio2009). Whereas, Indo-Mozambicans' experience of a racialised "return" to their fatherland was marked by processes of re-obtaining citizenship-as we have explored- Portuguese-Angolans and colonial white returnees particularly felt involved in the process of Othering through socio-cultural interaction with native Portuguese. In fact, Sudhir, Kumud and other Indo-Mozambican participants did not openly feel culturally categorised into a racial and "retornado" label as much as Portuguese-Angolans did. Instead, they shared stories of coping with hardships imposed on them. Experiences of racialisation were embodied in everyday life and reveal the "colouring" of "colonial whites" through metaphors and the projection of images of unfaithfulness, self-interest, impurity, transcended the sphere of home which in turn affected the cutting of native kinship ties with *retornados* (Lubkemann2002).While colonialism was historically associated with notions of white purity(Dyer1997), images of *retornados* became connoted with impurity accentuating the nation's need to purify even from "contaminated" white *retornados* as part of its process of quickly erasing its image of colonialism which trapped *retornados* in a category of "second class Portuguese" (Acacio2009, Garcia, Gatherings). Referring back to Chapter two, this process of "Othering" accentuates not only the cultural but also the racialised constructiveness of belonging (Dwyer and Shah2009). São illustrates this racialised Othering through popular native Portuguese beliefs that the high levels of bacteria found in Portuguese beaches in April 1975's heatwave was caused by *retornados* who had brought bacteria from Africa, and wasted water

taking showers everyday.[39] The opposition of participants' conception of cleanliness and the image of impurity from native Portuguese highlight the racialisation of an unwanted white ethnicity (Dyer1997).

At the time of collecting the few belongings they had brought from Angola by ship, Vasco and Teresa recall seeing their belongings being used by workers of the wharf's warehouses, seeing their suitcases being kicked from the wharf and their containers with belongings being dropped by cranes, breaking and spreading their possessions on the floor[40]. The belongings from Africa which remained some of their few material connections with their homeland were harshly challenged, which-as I shall examine in the next chapter- have a role of preserving a sense belonging to Africa. The humiliation they underwent from the Portuguese community revealed a very conflictive feeling of having to integrate in Portugal while at the same time containing a deep revolt against the Portuguese government, on top of starting a new life. Vasco, Teresa, Fátima and São shared numerous stories of having to listen to humiliations and coping with an imposed label that Vasco illustrates through the existence of specific counters for *retornados* at administrative offices.

> Teresa: "we had to be very careful, in the train for example, we had to be quiet, we
> couldn't talk a lot, couldn't say where we were from....we couldn't say that we were from
> Angola. When we were in public transports we had to be quiet!"
>
> [...]
>
> Fátima: In the buses, they would make us leave our seats to take them."[41]

Hiding their origin and containing their revolt, reveals the simultaneous powerlessness of self-determining their belonging especially for colonial white generations. Returning to Portugal for the older generation, was not exactly a return home, but rather lived through a conflict between claiming back their sense of belonging to Portugal, or rather to an imagined Portuguese empire, and keeping a cultural difference from natives (Dyer1997):

> "Vasco: [...] (imitating a policeman speaking to him) "oh are you a *retornado?"*
> retornado no! we were Portuguese. Why *retornados?* It was like we were
> Portuguese!.... They played with us! They used to insult us etc... that PAIN doesn't go
> away from here!! (puts his hand on his throat) [...] There may be very good people
> here but in general, I don't want anything to do with these people. I am a returnee

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[39] Small Gathering 10th of July 2013
[40] Small gathering 10th of May 2013
[41] Small gathering 10th of July 2013

yes... It's what I told the policeman in Coimbra who said: 'You are not well parked'. [sic] and then he asks: 'Are you Portuguese or *retornado*?' Returnee or Portuguese... why the difference..."[42]

Vasco's wider conflictive claim back part of his white Portuguese belonging, slightly contrasts with the younger generation who generally attempted to keep a firm sense of belonging to Africa at their arrival. In a sense, the racialised category of white *retornado* was both a visible and invisible one, and thus marked through discourse, political positioning, institutional differentiation. This process of "Othering" (Tekin2010)[43] simultaneously played into the process of migrants' self-identification which in turn affected their decision to show or hide their differences which I explore under the next heading(Malkki1995)..

7.2 OVERCOMING CATEGORISATIONS

While colonial whites felt a deep conflict for not having their direct social, cultural and political ties re-recognised, the younger generation of Portuguese-Angolans, contested and played with the homogenous label of *retornado* for instance by repeatedly referring to themselves as refugees instead of returnees to other people. São for example, recalls a time she was sitting in a train listening and hypocritically taking part in a conversation around her where people insulted and talked badly of *retornados*, until she revealed her origins with a sarcastic attitude, and left the train just before people became aggressive towards her[44]. The misunderstanding and humiliation people faced often became overcome by justifying it with the jealousy and ignorance of the natives which contributed to a collective way of reasserting difference:

> Fátima: "And I remember when us three were walking, me, you [São] and Teresinha, on the *Avenida da Liberdade,* and then we went to ask the price of some flowers to a lady, and then we started talking to her, she was very friendly, until she asked "so where are you from then?" "We're from Angola, we came from Angola"... "Ah!! But you are not black!!?"... And then she stopped being friendly and left.
>
> [laughs]"[45]

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[42] Small gathering 10th of July 2013
[43] I borrow Tekin's(2010) expression of "Othering" to refer to processes of differentiation by the host community
[44] Small gathering 10th of July 2013
[45] Small gathering 10th of July 2013

Contesting an imposed label of *retornado* involved using social marginalisation creatively by highlighting their cultural differences to reaffirm their belonging to Africa. In the big gathering, both Indo-Mozambican and Portuguese-Angolan participants mutually agreed on their innate differences which they claimed were useful at the beginning to keep their identity. They mentioned their lighter and happier way of being, their sociable culture, colourful and bright dress, manners, attitudes, hospitable customs, ways of communicating and a broader way of thinking:

