

**Postcolonial Objects of Collective Re-membering among
Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins**

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DECLARATION

I, Ana Catarina Valdigem Jacinto Pereira, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Date

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ABSTRACT

More than 40 years after the end of Portuguese colonialism, those who migrated from the former colonies in Africa to Portugal remain silenced and forgotten as if they were not part of a colonial project that forged an imperial nation overseas. At least a third of these subjects were actually descendants of white Portuguese people as well as of populations of different faiths, skin colours and ethnic and cultural backgrounds, who were migrating for the first time to an unfamiliar country. Among them were Muslims of both Indian and Mozambican origin who have, since colonial times, been portrayed as the Muslim, racialized and ethnic *Other*, and whose senses of belonging have not been voiced, heard nor properly understood. As such research is required, within the framework of the Lusophone postcolonial critique. This thesis aims to contribute to this critical approach by providing a ethnography of the postcolonial material, affective, sensory and bodily ways through which these postcolonial subjects, and their descendants already born in Postcolonial Portugal, have been reproducing and negotiating collective memories of belonging. It departs from the assumption that one cannot understand people's belonging without going beyond the simplistic identity categories often used to label them. Therefore it adopts a phenomenology of material culture and experience in order to understand how these subjects have been re-appropriating and reconstructing general ideas of *Indian-ness*, *Muslim-ness*, *Mozambican-ness* and *Portuguese-ness* across generations, particularly when engaging with a multiplicity of objects that integrate into their everyday life, namely objects of home décor, food and media. This thesis results from fieldwork conducted over a period of 12 months in these subjects' current public and private contexts of conviviality, such as the Lisbon Central Mosque and their family homes. Biographical interviews and visual methods were also applied to two generations (parent and child) from the 11 family-household units collaborating in this research.

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ACRONYMS

LIC – Lisbon Islamic Community

This acronym refers to the institutional, subscription based membership, managerial and executive bodies that integrate the Lisbon Islamic Community, based on the Lisbon Central Mosque.

LMC – Lisbon Muslim Community

This acronym refers to the communities of Muslims in Lisbon, namely to its distinct groups of socialization, that are members and/or attend initiatives organized by the LIC.

LCM – Lisbon Central Mosque

This acronym is used to refer to the physical spaces of the Lisbon Central Mosque, which is the main religious place in which to worship God in the Lisbon metropolitan area, and where the LIC and its committees are also based. This corresponds as well to the place where many of the events organized by these institutional bodies, and other multi-function community center activities, take place. Generally this refers to a public space opened to all Muslims and non-Muslims, with the exception of some managerial and executive spaces, which are restricted to members and/or executive members only.

YC – Youth Committee of the Lisbon Islamic Community

This acronym is used throughout the thesis to refer both to the executive body and to the group of peers that integrate this particular committee, one of the many that make up the institutional and managerial bodies of the LIC.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE STORY OF A RESEARCH PROJECT

I was born and brought up hearing about Mozambique in post-revolution Portugal. My parents migrated from that country to Portugal in the aftermath of the processes of decolonization that began after the 25th of April 1974, putting an end both to the Portuguese dictatorship and to 500 years of Portuguese colonialism. Even though they had occasionally visited Portugal for holidays up until that date, on arrival they were faced with a different reality from the one they were familiar with in colonial Mozambique. Therefore, for my father, despite having been born in the *metropole* of the empire in 1947 and taken to Mozambique as a young child, when he arrived in postcolonial Portugal in 1977, he refused to be called what most of those people coming from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa were termed – *retornado*. This label, which literally translates as “returnee”, referred both to the white settlers’ colonizing role in the former colonies, and to the inevitably corrupted original sense of Portuguese-ness most returnees would have experienced (Lubkemann, 2003). Being perceived as such after having lived almost 30 years of his life studying and working hard in Mozambique was something he would not accept. His parents were born in Portugal – just like he was – but Mozambique was his home. Even though he had served Portugal in the colonial war and accepted a job in that country afterwards, on seeing that a future life in Mozambique was compromised after September 7, 1974¹, he continued to identify himself as a Mozambican. As for my mother, she was born in the colonial city of Lourenço Marques to Portuguese parents, and certainly did not feel that she was returning to any place, but that she was migrating to a new country. Contrary to my father, she accepted the idea of becoming Portuguese and of living in a country she had always felt herself to be a foreigner in, in order to ensure her safety.

Portugal was the home of both my parents’ parents, and the country from

¹ On the 7th of September, 1974 the Lusaka Accord was signed agreeing to the rapid transfer of power from the remaining Portuguese authorities to the dominant Mozambican party founded by Eduardo Mondlane in Dar es Salaam in 1962 – *Frelimo* (Newitt, 2002).

which a significant part of the family had migrated during the 1950s. It was also the place where most of my family members were migrating to, having opted for Portuguese citizenship from 1975 onwards, when they had to flee Mozambique. However, postcolonial Portugal was for both of my parents a foreign country, which led to them looking both backwards and forwards. Back to a beautiful and lost past, seen with nostalgia, and forward into an uncertain future in a country that they were not attached to, but where there was a sense of hope. My parents' integration was dependent on their educational and professional skills as well as efforts to succeed – just like a great number of those perceived as *retornados* (Pires, 2003). However, their adaptation to this new environment was both easy and difficult. Easy because with hard work they could continue achieving in a land that also spoke their language and with which they shared a dominant whiteness; difficult because they were away from the home of their heart and youth, and because they had to start all over again.

My parents' references to the country and time of their childhood and youth were constant enough to make me feel out of place in Portugal. On several occasions I even asked them why I was not born in Mozambique. "There was no time," I was often told. After all there was this country, this other place and time, which I did not know, but that I could not ignore nor forget, and that seemed to haunt me continuously, reminding me that I could not fully belong to Portugal. This world seemed so real to me that I needed to be part of it, without being aware of both the implications of such a need and that inevitably I already belonged to it.

This feeling of being out of place and of belonging to an imagined and mediated nostalgic location ran through my upbringing. It became even more obvious every time my mother would use words in a Mozambican dialect from the south of the country – the *landim* – as well as whenever she would sing the songs she used to listen to and continued to learn even after the end of colonial rule. Some of these songs would also carry anti-colonial lyrics and messages, despite her political disfranchisement and even lack of awareness of what she was singing. I soon came to learn and sing those songs and lyrics with her, without understanding either their literal or ideological meanings. My mother would also often enact the gestures of the *marrabenta* dance while singing one or two songs of her preference, apart from listening and dancing to other European, especially

French and Anglo Saxon, sounds she grew up with.

The food cooked on festive occasions at home would also often carry the stamp of Mozambican taste and authenticity. This ranged from the Mozambican curry cooked with coconut and a mixture of curry masalas, through the roasted prawns seasoned and filled with hot chilies, garlic, oil and any beer (in the absence of the beer branded *Laurentina*, after which the dish was named), to the meat stew ‘in the factory fashion’, as my father refers to it. These are just some of the most significant dishes that my father would cook with family and friends, mostly from Mozambique, who would be invited to join us during the weekend. During these commensal events and practices, memories of past days, events and the ideological turn in Mozambique would often be recalled. I heard the names of locations, roads, streets and spatial references, places I have never been to.

Apart from these dishes, flavours and scents, the home décor objects displayed in the kitchen and in many other rooms would remind me of a Mozambican world which was simultaneously close and far away. Most of these objects, such as blackwood masks of different sizes, frames with engravings and furniture sets and items, had been carried in migration, together with a few family albums featuring ritualized aspects and events of a life in the colony. As time passed other items offered to my parents by close friends visiting and/or living in Mozambique would progressively be added to the *collection*, bringing Mozambique even closer to us than it already was, as there would always be a comment regarding their Mozambican-ness as well as African-ness.

Not having been to Mozambique nor lived there alongside my parents and their reality, these objects offered me the opportunity to make sense of an un-lived past and time-space context, as well as allowing me to imagine it, while they gradually become a material, sensory and bodily component of myself. They encapsulated the symbolism and the essence of bygone times and places, which facilitated my own processes of acquiring belongings as a result of strong affective identification with my parents’ lost world, while they clearly facilitated this in order to reground themselves in a strange country.

But I knew my personal and family life story could not be isolated. After all, circa half a million people had migrated between 1974 and 1979 from the

Portuguese former colonies² to the former *metropole*, mainly from Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé e Príncipe) and Timor, in a repatriation that was considered one of the most significant Portuguese migrations of the 20th century (Pires, 2003; Rocha-Trindade, 2003; Smith, 2003). Even though over 60% of this repatriated population was, according to the 1981 National Census, born in metropolitan Portugal, at least 35% of them were born in the former colonies (Pires, 2003), thus raising questions regarding these subjects' and their descendants' sense of identity and belonging. Additionally, while it was generally assumed that those who made up this repatriation in the aftermath of Portuguese decolonization were all white Portuguese and Portuguese descendants (Matos, 2010a; Matos, 2010b), some of my parents' friends and acquaintances from Mozambique did not fit this stereotype. Not only were some of mixed African descent, but others had an Asian and South Asian background, thus offering living proof that apart from the white settlers there were also other *migrants of decolonization* (Smith, 2003). Soon this diversity was generally forgotten both within Portuguese civil society and in academia, for various reasons. Not only were non-Whites excluded from the National Statistics of repatriation (Pires, 2003; Ávila and Alves, 1993), but there is a prevailing philosophy of forgetfulness with respect to the colonial past which has defined recent European historiography (Cooper, 2003; Smith, 2003), which, alongside other social, economic and historical circumstances (Khan, 2006) have not helped them to be recognized nor allowed them to voice their Lusophone³ postcolonial identities.

All of these postcolonial migrants and their descendants based in Portugal today, especially those with links to colonial Mozambique, would most likely

² Pires (2003) refers to an average of half a million people migrating from the former colonies in Africa to Portugal. He bases his account on the data of the National Census of 1981, which compares the resident population of 1973 and 1981 (prior and post revolution). However, Beatriz Rocha Trindade (2003) argues that the so-called 'retornados' can be estimated at 800,000.

³ As I will go on to explain by Lusophone I mean the condition of being socially, culturally and politically situated within the context of the Portuguese-speaking world, whether this refers to its colonial past or to its postcolonial context of analysis. This clearly entails and implies a condition of being subject to a - past and present - Portuguese order of things, hence to imperial power relations, and these leads some to refuse the use of such a concept and others to further deconstruct it (Khan, 2006; Morier-Genoud and Cahen, 2012b). While being aware of these discussions, I am here using this concept precisely with the purpose of featuring these (post)colonial power relations. I will also be further discussing what I mean by postcolonial condition later on in this introduction.

have gone through the same experiences my family and I have, if not even more pronounced, considering the racialized experiences and other identity differentiations produced alongside colonialism and migration (Cfr. for instance Lubkemann, 2003; Zamparoni, 2000; Vakil, 2004). And yet, while I got used to such unspoken feelings, it was not until I first came into contact with members of the Lisbon Muslim Community (LMC) of both Indian and Mozambican origins, that these feelings acquired more relevance to me. In fact, they first returned when I interviewed Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins for my MA research (Valdigem, 2005). At the time, I was interested in understanding the role of a Brazilian soap opera – “O Clone,” broadcast on a Portuguese TV private Channel (SIC) - in enacting processes of cultural hybridization in its viewers by taking into consideration their social, cultural and religious diversity. Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins were then just one of the two groups selected to participate in this reception study. Back then I was seeking to interview any Muslims who had seen the soap opera “O Clone”. As the soap opera represented Brazilian-Arab Muslim families both in the plot and the subplot, I was particularly interested in understanding how Portuguese Muslims would identify (or not) with the Muslim characters, contrasting this with other non-Muslim groups’ readings and appropriation of the same soap opera. Thereby I did not approach Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins as Lusophone *migrants of decolonization*, but simply as Portuguese Muslims.

However, these subjects’ discourses produced within the scope of my MA research not only engaged with the ethnic, racial, and cultural differences between themselves and other Muslims in the soap opera, but also stressed the need to place their own concerns, positions and belongings within the Lusophone postcolonial debates for two different reasons. Firstly, their identity narratives were professed not very long after 9/11 had occurred, clearly constituting a reaction to the reproduction of negative images of Islam, and in particular of Arab Muslims, whom they wished not to be confused with. For the majority of my MA interlocutors, Arabs are associated with extremist cultural, religious and political practices, since are the dominant images conveyed in recent non-fiction books and news reporting – where women’s rights and the value of life, for instance, are

often at stake⁴. However, this did not match these subjects' proclaimed identities, and in particular their sense of Portuguese-ness (Silva, 2005). Secondly, because my MA interlocutors expressed and produced multi-layered and overlapping positionalities in recalling their own family life stories and narratives, these identities were entangled with collective ethno-national and religious belongings, which seemed to have been shaped both by an *experience of locality* (Brah, 1996b) and by the mediation of that experience alongside migration. In fact, when explaining both their identifications and dis-identifications with Muslim characters in the soap opera, most of them, regardless of age and experience, felt the need to narrate a family story of migration that departed from South Asia in the late 19th/early 20th century, passed by Mozambique during the colonial period, and ended in postcolonial Portugal with the end of colonial rule. As a result, their narratives of belonging unveiled the multi-layered, juxtaposed and disordered categories of Portuguese-ness, Muslim-ness, Indian-ness and Mozambican-ness.

Though such narratives differed from mine and from my parents', I immediately recognized that act of historicizing a trajectory of migration and cultural differences from *others*, as well as the weight of colonial Mozambique in these subjects' lives. To understand these processes required an exploration of the means through which the collective stories of identity and collective memories of belonging narrated by these subjects could have been formulated. This would mean to understand who they are not only as a result of *arbitrary closures* of identity (Hall, 1996a; Hall, 1990), produced alongside their *strange encounters* with several others (Ahmed, 2000) –that often sets Us/I against Others/Them due to simplistic identity labels (May, 2013) – but also as a result of long-term sensory, material and bodily processes of making belongings, which I knew to be capable of shaping individuals as part of a collective *imagined community* (Anderson, 2006). This became crucial considering not only my own experience, which served as a useful and yet not exclusive heuristic tool, but also when considering that the majority of those interviewed at the time of my MA research did not have direct lived experience of the localities which they were referring to as fundamental components of their belonging. In fact, most seemed to be simply

⁴ Some of the books I was told about correspond to Zana Muhsen's books *Sold: One Woman's True Account of Modern Slavery* and *Promise to Nadia: A True story of a British Slave in the Yemen*.

narrating a collective story of belonging that had also been narrated to them during socialization, as in my own case, and that seemed also to have been facilitated, mediated and supported by certain items referred to/in use throughout their life time, some of which were also made available in those brief encounters I had with them during my MA fieldwork.

Clearly what needed to be understood was the extent to which those long stories of belonging had been constructed through long term use and engagement with sensory and material objects, which would not only provide them with both repertoires of identity (Breckenridge and Appadurai, 1989), but also with sources of remembering of collective objects of belonging, which seem to be attached to general ethno-national and religious grounds, such as collective forms of Portuguese-ness, Muslim-ness, Indian-ness and Mozambican-ness. It was with such concerns in mind that I initiated this doctoral research.

The questions that guided it are the following:

1. How have different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins been re-producing collective memories of belonging attached to general ideas of Portuguese-ness, Muslim-ness, Indian-ness and Mozambican-ness?
2. What are the different sensory and material items that have contributed to their processes of collective recollection and remembrance?
3. What has their role been in the enactment of different collective memories of belonging among these subjects in postcoloniality?
4. How have these overall processes been taking place across the places of a family migration, in an intergenerational manner and alongside forms of affective identification?

In order to answer these questions I felt I needed to explore the concept of memory together with that of belonging, in intersection with a phenomenology of experience, material culture and media reception that would help me understand how individuals connect to significant collective worlds of reference through different sensory objects they use in their everyday-life. Such weaving of fields of

study was also placed within the framework of Lusophone postcoloniality, and often found inspiration in the field of Cultural Studies, insofar as it often reflects upon matters of power produced in discourse and practice, while also paying attention to aspects of the sensory, affect and the body. All these correspond to the main fields of study that this thesis contributes to, with special emphasis placed upon the field of Lusophone Postcolonial Critique, offering a critical analysis of the implications of Portuguese colonialism for the terrains, peoples and cultures that were and still are subject to this political structure. This latter field of study is still in its incipient stage, suffering from a deficit of multi-disciplinary approaches that take into consideration the everyday life, belonging-ness and memory perspectives of the different Lusophone *migrants of decolonization* currently based in Portugal. So far the Lusophone Postcolonial Critique has privileged historical, sociological and literary perspectives of a few of these subjects' trajectories and identities (Cfr. for instance Morier-Genoud and Cahen, 2012a; Castelo, 2007; Ribeiro, 2007; Pires, 2003), as well as remembered accounts of the colonial war, from mostly white settlers and their descendants respectively (Ribeiro, 2011). The exception is the work of Marta Rosales (2009; 2007; 2010a; 2010b) on the practices and objects of domestic consumption among the Goan colonial elite in Mozambique, although this research does not conceptually develop a postcolonial critique of both the processes of belonging and of memory of the research subjects, nor of the power relations that inform object-object relationship, which are of interest for this PhD.

This research takes an inter-disciplinary approach to the multisensory ways of collective remembering of belongings by Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, who have been predominately racialized and constructed as the religious and ethnic *Other* from colonial to postcolonial times (Cfr. for instance Zamparoni, 2000; Vakil, 2004), not to mention that they have also been for this reason doubly ignored regarding their Lusophone postcolonial condition. It aims to provide a vivid account of the ways these postcolonial subjects objectify belongings, by privileging the study of everyday life (May, 2013), particularly by means of a phenomenology of experience and material culture, that emphasises the importance of the sensory, the affective and the bodily in these overall processes, in a study across generations and along a trajectory of *uprootings/ regroundings* (Ahmed et al., 2003). In particular, the

inter-disciplinary approach adopted in this research takes into account the following conceptual and epistemological processes that conceive the articulation between memory and belonging: one being the role played by the lived experiences of locality in the shaping of one's collective sensory and affective memories of belonging, both consciously and unconsciously, through the life-course and within a context of migration (when this is the case); the other being the role played by different sorts of *sensory objects*, which collective grounds of belonging have become associated with, in the facilitation of these overall processes, both across time and space, as well as across generations, having the framework of the Lusophone postcoloniality as its main background. Most of these conceptual and epistemological processes are explored throughout this first introductory chapter, while being also articulated throughout the thesis when relevant, in order to assist the analysis of the material.

These have also informed a 12 month period of ethnographic fieldwork conducted within two main contexts of the intimate and private dwellings of these subjects: the domestic setting and the community of peers, part of the LMC, all based in the Lisbon metropolitan area. This allowed me to gain both in-depth experiential knowledge and a phenomenological understanding of the ways of being in the world (Jackson, 1996) expressed and performed by different generations within this group. In doing so, I have also focused attention upon how these subjects relate to *sensory objects* of different sorts - such as objects of home décor, food and media – within their everyday life contexts. The selection of these sensory objects relied mostly on the fieldwork observations and discussions, while also being informed by a vast range of literature, which I will tackle briefly later in this introduction, and more extensively throughout the thesis, when discussing the empirical material.

During fieldwork I have worked closely with 11 family-household units composed of at least two generational groups – parents and children over 18 years old. The reason for this relates to the need to work both with those who were not born in Portugal and who have gone through an experience of displacement, and with those born in post-revolution Portugal. Working with these two generational groups allowed me to explore both the significance of different “lived experiences of locality” (Brah, 1996), and of the sensory processes of affective transfer in their re-construction and reproduction of collective senses of belonging (Shammas,

2002; Treacher, 2000) across generations. While the former processes dealt mostly with memories of places and times of dwelling across South Asia, Mozambique and Portugal, and along a time-line marked by ideological changes, the latter mostly focused upon the understanding of the socializing and mediating roles of sensory objects of use/ reference along the life-course, in the processes of affective transfer of memories and imagined communities and worlds of reference (Rushdie, 1982; Appadurai, 1998; Breckenridge and Appadurai, 1989; Anderson, 2006). The biographical method was a fundamental tool through which long-term and intergenerational processes of collective memories of belonging were tackled, analyzed and thus better understood.