> São: "It was natural. Our way of living in Africa showed through automatically and naturally here. Born and bred there, in our education we had that, and our habits remained. Of course at a certain time, we felt that there was a necessity to NOT CHANGE! It continues to be the same things that mark the difference between us."[46]

São interestingly refers to an innate sense of belonging to Africa which became emphasised as sense of pride used for coping with the marginalisation of *retornados*. Steigno(2007) engages with the two different types of pride in examining white South African's feeling of pride. While the first type of pride relates to a validated one, where for example Portuguese-Angolans feel proud of having survived throughout their uprooting and marginalisation in Portugal, the other refers to an unconditional pride of being from Africa (Steingo2007). I argue that the unconditional pride was interwoven in the conflictive feeling of being rejected by the fatherland, and thus became used as a "validated pride" to contest an external categorisation and to maintain an identity to face marginalisation. For instance, when referring to native Portuguese friends who join current Portuguese-Angolan community events for their social, light and happy environment, São and Fátima highlight their sense of belonging to Africa as a privilege:

> Fátima: "That's what makes our richness"[47]

These 'prides' proved to be useful for keeping a sense of belonging to Africa which is portrayed by both Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican participants as little remaining differences that unveil their enduring sense of belonging to motherland Africa. This proud and enduring reaffirmation of belonging to Africa was different from the conflictive "validated pride" older generations expressed, which was transcended by a deeper frustration of reclaiming back their original Portugueseness upon their return. Different perspectives led to conflictive views in the small gathering with São, Teresa and Fátima where Teresa claimed to have always felt Portuguese, a view that Fátima contested trying to convince her aunt how the family belonged to

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[46] Small gathering 10th of July 2013
[47] Small gathering 10th of July 2013

Africa more than any other place. This generational difference somehow relates back to British domiciled diasporas' longing for return to the British homeland, compared with the Anglo-Indians' desire to create home in British India (Blunt2005).

Indo-Mozambican participants particularly referred to a different sense of pride rather linked to their capacity of overcoming institutional obstacles such as citizenship issues through their entrepreneurial spirit and willingness to work they had developed in Mozambique compared to the stagnant environment of local businesses (Lubkemann2002). Connecting back to Miller's(2008) concept of tragedy of Caribbean migrants, the "tragedies" of in-betweeness and dispossession earlier explored in Chapter five, do not just reveal conflictive feelings of powerlessness and in-betweeness but also highlight ways in which challenges and hardships were faced and creatively used in reconstructions of belonging. As participants refer to their constructive capacities to start a new life from nothing in Portugal, Anil illustrates this by restating his role in helping his brother winning the fight for his wife's citizenship. He emphasises the outcomes with a sense of control:

> Anil: [...]I said, "ok, then let's fill in this form, and in the mean time I also asked Tarun: "go talk to that "cacawara"[48] to see if this can be resolved more quickly. So he was filling in the form, we signed as witnesses, [...] and.... afterwards, I gave the form to Tarun and Tarun went there to give it to "chief-cacawara".... and then I think he put some little notes underneath. [...] "There you go this is for "chaipani", in India you say chaipani, and he went, he gave it and done! The process, (imitating stamping) cha-cha-cha, resolved![49]

Another way of overcoming images of dependent *retornados* was seen in the Indo-communities' adaptation to hardships. Being vegetarian, the family and especially women as Kumud suggests were faced to spend more time of their day, working out dishes, finding ingredients and cooking step by step due to the lack of cooking utensils and the loss of domestic help. Gender roles thus also interplayed in overcoming hardships of "returning home".

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[48] See Glossary
[49] Oral history with Anil, 7th of July

CHAPTER 8: HOME AND MATERIAL BELONGINGS: RE-CONNECTING TO AN IMAGINED HOME

Having examined how processes of differentiation actively participated in overcoming marginalisation and in re-affirming or reconstructing a sense of belonging to Africa (Kryzanowski and Wodak2007), I now turn to the domestic space to further explore the role of material possessions and memory in the perpetuation of a sense of belonging to Portuguese Africa. Compared to Indo-Mozambican migrants' negotiations of belonging through formal membership, Portuguese-Angolans' uprooting from both an imagined and material world was particularly expressed through a more material-emotional lens. Imaginations of the Africa as motherland were often expressed through the use of recurring words and metaphors of homeland, roots, and verbs(Mayne et.al.2008), which revealed a conflictive asymmetry between possessing Portuguese citizenship and an emotional belonging to the African motherland (Blunt 2005). In the small gathering with Teresa, São, Fátima[50], material belongings, and in particular photographs, gave an opportunity to re-live events or daily life as a way of reconnecting with a deeply kept sense of belonging and to reconstruct a collective sense of belonging to Africa [see figure 9]. To paraphrase Fátima[51], photographs are a way of capturing lived moments by looking at people's expressions, to connect with places, times and beyond personal memories, for instance to connect with family that moved abroad or no longer exists (Rose2003). As Fátima contemplated landscape photographs of beaches in Angola during her oral history, she reminisced her carefree daily life, and links the sounds of indigenous songs, the contact with nature she used to have with a deep connection of her identity and sense of home (Gruffudd 2009)[see figure10]:

> FÁTIMA: "It was at that time that I felt I was connected with my soul... you know, we
> need circumstances, moments... to get in touch with ourselves... sometimes...music... or
> for me for example,.... when I'm very still on a beach...without too much noise... with
> the sound of the breaking waves... it reminds me so much of that moment... when I was
> connected with myself.... which was there...and it was that contact with my soul that I
> had the most in Africa... In Africa I had that connection with my soul more...."

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[50] Small gathering 6th of July 2013
[51] Oral history with Fátima, part 2, 3rd of July 2013

FIGURE 9 FÁTIMA AND SÃO REMINICING THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS - SMALL GATHERING 17TH JULY

FIGURE 10 LANDSCAPES OF ANGOLA'S BEACHES - FÁTIMA'S PHOTOGRAPH

Both the image and materiality of photographs appeared to help Fátima imaginarily reconstruct a forcibly uprooted connection with Angola and more profoundly an almost "stolen" sense of self. Her reminiscence links images of landscapes with her sense of belonging. While identifying family members, family activities, social events such as weddings, parties, picnics, through photographs, Teresa, Olimpia and Fátima compared their pasts with their presents, reassembling their images of home as they associated with freedom and unity of the family in Africa. They realised how the community's uprooting from Africa led to a dispersion of the family and

friends, a loss of unity which echoes the break of unity in their conception of belonging to an imagined "whole" Portuguese empire (Sidaway and Power2004). Teresa recalls her and her sisters' matching tablecloths which they used to unify tables for 24 people at Christmas in Angola. She continues to use hers as a way of reproducing the unity of the family. Similarly, Indu keeps framed family photographs behind a glass shelve along with his late mother's glasses as way of keeping an imagined unity safe[see figures11,12].

FIGURE 11 INDU'S LIVING ROOM SHELF-AFTER SMALL GATHERING 15TH JULY   FIGURE 12 INDU'S SHELF - AFTER GATHERING 15TH JULY

São and Teresa's entire living rooms for instance are furnished only with furniture and objects that they were able to bring from Angola, suggesting an embodiment of the image of home they had through processes of display(Tolia-Kelly2004b) (see figures13,14). For them, their return was one that involved a reproduction of home they had in Angola, which allowed a sense of security and continuity in everyday life when settling in Portugal, unlike for the Indo-Mozambican community who were only able to bring a few clothes with them:

> "São: [...]I brought a lot of things, enxoval[52] tableware, etc.. it's a way of being connected
> to all the life that I left there..."[53]

Keeping a sense of home and belonging thus involves continuous processes producing and reproducing, images of homeland through affective work that is never complete. While looking at photographs, Fátima recalled the pleasant monthly moments she used to spend at São's mother's house in Angola where she used to drink chocolate milk. During the gathering, São later fetched the glass from which Fátima used to drink the milk(see figure15), which not only

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[52] See glossary
[53] Big Gathering 11th of July 2013

triggered emotional memories of childhood, senses of security in Angola, but also sensory memories illustrating how:

[...]relationships and emotional saliences dating back to childhood continue to operate in the formulation of identity and achievement in adulthood" (Mayne et.al.2008).

These sensory and emotional memories that embody the relationship between Fátima, photographs and the object are powerful links that participate in a reconnection with a lost homeland, a life in Africa from which she had been cut off.

FIGURE 13 TABLE TERESA BROUGHT FROM AFRICA-ORAL HISTORY-TERESA

FIGURE 14 TERESA'S SHELF FROM ANGOLA-ORAL HISTORY

FIGURE 15 GLASS - SMALL GATHERING 17TH JULY

Having immigrated to Brussels a decade after her arrival to Portugal, Fátima confesses having her belongings spread everywhere out of her reach; abandoned in Africa, somewhere in Portugal and in Brussels. It helps explain her almost spontaneous urge to root her belonging through her repeated desire to frame pictures, re-organise, trying to compile as many photographs as possible

from Teresa's or São's albums, as a way of attempting to anchor her images of home and belonging materially, and to cure an imbedded sense of dispossession (see Walsh2006). Tarun similarly shares with Fátima a fragmented sense of belonging as he recalls how a chest of drawers which reminds him of his father is now in someone's house in India, which he does not refer as a direct home.[54] Fátima's desire to root a sense of home through the reproduction of home, links to Malkki's(1995) analysis of Hutu camp refugees in Tanzania who were unwilling to assimilate with fear of become like the native "Other", expressing a need to keep a "purity of exile" and to root themselves in past traditions. On the contrary, town refugees who integrated in everyday life in Tanzania echo permanently settled *retornados* like Sudhir, São or Beto for whom "saudade"[55] becomes a constraining aspect. The clash of these ways of connecting to past senses of belonging was seen between Fátima and Beto in their mother's house in Portugal. Fátima's continuous desire to make home in her mother's house where her brother Beto now lives, conflicted with his will of liberating himself from the photographs. Similarly, when showing me around his study room, Vasco expressed his conflict between his wife's will of throwing away his professional paperwork, including aviation booklets (see figure16) from when he used to be pilot, and their importance in helping him remember his identity. He stated that by looking at the list of flights he had made, he could remember events and particular moments of his life. Domestic spaces in Portugal, reveal conflicts in managing past memories and evokes senses of loss and constraint that Fátima illustrates by pointing out missing belongings and showing me some of her belongings in her old room that were removed, such as a painting of her hobby and passion for ballet [see figure17] (Tolia-Kelly2004). However, these conflicts reveal how people manage their connections and senses of belonging differently. Fátima for instance, has a need to perpetuate and securely keep an imaginary bond with her late mother by keeping her Tupperware's. She associates them with the courage and strength that she saw in her mother during a time of hardship after their arrival in Portugal, when she started selling Tupperwares for survival. The perpetuating attachment she has with the possessions that she brought to Brussels and keeps in boxes in her loft [see figure18], highlights a way of securing a past relationship, suggesting the irreplaceability of the objects, but also of their pasts (Tolia-Kelly2004b, Rose2003). Moreover, it reveals a deep connection between the object and her, a part of her identity from her mother she needs to keep in order to face her own uprooting. Raport and Dawson(1998:11) explain the *"Attainment of home as an individual search, involving either or both physical and cognitive movement"*.