Seven of the families I worked with invited me into their homes more than once, facilitating the experiencing and understanding of their multisensory worlds of experience and reference. A few visually oriented exercises undertaken with these subjects allowed me also to complement much of the ethnographic observations and narratives produced, providing this thesis with rich images to illustrate the processes discussed throughout.

These overall approaches resulted in a high volume of very rich material, reflecting the deeply entangled and complex articulations between the participants' forms of Portuguese-ness, Muslim-ness, Mozambican-ness and Indian-ness, with the diverse range of objects encountered in the field. For systematic reasons only, they are discretely organized in distinctive chapters aimed at exploring the multisensory ways in which each one of these ethno-national and religious collective grounds of belonging have been re-constructed and imagined through time and space. The first of these empirical chapters, chapter 2, is dedicated to how so-called Islamic objects of home décor, marking the participants' "front-rooms" (McMillan, 2009), have enabled discursive and performative enactments of Muslim-ness. In chapter 3 I explore the importance of moving beyond the *empire of the visual* and the discursively stated when tackling the role of material culture in the making of collective memories of a postcolonial Lusophone Mozambican-ness (especially within the home). Food and food related practices are the main focus of discussion in this chapter. Chapter 4 –the last empirical chapter - explores the multisensory ways in which the participants have been re-inventing an Indian world of reference. Because the discussion of these latter processes proved to be very prolific, I decided to split this chapter into two

parts. One is dedicated to the role of Indian food/ food related practices; the other is focused on the use of Indian media. The exploration of how senses of Portuguese-ness are enacted is carried out across all these chapters, highlighting these research subjects' intersected, ambivalent and multi-layered Lusophone postcolonial positions. The rest of this introductory chapter is dedicated to exploring in-depth the epistemological, conceptual and methodological frameworks that informed this research.

1.2. BELONGING IN POSTCOLONIALITY

This PhD contributes to the study of Belonging and of Memory within the context of the Lusophone Postcolonial framework. Thereby, this research is both about belonging and about the sensory, material and bodily ways of *re-membering*⁵ where, who, what and when to belong to across time and space in the context of postcoloniality. It departs from the assumption that one cannot understand people's ways of connecting to social worlds they are part of without going beyond the simplistic identity labels that often reduce them to readymade identity categories. While the concept of identity has been widely debated and discussed in recent years in relation to the way subjects produce conscious and explicit positions, which are also constructed within the *specific historical sites* defined by particular *modalities of power* that set identity against difference (Hall, 1996a), it has also incorporated enunciative practices and discourses that tend to fall into dichotomized relations between *Us* and *Them*, thereby highlighting what sets *some* against *others* (Hall, 1996a; Hall, 1990; Woodward, 2002). Because it refers to the *arbitrary closures* (Hall, 1996a) of becoming that one produces when faced with the need to state who one is against others, the notion of identity has been of limited use in facilitating an understanding of how people become who they become, or providing an account of their feelings and experiences of belonging, their attachments and connections. This is also the case with respect to their ways of being in the world in relation to groups, places, times, objects and

⁵ By *re-membering* I am not simply referring to one's remembrances and recollections but also to the act of placing oneself within one's group of belonging, following Halbwachs' (1992) notion of Collective Memory, which I will be discussing in the next section. For this reason I consider the act of remembering to include the act of belonging, of becoming a *member* of a particular group and social framework. As a result, I opted to more often than not transform it into a verb – to *member*.

collective grounds which one has become and/or feels part of. Instead it is the notion of belonging that allows us to focus on these in-depth, fluid and complex processes, hence leading me to prefer its use to that of identity when exploring how Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins have been re-connecting and reproducing collective memories of who they claim to be.

Despite having been widely used, especially when referring to the condition of feeling part of something as opposed to feeling excluded, or of being a member, as opposed to a non-member of social categories often defined by axes of power (Yuval-Davis, 2006), the notion of belonging has also been, as Vanessa May argues, “curiously undertheorized by social scientists” (2013, p.3). While this is not the place to review all the significant literature produced around this concept, I would argue that some of the most salient approaches to belonging have involved it being intertwined with other concepts, which often obscure the former, but which certainly complement its understanding in a broader sense. For instance, some of the relevant explorations of belonging intersect with aspects of recognition, especially when matters of citizenship, equal rights and national identity are at stake (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 2011; Fraser, 2000; Taylor, 1994; Anzaldúa, 1995). Other significant approaches to belonging also emerge from historical, anthropological and philosophical explorations of community processes at both a micro and macro scale of cities and nations, providing useful insights regarding the limits and the criteria of membership of places, groups and social organizations, both from below and above (Bauman, 2001; Cohen, 1982; Baumann, 1996; Anderson, 2006). In addition, important approaches to belonging are found within the context of migration and diaspora studies, where matters of identity and the notion of home are also under analysis, along with discursive and performative modes of identifications with respect to ethno-national and religious grounds of belonging (Ahmed et al., 2003; Brah, 1996; Treacher, 2000; Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2007; Appadurai, 1998; Fortier, 2000).

However, I would agree with those who argue that the notion of belonging requires further epistemological and theoretical exploration (Miller, 2003; Probyn, 1996; May, 2013). In particular, and inspired by both Bourdieu (1990) and Jackson (1996), I believe that an approach to belonging must depart from a critical

account of the objectivist frameworks which often impose an absolutist viewpoint produced by theoretical and abstract knowledge being privileged above empirical reality. Alternatively I am proposing an approach that privileges the understanding of modalities of human experience in different social and cultural contexts, and particularly as rooted in everyday life. This does not imply that one has to completely dismiss all sorts of epistemological and theoretical knowledge produced in this regard, but instead that one needs to articulate and apply it to the particular empirical case at hand. The latter, I believe, involves specificities that are not always comparable, and instead of simply applying a readymade model of analysis of belonging, hypothetical considerations and explorations must be undertaken in order to provide a useful, valid and reliable contribution to scientific knowledge.

The notion of belonging adopted in this thesis knits together perspectives put forth by Vanessa May (2013), Linn Miller (2003) and Elspeth Probyn (1996). It does not only take into account the spatial references and locations of belonging focused upon by Probyn (1996), but also examines the temporal sites of both one's identification and connection, as suggested by both May (2013) and Miller (2003). These can refer to groups, times, traditions, landscapes and objects. In this sense, belonging is defined particularly by individuals' juxtaposed connections to particular and collective relational sites/grounds, which make them feel at ease in their bodily and affective experiences, whether this feeling is conscious or not, whether it is desired or not. Unlike other authors (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2007), I do not privilege the process of deliberate identification on social grounds of belonging, since this entails a certain degree of consciousness, and because I believe that these processes are not always chosen, but are also implicitly and unconsciously defined where experienced in the context of everyday life. Moreover, I am not assuming that belongings are necessarily exclusively discursively enacted, but that they can also be performed by means of rituals and habits, as well as through routinized and affective practices. For the purpose of this research I am not particularly interested in understanding forms of belonging related to the right to belong and to the contradictions and tensions derived from matters of citizenship that also define belonging, although these issues are equally relevant, and even crucial, in discussing belonging in some cases. Instead, my

focus on belonging is more concerned with how it is produced and reproduced alongside emotional and sensory bodily experiences which define one's being in the world. I consider it necessary to phenomenologically and ethnographically understand the means whereby belongings to particular collective grounds are sensorially, bodily and affectively enabled from a point of view that already exists *inside*, and which is not always necessarily conscious, though they might be observable with respect to *outside belongings* (Probyn, 1996). I argue that more attention must be paid to the mechanisms and objects that allow the perception and feeling of *inside* and *outside belongings* to be enacted, which that can be facilitated, as Probyn (1996) argues, in relation to the analysis of *surfaces*. However, in order to apply it to the particular group and object of this research, such analysis requires one to focus on those subject-object relationships established, through which perception of the *inside* and of the *outside* is defined as such. These relationships are, I believe, what allow people to make sense of the world surrounding them. Since our "knowledge of the world can only come through some form of perception" (Ingold, 2003, p.243) I suggest that it is primarily through the sensory perceptions and experiences facilitated in a wide range of subject-object relations that one can gain the ability to belong and to feel at ease with a particular environment, group, place, time and any other general relational context. It is through the senses, through hearing, touching, seeing, smelling and tasting particular sensory objects that such knowledge is bodily gained, incorporated and stored. Therefore, if one is located within a context (*inside*) where particular knowledge is gained, so he is likely to acquire belonging associated with such experiences, otherwise (if he is *outside*) such knowledge is never acquired nor kept. Though apparently obvious, such experiences are not always conscious, insofar as one can only know how to be *inside* or *outside* when placed in such environments respectively, and when faced with difference in experience and perception.

The problem that emerges when applying this notion to this research project is how to understand how feelings and perceptual connections to collective worlds take place in light of a lack of particular direct/lived experiences with these spatial/temporal relational sites/grounds, and when one is in fact outside of it, or at least perceived to be outside of it. How can one belong or wish to belong

to something that he/she does not know from direct experience? What belongings are we then referring to? How have these feelings and connections been triggered and become possible? What sorts of experiences do they imply? I am raising these questions because not all generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins have gone through the exact same lived experiences, and most, when I first contacted them, referred to similar collective family and communitarian narrative of migration when trying to present themselves as both individuals and as part of one or more identity groups. Furthermore, the narratives of identity produced by Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins in a previous research moment encapsulates multi-layered and juxtaposed grounds of belongings that are partly rooted in geographic locations that compose a map of migration, which have also been considerably historicized and memorialized as part of their Lusophone postcolonial condition, and which do not always imply a direct experience of these pasts. How can one continuously narrate a story of migration that defines who he/she is without having had an experience of the spatial-temporal contexts narrated? What does that story entail? Apart from prompting the articulation of the concept of belonging alongside that of memory, these questions also open up room for reflection regarding the sources and objects involved in the construction of one's belongings, particularly relating to the relevance of mediations and surrogates of experience through which both lived and un-lived pasts and collective sites of belonging cannot only be recalled and *remembered*, hence joined, but also imagined and formulated as a site of connection which one returns to. In the case of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins such discussion requires a particular focus on aspects related to intergenerational processes of passing on different collective grounds of belongings, and also relating to the importance of different sensory objects in the facilitation of such processes, since different generations embrace similar narratives which need to be understood according to the sensory experiences they have been socialized within so as to make such senses of belonging possible.

It is important to note here that such an approach cannot take place outside of the framework of a Lusophone postcolonial critique. This is because both the conscious and the unconscious, stated and performed, connections established with respect to different ethno-national and religious grounds of reference are

dependent upon a Lusophone postcolonial order. By Lusophone I mean here the condition of being linguistically, culturally and politically located in a Portuguese-speaking context. In this particular case such a condition is also dependent on the specificity of the history of Portuguese colonialism which shaped a trajectory and the narratives of migration and displacement from South Asia and Mozambique to Portugal, for Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins. However, this does not mean that these research subjects should be historically rooted in static geographic locations, as this risks constructing them as pathologically out of place (Malkki, 1999; Gupta and Ferguson, 1999). Instead, it adopts a critical approach to both the stated and unspoken, to the conscious and unconscious, affective, material, sensory and bodily engagements that result in the objectification of collective memories of belonging. The latter are always inevitably produced in constant intersection with Portuguese colonialism, hence assuming a logic of continuous discontinuities in the way narratives and enactments of belongings are produced and re-produced in a (post)colonial present.

Drawing on Sara Ahmed's (2000) account, my view of postcolonialism does not assume that colonialism has ended, nor that the historical and ideological turn that brought colonial rule to an end coincides with the beginning of postcolonialism. Instead, postcolonialism here refers to a critical body of knowledge and frame-analysis that allows one to think "how colonialism operated [or has been operating] in different times in ways that permeate all aspects of social life in colonized and colonizing nations. It is hence about the complexity of the relationship between the past and present, between the histories of European colonization and contemporary forms of globalization" (Ahmed, 2000, p.11). In this sense, the postcolonial cannot be taken to be the mere condition of living after colonialism, as opposed to in colonial times, presuming that this includes those who lived during colonialism. Instead it refers to the condition of when and where the colonial experience and its uneven power structures and relations are reflected, re-assessed and re-organized in its implications and consequences, both consciously and unconsciously, in relation to existing power structures. The notion of the postcolonial also helps us to understand the impact of specific colonial relations in a period after the official end of the Empires, as well as to

articulate it alongside the experiences produced in the here and now within the dynamic flows of people, goods, ideas, finance and technologies defining *modernity at large* (Appadurai, 1998). As a result, in this thesis postcoloniality constitutes the social, cultural and political framework that reflects on the configurations of power both in the past and the present, and from the point of view of memory it cannot lose track of the colonial vicissitudes in terms of the ways the connections, attachments and identifications of its implicated subjects are produced.

Considering how the impacts of colonialism can be both understood and analysed, both processes of *colonial mimicry* (Bhabha, 1994) and the *whitening* (Fanon, 2008) of one's identity and belongings, and/or resisting the intimate enemy (Nandy, 2009) through the *re-membering*, construction and invention of a national culture as deployed by several anticolonial authors (Memmi, 2003; Cabral, 1994; Fanon, 1967), shall be explored here, from both a discursive and a bodily point of view. This can also reveal both long-term incorporated processes and ambivalences and the contradictions of being and becoming either the dominant or the dominated other according to power hierarchies produced during colonialism. Despite the fact that some anti-colonial tools of analysis tend to fall into dichotomized ideas about what colonialism has been, thereby setting up the colonizer vs colonized in a simplistic manner, my approach involves seeking out felt and professed contradictions of belonging produced with respect to a colonial order, taking into account in-between positions triggered by multi-sensory subject-object relationships.

While articulating such an approach, involving exploration of the impact of displacement on these research subjects' perceptions of belonging, it is important to bear in mind that a significant number have not gone through migration. Yet they are likely to carry *mnemonic traces* (Joseph, 2007) that might endow them with feelings of displacement when enacting their mnemonic configurations of collective belongings, insofar as "diasporas always leave a trail of collective memory about another place and time" (Breckenridge and Appadurai, 1989, i). I would also add an imagination of the ways of being in the world in these times and places. For this reason, this thesis engages with a critical view of perceptions, feelings and practices of *uprootings and regroundings* that

regard “the ways in which different bodies and communities inhabit and move across familial, national and diasporic locations” (Ahmed et al., 2003, p. 1). This assumes that “being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed; [or that] being mobile is not necessarily about being detached” (ibid). Moreover, it also engages with a critical view of representations of place, as a collective ground on which to set belongings, which are clearly shaped by a Lusophone colonial order. This does not only assume the physical journey as the defining of feelings of displacement, but also includes mental, affective, sensory and mnemonic journeys and subject-object relationships as crucial indicators and heuristic devices in the understanding of what *inside* or *outside* belongings are charged with from below in ever transformative ways (Ahmed, 2000; Rapport and Dawson, 1998; Gupta and Ferguson, 1999).

1.3. COLLECTIVE RE-MEMBERING IN DISPLACEMENT AND ACROSS GENERATIONS

This thesis privileges a phenomenological and ethnographic exploration of the multisensory experiences defining the collective memories of belonging of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins. By a phenomenological exploration I mean a discussion of these subjects’ experiential ways of being in the world and of making sense of it before reflection begins (Merleau-Ponty, 2010, p. vii-xxiv; Jackson, 1996). In particular it looks at how these subjects’ collective belongings have been enabled through specific subject-object relationships that compose their lifeworlds, both from a present and a mnemonic point of view, which might not have always been consciously constructed or claimed and that belongs to the realm of experience. Such an approach requires an insight into the processes of collective remembering and the shapes that memories of belonging can have, as well as concerning the ways in which pasts they have not lived through themselves can be passed on across time and space as collective memories of belonging.

Firstly, I draw on Halbwachs’ (1992; 1980) notion of collective memory in order to articulate the analysis of processes of remembering collectively in relation to those of belonging. If Halbwachs provided a valuable account of the workings of memory, he also allowed us to think of memory in relation to collective belonging. For Halbwachs, to remember constitutes an inevitably social

act, since one can never recall past events outside of social frameworks and groups of belonging. By 'social frameworks of memory' he understands "the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the dominant thoughts of the society" (Halbwachs, 1992, p.40). Generally, the social frameworks constitute the social contexts of experience and the dwelling one resides in, including spaces, ideas, meanings and people that compose both the acts and the contents of collective remembering. However, Halbwachs (1992; 1980) adds that it is not enough to say that the individual recalls through the social frameworks of the epoch they are in; they also need to place themselves within their social group of belonging in order to recollect and remember events collectively. The groups of belonging that he underlines are the family, religious groups and social classes, which intersect with different social frameworks as well as with historical memories. In this sense there is no such thing as a pure individual memory; all memory is socially bounded.

The problem with using Halbwachs' framework is that he does not propose a clear definition of belonging, reducing it to both the socio-historical context of an epoch one has lived through, and to the groups one is part of, as integrated within these particular epochs. The circumstances of belonging to those groups are formulated according to a historical, sociological and even almost theological approach, which is also dated and placed within the context of the late 19th century/early 20th century, surprisingly leaving out considerations regarding intersected forms of belonging to different collective groups, such as ethnic groups and the nation state. It also neglects the processes through which social frameworks of memory are internalized and passed on to subjects who have either lived through those epochs or who have not. Halbwachs' inability to understand these experiential and intergenerational processes of belonging leads him to miss important epistemological, conceptual and even methodological components and dimensions of acts of remembering, apart from those produced as a result of intentionality and force of consciousness.

In light of the noted flaws of Halbwachs' notion of collective memory, some scholars (Sturken, 2008; Bijsterveld and Dijck, 2009; Dijck, 2007; Dijck, 2004; Connerton, 1989; Sturken, 1997) have questioned its applicability and

validity when discussing social remembering according to how the individual interacts with the collective in a particular cultural and political context, and to the different forms and shapes of memory – which have implications in terms of social continuity and change, as well as in the power structures produced within particular societies and times. Concepts of ‘social memory’ or ‘cultural and personal cultural memory’ have therefore been found by some to be more appropriate for these discussions. While I recognize the workings of individual memory in relation to the holistic contexts of belonging – deemed to be social - I do not believe that the notion of cultural memory is preferable to that of collective memory. This is firstly because all collective memory is necessarily cultural, insofar as it is dependent on the social frameworks of memory within which it is placed. Furthermore, the cultural in cultural memory is simply an artifice that, despite facilitating a political analysis of how past events are represented in the present, retrospectively (Sturken, 1997), also risks assuming discrete and oppositional peoples and cultures (Gupta and Ferguson, 1999).

Therefore, as far as it concerns the processes under discussion in this thesis, Halbwachs’ proposal still remains more appropriate and useful. This is firstly because it relies on the idea that we, as individuals, remember collectively every time we place ourselves within the many groups of belonging we are part of, and in particular historical, ideological and social frameworks defining lifeworlds. Secondly, this is because Halbwachs’ notion of collective memory can be better articulated with the notion of belonging, here under discussion, especially concerning the way the subject is placed within the context of the collective grounds of belonging under consideration. Thirdly, this is because this concept draws on the ideational process of conceiving certain collectivities and collective grounds of belonging, which also leaves open the possibility of articulating remembering with respect to experiences of physical, temporal, mental, sensorial and affective and imaginative displacement, which are of particular concern within this thesis.

The questions that are yet to be raised here refer to how memories of both the lived and the mediated can be enacted, as Halbwachs clearly does not provide a framework for such matters. As I see it, processes of collective remembering do not only take place cognitively and anachronistically by simply placing oneself

within the perspective of the group of belonging and their remembrances, as Halbwachs (1992; 1980) suggests. Instead, they are also enacted bodily, dialectically, diachronically and synchronically, insofar as they are triggered by other subjects, experiences and objects, which evoke in the subject affective, sensory and bodily reactions rooted in the recognition of past events, lessons and practices, produced as significant in the experiential shaping of belongings, and which tend to continuously be re-affected and re-activated, at the same time that other memories are being incorporated. These constitute bodily and sensory mnemonic traces and fragments, which either draw one into collective times and spaces as felt and lived (though revisited retrospectively), and which find in particular present sensory and affective experiences considerable value, prompting one to remember, to represent the past-in-the-present and to imagine, or draw one into the bodily gestures and movements performed as a result of particular sensory and affective memory triggers. As a result, both continuous and discontinuous practices are reproduced in ways that are never the same, but that are also never completely transformed from past incorporations and enactments. These overall bodily and sensory enactments of collective memories of belongings are dependent on particular sensory and material engagements, which the subject is tied to. It is through his/her perceptual engagements with the surrounding world that bodily social memories get to be continued across time and space. Therefore, subject, object, belongings, past and present become interdependent, interchangeable and often indistinguishable, making “the past not yet past” (Schwarz, 2004).

While these arguments might seem to move a considerable step beyond what Halbwachs’ notion of collective memory initially proposed, they are actually supported by the integration and articulation of Henri Bergson’s (2004), Pierre Bourdieu’s (1990) and Paul Connerton’s (1989) perspectives within the former’s framework. By proposing the idea of *action-memory* Bergson’s psychology and philosophy allows me to understand memory at the intersection between the subject and its surroundings in a way that sees the former not simply as a cognitive being, but also as a practical and material body. In particular it explains how the subject does not only remember mentally, through independent recollections registered in the mind, but also bodily, and always through objects

placed around him/her. The body operates then as a conductor between the subject and the object, an interface and surface through which one continuously remembers and re-enacts bodily practices and gestures progressively acquired and incorporated. All these processes also involve perceptual acts. The problem is that this memory might not always be perceived as such, since it ceases to carry the image and representation of bygone times stored in the mind, in order to *act* upon the past through mechanisms incorporated in the body. However, insofar as “it prolongs their useful effect into the present moment” as Bergson (2004, p.93) argues, so one cannot deny that the processes above translate some of the workings of memory. In this way, Bergson provides a far-reaching approach to memory that overcomes the mental and discursive limits set by Halbwachs. If Bergson’s approach cannot yet fully answer and support the perspective of collective memories of belonging under discussion here, this is only because he focuses on individual memory, thus failing to provide a perspective regarding how the individual’s relation with his/her surroundings can actually progressively enable the *membering* of collective grounds of belonging. This is overcome both by Pierre Bourdieu’s (1990) notion of *habitus* and by Paul Connerton’s (1989) notions of *habit-memory* and *incorporated memory*.

While Bourdieu has not focused on processes of remembering *per se*, nor does he engage with belonging, I argue that his concept of *habitus* provides an important conceptual tool for thinking through the bodily and practical unconscious memory of belonging. *Habitus* corresponds to the social structures of belonging one progressively becomes part of through socialization and which regulate values, beliefs, ways of feeling, thinking and bodily practices. These processes take place over time and constitute, as Bourdieu also argues, “a product of history” (Bourdieu, 1990). In order for the *habitus* to be enacted it will need to have been incorporated and recalled in all its dimensions, which are not always conscious and reflected. Only when the conditions of the game are not gathered and the subject does not feel at ease with it, is the *habitus* brought to consciousness (May, 2013).

While one needs to exist in relation to one’s surroundings in order to enact the *habitus*, this relational dimension of the *habitus* has not been acknowledged by some of those studying it, who consider the *habitus* to neglect the “intersubjective

nature of the self” (May, 2013). Despite agreeing that, just like belonging, the habitus is essentially relational and that it can “go some way towards explaining belonging” (May, 2013), Vanessa May still argues that the habitus differs from belonging insofar as it does not rely on its intersubjective nature in order to be enacted. I disagree, since the concept of habitus is based on continuous relationships with the surrounding; without the symbolic meanings of one’s surroundings and without significant others whom one is socialized with, one is unable to feel at ease in the world and enact it, let alone to gain the structures of structuring dispositions that generate one’s social and bodily practices. Even though these tend to be, in the great majority of cases, unconscious, they compose precisely what belonging is all about. In short, the notion of belonging adopted here entails precisely these unconscious and unstated experiential and mnemonic processes, all relational, that only the *habitus* can explain. The critique that can however be attributed to this argument is that such an assumption departs from a structuralist and symbolic understanding of the world, also shaping Bourdieu’s thought, despite his endeavour to escape objectivism. One of the ways to look at how the habitus is enacted is through the different forms of symbolic materialization, which is not always discursively stated and reflected but instead objectified in the way subjects bodily relate to others, to spaces and to *the world of objects* (Bourdieu, 1990) they engage with. The latter integrates objectifications of the habitus insofar as it constitutes the symbolic and material universe through which implicit regulations, valorizations and social structures, defining sets of belongings, are also bodily and creatively incorporated and objectified, along with processes of historical continuity and change. The question that remains concerns the extent to which habitus can provide an account of people’s lifeworlds, of life as it is experienced beyond objectivist views of the social world. Certainly life cannot be reduced to pre-defined and objective structures of existence, as Bourdieu also points out. Despite the fact that it tends to promote the reproduction of historically and socially situated structures, the habitus also encourages the adaptation of past objective conditions of production and action to those of the historical present. As a result it leaves open the possibility for creative and inventive social practices, hence agential transformation, just as de Certeau (1988) has stated.

The continuity and change in elements of the social order – which I am equating with the social frameworks of memory and with the collective grounds for belonging – constitutes also one of the central points in Connerton's (1989) approach to social memory. He prefers this notion to collective memory, considering it capable of providing a more complete view of the latter. He criticizes Halbwachs's approach in relation to how memories are preserved and maintained (a subject of interest in this thesis). Connerton's contribution to the study of memory provides the analytical tools with which to understand the dialectical processes of social and cultural reproduction and historical transformation that rely on subjects' agency. His approach shares some of the arguments put forth by Bergson and Bourdieu. For Connerton memory is not only kept in documents and inscribing devices that can remove one from the energy and effort of cognitive remembrance, but it is also sustained through ritualized commemorations and bodily practices. For this reason memory cannot only be personal and cognitive, but is also substantially socially embodied, to the extent that it gains the status of a practical habit. It is in this sense that Connerton contributes to the study of social memory by proposing the concept of *habit-memory* and of *bodily memories*; memories that constitute the "essential ingredient in the successful and convincing performance of codes and rules" (Connerton, 1989, p. 36). These forms of memory are internalized when "[p]atterns of body use become ingrained through our interactions with objects" (ibidem, 1989, p. 94). While gaining the status of automatic and familiar bodily movements, produced and reproduced in a sequence of gestures, these bodily practices shape and integrate one's belongings as they are "sedimented into bodily conformation" (ibidem, 1989, p. 94). However, this does not mean that the body enters a mere reproduction of unchanged forms and practices, which might fall into a blind automatism. It simply calls upon a sequence of skills and techniques previously incorporated, which are also not always conscious, but accompanied by sensations and feelings which ensure the success of the gestures (Connerton, 1989; Mauss, 1992; Giard, 1998a). These need to be actualized with every move and every time subject-object relationships are produced. However, when one group is conscious about the practices and rituals which they are not willing to forget for political reasons, they are likely to ritualize them, through "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1984), and in this case they endeavour to

consciously reproduce collective pasts as if these were unchanged. Needless to say, these intentional acts are not what our everyday life is made up of, as much of what goes on falls outside of such rational and political formulations, as well as intellectual and formal knowledge (Jackson, 1996). However, whether they are defined by intentionality or not, the fundamental bodily and sensory mechanism linking interdependent subjects and objects, past and present, holds a crucial heuristic value and importance when exploring the ways in which memories can be stored, retrieved, continued and transformed.

Therefore, it becomes clearer how collective memories of belonging are preserved and even transformed with time and across generations. I am using here the notion of generation to refer to those individuals who belong to different 'age-groups' and who are also located within different historical-social processes following Mannheim's approach (Mannheim, 2011). This can also be understood as referring to those living in different social frameworks, following Halbwachs' (1992) notion. Different generations develop with respect to different experiences and engagements with the natural, social and cultural surrounding environments. For the purpose of this research, my particular concern is not only with what of these experiences is kept or forgotten every time a generational group leaves and another enters a different social framework, in Halbwachs' sense, in the production of history, but also with the material, sensory and bodily ways in which people connect with previously and newly experienced collective worlds/communities, defined both/either through lived experience and/or sensory surrogates. This entails understanding which age-groups connect with which collective grounds of belonging through which means.

1.4. ON THE AFFECTIVE, MATERIAL, SENSORY AND PRACTICAL MEMORIES OF BELONGING

While the framework of analysis presented above appears to almost objectify reality, it has also been conceived in constant interaction with questions arising from the field. Moreover, it has been formulated in relation to different approaches to belonging, home and identity in migration and mixed parentage, as well as to performative, sensory, material and bodily memories, which include experiences of those both with and without lived experience of social worlds

which they are connected to (Brah, 1996; Treacher, 2000; Shammas, 2002; Rushdie, 1982; Slyomovics, 1998; Seremetakis, 1994; Ahmed, 2000; Fortier, 2000). This is in order to understand how and what collective memories of belonging have been re-produced across time and space in the context of everyday life.

Alongside these approaches, I have privileged understandings of the experiential shifts associated with displacement, which are rooted in differentiated perceptual engagements with landscapes, objects, people, places and times somehow left behind, and which the displaced might refer to both discursively and implicitly. This emphasis has been specifically derived from Brah's (1996) notion of "lived experience of locality", which refers to how processes of becoming are constructed through a multi-sensory experience with one's environment, regardless of the degree of consciousness gained once one departs from that environment. It is also derived in part from Seremetakis's (1994) discussion of the memory of the senses and from Treacher's (2000) autobiographical account of ambivalent belongings. The latter's account has been particularly relevant insofar as it demonstrates how a fundamental part of who we are and become is formed through internalized "places, sounds, smells, external landscapes – tangible objects and sensation" (Treacher, 2000, p. 103) as well as by synesthetic experiences acquired from the *inside* (Probyn, 1996). The bringing together of all these conceptual discussions is what allows me to understand all experiences and respective memories according to deeply sensory and affective dimensions.

In addition, in this research I have privileged an exploration of the means through which perceptions resulting from past sensory lived experiences of locality have been carried with migration through subject-object relationships, and how they have also been passed on across generations. These include not only the material and physical objects carried in migration and other objects acquired at a later stage (Parkin, 1999; Turan, 2010), but also multi-sensory experiences produced through "the way of the body" (Stoller, 1997) as well as in relation to relevant sensory objects (Basu and Coleman, 2008; Edwards et al., 2006a; Fortier, 2000). Their significance lies not only in the fact that objects and bodies gain a symbiotic nature, through which belongings are re-negotiated, but also in the fact

that they facilitate the transition between realities, experiences and environments in terms of both physical and temporal displacement (Parkin, 1999; Turan, 2010).

Furthermore, I have also interwoven the approaches to memory explored above with the imaginative processes through which one can re-organize collective senses of belonging. One would expect these imaginative processes to take place mostly among those who have not had direct lived sensory experience of locality and/or who place themselves within the context of the collective ethnic and national grounds of belonging under consideration (Anderson, 2006). However, Salman Rushdie (1982) suggests that they actually constitute an important part of how we relate to remotely-located contexts of dwelling we have lived in. His main focus is on the cognitive memories of a homeland, which the diasporic, the exiled and/or the migrant tend to imagine while remembering at a distance. Drawing on his own biographical experience, he demonstrates that mental memories are not something one can rely on for accuracy, since these tend to become distorted in our minds over time and space, and are shaped by the extrapolation of affective material and sensory remains, and by the interference of images, feelings and thoughts subsequently experienced. As a result, memory and imagination become conflated in the midst of both lived and mediated experience.

This approach is shared by other authors who are concerned with the way belongings are re-produced and re-membered among migrant subjects and their descendants who only hold “mediated and prosthetic memories” (Dijck, 2004; Landsberg, 2004) of their parents’ and significant others’ collective grounds of belongings. While some scholars have focused on how these reflect the post-memory of trauma among those without direct experience of trauma (Hirsch, 2012), I am here privileging non-traumatic approaches to these sorts of memory in focusing upon the importance of the affective identifications shared between members of kin (Brah, 1996; Shamma, 2002) in the passing down of collective ethno-national belongings. In particular I argue that feelings shared with significant others, or members of relatedness tend to shape connections through collective grounds based on mediated experiences. These tend to be produced during socialization and through the transfer of affective identifications, as suggested by Shamma’s (2002) *autocartography*. Additionally, I have drawn on research that looks at how these processes of reproduction of collective memories

of belonging are associated with ritualized practices, ceremonies and performances (Stoller, 1995; Fortier, 2000), which one re-enacts through continuous bodily *re-memberings*. In these cases the body constitutes not only the *locus* of memory, but also the means through which social locations, such as gender, ethnicity, and religious identity also intersect with collective grounds of belonging and can be passed down across generations.

Because collective memories of belonging often require material and sensory shapes external to the body in order to be bodily retrieved, enacted and remembered (Connerton, 1989; Bergson, 2004), I have also focused in this research on the role of everyday life objects in triggering and enacting these processes across generations. Once again, the selection of these objects was informed by my previous research contact with Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, by my personal and family experience, by the ethnographic approach to the field, and by specific case studies evidencing intersections between belonging, identity, material culture, memory and power.

A few words must be said with regard to the significance of the body of literature that informed the selection of the objects for analysis in this research. Considering the importance played by objects placed within the most private of the social realms, that is in dwellings, such as the home, in the objectification of identities and social worlds (Pratt, 1981; Miller, 2001; Chevalier, 1999; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981), I have explored the ways in which home décor objects have been used and displayed by these research subjects as relatively private, affective and political objectifications of collective memories of belongings. McMillan's (2009a; 2009b) art installation of the "West Indian Front Room", and other research that explores the sensory and material ways of projecting and making identities and belongings in the domestic space (Ahmed, 2000; Cieraad, 1999; Cieraad, 2010; Gullestad, 1993; Hall, 2009; Marcoux, 2001; Miller, 2001; Pink, 2004; Rosales, 2010a; Tolia-Kelly, 2004b; Tolia-Kelly, 2004a; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993; Metcalf, 1996; Dibbitts, 2009), have been useful to consider in the analysis of the field material. In particular they facilitated reflection on the possible ways in which the material culture in the home may have eased particular social, cultural and affective tensions and differences

produced along physical, mental, affective and sensory uprootedness, some of which are also the product of colonialism.

However, the objectification of collective memories of belongings cannot be exclusively tackled through visual means, and in particular through an observation of the visible material artefacts displayed in the home, since this constitutes a multisensory context of dwelling (Pink, 2004). Therefore, it remained crucial to examine how the research subjects of this thesis deal with significant sensory engagements in everyday life, and how these enable them to connect to collective worlds, shaping their personal and family narratives of identity and belonging. To explore these sensorial dimensions of belonging as remembered and imagined by different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, I have also drawn on a wide body of literature that explores the importance of food (Dietler, 2007; Holtzman, 2006; Katrak, 1997; Mannur, 2007; Meigs, 1997; Murcott, 1996; Narayan, 1995; Seremetakis, 1994; Proust, 2002; Sutton, 2001; Giard, 1998c), and of media contents and objects (Manuel, 1997; Morley, 2001; Silverstone et al., 2006; Couldry, 2004; Gillespie, 1989) in the making of identities and belongings across time and space. These both stress the sensory character of objects we engage with and demonstrate how our affective and bodily processes of *re-membering* and imagining collective grounds of belongings are dependent on a variety of multisensory relationships and experiences that define the circumstances of our being in the world.

1.5. CONSTRUCTING THE FIELD: THE RESEARCH METHODS AND THE RESEARCHER'S IDENTITY

My intention to explore the multi-sensory enactments of collective memories of belonging among different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins in the Lisbon metropolitan area justified an ethnographic and biographical approach to these subjects' lifeworlds. I would only be able to gain some understanding of the sensory experiences defining their multiple and multi-layered postcolonial collective memories of belonging by immersing myself in their everyday life and by learning about these subjects' past and present experiences. This assumption was not only arrived at as a result of the

argument that in order to grasp the world of experience of the postcolonial subject one ought to hear her voice, understand her point of view and (attempt to) apprehend her lifeworld, but also of the idea that to achieve such a goal it remains crucial to capture “the vividness [of] the smells, tastes, and textures of the land, the people, and the food” (Stoller and Olkes, 1989, p.29) shaping the others’ everyday life, through involvement of the researcher’s own body in the field. Clearly I needed to immerse myself, my body, my senses, my mind and feelings in the ‘world of others’ in order to be able to do so; an approach which, despite not falling far from that informing classic anthropological accounts (Stanton, 2000; Pink, 2009), has at times been neglected in scientific reflection due to the prevalence of rationalist and intellectualist Western thought (Stoller, 1989). However, there were a few challenges to this epistemological approach; some due to circumstances of the field, just like any other; others due to urban conditions of living, which limited the possibilities of my immersion. In this section I will thus briefly discuss my approach to the field, the difficulties inherent to conducting an ethnography in an urban context, in addition to aspects related to the research methods and techniques adopted, and to other aspects related to my research identity.

1.5.1. The challenges and limits of doing a *sensuous and tasteful ethnography* in an urban context

If “our knowledge is ultimately founded on sensory experience” (Ingold, 2003, p.243), and if a considerable amount of our lives are defined in perceptual relation with a “world of objects” (Edwards et al., 2006a; Bourdieu, 1990; Latour, 2007), then one ought to explore a variety of sensory experiences and modalities that define our being in the world. This was the assumption that led me through my fieldwork, hence my desire to immerse myself in the field in order to capture the worlds of others, as expressed through a variety of sensory experiences. Even though I was not entirely clear to start with about how I would grasp this world of experience, I relied on my own belief that I needed to go through a multiplicity and variety of modalities of experience myself without privileging the visual, which, according to some, has dominated Western scientific perspectives (Stoller, 1984; Stoller, 1997; Stoller, 1982; Pink, 2009). Therefore, I understood that only

by conducting an ethnographic fieldwork would I be able to fully understand these multisensory processes of making belongings.

Without attempting to prescribe the field of experience *a priori* (Pink, 2009), I initiated my fieldwork during the month of Ramadan⁶ in September 2007 in the Lisbon Central Mosque (LCM), as I knew this was a time of and for conviviality. Every Saturday night the Mosque would receive many Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, who would come together to share and celebrate Ramadan. In order to regain access to the community of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins I decided to resume contact with one of the key informants from my MA research – Bahir. In his early 50s, married and with one mature son, as he proudly claimed during my fieldwork, Bahir had always treated me as part of his family, and at times as his daughter. One of the reasons for that was the fact that he was also one of my parents' old friends from Mozambique. Therefore, when I phoned him on that first Saturday of Ramadan of 2007, he was very happy to hear from me and also to learn that I had decided to continue working with his community of Muslims. He immediately invited me to join him and his wife in the Lisbon Central Mosque that day at around 11pm, when the scheduled Ramadan's talk and debate on that day's topic would start, followed by commensal gatherings.

My fieldwork was thereby initiated through approaching Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins in the social and spatial context of their religious life during one of the holiest months in Islam. While this might not seem significant, in fact it deeply defined the relationships I established, my access to the field, as well as how my identity was constructed, not to mention the nature of the observations and experiences produced, and how a considerable amount of material was collected and facilitated by me over 12 months. Had I not approached these research subjects through the *door* of the Lisbon Central Mosque, much of the fieldwork would have eventually been very different, as well as the *objects* of discussion, but these and other aspects, such as gender, age, racial and religious identity, and socio-cultural background, are inevitable aspects of conducting fieldwork. Just like any other, this field could not simply have been

⁶ Ramadan corresponds to the 9th of the 12 months of the Islamic calendar. It marks the period of fasting and of when it is believed that God made the first revelation of the Qur'an to the Prophet Mohammad (Nanji and Nanji, 2008).

found in stasis, having instead been constructed (Amit, 2000) as the result of a dialogical relation between my own subjective, bodily sensorial and affective experiences and the perceptual, affective, social and political world of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins (Stoller and Olkes, 1989; Marcus and Fischer, 1999; Rabinow, 1977; Emerson and Pollner, 2001).