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[54] Big gathering 11th of July 2013

[55] See Glossary

FIGURE 16 VASCO'S AVIATION BOOKLET- INTERVIEW WITH VASCO

FIGURE 18 FÁTIMA'S TUPPERWARES- ORAL HISTORY PART1

FIGURE 17 FÁTIMA'S PAINTING OF BALLET IN HER OLD ROOM AT HER MOTHER'S HOUSE-ORAL HISTORY PART2

São's different interaction with objects reveals another way of handling her sense of belonging. Her decision to give away most photographs and albums to Fátima during the gathering and the swift handling of the photographs compared to Fátima's careful approach. By re-sorting and giving away photographs, re-arranging them according to late and living family members[see figure19], São found a way of mourning a past attachment and of repositioning her sense of belonging in relation to her present, but also as a way of making sure she perpetuated her heritage (Tolia-Kelly2004b). Her decision echoes her reconstruction of a dual belonging that she illustrates in taking part in the Portuguese-Angolan community events, describing the environment as light, happy but not too nostalgic, mentioning the dangerous boundary between remembering events and falling into nostalgia. Sudhir shares with Beto a distant connection with the few belongings he had brought. This distanced approach to belongings mirrored their

distancing from Angola and Mozambique, saying that "heartbreak is to be forgotten"[56]. Beto's promised opportunity of return to Angola for work in 2000, was not kept by his boss, reinforcing a false hope of return which affected his distanced view of returning to Africa[57]. Despite emphasising how cut off he is from Mozambique by referring to Mozambique as a foreign land as a way of overcoming the past, Sudhir's memories of his unaccomplished aviation studies [see figure20]and dream of becoming a pilot have implicitly transformed into the wish of passing on his passion for aviation to his son who now wishes to study aviation. Memories of uprooting here are not directly expressed as a personal loss but have rather transformed into a sort of hope of perpetuation that transcends generations. Instead of claiming a connection with his former motherland, he often refers to his involvement in current weekly activities organised by the Indian Portuguese community which suggests a way of keeping an imagined connection with India through a distant practise of culture. The imagined sense of belonging to India thus illustrates how the construction of diaspora spaces passes through memories and images of homeland (Blunt and Dowling2006). Conflictive and different ways of interacting with the objects and of re-articulating memories revealed ways of keeping a tight connection with an imagination of home and of repositioning a sense of belonging in relation to a lost home. This reflects how imaginations of Angola and Mozambique can be used as a way of creating present spaces of stability and security, especially in the face of an impossible return (Fortier2000, Tolia-Kelly2004). As Dwyer and Shah(2009:197) note in British Muslim girls' negotiation of hybrid identities in Britain: the *"evocation of Pakistan as home suggests not a return to a mythical lost homeland or roots but instead a symbolic process of making home"*.

FIGURE 19 SÃO'S PHOTOGRAPHS- ORAL HISTORY 17TH JULY

FIGURE 20 SUDHIR'S AVIATION COURSE APPLICATIONS 14TH JULY

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[56] Interview with Sudhir 14th of July 2013
[57] Interview with Beto 2nd of July 2013

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This research project has sought to shed light on reconstructions and negotiations of Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican communities' sense of belonging in relation to a once repressed and then revalorised wider Portuguese empire. By engaging with the concept of citizenship throughout Chapter five, this study has found that participants spoke of citizenship with a greater sense of a right of national belonging. While the two communities shared a common in-betweeness and "tragic" powerlessness to claim back or re-anchor their sense of belonging to an empire that abandoned them, Indo-Mozambicans' negotiations of belonging to Portugal were particularly felt through the loss of right to Portuguese citizenship upon their arrival and embodied experiences of racialised migration, as seen in Indu's airport experience. In Chapter six, narratives underlined the intimate intertwinement between two scales: the racialised re-imaginations of a Portuguese community, and *retornados'* personal constructions of belonging. Their experiences of uprooting and loyalties with the former Portuguese empire, unveil inner conflicts of claiming back Portugueseness and yet of keeping an 'African identity' particularly among the "colonial white" generation. I have found how negotiations of belonging to a whiter Portugal, revealed not only the significant constructiveness of a racialised postcolonial Portuguese community, but also the markedness of a "coloured colonial whiteness". By engaging with notions of whiteness (Dyer1997) and processes of differentiation in Chapter seven, I was able to further explore how institutional and social "ethnic white Othering" intertwined in *retornados'* re-articulations of sense of belonging and identity in relation to the repressive socio-political context. Re-constructing belonging thus is not a black and white process. This study has drawn from Steingo's (2007) account on pride to further show how differentiation was creatively used to externalise and re-affirm a sense of belonging to Africa upon their "return home" particularly among the younger generation of Portuguese-Angolans. Although Indo-Mozambicans revealed they were not very affected by being categorised, participants expressed their overcoming of their formal in-betweeness through their work spirit, of starting a whole life again. In the last Chapter I have addressed the last aim of the project. In analysing how participants remembered and collectively reconstructed belonging and images of homeland through material belongings, I have unveiled the significance of memory and interactions with possessions as a continuous process of reproducing a no longer existing home. Exploring conflicts within domestic spaces unveiled *retornados'* different ways of reconstructing senses of belonging in relation to their present and to a lost home and. Instead of considering home as a fixed lost place, I have drawn from Tolia-Kelly(2004,2004b)'s approaches to analyse

home as an incomplete process of reproducing images of home. Linking *retornados'* experience with Malkki(1995)'s research on Hutu refugees, was essential to grasp how the participants who permanently settled in Portugal, express a lessened need to claim their affiliation with Africa now, while the ones who emigrated like Fátima, use homemaking as a perpetuating attempt to anchor or cure a sense of uprootedness. Narratives of *retornados'* senses of belonging disturbed single attachments to place and the homogenous integration to postcolonial Portugal. In response to their publically unrecognised voices, this project has hoped to create a transformative space of dialogue and cure for both communities to regain awareness; reposition themselves in relation to their pasts and share stories of migration. It has hoped to provide a way of overcoming blockages, accepting the multiplicity of participants' senses of belonging and anchoring their subaltern realities. The limitation was time restrictions and the one-off nature of these events. The dissolution of the Portuguese empire, has not just been a political move, but was lived – as I have shown by engaging with Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican's narratives- through personal histories of uprooting and "return" which have deeply intertwined with communities' sense of home, identity and reconstructions of belonging. I argue that there is a great need to further engage with *retornado* communities' subaltern stories academically to understand these structural-personal processes(Mayne et.al.2008) of Portuguese postcolonial reconstructions of belonging.