Despite my constant attempts to avoid the over-Islamicization of my research subjects and of the field itself, it was not always easy to make people understand that I was not striving to learn about Islam or whether they were good or bad Muslims, which seemed to be their primary concern. In introducing myself I always mentioned that I was researching stories of Muslim families of Indian origins who had migrated from Mozambique in the aftermath of Portuguese decolonization. However, in conversation, most would refer to several aspects of Islam, and even offer me educational guides about Islam. In fact, my participation in most of the activities taking place in the Lisbon Central Mosque during the month of Ramadan, such as the activities of *Zakat*⁷ and *Sadka*⁸, my attendance at the *Iftar* meals, and all other events, which both the ‘Zakat Committee’ and the ‘Youth Committee’ of the Lisbon Islamic Community were directly responsible for during Ramadan, were all related to Islam. My attention to the way I dressed while in the space of the Mosque, regardless of the occasion and event, led the field participants to comment on how good my conduct was among them and to question whether or not I would be converting to Islam: “This girl looks like a Muslim”; “This journalist will think you [Catarina] are a Muslim”, as I heard during Ramadan. It would be misleading if I stated that this involvement in the field did not affect me bodily, perceptually and emotionally, since in fact – just like any other fieldwork and sensuous ethnography – this was a deeply embodied experience (Stoller, 1997; Ocejó, 2013; Emerson and Pollner, 2001; Pink, 2009). From the affective ties that started to be strengthened with the participants to my own self-awareness of what constitutes an appropriate act (or not), practice, gesture or words, to my acting according to the “logic of practice” (Bourdieu,

⁷ The *Zakat* constitutes one of the main pillars of Islam. It corresponds to the Arabic transliterated word for almsgiving, an act of charity, which those who have accumulated a certain amount of wealth are obliged to enact towards the poor and needy ones. The amount offered and who can receive are defined by Islamic law. In the Lisbon Islamic Community, the offerings of *Zakat* take place during Ramadan, and the process of collection and distribution is assessed according to the income of each community member.

⁸ *Sadka* constitutes another act of charity in Islam, this time by voluntary will.

1990) I was slowly being socialized, and I started feeling deeply involved, which might have led many in the field to question the grounds for my presence. To become a Muslim was also something that at some point during those days of Ramadan did make sense to me, since the intensity of events and shared experiences of fraternity affected me immensely, making me feel part of something I was not. However, Bahir, my family friend brought me back to reality, helping me to make sense of the boundaries between my own life and my research, when conversing with me about my involvement in the field and with the participants.

But while much of my fieldwork could be revisited and analyzed in terms of the relationships established, my own transformation and the construction of the field, this was never my main research goal or focus of interest. In fact, and despite my deep involvement in the field, I did not cease to understand that my research focus was on these subjects' postcolonial belongings. Therefore, and because I noticed the over-Islamicized significations being produced at the start of my fieldwork, I decided to make explicit my own family story, and to emphasize the fact that my parents had migrated from Mozambique to Portugal after 1975, as was the case for many subjects in the field. This attempt to trigger identifications between the field participants and myself was (at times) naïve, since despite the potentially-shared perspectives, positions between former settlers and those in an intermediate and subordinate power position in the colonial context cannot be confused. Moreover, this strategy did not immediately fully stop people from thinking that the reason I had decided to work with them was because they were Muslims and because I wanted to learn about Islam or to become a Muslim. Considering that Islam has become a hot topic of discussion in the West after 9/11 (Koningsveld, 2002; Akbarzadeth and Smith, 2005), and that most Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins have not only represented Islam in Portugal ever since the foundation of the Lisbon Islamic Community in 1968 (CIL, 2006), but have also become proficient in explaining Islam to members of Portuguese civil society, media and academia (Tiesler, 2000; Bastos and Bastos, 2006; Marujo, 01.12.2007; Valdigem, 2005), it became clear that these subjects' religious positions assumed a higher subjective consciousness compared to their other dimensions of identity and belongings and that they were not used to talking

about other aspects of themselves, such as their connections to other collective grounds of belonging.

The prioritization of these subjects' Muslim identities could also be explained through the philosophy of "forgetfulness of the colonial past" (Cooper, 2003), which has led to a certain amount of erasure of aspects related to colonial memory and to the embracing of a certain European future (Smith, 2003), where being a Muslim constitutes a constant subject of discussion. However, I needed to find out more regarding these subjects' more intimate, sensory and affective belongings, some of which they seemed to have censored and removed from the sphere of their public identities. Were there any unknown feelings or agendas that could justify the fact that they did not expect me to want to learn about other components and dimensions of their belonging beyond their Muslim-ness? After all why would a daughter of former Mozambican settlers wish to come and learn about them in the Mosque if not in order to learn about Islam? Given all these factors I knew that in order to gain access to these subjects' more intimate, affective and sensory worlds, I needed to enter their private realms of dwelling, such as the family household, and other contexts of their daily lives, since these constitute an important context of primary socialization, where the passing down of shared belongings is also likely to have been facilitated and negotiated (Bourdieu, 1990; Carsten, 1995; Hirsch, 2012; Shamma, 2002; Bogner and Rosenthal, 2009; Carsten, 2007; Carsten, 2000). Moreover, I intended to contact parents and children (18+) sharing the same household, in order to explore and understand how different collective grounds of belonging would or would not be articulated and called upon within each one of these generational groups. Would the youngsters in the field identify with the rest of their household members' collective memories of belonging? Would there be any differences? From the start my intention was to sample household members with different life trajectories, biographies, and in particular with different migration paths, in order to observe the role of lived experiences of localities and of the transfer of affective identifications facilitated by sensory objects in the construction of both personal and/or family narratives, as well as the implications of perceptual, bodily and affective experiences in the way belongings were or were not enacted.

Such research strategies and goals were initially only partially facilitated

due to restriction of my access to more intimate contexts of dwelling related to the circumstances of this particular fieldwork. There were challenges to my participation in the field, posed by my interlocutors' urban volatile conditions of living, and which did not allow me to attend all their routines, and by my identity as a non-Muslim white woman. Islam seemed to be the key to entering and accessing these subjects' social contexts, since during the period of doubt regarding my conversion to Islam I saw several doors to private contexts of dwelling being opened to me. Had I converted to Islam I would have probably been able to access different spheres of these subjects' everyday life, with repercussions for the type of field constructed. Additionally, from the beginning, my age identity seemed to grant me access to the youngsters' sphere, rather than the adults' one. Despite the fact that I was older than most who attend the Youth Committee of the Lisbon Islamic Community, whose ages are approximately between 14 and 27 years old (with very few exceptions), they still perceived me – I was 30 years old then – as a youngster and invited me to be part of their initiatives and tasks. This, together with my own desire to be part of the worlds that mattered to them, prolonged my presence and participation in relatively public and official events among the young, with which my collaboration was often requested. From meetings to discuss public community strategies, through others meant to decide the future visions and activities of the youth committee, to relatively official and communitarian public initiatives taking place in public city spaces, my role and participation in the social life of the community started becoming official but also deeply public. I began to understand that not only was I being given an opportunity to learn about these youngsters and to access their worlds (though within a considerably Islamicized and relatively politicized environment), but that they also considered my presence useful in the discussion of their own communitarian considerations and public image (perhaps due to my being a non-Muslim white Portuguese who was keen to understand, support and mediate their perspectives). From this point of view this was, as I was also told by one of the leaders of the Youth Committee, a win-win situation, both for them and for me. Some of my collaborations played this to their advantage, especially in the first half of my fieldwork, since my intent to gain access to the family-household units started being constantly delayed, based on the argument that their parents were not available or did not feel comfortable speaking with me, for reasons

which were not always clear to me. While my role as a fieldworker constituted for them a useful resource in their public communications and representations, I also used this time to build stronger relations of trust and to gain further insights regarding the youngsters' life worlds. For this reason, I waited patiently until it felt appropriate to gain access and/or to insist on accessing more private realms, where processes of greater interest to this research could be observed and analyzed.

This coincided with the initial six months of fieldwork when I had also decided to rent a flat in the Lisbon metropolitan area, not far away from the Lisbon Central Mosque. Despite knowing from previous research reports that there was a high number of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins residing in Odivelas, a municipality located around 18 km away from Lisbon (in the north), and in Laranjeiro, around 13 km away from Lisbon (in the south), all around local mosques (Tiesler, 2000), my main point of contact and work was a leading group of peers, mostly youngsters, participating in the activities of the Lisbon Islamic Community, based in the Lisbon Central Mosque, with my access being eased there due to previous research contacts. Therefore, it made sense to me to live closer to this site and to be able to get to the Mosque whenever needed, though several field events did not take place in the Lisbon Central Mosque, but somewhere around it, with the farthest being in Odivelas. After all, the field does not constitute a static terrain, nor does it have to have a physical location, corresponding instead to the “spaces, inhabitants and interactions of one or another ‘community’ [which] are consolidated and transformed into the object and site of ethnographic scrutiny.” (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 239).

This decision to settle down in Lisbon nevertheless had both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, I was located in a very central area from which it was easy to get to almost anywhere in the Lisbon metropolitan area, where the participants would circulate. The fact that I was renting my own flat also allowed me to invite my interlocutors to my own place, thus promoting the creation of relationships of trust, shifting the field into mutual spaces, rather than exclusively being in their “own space (*un espace proper*)” (Certeau, 1988, p.94). On the other, I was not living together with my participants, as the ideal and

archetype of field immersion would entail (Ocejo, 2013; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). This, in addition to my interlocutors' relatively busy and erratic urban lives, either marked by university classes or work, limited and made my own participation and immersion in the field a much more difficult task, facilitating instead regular but not daily participant observation in both social and religious events of a considerably public nature and predominantly arranged by the Youth Committee, an executive body of the LIC. These would mostly take place during the weekends at the Lisbon Central Mosque and sometimes during weekdays in other locations around the Lisbon metropolitan area, with very few exceptions.

After around six months in the field I understood that not all family members were actually keen to talk to me or to have their narratives recorded. This led me to endeavour to count on the participation of at least two members of each household; one parent and one youngster aged over 18. Reducing the family-household unit to two elements was not ideal but it increased the chances of gaining participants for my research. Moreover, considering that my access to the youth was easier, I decided to count on their mediation to make first contact with their parents. After doing so, I could then come back to the youngsters and complete a family-household unit. This field strategy, along with a more proactive attitude, was fruitful, since thereafter I managed to gain the participation of 25 interlocutors from 13 different family units. However, the participation of two of these family units remained incomplete at the end of the fieldwork, with only one household member participating in the research, hence reducing the sample to 23 participants from 11 family units, seven of whom invited me to their homes without me explicitly requesting this. Additionally, I conducted directed interviews with five other field participants for supplementary data verification and validation.

The other difficulty I had relates to the gender bias posed due to the majority of the youngsters directing me immediately to their mothers rather than to their fathers. Was my gender identity in the field determining my field contacts and access? Or were the youngsters under the impression that only their mother could provide me with family stories? Are women the only holders of family memories, or were they simply more available to receive and give me interviews? Certainly these are questions that I could not always answer and clarify, especially

because most of the mothers in the field interviewed were also employed, having often just as much time as many of the fathers in the household. Since no fieldwork is truly exempted from such limitations I chose to articulate them within the analysis of much of the material collected.

It was then only after six months of ethnographic fieldwork in mainly public social and religious settings that I finally had the opportunity to start visiting some of the participants in their homes. Here I conducted a domestic “sensuous and tasteful ethnography” (Stoller, 1989) that allowed for a more focused perceptual engagement with a variety of sensory experiences, which were facilitated by my own body relation with objects of home décor, food, media, and other objects which were placed in relation to the participants (though not always consciously reflected upon by the latter, as they are constitutive components of their own belongings). This sensory engagement entailed reflection on the “relationship between sensory perception and culture, [while engaging] with questions concerning the status of vision and its relationship to the other senses, and [while demanding] a form of reflexivity that goes beyond the interrogation of how culture is ‘written’ to examine the sites of embodied knowledge” (Pink, 2009, p.15). In this sense I have not restricted the understanding of the field to my own self-evident perceptual triggers and references, nor did I presume a certain hierarchy of sensory modalities, initiating instead a discussion of what the meanings of a variety of perceptions for both myself and for the field participants were in the enactment of their collective memories of belonging. This exercise entailed a critical reflection on the status of discrete sensory modalities of experience carried within specific subject-object relationships, in a deconstructive process that also attempts to decolonize the ethnographer’s gaze (Stoller, 1982). This was also intended to better understand how a multisensory range of experience might facilitate my interlocutors’ expressions of their collective memories of belongings.

1.5.2. In-depth interviews and the life-story approach

This research benefitted from an unstructured mode of conversation and two types of structured interviews which took place during different moments of the ethnographic encounter, in the participants’ home in most cases. The first of

these structured interviews followed a template (see appendices 1 and 2) that consists of a protocol with narrative-generating questions regarding both the family and personal stories of the participants, in order to gain access to narratives through which one can derive both explicit and implicit connections to collective (both lived and imagined) communities/grounds of belonging. Although structured so as to maximize the time of a first interview encounter (because my interlocutors could not always do a second interview), conducting these in-depth interviews was intended to collect biographical accounts of the subjects' life histories, narrated for a period of between one and four hours. The importance of such an approach is tied to the fact that biographical research can provide an account of the biographer's life experience from his/her present perspective (Rosenthal, 2007), hence appropriately serving the goals of this research, especially with regard to the significance of a wide range of multisensory experiences, past and present, in the materialization and expression of collective memories of belonging. For this reason, and with these purposes in mind, a biographical narrative template was organized around particular themes. Considering that we always acquire memories and recall within society, thus collectively (Bogner and Rosenthal, 2009; Halbwachs, 1992), I have highlighted the significance of social groups, starting with the initial socializing one – the family group - in the shaping of an individual's collective belongings. I also requested that my interlocutors initiate the narrative of their life story⁹ by attempting to recall the life history of their progenitors and ancestors, either living or passed. Generally these initial narratives were not very detailed, being confined to these relatives' place of birth/origin, eventual migration trajectory and any other element of relevance recalled by my interlocutors. My intention was to intersect the ability to recall remote pasts and the contents of these pasts in relation to my interlocutors' positionalities with their stated – and implicit – narratives of belonging. These stories were followed by a continuous narrative of the self, this time centred on the interviewees, but also structured according to those different social frameworks of memory (Halbwachs, 1992) within which they have retrospectively perceived themselves to be located over their lifetime.

⁹ Following Gabriele Rosenthal's approach to Biographical Research, I distinguish life story from life history. While the former refers to "the narrated personal life as related in conversation or written in the present time", the latter corresponds to "lived-through life" (Rosenthal, 2007).

Apart from family groups I questioned them about their membership of other groups, such as groups of friends and communitarian frameworks, and endeavoured whenever possible to follow historical markers, which tend to match different phases of the individual life course as recalled.

Recounting one's life story constitutes a deeply reflexive exercise that carries discontinued temporal references. In order to mitigate potential difficulties emerging from such discontinuous narratives, I divided the interview template chronologically and according to past and present narratives. The past was thus structured according to particular temporal and historical markers of reference, such as the family/personal time of migration from different points on the map (across India, Mozambique and Portugal), and the period around the independence of Mozambique in 1975 and Portuguese decolonization of the country, in order to both comprehend the lifeworld of the participants and to observe perceptions of continuity and change in relation to ethno-national grounds of belonging as narrated in the present tense. Moreover, questions about the participants' past lived experiences were also structured according to temporal markers identified with phases from the life course of the individual, alongside personal and cultural markers that often allowed the interlocutors to locate particular events and occurrences within the context of different family-household units, according to their different civil status and phases of the life course (such as childhood and youth/ singlehood; adulthood/ after marriage).

Even though this intersection of temporal, cultural and socio-political markers with frameworks and groups of belonging and with different periods of the life course might appear to structure the biographical narrative more than to allow for it to be narrated, it has been proved useful in different research projects which I was involved in (Valdigem, 2006; Pereira, 2013). Not only did it allow me to optimize the value of the first time encounter/ interview when faced with difficulties in conducting second and third interviews, but it also facilitated processes of recall of events that are either deliberately or not placed at a secondary level of importance by the interviewees.

For the purpose of this research, where narratives regarding subject-object relationships were not produced spontaneously in parallel with the subject's biographical narrative, questions regarding uses and appropriations of particular

sensory objects, from food to family objects to media content and devices, were also directly asked in order to understand how past worlds of experience have been retrospectively defined perceptually within different timeframes.

Generally this approach facilitated and generated narratives that can be accounted for in terms of their oral history value and testimony, falling short of providing enough material for an oral history project, which this dissertation certainly is not. However, it has allowed for an exploration of the extent to which these past subject-object relationships entailed the incorporation and the continuous enactment of particular perceptual experiences in the bodily memory, thus requiring the articulation of particular social practices that can also be analyzed according to the ritualization of embodied memories both inscribed and enacted across time and space (Connerton, 1989), in order to access the eventual processes of re-production and/or discontinuity and change in relation to experiential forms of belonging.

This in-depth exploration of what the past consists of was obviously adapted to the two different generational groups participating in the research, by designing two different biographical interview templates, as shown in appendices 1 and 2.

Questions about the present were organized according to categories of description of everyday life, including subject-object relationships and practices undertaken on a regular basis in different settings, in order to provide an insight into moments of their everyday life which I did not always have access to (though this would never substitute my participant observation when possible). Relationships with material and sensory objects at home and outside of it, as well as relationships with significant others, such as family and community members, other friends and co-workers, constituted an object of enquiry, in order to better assess the degrees and forms of connection being established by my interlocutors. I intended to observe and verify both explicit and implicit present connections regarding ethno-national grounds, as expressed through the uses and appropriations of things exhibited within the domestic space, as well as through others only accessible through perceptual means. Therefore questions that entail a phenomenological approach to human relationship with things, such as “Do you have anything at home that reminds you of India, Mozambique and of Islam?”

were asked of all my interviewees in order to trigger a recall of (and eventually a reflection upon) the sensory experiences that might or might not take place regularly – both consciously and unconsciously – within the domestic space and in connection to collective universes of belonging. The answers provided were always analysed in line with the sensuous and tasteful ethnographic approach, where the attempt *to grasp experience before thought* constituted a constant goal.

I cannot dismiss the fact that my previous experience of researching media perception was fundamental to my approach herein. From the start, and as a result of my MA dissertation, I wished to explore the significance of media content used and appropriated by different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins in the long-term processes of re-production and negotiation of sensory memories of belongings, along with the role played by other objects placed in relationship to these subjects. The traditional reception methodologies developed from the 1970s to the 1990s, integrating the three main generations of reception studies (Alasuutari, 1999), could not provide the required means to explore the phenomenological processes examined in this research, since they are often focused on the uses, readings and appropriations of texts in a daily life context, and in the constructionist view of audience research (Morley, 1992; Morley, 1993; Silverstone et al., 2006; Silverstone, 1994; Hall, 1980; Alasuutari, 1999), rather than on the perceptual, affective and bodily mnemonic processes which inform this particular research. However, this does not mean that these media theoretical and methodological frameworks have been neglected, quite the opposite. When intersected with aspects of experience and practice they are articulated with the mnemonic and phenomenological analysis that is utilized here, along with a *gestalteam* approach to the biographical narratives resulting from the life story interviews (Rosenthal, 2007). As for the overall merging of media reception methods with the phenomenology of sensory objects adopted in this dissertation, this is further expanded through the same process of reconstruction and interpretation of the sequences narrated in each participant's biography. This is to say that the interview protocol applied aimed to explore a wide range of subject-object relationships produced in different contexts during my interlocutors' past and present lives, paying considerable attention to the media contents and devices used, appropriated, incorporated and recalled.

1.5.3. The ‘Photographic Exercise’

All through this *sensuous and tasteful fieldwork*, which was complemented, as described above, by the life-story approach and by the everyday life interview applied to different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, I realized that there was a “world of objects” (Bourdieu, 1990) being made available to me and to my interlocutors which deserved more systematic attention. These often held undeclared perceptual evidence (either visual, tasteful, haptic, olfactory, affective, or bodily) that needed to be reflected upon in relation to the processes of making, re-producing and/or challenging collective memories of belonging. In addition, while listening to my interlocutors’ life stories and accounts of their everyday life, several items – not immediately visible to me – became significant in reinforcing the role of different selected sensory objects in the objectification of not only collective memories of belonging, but also of an everyday life world of reference. As a result, I started thinking about the possibility of exploring the participants’ relationships with some of the objects they cherish the most, similarly to Csikszentmihalyi and Rocheberg-Halton (1981), but focusing on the affective and sensory role played by these objects in giving the participants a sense of past and present connections. I was not just assuming that subjects have agency over the objects, but that objects too have agency (Latour, 2007).