GLOSSARY

Cacawara: a light expression used by Indians to refer to other Indian men.

Portugas: colloquial and pejorative term to designate native Portuguese people by *retornados*.

Enxoval: set of blankets, embroided tablecloths, sheets, which are often passed on from generation to generation in Portugal.

Saudade: "longing nostalgia for" (Lubkemann 2002).

Ultramar: refers to Portuguese ultramarine provinces instead of colonies. It is very often refered to designate Angola and Mozambique. Portuguese colonies became ultramarine provinces under Salazar's regime, and underwent certain political restructuring.

Mario Soares: Prime Minister of Portugal (socialist party) between 1976-78 and 1983-85. He became the president of Portugal from 1986-1996.

25ft of April: the overthrown of the old Salazar regime that also led to the declaration of colonies' independence. It is often mentioned as the general event causing the independence of the colonies and referred by *retornados*.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. UPDATED RESEARCH AND DATA COLLECTION TIMEFRAME

	Small gatherings
	Big gathering
	Oral histories
	Individual interviews

~ May 2013 ~

◀ April   June ▶

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9 Portuguese-Angolan community	10 Fátima-Part1 Portuguese-Angolan community	11 Teresa-Part1
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

~ July 2013 ~

◀ June   August ▶

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
30	1 Arrival at Coimbra	2 Beto	3 Fátima- Part 2	4 University of Coimbra archives	5 Departure to Lisbon	6 Teresa-part 2 / 6 Portuguese-Angolan community
7 Anil Part 1	8 Kumud	9 Vasco	10 Portuguese-Angolan community	11 Big gathering	12 Portuguese-Angolan community	13
14 Sudhir	15 Indo-Mozambican community	16	17 São Portuguese-Angolan community	18 Olimpia	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29 Departure to Belgium	30	31 Anil part 2			

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS PER GATHERING

Big gathering, 11th of July (Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican communities): At an Indian canteen in Lisbon- Anil, Fátima, Harsh, Indu, Krupa, Kumud, Rupa, São, Sudhir, Tarun, Teresa, Vasco

Small gathering 9th of May (Portuguese-Angolan community): At Fátima and Anil's house in Brussels with Fátima, Teresa, Anil and Vasco

Small gathering 10th of May (Portuguese-Angolan community): At Fátima and Anil's house in Brussels with Fátima, Teresa and Vasco

Small gathering 6th of July (Portuguese-Angolan community): At Teresa and Vasco's house in Lisbon with Fátima, São, Teresa

Small gathering 10th of July (Portuguese-Angolan community) At Teresa and Vasco's house in Lisbon with Teresa, Fátima, São, Anil and Vasco

Small gathering 15th of July (Indo-Mozambican community): At Kumud's house in Lisbon with Kumud, Tarun, Indu, Sudhir, Anil, Fátima, and Krupa and Harsh (as volunteer photographers)

Small gathering 17th of July (Portuguese-Angolan community): at São's house in Lisbon with São and Fátima

Oral history with Fátima -Part 1, 10th of May: At Fátima and Anil's home in Brussels

                       -Part 2, 3rd of July: At her mother's house in Coimbra

Oral history with Anil –Part 1, 7th of July: At his and his family's house n Lisbon

          - **Part 2, 31st of July:** At his house in Brussels

Oral history with Kumud, 8th of July: At her house in Lisbon

Oral history with Teresa, - Part 1: 11th of May

          - **Part 2: 6th of July**

Oral history with São, 17th of July: At her house in Lisbon

Interview with Sudhir, 14th of July: At his house

Interview with Vasco, 9th of July: At his and Teresa's house

Interview with Beto, 2nd of July: At his house in Coimbra

Interview with Olimpia, 18th of July: At her family's house in Lisbon

APPENDIX 3. GENERAL SMALL GATHERING THEMES

INTRODUCTION OF PROJECT

1. LIFE IN AFRICA
   - ➔ How do people describe participants' lives in Angola and Mozambique?
   - ➔ Acacio(2009)'s description of Africa as a paradise- do they agree?