It was nine months into the fieldwork that I decided to propose collaboration in this activity, which I designated the “Photographic Exercise”, to my interlocutors. This activity consisted of what I thought could be a fun activity wherein I would invite my interlocutors to photograph things they cherish and keep at home, that remind them of places, times, and moments past; things brought from other countries, especially from India, Mozambique or any Islamic/Arab Country; their cherished audio-visuals and things that trigger or refer to future plans, and which altogether could further materialize sensory and affective evidence of connections to collective grounds of belonging and of identity. This would correspond to a truly collaborative task, providing me with fragments of my interlocutors’ perspectives and place in the world, and of their most intimate subject-object relationships, such as has been undertaken in recent

years in visual anthropology and sociology (Cfr. for instance Pink, 2007; Banks, 2001; Banks, 2007). For this to be possible, I decided to buy and offer to interlocutors a disposable camera each, along with a short note with a guide to the exercise, where I explicitly listed the criteria and categories of objects I was interested in knowing about. With this guide I intended to remind my interlocutors of the possibility of choosing things that were not necessarily perceptually grasped via the eye, and which can hold different multisensory qualities, such as sound and taste. The interest in photographing them served to verify whether the visual modality would or would not be valid in representing those things, as well as to keep a register of these cherished objects for discussion later (and illustration of the thesis). Having a disposable camera each at hand, the participants would, I hoped, be able to think of the objects that allow them to establish connections to a world of reference, sensory relation and affect, mostly rooted in either lived or imagined pasts and presents, and to photograph them.

While this exercise has been extremely useful, allowing me to reflect upon the importance of the visual and the material in the objectification – or not – of collective memories of belonging, it did not take place entirely as planned. In fact, initially I thought of giving a disposable camera and the guide to the “Photographic Exercise” to my interlocutors, in order to allow them enough time to both think about it and to perform it. A few days after, I would be able to collect the cameras in order to develop the pictures. After that I would bring the developed pictures back to the photographers, in order to listen to and record their individual reasons for picturing the selected objects, as well as ascertaining these objects’ importance in evoking feelings and memories, and in facilitating connections to places, people and times past. However, when arranging to meet the participants in order to give them the camera and guide, I realized that not all of them were still available to take part in the exercise. Additionally, many continually stressed the fact that they did not carry anything of value in migration, claiming also not to have anything special that they could identify for this exercise. This claim was most common among the parents in the field, who also showed a stronger resistance to collaborating with this exercise. Apart from the evident unwillingness to continue having me around – which is understandable after my prolonged and seemingly ambiguous presence in the field – what this

experience demonstrated was a reflection on the meaning and the importance of material culture among the participants, as well as the (im)possibility of materializing memories of belonging. Some of these aspects are further discussed throughout the thesis.

Nevertheless, I have also encountered situations in which the “Photographic Exercise” seems to have been interpreted as my farewell from the field (which it was), and therefore as something that could (and should) be postponed so as to prolong my personal and affective contact with some of the participants (for those who looked on me as a friend and did not want me to leave their lives). Once again, this reflects the complexity of field relationships, which is not always predictable. In any case, the relations of friendship established in the field have also eased and facilitated my access to a few of my interlocutors’ sensory and material worlds, which I am grateful for. In fact, eight of the participants who made up four of the households and homes accessed, and with whom I had established stronger ties, agreed to collaborate in the ‘Photographic Exercise’, offering a tremendously rich material and visual account of their past and present material culture references. The only obstacle I came across relates to their dismissal of both the guide and of the disposable camera offered. In fact, although all those contacted who agreed to collaborate in the “Photographic Exercise” received a camera and a guide, these were never used as part of the exercise, nor were there any pictures taken in advance of our meeting and interview. Although I could not always understand why this was the case, there are a few factors that I believe may have led to failure to use the resources given to the participants. Firstly, during my contact with interviewees in the field it was clear that they did not always see the point of doing the photographic exercise, since what they defined as an object – mostly visually and physically – was not for them always worth mentioning. Secondly, the picturing of things seemed at times irrelevant to the participants, who would stress and produce exclamatory remarks about my own patience to do such a thing. Thirdly, there might have been some misunderstandings as to who would develop the pictures as well as to how the exercise would unfold.

The “Photographic Exercise” was thus conducted as an object- and visually-oriented interview, wherein I guided the process and my own camera was

used. Here I used another interview template aimed at exploring the following: the grounds for choosing particular objects as cherished ones; the subject's perceptual and affective relation to/associative memory of the object; a brief biography of the object (Kopytoff, 1988); its physical and/or symbolic place in the household and in the domestic space; and the state of preservation of the object and its value for future keeping. Although I often requested that my interlocutors take a picture of the selected objects using my own digital camera only in a single case did one of the household members wish to take pictures of the cherished material culture items¹⁰. In all other cases I photographed the objects selected by the participants, either before, during or after their narration of their intimate and multisensory relationships to them. These photographs have ultimately provided this PhD with a valuable illustration of the things which hold an intricate relation to my interlocutors' minds, bodies and senses, with implications for the ways in which their collective memories of belonging are also (re) produced and/or challenged.

Generally, the "Photographic Exercise" generated very insightful materials and results, which allowed me to discuss the participants' relationships with some of their cherished objects as well as their perceptions of what counts as an object, hence relating it to how certain sensory experiences are perceived. However, not all of the participants' cherished objects were photographed, either due to the fact that they were not at hand when the photographic exercise took place or due to the fact that these cherished objects were not immediately seen as an object for the exercise, not holding a material quality and/or proportions that could be visually captured. Additionally they were not all photographed due to the fact that my interlocutors' interpretations of the photographic exercise varied substantially from a task focused on objects of the past to one focused on objects relating to the present. Even so the exercise provided evidence of the different meanings ascribed to objects of both the past and the present. This activity was deeply stimulating as these photos were not only perceived as material *objects of memory* (Edwards, 2009) but as windows into times, spaces, senses and people originally placed remotely, and that were not for that reason easily reachable. This became even more obvious when one of my young interlocutors selected not just physical photographs of contexts he cherishes the most, but also screened images stored in

¹⁰ In this case it was the daughter of one of my interviewees who took the photographs.

his laptop, which became then the medium through which a multiplicity of cherished things, places and people were displayed. This overall discussion concerning the place and the role of the photograph in this fieldwork, as well as the results of this photographic exercise, is something I have not always managed to expand upon fully in this thesis, given the risk of diverting the reflection towards aspects of technique rather than of content. However, it is highlighted here as an account of the complexity and richness produced by the visual methods used.

My own use of these images within this thesis serves to make explicit some of my own arguments and discussions regarding the experiences produced in the field. However, their visual nature does not by any means reflect any sort of sensory hierarchy through which different collective memories of belonging can be expressed. The visual is here often displayed alongside interview excerpts where the participants express discursively much more complex and intricate multisensory engagements with the photographed object, hence showing the relationship between the visual and other senses, as suggested by Sarah Pink (2007).

1.6. THE FIELD PARTICIPANTS

This PhD research relied on the participation of many people who I met during my ethnographic fieldwork, which was initiated in the Lisbon Central Mosque (LCM), home to the Lisbon Islamic Community (LIC) as well as to a significant part of the Lisbon Muslim Community. Despite the fact that the LIC has been identified as a *microcosm* of Islam in Portugal, with respect to its membership and since it is made up of Muslim populations with different migration trajectories and social, ethnic and cultural backgrounds¹¹ (Tiesler, 2000), I learned, through both the available literature (Tiesler, 2000; Tiesler, 2005; Tiesler and Cairns, 2007; Tiesler and Cairns, 2006; Abranches, 2007;

¹¹ Although there are no reliable statistics concerning the number of Muslims in Portugal, the available literature suggests that of the around 10 million people resident in Portugal at the beginning of the 21st century, around 40 000 were Muslims (INE, 2012; Tiesler, 2000; Tiesler, 2005). Of these estimated 40 000, between 40% and 45% are calculated to be of Guinean origins, and 35% of Indian origins, all migrated from Mozambique, in the aftermath of the processes of Portuguese decolonization that took place after 1974. The remaining 20% - 25% of Muslims residing in Portugal correspond to populations that included recent waves of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, Pakistan and Bangladesh (Tiesler, 2000; Tiesler, 2005; Coelho, 2005).

Bastos and Bastos, 2006) and my own research initiatives, that this is also a central reference point for Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, who were actually at the heart of its foundation in 1968¹². Moreover, I also understood that many members of this group, who reside in the Lisbon metropolitan area¹³, gather in the Lisbon Central Mosque for both religious and social celebrations/events on a more or less regular basis, making both of these contexts ideal for my ethnography¹⁴.

However, contrary to my initial assumption that I was going to find a consistent and closely-knit group attending and participating in events at the Mosque, I realized right at the beginning of my fieldwork that Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins are not as homogeneous as I thought. In fact, and as much as their history involves the history of the *New Islamic Presence* in Portugal and is entangled with the history of Portuguese colonialism and decolonization (Tiesler, 2000; Tiesler, 2005), it has also become clear to me that ethnic differences, racial perceptions, varied social positions were and are still at the heart of processes of differentiation of peoples supposedly belonging to the same community-group of migration, as well as at the heart of power relations between community members. This is aside from the different religious movements and practices previously noted by a few (Vakil, 2004; Coelho, 2005).

Some of these differences and processes of differentiation between peoples based on ethnicity, race and class have determined my contact with the participants and the material collected. This should not have been a surprise considering that populations of Indian origins today residing in Portugal are very

¹² For details on the history of the Lisbon Islamic Community and of the construction of the Lisbon Central Mosque see (CIL, 2006; Coelho, 2005; Vakil, 2004; Tiesler, 2000).

¹³ Within the Lisbon Metropolitan area, apart from the Lisbon Central Mosque there are also several other mosques, prayer halls, Islamic associations and communities as well as schools, which were in the majority of cases set up around quarters and neighbourhoods with a high concentration of Muslim populations. Among these there are the Aicha Siddika Mosque and the Association of Islamic Education Darul Ulum Kadria Ashrafia in Odivelas (North of Lisbon metropolitan area), and the Al Madina Mosque in Laranjeiro (South of Lisbon Metropolitan area), where a higher number of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins are estimated to reside (CIL, 2006; Tiesler, 2000)

¹⁴ One cannot know for sure how many Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins there are in Portugal. However, drawing on Jorge Malheiros' (1996) estimate of the distribution of the Indian population in Portugal in 1992, one can argue that out of the 7900 Muslims of Indian origin estimated in the country, 7600 (96%) were based in the Lisbon metropolitan area. This also corresponds to 29% of the total of 33,300 people of Indian origins calculated in the country (and that includes Hindus, Muslims and Goans).

diverse, especially concerning their ancestors' origins in South Asia, and given their respective ethnicity, class and religious convictions and practices, not to mention their different life stories and family migration trajectories, as noted by few researchers (Bastos and Bastos, 2006; Malheiros, 1996).

In addition, this should not have been a novelty back then to me, considering that, as some authors explain, the particular historical, social, economic, political and cultural factors produced from the 17th century onwards (Khouri and Leite, 2008; Leite, 1996; Ghosh and Muecke, 2007; Boxer, 1969; Malheiros, 1996) are likely to have shaped diverse flows of peoples and goods from different states and regions in the Indian sub-continent, across the Indian Ocean and East African trade ports, leading to multiple intersections and contacts between people from different locations and with different backgrounds across these territories. These encounters have also been marked by economic and political circumstances related to the emergence and fall of the Arab and Islamic sultanates across the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, as well as by the trade strategies pursued by competing European Empires (Boxer, 1969; Leite, 1996). For this reason, a variety of the Muslim populations of Asian, African, Arab and European origins have shaped the ethnic and cultural mosaic of East Africa – including Mozambique – for centuries, with clear repercussions for processes of identity and belonging, as well as for the ways in which people have become differentiated. In fact, it has also been attested that despite the general conviviality of populations in Mozambique during the first half of the 20th century this diversity of peoples has at times produced certain tensions and conflicts between Muslim groups (Zamparoni, 2000), which anticipates – yet without any straightforward relation - some of the processes of ethnic and racial differentiation observed in the Lisbon Central Mosque during my fieldwork.

However, at the beginning of my fieldwork I did not expect these intra-communitarian racial, class and ethnic differences and power relations to be as predominant as they turned out to be, since I had previously collected narratives that were deeply rooted in common narratives of migration and belonging, and some of the important literature produced with regard to Portuguese Muslims of Indian origins from Mozambique suggested a certain commonality of stories, also highlighting their shared middle class backgrounds (Tiesler, 2000). Perhaps this

was simply the result of my naive and ignorant understanding of both the history of this group and the history of migrations from South Asia to Mozambique from the 19th until the 20th century. In spite of this, this was something I was hoping to learn about, from the points of view of those who had probably long been carrying their narratives as mnemonic traces of a remote and often invented past, through conducting biographical interviews. I came to realize that much of this *history* of migrating from South Asia to Mozambique was not recalled nor narrated in detail by those interviewed, who mostly provided constructed memories of those trajectories, and memory accounts of their own, either lived or mediated, pasts back in Mozambique. They also focused on their present concerns, within which their inter-ethnic as well as inter-racial and class relationships are constantly being negotiated within the context of the LMC. The most determining impact of this is the symbolic separation between “Indians” and “Mixed/Mozambicans”, which goes beyond the shared claims of Portuguese-ness and Muslim-ness. As I discuss in Chapters 3 and 4 of the thesis, these identity categories and differences distinguish members of this research group from one another. Most of the differences are based on claims of consanguineous ancestral connections – as well as lack of them - rooting people in place. Essentially, while those of “Indian” origin perceive themselves as descendants of South Asian and remote Arab ancestors rooted in different areas of South Asian and of the Middle East, those of a “Mixed/Mozambican” background claim a heritage produced as a result of historical encounters between populations of Arab origin, mostly based in the north of Mozambique, Portuguese, South Asians, Mozambicans and even Malaysians. This distinction results in certain practices of racial and ethnic differentiation which require attention when looking into claims, narratives and practices of memory, identity and belonging produced as a result of different subject-object relationships. Therefore, I have taken into account these emic distinctions of peoples in my sampling strategies in order to generate a balanced group of participants. Throughout the thesis I have also taken this distinction into account in order to analyse the material collected, yet not without critically analyzing and discussing the identity categories either claimed or refused, as they ought to be questioned in terms of the processes of re-enacting memories of collective belonging, which are also tied to a colonial past and a postcolonial critique.

According to these racial and ethnic distinctions 23 of my interviewed participants belonging to 11 family/households units can be identified and distinguished as either “Indian” or “Mozambican”. The family/household units were identified both according to relations of kinship and based on a shared set of practices and activities, beyond mere co-habitation, which work to sustain the household (Sanjek, 2012; Sanjek, 1982). This means that out of the 23 individuals interviewed, each pair belong, or have belonged, to the same household for more than a year, up until the moment of the first interview. However, these two household members do not necessarily share the same domestic space. Therefore, in the case of this research a family/household unit consists of one parent and one child (youngster, 18+), with the exception of one case when two children in the same household were interviewed in addition to the parent, regardless of the actual composition of the household and, in some cases, the lack of co-habitation¹⁵. Apart from these 23 respondents, two other interviews were conducted with the intention of completing their respective family/household unit (with one more interview with one parent and with one descendent respectively), but due to difficulties their narratives ended up being used as additional material. Five other institutional interviews¹⁶ were also conducted with key informants in the field, in order to verify some of the ideas and reflections produced during the fieldwork, and to gain further extra-household analysis of the multisensory processes of re-production of collective memories of belonging. (AAA, 2012)

In considering the parents in the family/household units collaborating in this research (see appendix 3), it is necessary to mention that out of 11, nine are mature women/ mothers, and only two are mature men/ fathers. This gender difference results from the fieldwork approach, as discussed in the previous section. Most of the parents (six) were born between 1961 and 1970, four were born between 1951 and 1960 and only one between 1941 and 1950. While the majority (six) were born in the city of Lourenço Marques in Mozambique a few

¹⁵ In the case of one of the family/household units, the mother and child do not share the same home, but are still part of the same household. In another case, the spouse of my interlocutor was at the time of my fieldwork residing in Angola, although he was the head of the household.

¹⁶ By “institutional interviews” I mean interviews both with leaders, part of the different executive committees integrating the institutional and managerial body of the LIC, and with others, who have played an important role as informants during my fieldwork, and who provided additional reflexive information regarding the LIC and the LMC, as well as the social, cultural, religious and political practices of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins.

were born in different regions of the country, namely in the city of Beira, on the Island of Mozambique and in Nampula, and one was born in the city of Karachi, post-partition Pakistan, which corresponds to where her progenitors were based at that time. The parents' progenitors were born in different locations across South Asia, Mozambique and South Africa, having embraced mixed marriages according to caste, ethnicity and class differences. The parents did not spend all their youth in their birth cities, most having migrated at some point within the country, tending to move towards the south or the capital of Mozambique, for both educational opportunities and improved socio-economic conditions. One exception was an individual born in Karachi and taken to Lourenço Marques at an early age. The great majority were living in the city of Lourenço Marques – which after decolonization became Maputo – before leaving the country (only one participant was living in Pemba before migrating to Portugal). The great majority of parents (seven) migrated to Portugal in the aftermath of decolonization, namely between 1975 and 1980. Of these seven only one spent a few of these years in a different city, in the district of Surat in India.

Most of my older interviewees fled Mozambique for different reasons, varying from: a) forced adoption of Portuguese citizenship after Mozambique's independence in 1975; b) fear of being taken to educational camps by the ruling party, Frelimo, where communist education would be provided, which a few of my female interlocutors experienced; c) fear for one's life, which, in the case of one of my interlocutors, led her parents to send her to India together with her siblings, where they remained until their definitive migration to Portugal; d) a lack of socio-economic and health resources, which made family life in the post-colony unsustainable; and e) the need to support family members settling down in Portugal, which happened to one of my male interlocutors, suggesting the importance of male migration in support of family members, especially women. Clearly these constitute reasons that cannot be detached from the subjects' positions of identity and life stories, which I will be tackling in a more in-depth manner in this PhD, along with their intersections with enactments of multisensory and bodily collective memories of belonging. It is also necessary to mention that the great majority of these parents opted for Portuguese citizenship, which constituted the main motivation for their entry and permanent settlement in

Portugal in the aftermath of decolonization. Exceptions to these reasons will be tackled throughout the remaining chapters, where relevant.

Regarding parents' educational and professional backgrounds, there is also a correlation between these two factors. Slightly more than half of the parents interviewed (seven) have reached either the 4th or the 9th grade¹⁷, and the rest (four) completed the 12th grade (one), a BA (two) and an MA (one) degree. While the former often run family businesses, following in the footsteps of their families in colonial Mozambique (Malheiros, 1996; Ávila and Alves, 1993), with the exception of three parents, who are either housekeepers or unemployed, the latter hold mostly liberal professions (See Appendix 3). Their relative socio-economically stable condition is what seems to have conferred on them a middle class position in society. Most of the parents interviewed live in the municipality of Odivelas and Loures (7), where traditionally there has been a higher number of Muslim populations of Indian and Mozambican background settling (Tiesler, 2000; Tiesler, 2005), with very few residing in Lisbon (2) or in Oeiras (1) in either nuclear or single parent family/households. The single parents correspond to two divorced women, who are also the heads of the household, working outside of the home.

As for the youngsters interviewed (12), the great majority (10) were born in Lisbon between 1981 and 1990, a few years after their parents' arrival in Portugal. Only two were born in Mozambique (in Maputo and Pemba, respectively) between 1971 and 1980 and prior to their parents' decision to migrate to Portugal. In fact, the lack of resources to assist in their upbringing in the post-colony was at the heart of their parents' decision to depart from Mozambique when they were still young children.

Half of these youngsters (6) are women, and the remaining six are young men, representing an equally balanced gender sample, unlike the parent sample. Most of these youngsters (seven) have pursued higher education, namely BA and MA degrees. At the time of interview two had completed the 12th grade, but while one intended to pursue higher education the other had already opted to stop studying and to enter the labour market. Of those either attending or having

¹⁷ The 4th and the 9th grades correspond to end of Primary and Junior High School respectively.

completed higher education degrees only two are students, three are working students with part-time jobs, and three are already employed, having also pursued liberal professions in large corporations or in public institutions, in contrast to their parents' main occupational choices and opportunities. Most of these youngsters (10) also still live with their parents in households composed of an average of four members. As for the remaining two, one lives with his grandmother, and one is, contrary to all others, already married, but temporarily living with her parents, whose household she has been a part of for most of her life.