2. DEPARTURE
   - ➔ How did participants learn they had to leave?
   - ➔ What belongings were participants able to take?
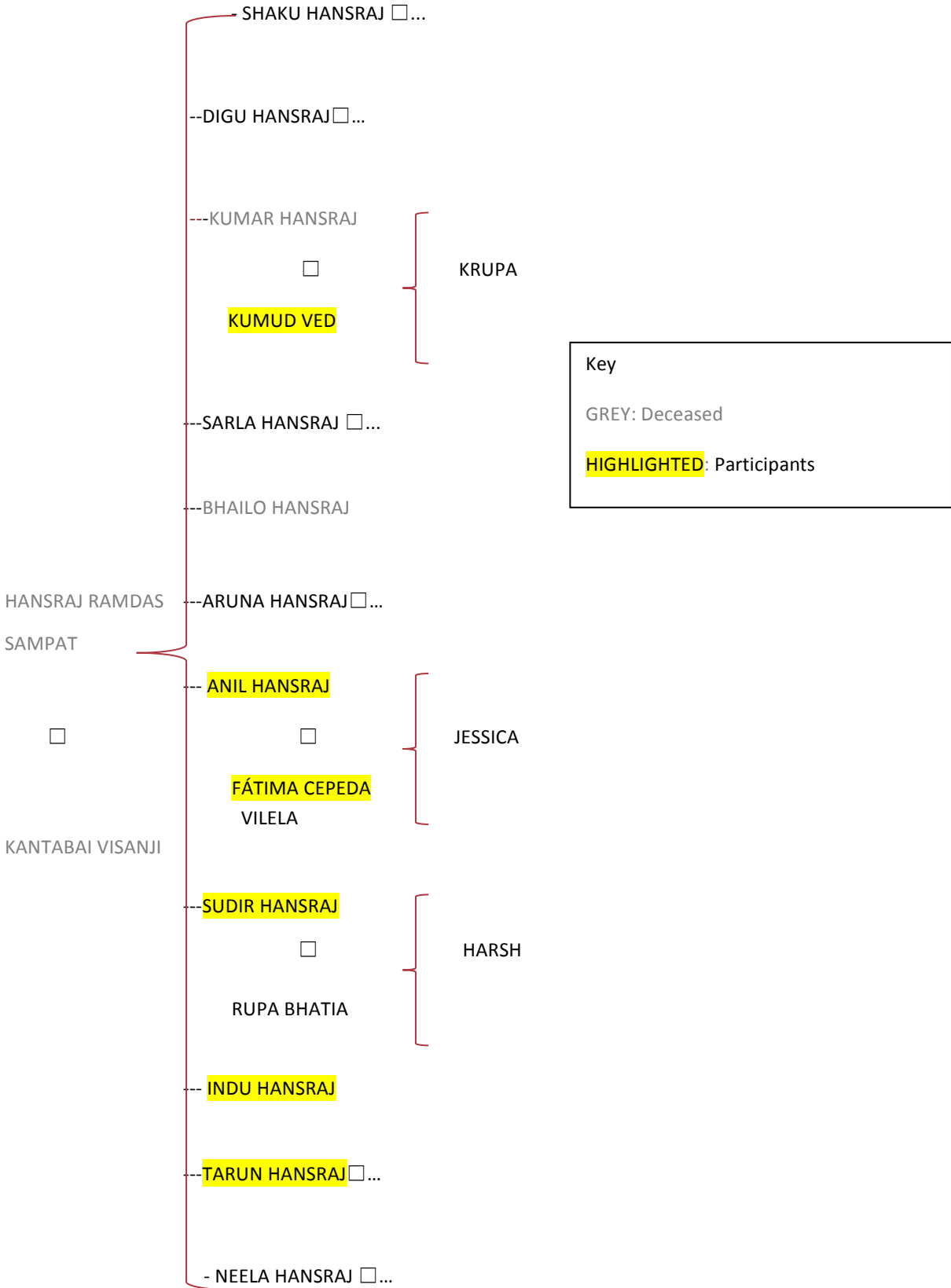   - ➔ Was there a hope of return?

3. ARRIVAL TO PORTUGAL
   - ➔ Impressions
   - ➔ What was the significance of having to re-acquire Portuguese citizenship?
   - ➔ Were there difficulties for obtaining it?
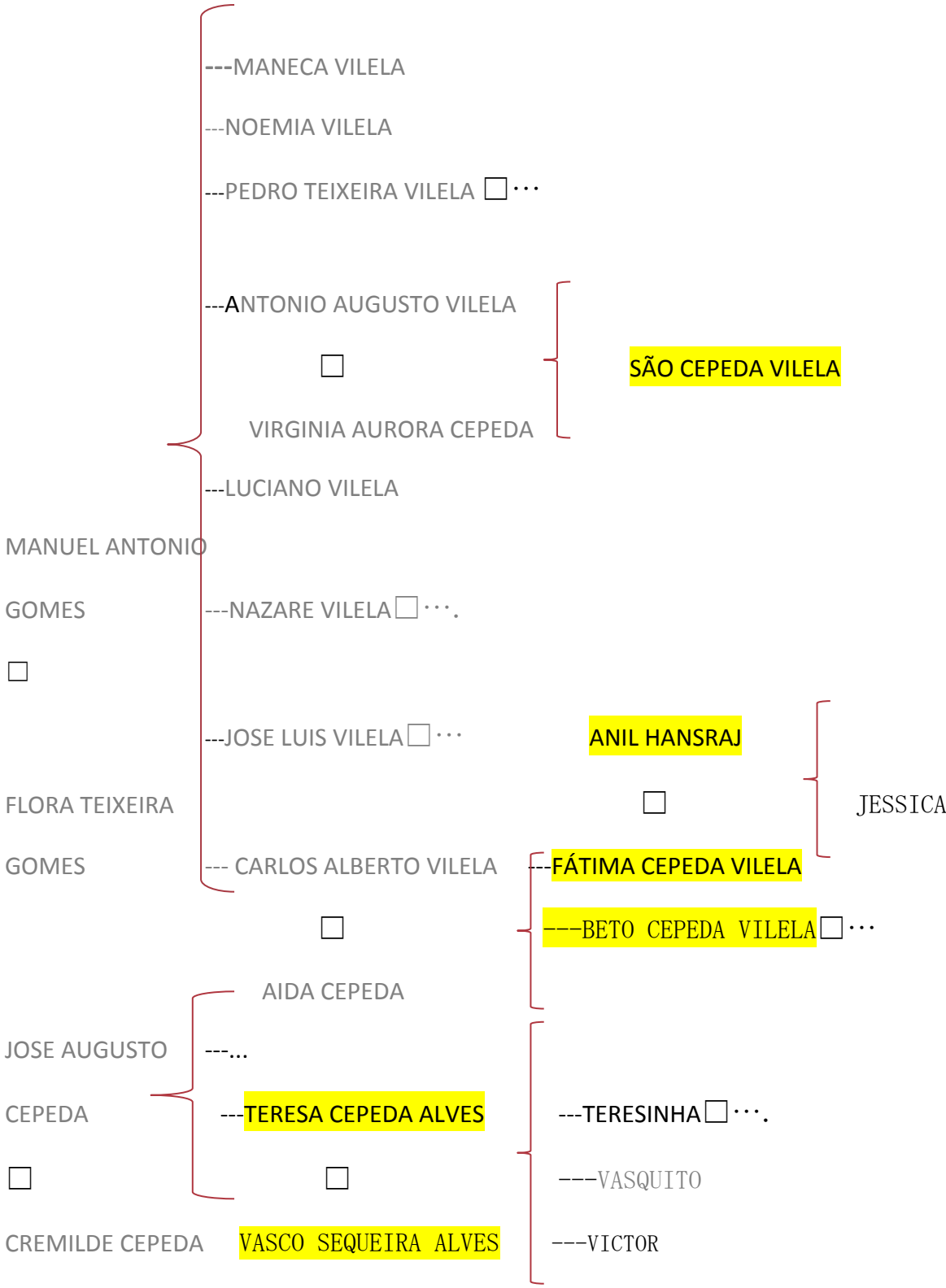
4. BELONGING
   - ➔ Do participants feel Portuguese?
   - ➔ Do participants feel the need to differentiate themselves from other Portuguese? Why? How?
   - ➔ How do participants describe their sense of belonging?