1.7. THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis is organized in three parts or chapters, each one focusing on the multisensory enactments of the juxtaposed and yet discrete collective memories of belonging associated with forms of Muslim-ness, Mozambican-ness and Indian-ness. Aspects related to senses of Portuguese-ness are discussed throughout the chapters, along with other multi-layered memories of collective belongings, insofar as they are deeply intersected.

Chapter 2 initiates the exploration and discussion of the ethnographic material by seeking an epistemological approach to my interlocutors' objects of home décor, in particular to what is often defined as "Islamic objects" on display in the participants' "front rooms" (McMillan, 2009a). While stressing the importance of deconstructing ways of *seeing* in favour of a multisensory understanding of the relationships established between my interlocutors and these so-called "Islamic objects", I also explore how, through a phenomenological approach to the subjects' relationships with these *things*, and others kept in private, it is possible to unveil my interlocutors' mnemonic and imaginative enactments of Muslims-ness. Apart from dissecting the implications of the interdependent subject-object relationships in the shaping of my interlocutors' bodily forms of Muslim-ness, I also discuss how the latter is tied to historical and biographical circumstances, which define affective family and friendship memories and relationships.

Chapter 3 discusses the significance of the absence of Mozambican visual

signs in my interlocutors' homes and their refusal to be Mozambicans, while contrasting it with their biographical narratives and their everyday life experiences, where continued multisensory objectifications of a postcolonial Mozambican-ness are at play. It continues the epistemological discussion of the meanings of the visual and the physical in the enactments of collective memories of belonging, and provides evidence of the importance of articulating ethnographic experience with respect to the biographical accounts of different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins. This approach is adopted with the purpose of understanding the forms of Mozambican-ness that tend to be re-membered, embraced, reproduced and contested through current experiential, multisensory and affective means and circumstances produced in the context of everyday life. In practical terms I articulate my interlocutors' memories of the senses resulting from their relationship with 'things Mozambican' – such as food objects and food-related practices – alongside their positionalities, in order to discuss the participants' ambivalent postcolonial positions of identity and belonging.

Chapter 4 departs from tales from the field in order to discuss the contradictions between claimed identity positions and the bodily and sensory practices through which a connection to an either lived or imagined Indian-ness are continuously re-enacted across generations. It also discusses the role played by Indian food and audio-visuals in continuing and/or inventing traditions, by means of which ideas of collective Indian-ness are both re-created and defied in postcoloniality. The vast amount of material collected in this regard produced extensive discussions, which resulted in the division of the chapter into two discrete parts, dedicated to exploring Indian food and Indian audio-visuals respectively.

2. 'MUSLIM HOMES' OR 'HOMES OF MUSLIMS'?: THE DOMESTIC SPACE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ISLAMIC OBJECTS OF HOME DÉCOR IN REPRODUCING AN AFFECTIVE ISLAM

2.1. INTRODUCTION

By leaving the space of the mosque and entering the private realms of dwelling of my interlocutors I was hoping to shift from the over-dominant religious emphasis of these subjects' identities to their affective and experiential identifications. There, I expected these identifications to be intrinsically connected to their family trajectories of migration, thus to lived/imaginary homelands, places and times, following from previous research on the intersection between the material culture of the home, postcolonial identities and belongings (Rushdie, 1982; Tolia-Kelly, 2004b; McMillan, 2009a; Turan, 2003).

However, once inside the domestic space I was faced with a prominent Islamic visual décor, nuanced by a multiplicity of what I firstly identified as religious sayings written in Arabic, either framed and hung on the walls/doorways, or simply engraved on specific objects, ranging from books to boxes, as well as by images of Islam's holiest sites, all on display in the social areas of the home. Previous research, which has focused on the importance of religious shrines and objects of domestic décor inscribed with sacred words and meanings in the sacralization of space and in religious place-making by diasporic or minority groups (McCloud, 1996; Metcalf, 1996; Qureshi, 1996; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993), seems to shed some light on the prevalence of religious icons on display in my interlocutors' homes. And yet, while such visual Islamic décor appeared at first glance to result from my interlocutors' valorization of the Qur'an and from the projection of their religious identities, how could I actually make sense of their meanings and value? How could I understand them as solely sacralizing agents on the basis of my own gaze and observation of the social areas of my interlocutors' homes? Should not the designation of these artefacts and objects as Islamic, as they could apparently be defined, require an extended discussion regarding their signification and value? Should their prominence not also require an exploration of their importance in my interlocutors' definitions of the self, their identities and in their re-enactments of collective memories of Islam-ness/Muslim-ness for instance? These were some of

the questions and assumptions that guided my sensory ethnography in my interlocutors' homes, as well as the exploration of their most intimate senses of belonging as expressed therein.

In this chapter, I will thus discuss my interlocutors' relationships with their Islamic objects of home décor. I start by presenting an epistemological reflection on how to tackle objects perceived to be Islamic which are on display in the home. Thereafter, I go on to explore the extent to which these objects constitute – or not - materializations of Islam, in order to reach some conclusions regarding the degree to which they play an important role in the enactment of collective memories of belonging for the participants, namely those associated with Islam (although, not solely).

2.2. TOWARDS A CRITICAL AND MULTI-SENSORY APPROACH TO ISLAMIC HOME DÉCOR OBJECTS

The vast majority of the homes I visited between 2007 and 2008 could hardly conceal their owners' or residents' religious identities, presenting their visitors with a décor based around several Arabic inscriptions and suggestive Islamic representations right from the first sighting of the flat's front door. In fact, once inside the hallway of a block of flats I rarely mistook which door to knock. Among the few plain dark wood doors a small golden plaque with engraved Arabic sayings was fixed either above or below the door's peephole, directing me to my informants' door. Within two seconds I would ring the bell and be welcomed in, often displacing my thoughts about the main door's golden plaque, its meaning and relevance, hence leaving its potential significance to be discussed later on, if my interlocutors so wished.

During a descriptive visual walk through my informants' flats my attention would often be divided, right at the entrance, between my interlocutors' welcoming gestures and words, my wish to find visual material evidence of multiple juxtaposed identity markers, and the prevalence of several Arabic inscriptions mostly arranged in a blend of gold and black compositions, often presented in the form of frames on walls. Frames of various sizes would clearly contrast with the almost naked white walls that I could see, highlighting beautifully arranged Arabic sayings I could not read, understand nor recognize. These frames would, in some cases, be next to other Arabic inscriptions written

on either closed or opened Qur'ans, carefully placed on book supports and presented on the tops of hall cabinets. In a few other cases I could see Qur'ans in other areas of the house, mainly in the living room. These Qur'ans also constituted a fundamental object of home identity and décor.

Depending on the size of the hall and the time spent in it, in some cases I noticed a few objects which had a similar display and aesthetics. Some represented the Ka'ba, in Mecca, either displayed as site photographs on the walls, or as shiny artistic reproductions on gold and black wall frames or decorative plates. Some others involved boxes of different sizes and shapes placed on top of medium storage furniture and cabinets located in the flat's main hall or doorways, displaying either geometric golden designs or simply golden Arabic inscriptions. Only after conversing with my informants did I discover that some of the larger boxes were actually filled with audiocassettes of recordings of recitations of the Qur'an. The great majority of these domestic halls and entrances are marked by minimal décor, and by a sense of emptiness, as strongly projected by the whiteness of the walls in contrast with the prominent golden-black compositions just described.

While in the flat's main hall and/or corridor, my interlocutors would direct me to a more reserved and formal area to receive me, as an outsider and a guest in their homes, namely their living/dining room. As with any modern Portuguese home (Pereira, 2011), my interlocutors' living and dining rooms constitute the 'front regions' where the family performance "maintains and embodies certain standards" of politeness and of 'decorum' both morally and instrumentally, as Erving Goffman (1990, p.110) puts it. Consequently, and as part of such a decorous performance, the material appearance of my interlocutors' living/dining rooms were also inscribed with *sign-equipments* (Goffman, 1990) which offer a glimpse of an 'accentuated material decorum' conveyed through the aesthetically and spatially arranged display of objects which, even if kitsch and apparently insignificant, seem to hold their rightful place and symbolic value. Such an atmosphere reminds me of Michael McMillan's (2009b; 2009a) multi-sensorial art installation detailing the West Indian diasporic and postcolonial domestic aesthetics of the post-war period, first presented in the Geffrye Museum in London, which just like my informants' living/ dining rooms, tended to display an image of immaculate cleanliness, godliness, moral and religious value through a

well-presented material display and composition. However, contrary to the ‘West Indian Front Room’, which was predominately meant to receive guests and non-members of the domestic group, my interlocutors’ living and dining room is, in the majority of cases, used as a family domestic reunion space; a place where the household members gather, socialize, and eat on a daily basis, as well as where they watch TV, chat, receive guests, and even pray, depending on the circumstances of dwelling, the floor plan, the time of day, and the gender interactions at play on particular occasions. In this sense, my interlocutors’ living/dining rooms find equivalence in the ‘family lounge’ or in the parlour, as designated in western architecture, which is predominately “intended to be the family room, symbolized by its communal use and family-related decoration” (Chevalier, 1999, p. 86), apart from constituting as well, and when needed, the formal front room into which guests are invited.

The available furniture and home décor objects divide the room’s layout into two distinct areas, separated by different uses and practices. The living areas of the family lounges I visited are clearly marked by the TV set, often large scale and placed against one of the main walls, in front of which one or more sofas are usually located. In some of the homes I have been to, the TV is not only large but it is also permanently on, even though it is not always the main focus of social reunion, constituting instead either audio or visual company and background, as observed in other studies of media reception in the home (Morley, 1993; Tacchi, 1998).

The dining room – either located at the end of or entrance to the family lounge – is composed of a set of chairs surrounding a medium/large wooden/glass dining table, which is either used on a daily basis or only on special occasions, depending on whether there is a table set in the kitchen where the family-household members can have their meals. Yet, the dining room area also has one (or sometimes two) wooden sideboards, or in some cases a glass-panelled cabinet, placed against one of the walls, although these latter pieces of furniture are in some cases located between the living and the dining room areas of the lounge, depending on the latter’s size.

The living/dining room sideboards display the greatest number of family-related decorative objects of variable value, yet of clear decorum. Apart from the various Islamic-related images, inscriptions and objects, these also include several

china pieces and porcelains, and glass and bronze objects, such as tea/coffee sets and miniatures, which can also be found in other Portuguese homes, plus small scale wooden pieces of diverse shapes, clocks, books, plates, papers and documents, some of which I will be discussing in Chapter 3.

As a guest in the family-household/domestic space of my interlocutors, on the majority of occasions I was invited to sit down and converse with my interviewees in the living and dining room. This has also been the place where I was more often than not offered the possibility to share with them several finely presented and tasteful meals and/or snacks, in the interval or at the end of the interviews. For this reason, this was also the main space of domestic ethnographic observation.

The general overview of my interlocutors' home décor could lead any outsider to see them first and foremost as Muslims, and to identify and understand their homes as Muslim homes. The prevalent display of frames with Arabic calligraphy and inscriptions, and other Islamic referential images and objects spread throughout the main social areas of the flats, have even overshadowed my initial ability to see beyond these signs, persuading me to think of these objects as merely reflecting and reinforcing my interlocutors' Muslim-ness and affiliation to Islam. Simultaneously, the wide-ranging display of such objects suggested that these material things were fundamental components of the Muslim home.

The importance given to the structural, material and decorative elements/objects in the making of the home appeared to lend legitimacy to an equation that takes home décor as equal to subjects' identities, hence, as equal to the identity of the home (Cfr. Marcus, 2006). In assuming the applicability of such an equation to my interlocutors it would be easy to perceive them simply as Muslims, and their homes simply as Muslim homes, and thus quasi-sacred places of dwelling.

Nevertheless, the application of this to my interlocutors and their home places, simply based on such observations, triggered in me careful consideration. Following my endeavour to see beyond Islam and the visually evident, I started questioning if the display of those many frames with Arabic inscriptions, the many images of Mecca and other Islamic-related objects, such as the Qu'ran and the Tasbih, for instance, should all be approached as mere signs/symbols of a

religious identity position, and as important elements in the sacralization of the home place or, instead, if these things might hold different purposes and meanings for my interlocutors. Could I simply take my gaze to be a fundamental epistemological tool in the understanding of the relevance of those home objects in my interlocutors' narratives of belonging? Would this gaze allow and enable an in-depth and subjective understanding of my interlocutors' social worlds, their past and their present, observed in relation to their home objects? Could they also tell me something about their collective belongings, narrated in their autobiographical narratives? The elaboration of thoughts and the understanding of the reality I was seeing and experiencing were clearly limited by my ability to grasp the immaterial and the non-visual at all times, and even to truly know what both of these meant. In other words, while looking I was clearly limited by my perceptual possibilities of knowing, and by the impossibility of understanding what is beyond the visible display of such objects in my interlocutors' home places. Additionally, I was also deeply limited with respect to reading all those objects in my interlocutors' homes, simply due to the fact that I have not been socialized within that environment, due to being a non-Muslim woman, despite the commonalities that I share with many of them. Acknowledging that perspective depends "upon our own way of seeing" (Berger, 1972, p. 3), I was surely being driven by my own unacquainted perspective on things – not only at a physical and perceptual level, but also at a socio-cultural level – which inevitably directed my 'gaze' in a direction that is certainly different from that of my interlocutors.

Yet, in order to mitigate the risk of such an unreflective perspective and 'way of seeing', I sought a more critical approach towards my interlocutors' appropriation of all those objects on display; an approach that integrated my interlocutors' subjective understandings and relations with those objects, taking into account their sensory and bodily perceptions, affective associations and recollections triggered by those objects on display and several past events, namely those determined by collective belongings, including the conflictive and contradictory perspectives that stress family-household tensions and differences in modes of expressing and enacting belonging-ness. As Paul Stoller (1989; 1982) has noted, the anthropological gaze remains blurred and in part a failure as long as it does not reflect that which is usually taken for granted; insofar as it freezes the

world of the Other, objectified “comme les choses” (1982, p. 4) and made static for the convenience of the logical, pre-defined abstract system of knowledge; insofar as it does not seek deconstruction of the researcher’s perception, by “allowing the visions of the other’s world to penetrate [his/her] being” (Stoller, 1989, p. 68). The anthropological ‘gaze’ also remains blurred insofar as it neglects the autonomous positions of the ethnographic other, and insofar as it neglects the impact of western thought and tradition on understanding the other (Stoller, 1989; Stoller, 1982). In short, the understanding of others’ worlds as simply based on the observable and the visible dismisses all possibilities of seeing the other’s autonomy to use, signify, value and speak his/her own perspective of things. Those who dismiss the Other’s autonomy are, as Jaulin has argued, “like colonial barbers; they cut the hair (of their subjects) in their own style” (quoted in Stoller, 1982, p. 2).

Therefore, while trying to find a more comprehensive ‘way of seeing’ this overall and generally complex material atmosphere, marked by Arabic inscriptions and other visual (generally perceived as) exclusively Islamic signs placed in practically all social areas of the family-households I visited, while aiming to overcome my perceptual inabilities to see beyond, a wide range of questions arose regarding the status, the values, the semantics and the meanings attributed to such objects on constant display. Although I could recognize and acknowledge that the inscriptions were written in Arabic, and that many of the images on display were related to the Ka’ba which, according to Titus Burckhardt (2009), constitutes a central object in Islam¹⁸, I still needed to understand and verify whether these objects were placed in such areas of the home simply to provide my interlocutors with a sense of a collective religious identity and belonging, or if other affective, emotional and mnemonic associations and enactments (or even none) would also be likely to be established through and with the exhibited objects. It would certainly be easy to argue that the permanent exhibition of such images, and the long term exposure of my interlocutors to such objects, would both reflect and define the family-household members’ religious identities, since previous research, particularly in the field of psychology and sociology, has demonstrated that objects constitute, as people do, role models in

¹⁸ Titus Burckhardt argues that the *Ka’ba* is “the only worked object that plays an obligatory part in Muslim worship” (2009, location 184 from 2441 of ebook).

the socialization of subjects (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Rocheberg-Halton, 1984; Marcus, 2006), and as material objects have been demonstrated to be crucial to the shaping of one's self-identity (McCarthy, 1984) and *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990). Moreover, following a wide range of literature on both the making of the domestic Muslim space (Qureshi, 1996; McCloud, 1996) and the sacrality and aesthetics of the Qur'anic text where used both in the home and beyond (Graham and Kermani, 2006; Esack, 2002; Saleh, 2010) there was a chance that the scriptures and signs on display in the participants' homes were simply fragments of the sacred word of God taken from Islam's holy book.

However, even if this were the case, how could I know and establish that such inscriptions and other Islamic-related objects, for instance, were in fact significant and determining in the production of my interlocutors' religious affiliations and identities? What could those frames with those Arabic inscriptions and representations, as well as the multitude of objects associated with Islam – at least in my eyes – actually say about my interlocutors' Muslim-ness and their relation to Islam and God? To what extent would these objects, in fact, reflect/shape my interlocutors' religious positionalities over time? Would all these objects be perceived only as religious signs and symbols or could they also be considered aesthetic and artistic pieces, despite the debates regarding whether or not one can consider there to be such a thing as Islamic Art¹⁹? Would these things also necessarily implicate all members of the household equally, or would different household members – especially the youngsters – see and appropriate these objects differently, as for instance McMillan demonstrates with regard to the intergenerational differences and conflicts in the perception of the “West Indian front room” objectification of identities, and as Dibbits (2009) also demonstrates with regard to the *sedari* among the Moroccan-Dutch populations?

With this wide range of questions I started challenging both my initial gaze and the straightforward equation that home décor is equivalent to the subjects' identities. This discussion was followed by two other possible ‘ways of seeing’, following two potential levels of meaning ascribed to these home objects, representations and texts, according to different theories, namely those of semiotics, phenomenology of perception and memory studies.

¹⁹ Cfr. the discussion regarding this subject in the work of Grabar (1980), Blair & Bloom (2003), and Suleman (2003).

The first way of seeing suggested that I should look into the semiotic literal meanings of the signs, which in this particular case correspond to the foregrounded level of meanings intentionally inscribed in the objects, as both written words and images, hence, potentially holding a wider common ground of interpretation and meanings. The other evident way of seeing suggested that I should focus on the subjective meanings of the sign, which are associated with several invisible and immaterial dimensions of signification, thus already implying the affective and mnemonic dimensions of apprehending and appropriating the sign, and which are dependent on the social, cultural, religious and personal variables of those perceiving and attributing meaning.

It remains important to take into account this two-fold way of seeing, insofar as the meanings of things can only be understood both in relation to the subjects who signify or relate to them and in relation to these objects' explicit, literal and ideational meanings. In other words, one cannot fully dismiss the general concepts produced as the primary messages displayed and conveyed through the objects, which in the particular case of my interlocutors' home objects – or at least some of them – are mostly embedded in the words written, hence corresponding to the linguistic messages (but not only) displayed in all those described surfaces/objects, and which only those who know the respective cultural codes are able to decode. Starting by focusing on the Arabic inscriptions/calligraphy works, which constitute the “first message” in linguistic terms (Barthes, 1977), it has, in fact, been acknowledged by various authors that these constitute ‘sacred words’ around which God’s will and miracle is actualized and around which Islamic rituals are also performed; words that are both spoken and written in several places of dwelling (Qureshi, 1996; Metcalf, 1996; Esack, 2002; Graham and Kermani, 2006). However, if those Arabic inscriptions displayed as part of several of my interlocutors' home objects carry religious meanings, it still remains important to ascertain what they represent and signify within my interlocutors' ‘front rooms’, particularly for their owners.