APPENDIX 4. FAMILY GENEALOGICAL TREE

Indo-Mozambican family tree

SHAKU HANSRAJ □...

--DIGU HANSRAJ□...

---KUMAR HANSRAJ

□

KUMUD VED

KRUPA

---SARLA HANSRAJ □...

---BHAILO HANSRAJ

HANSRAJ RAMDAS
SAMPAT

---ARUNA HANSRAJ□...

--- ANIL HANSRAJ

□

□

FÁTIMA CEPEDA
VILELA

JESSICA

KANTABAI VISANJI

---SUDIR HANSRAJ

□

RUPA BHATIA

HARSH

--- INDU HANSRAJ

---TARUN HANSRAJ□...

- NEELA HANSRAJ □...

Key

GREY: Deceased

HIGHLIGHTED: Participants

Portuguese-Angolan tree

---MANECA VILELA

---NOEMIA VILELA

---PEDRO TEIXEIRA VILELA ☐ ···

---ANTONIO AUGUSTO VILELA

☐   ==SÃO CEPEDA VILELA==

VIRGINIA AURORA CEPEDA

---LUCIANO VILELA

MANUEL ANTONIO

GOMES   ---NAZARE VILELA ☐ ····.

☐

---JOSE LUIS VILELA ☐ ···   ==ANIL HANSRAJ==

FLORA TEIXEIRA   ☐   JESSICA

GOMES   --- CARLOS ALBERTO VILELA ---==FÁTIMA CEPEDA VILELA==

☐   ==---BETO CEPEDA VILELA== ☐ ···

AIDA CEPEDA

JOSE AUGUSTO   ---...

CEPEDA   ---==TERESA CEPEDA ALVES==   ---TERESINHA ☐ ····.

☐   ☐   ---VASQUITO

CREMILDE CEPEDA   ==VASCO SEQUEIRA ALVES==   ---VICTOR

APPENDIX 5. SAMPLE OF TRANSCRIPTION

Key for transcriptions: [] are meant to clarify expressions, actions, tones of voice, while () refer to emotions. [...] refer to parts of the conversation which were cut from the transcript. Words in capitals were used to illustrate emphasis.

Translated transcription extract from the small gathering of the 6th of July 2013

"Anil: See there were a lot of personal experiences from your family members from Angola. Your family members from Mozambique didn't go through as much, but the Portuguese went through nearly the same thing. And why all this? All because of the incompetence of Portuguese administration. They completely abandoned the Portuguese and the colonies. Because here there were a lot of chaos and fights.

Vasco: not incompetence, STEALING! Because they were thieves here.

Anil: yes. Because here there were a lot of little wars between the parties and the interests. Because they wanted to see who remained with more... and they were all corrupts and wow power like that/in any way... and everyone wanted to have power. So they completely forgot about/left the colonies and the people who were there!

Jessica: Yes.

Anil: especially the people, like São was saying... jumping from boat to boat... moreover, the independence had not been given yet... but there were already troops from Angola there... MPLA... how was that possible?

São: yes, it was MPLA, UNITA and FNLA.

Vasco: And Cuba!

Anil: Yes that was later...

[argue about Cuba's presence]

São: We still celebrate after these 30 something years... we continue to commemorate in 3 events during the year... one, is the commemoration of the day of Benguela city, with lunch, tea and dinner and music from Angola... then we had the lunch of Benguela's high school, and the other is for the rest of the people who couldn't make it and travelled abroad...   so we maintain our union.. and many of them also bring their children... even if they have nothing to do with Angola... some are who came here when they are small... but they still have the influence of their parents. This year, there was young man, young, well, younger than me, who grabbed me and told me "Ah São, it's been so many years!" And I turned to him and said "it's true". Because we each have plate with our names, and he said, "I'll hide it!" but I still managed to see the first name: Manuel. And I said, your name is Manuel... and he said "but you can't see the last

name". It was Pinto. And I said: "don't tell me that you are Nellinho Pinto." And he said: "yes I am". And I said, "what happened to your brother?" "He's in Algarve". "and your mum?" "I don't know whether she's up North or in Algarve". Because his brother is my baptism godchild, Antonio George Medeiros Pinto. The father of these youngsters was an employee of my father. He worked in the garage. I had NEVER seen them since we left Benguela. There were two young women, [...], that approach me, give me a big hug and say: "You don't recognise us for sure!" I look at their faces and say: "your faces are not strange to me... especially yours" I said to one. And she said "it's natural". The other said "but me, you won't remember me for sure".... but they treated me well, it was nearly ceremonial. "but who are you then?" and one of them says, "what if I treated you as "sotora" (name to call school teacher). "Much less". They had been my pupils of first and second year of high school.

Jessica: Hmm.