Yet – and addressing now the second way of seeing – the endeavour to discover the meanings commonly attributed to the described objects and environments within my interlocutors' homes, appears to be an impossible and endless task, and to constitute an almost irrelevant act of fetishism, neglecting that meanings are culturally, socially, yet subjectively produced, and almost

dismissing the reciprocal relationship established between subjects and objects (Tilley, 2006; Tilley et al., 2006; Hoskins, 2006; Edwards et al., 2006a; Miller, 1998; Miller, 1987; Latour, 2007). In fact, meanings attributed to objects are endless, as many images are polysemic, varying in time, space, and social, cultural and political contexts, and according to an unlimited number of variables. The subject and the object are inseparable in many different ways; meaning cannot take place except between the subject and the object, and in the same way that subjects have an impact on objects the opposite also occurs. As Tilley argues, “we touch the things and the things simultaneously touch us” (Tilley, 2006, p. 61). Additionally, as Bourdieu argues, *the world of objects* which composes the *habitus* “is read with the whole body” and “the structures that help to construct the world of objects are constructed in the practice of a world of objects, constructed in accordance with the same structures.” (1990, p. 76) Moreover, these processes are also defined by space, though not always or necessarily consciously. It is in taking such considerations into account that one needs to open the framework of analysis of subject-object relationships in order to understand phenomenologically the significance that objects of home décor hold in the objectification of belongings and in the enactment of memories of belonging to universes that one might have experienced (and is likely to continue experiencing) and/or that might have been simply mediated through continuous subject-object relationships.

It is following this order of things that in the next section I explore the nature of my interlocutors’ relations with their ‘Islamic objects of home décor’; those objects permanently exhibited and displayed in the ‘front regions’ of their homes, and thereby constantly apprehended and appropriated by household members. I start the discussion with those material things apparently related to Islam, in order to explore my interlocutors’ religious, spiritual, intimate and subjective relations with those things, and through this to deconstruct the prominent religious meanings, values and usages inscribed in those objects regularly taken to be ‘Islamic’. I follow the discussion by exploring the degree to which they might be associated with collective memories of Muslim-ness.

2.2.1. Materializing Islam in the home

“Do you have anything at home that enables you to feel connected to Islam?” “Do you have anything that reminds you of Islam?” Using these questions I asked my interviewees to establish associations and connections between an abstract religious entity – Islam – and the material objects within their homes. In other words, I asked them to materialize their religiosity, or their Muslim-ness. Most of the time they replied: “Everything! Everything reminds me and makes me feel connected to Islam”. This answer was usually followed by reference to daily practices and routines, such as prayers, and only after some silence (and sometimes after discussing other topics) would be followed by a mindful recall of the wall frames, of the written sayings or words, the Qur’an, the *Tasbih*, books, mats, clothes, food, and a few other objects either displayed in the ‘front regions’ of the home or kept private and reproduced when appropriate

The listing of these overall objects and things was usually claimed by the participants to be part of a ‘whole way of life’ (Williams, 1997) and was often placed at a second level of relevance, since for the majority of my interlocutors Islam constitutes an inner feeling, a spiritual and bodily experience; it is its practice, where the material and the immaterial become blurred:

*Everything. We... it's our way of life at home, it's the way we are...everything!
From the moment we wake up...the frames...everything!*

(Hoor, born in Mozambique in 1968)

Everything. From the frames... and everything we do – now, for instance, my husband arrived home - Assalamum Aleikum – isn't it? You know it already Catarina!

(Assia, born in Mozambique in 1955)

Indeed, my request to make my interlocutors think of a possible ‘material Islam’ was not, in fact, always understood or considered even to be relevant or to

constitute an actual aspect of their Muslim-ness. In most of the conversations I had, especially about the material objects associated with Islam, participants chose to talk about their religious practices, their bodily performances, spoken words, and religious identity positions, in order to explain to me – as a non-Muslim – what it means to be a Muslim and the extent to which Islam constitutes, instead, an ‘immaterial thing’. Even though it was immediately pointed to as external evidence of my interlocutors’ ‘way of being’, the bodily practices were never seen as a material dimension or concretization of their religion. Islam constitutes, from their perspective, a state of mind, a belief, an inner feeling and a ‘way of being in the world’.

What my interlocutors most often considered to be objects corresponded, instead, to things external to the body, which were material, physical and sensuous, such as the wall frames, the praying mat, the Tasbih, the Qur’an, clothes and food. However, these were usually mentioned to me following my insistence that I wished to understand the different forms of materialization of their faith and practice. Several bodily external, and most of the times physical and tangible things, were pointed out, despite the fact that the apprehension, appropriation and reproduction of such things cannot take place without a sensory approach; without being seen, read, spoken, touched, used, smelled, tasted, felt; in sum without the body’s perceptive and sensory capacities. Moreover, the listing of the significant objects/things associated with Islam, from my interlocutors’ points of view, was in fact random, and did not always hold the same conscious significance, or the same level of importance, for all, which suggests an almost unconscious regular and habitual apprehension of similar, if not the same, objects within the contexts of their daily lives and routines. Variations depended mainly on what first came to mind in recalling their practices and the objects required for such religious practice. Such non-immediate reference and almost unreflective recall of many material and bodily external objects suggests a habitual apprehension and use of things, that are also intrinsic to my interlocutors’ bodily performances and which constitute the essence of their social memory as Muslims, and more precisely as practicing Muslims, as they claimed to be. As Paul Connerton argues, habitual memory is where “it appears not to be” (1989, p. 23), hence assuming a relatively unconscious dimension and an embodied character through continuous and regular practice.

Tio Amir²⁰ is one of the few middle-aged men, a father of two, whom I interviewed during my fieldwork, and who, like many others, emphasized the immateriality of Islam. When we had the opportunity to sit and talk Tio Amir explained how he sees the relationship between objects and Islam. Even though he stressed the subjective and spiritual experience of his religion, considering it to be an immaterial entity, throughout our conversation he actually articulated three possible ways of approaching the relation between Islam and objects, based on his own experience, which appears to synthesize some of my interlocutors' ways of understanding and relating to their domestic objects, and in particular those associated with Islam. The first corresponds to the interweaving of the body and the mind, within which one can consider the body as matter, thereby dismissing the significance of any bodily external objects; the second takes bodily external objects as media/mediators of religious bodily habitual practice, somehow functioning as triggers of *action-memories* performed by the body in Bergson's (2004) sense; and the third understands the relative sacredness of bodily external objects such as the Qur'an, which is seen not as a book and material cultural object, but as a sacred entity in the relation between the Body, the Human and the Divine, sustaining both *action-memories* (Bergson, 2004) and *habit-memories* (Connerton, 1989):

Everything, everything, everything!.. from the morning, when I start doing my prayer until the end of the day, everything! Everything, I mean, there is nothing during the day that makes me forget that I am a Muslim. ... I'm not very attached to those sorts of things in order to remember my Islamic responsibilities. It's what is inside... those objects are used in order to achieve certain goals. For instance, we have a prayer mat. Naturally it implies a daily contact! Some people do it five times; others can only do it three; there is a person that... it doesn't matter! But people that pray they are connected to the mat, because it is not possible to do it... well, it is, because if I want to pray here... but traditionally we have the Musalla, which is our prayer mat... the mat we pray with. Therefore, it is an object we are attached to. We have the Tasbih...we are also attached to... Well, I'm not going to talk about the Qur'an because it is not an object; It's our sacred book, but we also read it daily; but apart

²⁰ Following the recommendations of the Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association (AAA, 2012), Tio Amir as well as the other names referred to throughout this thesis, are pseudonyms meant to protect their true identities,.

from those... those three references, there is nothing else that can actually... which is... Islam is here! It's inside of us!

(Tio Amir, born in Mozambique in 1949)

Discussing these points further, and starting with the first way of approaching materiality in Islam, although not always reflexively, Tio Amir emphasizes the embodied and lived dimension of Islam, arguing that It guides his conduct, his interactions and how he deals with others. Clearly this confirms the Qur'an's function of guidance in the lives of Muslims (Esack, 2002). Furthermore, he explains that no material thing can actually interfere in such a way of being and living, such that no object can hold any particular significance in allowing him to be or to become a Muslim. Through such arguments he emphasizes both the bodily and the spiritual dimensions of Islam, and challenges the possible material aspects of his religion.

At a second level, he also emphasizes the habitual use of certain objects in the practice of Islam, highlighting the prayer mat – the *Musalla* – and the *Tasbih* – the beads for prayer used in Islam. As Tio Amir explains, both the *Musalla* and the *Tasbih* can be seen as simply mediating objects in religious practice. For him both the *Musalla* and the *Tasbih* only enable him to practice his religion, hereby becoming mediators of the religious experience; mediators between the body and the divine, making the cosmological and chaotic connections possible. By allowing him to perform his own religion, and by constituting ‘a religious media’ which shapes and controls “the scale and form of human association and action” (McLuhan, 2010, p.9) in relation to Islam - as well as an image that through recognition of the past experiences it is associated with (Bergson, 2004) - these objects call for action, thus assuming a higher significance within religious practice. Such relevance and significance can be observed both when Tio Amir highlights and mentions them as part of his daily religious practices, and also when many of my interlocutors point to the mat, for instance, as a ‘religious object’, as being ‘the prayer mat’, or the mat with which one can perform his/her prayers, thus shaping the course of *action-memories* (Bergson, 2004). This prolongs the effects of past knowledge, through which the *habitus* is historically

accumulated in one's mind and body (Bourdieu, 1990), and thus projects into the present and future.

The relevance of such mediating objects is certainly clear in Tio Amir's case, as he tends to associate the *Musalla* (as well as the *Tasbih*) with all practicing Muslims, regardless of the degree of attachment one can feel towards these particular objects, or even to Islam. For him, the prayer mat requires daily bodily contact, and it is an implicit part of an almost symbiotic and intrinsic relation between Islam, the mind, the body, and material objects.

While pointing out the role and function of such Islamic mediating objects, Tio Amir positions himself as speaking for all other Muslims, asserting that all practicing Muslims are attached to their mats. Such an identity position is not only a personal one, but corresponds to a collective narrative of belonging and identity, which relies on an *imagined community* (Anderson, 2006) of Muslims, and on the idea of Ummah, the universal community of Muslims (Leanman, 2008). Here Tio Amir does not take into account other potentially relevant subjective variables, such as place of birth, and the family within which one is socialized, the life trajectory, the cultural background of Muslims, religious convictions, differences and movements, or even the personal/emotional attachment to particular things, in the evaluation of such an object-subject importance. From his perspective all practicing Muslims use certain objects as media/mediating objects in daily religious practice, an assumption that makes these items 'universal Islamic objects'. For these reasons, even though Tio Amir establishes that Islam constitutes a matter of inner feeling, his emphasis on the universal religious use of the *Musalla* appears here to demonstrate the implicit necessity and inevitability of such a mediating object (among others) in the process of being/becoming a Muslim, and thus in the profession of the Islamic faith in a diachronic manner but without a temporal boundary.

However, the use of Islamic 'mediating objects' in the making of Muslims is, as Tio Amir also points out, endorsed by tradition, since this shapes the degree of continuity and repetition of religious practices, thus of bodily and identity performances and positions throughout time and space. It is through tradition that mediating objects in Islam reproduce continuous bodily practices. This gives form to a certain sense of religious collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992), as well as to a sense of identity and belonging. It is worth noting that, as reflected in Tio

Amir's interview excerpt above, acknowledgment of the use of mediating objects in the practice of Islam was enforced by my request to objectify Islam. It is only through an insistent questioning that Tio Amir reflects upon his daily bodily religious practices and recognizes the importance or the implication of some objects within them. Such forced acknowledgement evidences the clear habitual and almost unreflective use of these mediating objects, which are only brought into consciousness through the request for a narrative of practices. Such a process thus confirms the extent to which religious mediating objects constitute elements in habitual practices, which are also defined by a collective and social habit-memory, which is bodily performed and ritualistically re-enacted (Connerton, 1989). Following this point, it becomes clear that these religious mediating objects include the range or "the world of objects" whereby one constructs the "habitus" in the course of socialization. Moreover, these also constitute privatized and gendered processes, insofar as it is through the engagement with things that both female and male subjects construct and perform their culturally appropriate gendered and religious conduct and practices in dedicated spaces, whether these are located in the home or in the mosque.

Tio Amir's focus on the Musalla is also very curious for another reason. Being translated into English as 'a place of worship', the Arabic word *Musalla* also highlights the importance of this object in the making of the religious place, even though it is acknowledged that Islam does not require any particular space for its profession and practice (Metcalf, 1996). Further ethnographic observation demonstrated that many participants use a specific mat, which they fold, unfold, move and carry to different areas of the house (or even the mosque) in order to perform their prayers. Only a few other participants mentioned that they always have their mats prepared for prayer, even though I could not always see them, thereby suggesting, in these particular cases, the relatively private nature of the prayer mat, as well as of the prayer and prayer space. While the movable character of the prayer mat confirms the portability of Islamic religious practices, as pointed out by other authors (McCloud, 1996; Metcalf, 1996), it also highlights the importance of certain objects in the making of meaningful and private places, and in this case, meaningful religious places in the home space, through habitual materialized and bodily practices in the field. Therefore, the prayer mat appears to constitute not only a religious mediating object, but also an object through which

one can create the religious setting and place, in quite a personal and individual manner, despite the collective dimensions associated with its use.

The third approach to the materiality of Islam, as expressed by Tio Amir above, refers to the importance of sacred objects in the manifestation of the sacred. Although he did not think of the Qu'ran as an object, but instead as a sacred entity channeling the sacred word, the doctrine, and the spiritual, the moral and, inevitably, the bodily guidance/conduct provided by God to men, he also mentioned the Qur'an as an item which is meant to be read, hence emphasizing its mundane and human dimensions. As a sacred object, the Qur'an appears, thus, to bring divine order and orientation to the chaos; to constitute the object through which connection and communication between the mundane and the divine is made possible. What defines and facilitates the sacredness of the Qur'an is the fact that it holds the sacred words of God made humanly apprehensible through the Arabic language. Therefore, the Qur'an constitutes what Mircea Eliade calls *hierophany*, the "manifestation of the sacred in some ordinary object", as the latter stops being relevant as such, insofar as it "becomes something else" (1987, p.12).

One could eventually question whether hierophany is, in this case, the holy book or the Arabic words which can be reproduced either in spoken or written forms. Clearly such an interrogation requires reflection upon the sacrality in Islam as well as on the theological dimensions of the Qur'an itself. As some scholars explain, the Qur'an corresponds to the miracle in Islam, insofar as it constitutes the recited word that God revealed to humankind through the mediation of the prophet Muhammad (Esack, 2002; Graham and Kermani, 2006). The Qur'an is therefore the very Word of God, which is inimitable and impossible to replicate. While these aspects provide a very general understanding of the role of the Qur'an in the lives of Muslims, there are also debates and disputes regarding the relationship between the written text and its recitation/orality, which need to be tackled here. Moreover, it also remains crucial to further explore how my interlocutors perceive and address the intertwining of the sacred and the profane in relation to aspects of the sensory, the written and the aural/oral nature of the Qur'an and, more fundamentally for this research, how they play a role in the reproduction of their own collective memories of belonging, and which belongings are re-produced. In order to answer these questions and better understand such processes, in the next section I will further explore the sensory ways in which the

Qur'an enacts the sacred for/among the participants, and discuss the importance of the ubiquity of the holy book in my interlocutors' home place.

2.2.2. The sacredness of the Qur'an and religious sensory mnemonics

The sacred value and meanings attributed to the Qur'an were not only expressed by Tio Amir but by all other participants in the field, who perceive the Qur'an as an immaterial, powerful object, and thus a hierophany; a physical and mundane object through which the sacred manifests itself. This perception of the Qur'an as both a sacred and a profane object could actually be seen in the way most approach Islam's holy book and its message in the Arabic language. As an object constituted through Arabic words - that are evidence of divine intervention and manifestation in a humanly existence, insofar as Arabic was the language in which the sacred words of God were transmitted to humankind - the Qur'an is perceived by most interlocutors as a sacred entity in the world of humanity, which aligns with how other Muslims see it (Cfr. for instance Esack, 2002). Perhaps for that reason they display the Qur'anic message in Arabic in the form of the holy book and of framed calligraphies and Audio Qur'ans in the social areas/ 'front rooms' of their homes. This means that the Qur'an gains a ubiquitous and interchangeable character, as no exclusive form of the Book is kept in the home, with the divine message in Arabic being spread through various devices and media.

More precisely, in the majority of the homes I visited the Qur'an was presented in the form of a closed/open book written in Arabic, placed in an elevated position, such as on the top of furniture cabinets located in the main hall or the living room, and only in some cases out-of-reach, but still, inside glass-panelled cabinets located in the living room and visible to the eye. Such protection of the book format is often justified through reference to the "respect it deserves", as one of my female interlocutors put it. The only exception to these cases is one participant who keeps the Qur'an in an exclusive room for prayer, on top of a wooden support on the prayer carpet, with the purpose of using it in her religious practice, thus making it a religious mediating object.

In addition to the book format/shape, and as referred to earlier in this chapter, the great majority of interlocutors also had the holy book in the form of

audio-cassettes with Arabic recitations of the Qur'an kept inside boxes beautifully decorated with golden abstract drawings, which are not easily perceptible to a non-Muslim and non-speaker of the Arabic language who is unlikely to be aware of what these boxes contain. The reproduction of its sound and audible forms takes place on varied occasions, either in the home space or outside of it, as experienced in the field or simply referred to by my interlocutors.

Apart from the sound and audible formats of the Qur'anic message, which are particularly defined by sound system technologies, in the great majority of cases the Qur'an is also reproduced and displayed either in excerpts or in wall frames, all reproduced in Arabic. These often dress the social areas/'front regions' of my interlocutors' homes, blurring the boundaries between the religious and aesthetic/ artistic décor. Excerpts from the Qur'an are also often exhibited on several plates and other objects which are also displayed in the interlocutors' 'front regions' of the home, and which, similarly to the previously discussed formats/shapes/media appear to either mediate the communication between the divine and the profane (Eliade, 1987) or to sacralize the dwelling space (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993), or even to exist as a decorative object as part of the house décor (McCloud, 1996).

Such interchangeable formats of the Qur'anic message require only different strategies and sensory manners of apprehension, appropriation and reproduction of both content and media, for which the subject's only requirement is the use of one's sensory abilities to see, to listen, to recognize, to read and recite the Arabic words in order to feel/ allow for the enactment of the divine. In short, it seems to be the Qur'anic message, turned into various apprehensible shapes and formats reproduced in Arabic, that constitutes the Islamic hierophany for my interlocutors; the 'object' through which the sacred is enacted. The Arabic language constitutes, thus, the fundamental key to these processes.

This is not surprising since it has become a consensus among scholars of Islam and of the Qur'an that the Arabic language holds the key to the enactment of God's word (Esack, 2002; Saleh, 2010; Graham and Kermani, 2006). The latter, in the shape of the holy book, needs to be read, recited and spoken in order for the divine power to be manifested, despite Saleh (2010) stating that the "Qur'an, recited as it may have been, was always a written word" (Saleh, 2010, p. 359). This dispute between what holds and enacts the sacredness constitutes a

central discussion in Islam, dividing those stressing the value of orality and those stressing the written word in the dissemination and continuity of the word of God (Saleh, 2010; Esack, 2002). For instance, while some state that the Qur'an needs to be recited for the power of God to be brought into the world of humankind, which is easily justified by the fact that the word Qur'an means in Arabic "reciting", referring more precisely to "God's 'reciting', his verbatim speech, his eternal uncreated word" (Graham and Kermani, 2006, location 3101 from ebook), Saleh actually insists that the orality of the Qur'an constitutes "a myth (if not a fetish)". For him, "orality should not be presumed to be the determinant factor in the history of the text after its codification." (Saleh, 2010, p. 359), since it has always relied on mundane and durable sources to retain and continue to spread the word and message of God, contrary to what the majority of the literature on Islam and the Qur'an emphasises. And yet, Islamic devotion is often expressed through oral recitation of the Qur'an; only through recitation would a Muslim be able to find comfort, and to enact the divine (Esack, 2002), even if this requires an act of listening, and hence an audience, in a context that blurs the divine with the aesthetic. Either way, the fact of the matter is that the Qur'an in the Arabic language is inimitable and unique, being also untranslatable since the "Arabic text is ritually insurmountable" (Saleh, 2010, p.362). Saleh argues as well that it was such a perspective that gave the physical shape of the Qur'an the power it has. It is perhaps for this reason that despite the fact that all my interlocutors display different incarnations of the Qur'anic message in the front regions of their home, they always keep and carefully exhibit at least one physical copy of Islam's holy book in the Arabic language. Ultimately, this is the original language of the divine revelation, and it is indistinguishable from the voice of God.