São: one of them was called Aida and was the daughter of a friend of mine who was called Aida Batista. Every year I bump into children of someone! It ends up being fun. When we are there, we play around, er... we are not "saudusistas"[58]. But it's good to remember you know... "com saudade mas sem ser saudusista"[59]. "Matamos saudades uns aos outros"[60] from our times in high school, college...err the living and experiences we had.... there is that border where we nearly enter "saudusismo" which is terrible. Terrible to live off "saudusismo". Being "saudusista" is to live only off the past, only of saudade... it's horrible right... but no, we reminisce about the past with satisfaction/pleasure, sometimes with sadness, sometimes with happiness, BUT, we don't live off the past. We remember the past without living from the past. Do you understand?

Jessica: Hmmm.

São: That's what at the same time keeps us united among each other. And that's sane, which is the great difference from the people from the continent (Portugal). Because in the islands ...

Vasco: but I think it's more frustration than anything else because we didn't choose to leave and we have to live with it, pay the sums for what the guys did... sitting with their stomach full, on holiday somewhere. But we don't even think of "saudade", the thing is that our money STAYED THERE! They stole us as hell!

São: no we don't think about anything like that. We live with pleasure with each other of the nice times... we live well. We eat... we dance our merengues... our salsas... our lambadas.. with our band who is African...it's two black boys and two whites... one of them is the nephew of a friend of mine... we play around... and every year, our colleagues come, two are younger than us... they stayed there...some are children of the land... of colour or mixed race... blacks... but they chose to come here... people who have their roots there....they come to our parties and bring us photos, news of there and we socialise with everyone with pleasure... and we end up

---

[58] Saudusista: a person who feels "saudade". Refer to Glossary
[59] with "saudade"/nostalgia but without being "saudusista"/nostalgic- Refer to Glossary
[60] an expression meaning to alleviate "saudade"/nostalgia of each other

spending three days per year, May, June and August, a day in each month.. and it's very nice to reminisce, REMINISCE about the past... our time of high school, college... and even of adulthood because I had been a teacher here too... [...] I went down to Algarve to a house and hear, "for what I'm seeing here, it was worth travelling all the way here". I turn around, "Graca!" we hadn't seen each other since year 7! Our parents were great friends and we pretended that we studied together but it was all parody. When we used to go to each others' homes, but of course we didn't study obviously...[...] her wrinkle everywhere, and her long white hair. I wouldn't have recognised her if it wasn't her voice... we wouldn't have recognised each other otherwise.

Vasco: I have a remark to make here. Leaving Angola, I feel STOLEN. My house in Angola stayed there, it was stolen from me and I didn't bring a penny back. It's very good to be honest but the one who was screwed, it was me you know! I don't know about you though [referring to São's previous claim], you kept your enterprises...

São: Vasco! I have to go forward! ...

[arguing]

Vasco: But I don't!

São: And remembering those details...

Fátima: but you did go forward Vasco...

Vasco: maybe but my house stayed!

Fátima: And what about my father's house huh? And my father's enterprise... (on the verge crying...).

Vasco: and the others here making fun of me.... staying in my house... without my permission... what's this?

São: I'm not going to live a torment now everyday because things stayed there.

Anil: otherwise it'll end a person...

[...]

São: I have to make the most of what life gives me, my encounters with my friends, with my colleagues, with the family, make the most of these encounters at a maximum, take advantage of the friendship that I have with those people.

Fátima: But that's what you did Vasco.

Vasco: Maybe but what, after having been put in misery... and continue voting against... the others marked me, that's it! (Angry) I'm a returnee, well I am returnee then! Where is the problem!

[arguments about topic]

São: but let me tell you something, there are people who come with e who are from here, who have never been in Africa before! Who like the environment and feel good with us, so they come along. Paula also brings her friends. We already have several people who are not from there, not too many because we don't want to take too many... who go because they like the environment! The environment is light, of parody... you understand?

Fátima: and there are many people who say it: " I wish I was born and had lived in Africa!"

São: on the other side Jessica, I feel very happy, very happy for being here. To be alive. To have many friends and to be born there. And why that? I was born in another continent. An African continent that has mystery.

Vasco: (jokingly) And you're white [laughs].

São: The African continent has a certain magic, it's the smell of soil, the sunset... the sound of the palm trees in the wind... do you understand? The African continent has magic. I feel happy for being born there. On the other side, and I think everyone feels that too, we have a past, a story….

Vasco: (attempting to interrupt) A sad one...

São: The point is not whether it is a happy one or sad one... but we HAVE a past. A story to tell. Something that many other people don't have. I lived in another continent and I have a whole story to tell about that continent.

Fátima: That's what makes us rich.

São: And I have nowadays the story of this one to tell as well. So I think that these two... that these TWO stories of two continents, and the time of the story, of the two stories, make an individual richer."

APPENDIX 6. CODING WITH NVIVO

APPENDIX 7. TRANSLATION OF THE CONSENT FORM

3rd of July 2013

PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

CITIZENSHIP AND SENSE OF BELONGING: THE EXPERIENCES OF PORTUGUESE-ANGOLAN AND INDO-MOZAMBICAN COMMUNITIES "RETURNING HOME"

I am currently undertaking a Masters Research project that explores the experiences of migration of Portuguese and Indian communities who migrated from Angola and Mozambique to Portugal. It reflects interests in the relationship between citizenship, sense of belonging, material possessions and sense of home. Your participation will be invaluable and contribute to the understanding of perspectives and experiences of postcolonial migration during Portuguese decolonisation.

Please note that this gathering will be recorded for research purposes and feel free to ask any further questions before or after the gathering. You can leave the premises of the gathering at any time if you no longer wish to participate. If you agree on taking part in this gathering, please read on and fill this form.

In signing this form, you acknowledge that:

> this gathering will be recorded
> the information will be strictly used for the completion of my Masters research and will be kept confidential
> you are allowed to leave at any time during the gathering

Date:_____

Signed:_____