And yet, most of my interlocutors also keep at home Portuguese and/or English versions of the Qur'an in book format, alongside supplementary explanatory booklets/books about the Qur'an. The purpose of having other linguistic versions of the Qur'anic text is related to the need to gain further theological knowledge and information that otherwise is unavailable to them (unless they seek advice and information from the sheikhs in the mosque/community). Such a need for complementary and alternative sources of theological information is clearly justified by the fact that my interlocutors' knowledge of Arabic is limited to liturgical and religious sayings, prayers and

recitations of the Qur'an, which they ritualize and repeat on a regular basis. They are in fact illiterate in Arabic and their knowledge of it is mostly audible, soundable and phonetic. For most, what matters is accurate reproduction and pronunciation of the sounds intrinsic to the holy words of God (the spoken Arabic phonetics), rather than the literal meanings associated with the *soundable* expressions of those words. Having learnt how to recite the Qur'an from an early age, either at home or in the Madrasah²¹, in colonial Mozambique (in the case of the older generation, parents, in the field) or in postcolonial Portugal (in the case of the youngsters), most of my interlocutors – if not all – are able to recite the Qur'an, or some verses of it, verbatim, from memory only. Therefore, when they gather together either in the mosque or at home to pray, they regularly recite orally Qur'anic words and sometimes enunciate non-Qur'anic religious words, many of which correspond to hadiths²², all in the Arabic language/phonetics. In this way they go on to recite certain expressions and sounds they were taught by family members, the elderly and the mawlanas/sheikhs²³ from an early age, and which they got used to hearing and seeing among their peers and relatives, either in the Madrasah, the Daral-'ulum²⁴, at home, and/or in the mosque over the years, despite not always knowing the literal meaning of what they were saying. Such an act of recitation of the Qur'anic words is in most cases merely phonetic and reproduced according to the rhythms of the verses of the holy book, similar to what is observed in other literate cultures (Goody, 2006). If doubts arise regarding the accurate pronunciation any audible Qur'an can help them rectify their recitations. Apart from that, most of my interlocutors are unable to explain the exact and literal meanings and, sometimes, the semantics of the words they use and see, being only able to provide a sense of the context and their gist habitually

²¹ Madrasah is the transliterated form of the Arabic word that stands for School. Among my interlocutors the word *Madrasah* is used regularly to refer to the school for teaching to recite the *Qur'an*.

²² The Hadiths refer both to the sayings and the actions of the Prophet Muhammad, which were documented by Muslim Scholars after his death, and that are taken as an example of conduct in Islam (For more on this subject cfr. Nanji and Nanji, 2008).

²³ The word 'Mawlana' is the transliterated form of the Arabic word that stands for 'Master'. However, it often referred to religious leaders in the field, such as the sheikhs, even though the latter are associated with the practice of leading the religious congregation in the Mosque.

²⁴ 'Dar al-'ulum' is the transliterated form of the Arabic word that stands for 'House of Knowledge', or School. Most of the young participants in the field, over 18, children in the family-household, who live in the Odivelas area, mentioned having attended Odivelas Dar al-'ulum (often pronounced as 'Darululum') in order to learn the Qur'an and the main principles of Islam.

given through repetition. This prominently phonetic skill of reciting the Qur'an and the hadiths not only confirms the value and importance of orality in Islam, but also reinforces the separation of the act of reading from the act of understanding that defines Islamic tradition, and that gives God the ultimate power of knowing and of comprehending (Saleh, 2010), whilst giving Men the mere ability to get closer to the divine by hearing and reciting God's sacred words.

With respect to the participants' proficiency in Arabic, the members of the older generation are more likely to know how to match visuals to their respective phonetics, to the spoken word. This does not cease to be a common practice among the youngsters, who have also learnt from an early age how to recite the Qur'an. However, the latter do not always know how to reproduce in speech what they visually perceive as a written word/text. This occurred on certain occasions during some interviews, when the youngsters did not recognize the words written in some of the framed inscriptions hanging on the walls of their domestic space. They could not always explain why. However, I suggest that contrary to their parents and to members of the older generation, who seemed to have learnt the Qur'anic message in Arabic in a much more intensive manner, with members of their family household or even with neighbours in different locations of colonial Mozambique, the youngsters do not seem to have accessed the same pedagogic conditions. This is firstly due to the absence of some family members, who could teach them, and who remained in Mozambique, secondly due to the lack of available time on the part of household members, thirdly due to reduced possibilities of attending lessons in the Madrasah while other learning interests and needs are prioritized, and finally, due to a certain lack of interest.

Nevertheless, and regardless of these generational differences, it is also clear that my interlocutors' proficiency in Arabic largely corresponds with their knowledge of the Qur'an, since what matters is one's ability to recite and perform the Qur'an by heart and according to verbatim memory. The way their faith can be better expressed is through recitation, just like in the case of other Muslims, since the Qur'an is "intended to be recited aloud" (Esack, 2002). Once again confirming the deeply oral nature of the Qur'an, my interlocutors have learnt and become used to reciting the holy book according to rhythmic mnemonics, the systematic replication of sounds and phonetic signs, which once assembled enable the reproduction of rhythmical compositions (Connerton, 1989; Goody, 2006).

Having also generally learnt how to recognize and match soundable signs with the visual representation of words, in a written or visual form, by means of perception, association and motor action (Merleau-Ponty, 2010; Bergson, 2004), my interlocutors appear to generally sustain and maintain the sacralization of their sensory performances, based both on visual stimuli and aural triggers and/or responses. In these processes, they rely on both the inscribing and incorporating practices of the Qur'anic message in the Arabic language, as Paul Connerton (1989) would put it. These are inscribing practices because both the sounds and written words of God are inscribed in media/objects such as the book, the wall frame, the audio-tape/CD, which, apart from constituting objects and items of religious value, can also be seen as “modern devices for storing and retrieving information [...] which require that we do something that traps and holds information, long after the human organism has stopped informing” (Connerton, 1989, p.73). Inscribe practices in literate cultures constitute fundamental deposits of information to be retrieved without recalling them by heart, but through a perceptual and decoding practice. As both Connerton (1989) and Goody (2006) suggest, inscribe/ mnemonic devices and systems are fixed resources where information is both stored and retrieved, allowing mental energies to be relaxed when recalling by heart. They are also incorporating practices because they are required to internalize and incorporate sounds and images through listening, seeing, reading and speaking them, and altogether can be unfolded in the action of perceptual triggers and bodily reactions to these stimuli that are repeatedly re-enacted through body mnemonics. Therefore, even though my interlocutors are illiterate in Arabic they reproduce the sounds and words that have been stored and registered in their bodies and minds throughout time, and rely on their many inscriptions and mediators of the Qur'anic message in Arabic in order to systematically recall the words of God, hence, to bring sacredness into their lives. To the Arabic language is reserved the stamp of authenticity and of holiness, since no translation can equal it, especially when it comes to sacred words. This is what justifies both the need to reproduce oral sacred prayers, words and expressions in Arabic, and the praising of the visual representation of the Word.

But, apart from theological discussion reflecting upon the value of orality and of the written word in the transmission of the word of God in Islam, I would

say that what differentiates my interlocutors' 'Qur'anic objects' on display in their homes and the means through which the sacredness is conveyed and enacted, is clearly the way in which the divine is mediated and continued; the form through which the sacred can be displayed and reproduced, in order to be apprehended and appropriated. In fact, the manifestation and enactment of the sacred is deeply dependent upon the media through which it is constituted on earth, and through which the communication between the other world and 'our world' is enabled and enacted (Eliade, 1987). This is because, while the sound and oral recitation of the Qur'an is not constant – unless it is made constant through several technologies of sound (either human or machine) – the visual representations of the sacred words only require a pin on the wall and a visual support in order to be permanently visually displayed and to convey the holy word of God, thus enacting the sacred and divine power throughout the house and its members at all times. Certainly this is a challenge to the higher value attributed to the oral word of God, constituting also perhaps an attempt to freeze God's sacred words. However, it reinforces Saleh's (2010) argument that the Qur'anic message has been disseminated and passed on through the written text, through inscribing practices and devices, at the heart of which is the physicality of the Qur'anic text. This has also been confirmed in most of the homes I visited during fieldwork, as I shall explore further in the following section.

It is following this discussion that one can understand how particular subject-object relationships are shaped by different sorts of effects and affects, which are implicated in the different forms of display and reproduction, apprehension and appropriation of the holy words of God in Arabic. These effects and affects are also clearly sensory-defined, as these holy words need to be either spoken, read or heard, in order to be felt, reproduced, practiced and internalized by my interlocutors. Through such processes, the 'Qur'anic objects' become 'sensory objects', requiring one to see, listen and speak through the book, tape/CD, speech, and the visual images/frames, before the sacred can be bodily grasped and subjectively appropriated, incorporated and habitually reproduced. It is only through such sensory and bodily operational exercises, involving an embodied and intimate relation of the subject to the object, that the sacred can be manifested and actualized, taking over a part of the everyday lives of my interlocutors.

The sensory requirements implicated in the apprehension of all these different Qur'anic objects and their intrinsically-related spatialities and temporalities of reproduction determine the enactment of the sacred, with clear repercussions for the degree of continuity and rupture of collective habitual practices of religious intentionality among the participants.

In the next section I shall examine the meanings and importance attributed to these Qur'anic sensory objects by my interlocutors by drawing on their religious, subjective and affective value. I will also discuss how and when an Islamic object stops constituting a hierophany through which the sacred manifests itself, whereby my interlocutors habitually and mnemonically apprehend and reproduce their religion, in order to become acknowledged as objects of identity and socialization (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981), as well as biographical (Hoskins, 1998; Hoskins, 2006) and evocative objects (Turtle, 2007); objects through which they make sense of their world(s), when revisiting their affective personal and collective memories, placed within their various social frameworks (Halbwachs, 1992). These processes will also be assessed and analysed with respect to different generations of participants.

2. 3. FROM SACRED WORDS TO OBJECTS OF BELONGING

The framed Arabic inscriptions hanging on most of my interlocutors' domestic walls were ascribed religious and almost mystical meanings and powers, being referred to as a source of protection, blessing and peacefulness for themselves, their family household members and their home.

It is either through displaying frequent verses of the Qur'an such as the recurrent expression "Basmalah", which almost every Sura of the holy book begins with (except for *Sura 9*) (Haleem, 2010), or the names of Allah in Arabic, or the Shahada, that the great majority of these objects tend to be displayed with the intention of calling for God's protection and divine blessing upon the household and its members' livelihood:

Cat. – *What's the importance of the frames on the house décor?*

Mahasin – *The Islamic frames? It is for...they are basically meant to mark that faith is in here.*

Cat. – *A mark of faith. So when you arrive home, and look at them, I*

mean, what do you feel?

Mahasin – *I look at the house and say the following: “That’s it, I’m protected.”*

(Mahasin, born in Portugal in 1989)

For the majority of my interviewees, the power of blessing and protection provided by God only requires the framed Arabic inscriptions to be hung on the walls and, once there, to be seen and to be read. Once they are visibly displayed, these frames are believed to disseminate the sacred and divine power of God, thus enabling my interlocutors to feel peaceful and to find protection in their home place. This has been the case for the majority of my interlocutors, who perceive the wall frames with Arabic inscriptions hanging in the front regions of their homes as fundamental talismans and amulets in the making of blessed and safe lives and places of dwelling. From their perspective, such sacred power is only enabled by God who is remembered as the highest authority and reason for all things. This does not constitute a new phenomenon in Islam, since relevant literature on Islamic objects and the Qur’an commonly refers to the apotropaic power of the Qur’anic text, which either stands alone or is inscribed in material culture (Saleh, 2010; Esack, 2002; Porter, 2003).

The sacred is thus manifested through the frames on permanent display, which reproduce the holy words of God, even when the scripts show sayings and words which are not written in the Qur’an, but are reproduced as Dua’s, as supplications and requests to God, calling for a varied number of blessings upon oneself and the family/household members, and/or on other occasions sayings that are part of the hadiths. For instance, in an interview with Mr. Dawud and his daughter, Azeeza, I further understood the nature of the sacredness attributed to the frames with Arabic sayings:

Cat. – *I noticed you had there a small frame with a prayer... I mean, is it important to have some recitations like those to feel...*

Dawud – *No, not at all. It is not to feel. But there are some... some recitations that make us... that are for us a motif of... usually the frames we*

have at home correspond to a motif of protection, do you see what I mean?

Cat. – For Protection...

Dawud – Yah! They are protective objects and... such as in the decoration... that's not the case; it is for that reason, isn't it? It's meant to protect against... I don't know! ... Religion, you know, it's very complex; it tells us that we might be the target of curses... isn't it? Of everything! Actually that happens with all religions! There is this... how do you say it...

Azeeza (daughter) – Evil Eye.

Cat. – Evil Eye.

Dawud – Evil Eye! Curses, that's a curse... Black Magic, isn't it? Black Magic and Witchcraft... that... religion says that it exist, isn't it? It is! And any human being that is a little bit religious, I mean, tries to protect himself, doesn't he? And we... because I am religious; as a Muslim... we have some sayings, some things that makes us... they are appropriate for certain occasions.

Cat. – So you mean that in a more critical moment, or in order to avoid evil...

Dawud – That's it! that's it! (smiles)

Cat. – So, do you say that prayer? Do you read it?

Dawud – I can... How can I explain... it's always there and I think that if a person comes here... let's suppose that we have a guest here at my place, and this guest has even bad intentions; while reading it understands and probably regrets, isn't it?

Cat. - We hope so!

Dawud – Yes! Sometimes! At least [he/she] thinks twice! Because it happens a lot, for instance... well this is in the Muslim side, but in the Catholic side, for instance, they have a cross on the door, probably for the same reasons, I don't know... I don't want to... I never tried to know about other religions; but I know that some religions do that. The Hindus also have their own ways of... I don't know... protecting themselves...

(Mr. Dawud, born in Mozambique in 1957; Azeeza, born in Mozambique in 1981)

In the case of Mr. Dawud and Azeeza the sacredness of the wall frames manifests itself through being exposed and exhibited in the front regions of the house. In this case, as Mr. Dawud and Azeeza say, the wall frames with Arabic inscriptions are believed to fight the evil eye, that is, any envious and wicked person. The Qur'anic inscriptions and other non-Qur'anic sayings in Arabic hanging on the wall are therefore mediators between the sacred and the profane, being in charge of dissipating the evil intention that one can carry and causing it to fade away. As such, the wall frames act as receptacles of the unnatural, of the sacred, which can protect, challenge and fight evil invisibly. They are amulets, which constitute true hierophanies (Eliade, 1987) that also hold apotropaic powers.

The status of amulet or talisman attributed to the items decorating my interlocutors' homes is even more evident when considering that the same specific verses of the Qur'an are largely used by most of my interviewees, with the common purpose of calling for God's protection of the household and its members. These verses correspond to the frequent Aya 255 of *Sura Al-Baqara* of the Qur'an, often called by my interlocutors "The Throne Verses", similar to designations used in other research about the influence of the Qur'an in art and the decoration of domestic objects and in the home (Grabar, 2003; Tan, 2003; Esack, 2002). The wide exhibition of these verses in my interlocutors' homes not only confirms the ubiquity of the Throne Verses, and through them the evidence of the statement of God's omnipresence among Muslims everywhere (Grabar, 2003), but it also reinforces the idea that through their exhibition, the verses enable and enact God's sacred protection from any sort of worldly evil:

God: there is no god but Him, the Ever Living, the Ever Watchful. Neither slumber nor sleep overtakes Him. All that is in the heavens and in the earth belongs to Him. Who is there that can intercede with Him except by His leave? He knows what is before them and what is behind them, but they do not comprehend any of His knowledge except what He wills. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth; it does not weary Him to preserve them both. He is the Most High, the Tremendous.

“The Throne Verses” in *Sura Al-Baqara, Aya 255* (Haleem, 2010, p. 29)

The Throne Verses are usually displayed in wall frames hung on the doors of the home, especially in the border areas between the front and the ‘back regions’ (Goffman, 1990). This choice of spatial location is often related to the fact that doorways constitute crucial passages from predominantly public areas to more private domestic zones, which are perceived to be better protected as a result of these verses’ enhanced sacredness (Cfr. for instance Esack, 2002).

Assia’s home is quite illustrative and demonstrative of the talismanic uses and of the intentional doorway spatial location given to these verses. Not only does she perceive such prayer verses as powerful in the protection of the whole house and household members from almost everything, including robberies, as she says, but she also shows how these particular Qur’anic verses are placed in an area of the home which establishes the communication between the social areas of the home - namely the flat’s main hall, corridor, living and dining room - and the private spaces of the house - such as the bedrooms and toilet.

The frame with the “Throne Verses” is of such significance for Assia that she also underlines it as one of her most cherished objects at home, selecting it to be included, together with other frames hanging on the walls as well as objects, in her “Photographic Exercise”. It is in fact while undertaking this subject-object/image oriented activity that Assia explains further her relation with this object, recognizing in it the manifestation of the sacred power of God, of His protection, as well as the feeling of Peace that most of my interlocutors mentioned when referring to the importance of having frames with Arabic inscriptions on the walls of their homes. In addition, Assia also clearly recognizes and matches the phonetics of its words, with its visual shape, as she recites the written “Throne Verses” in Arabic at my request. She mentions that she does it whenever she feels the need to call for God’s protection and whenever she seeks peace of mind.

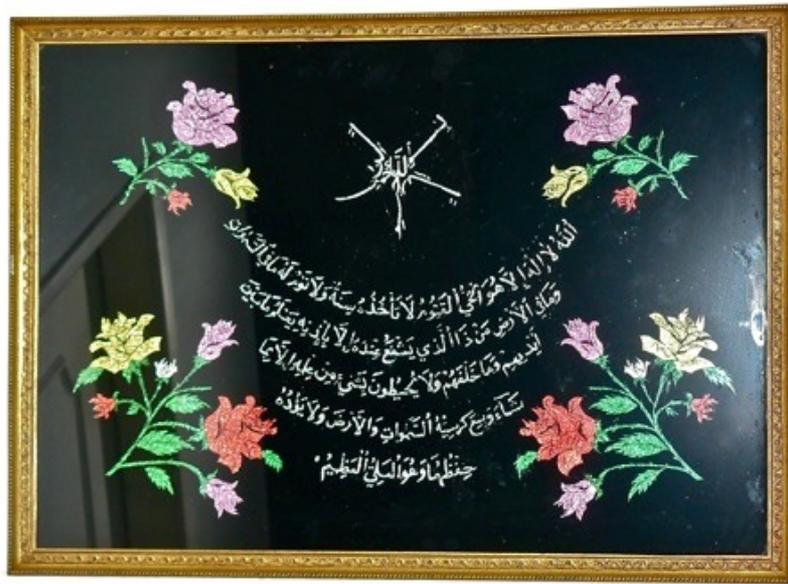


Figure 1

Assia's frame with the "Throne Verses" hanging on the threshold between the living room and more private regions of the home

Even though the frame with the "Throne Verses" holds, for all the reasons mentioned above, a special talismanic power for Assia, her repetition of incorporating and inscribing habitual mnemonic practices in the search for God's protection does not apply only to these particular verses and wall frame. It rather applies, generally speaking to material and immaterial multi-sensory objects, such as the written and audio Qur'ans displayed and permanently available in her home. These enable synesthetic experiences by means of which the sacred Word of God, all in Arabic languages, can be incorporated and brought to the family-household members as a whole.

Additionally, two other large and equally elaborate frames with excerpts of the Qur'an and other non-Qur'anic expressions in Arabic hang on Assia's living/dining room, thus contributing to the manifestation of the sacred in her home while also contributing to the aesthetics of the family parlour. The most prominent frame is approximately 1.5m (length) x 1m (width) horizontally, and occupies the larger area of the empty white wall of the front room (Fig. 2). Reproducing three main messages in Arabic, the frame reads from top to bottom. It starts by reciting the written form of the Basmalah in Arabic, which Assia

translates as “the name of God” and as “a request for God’s blessing in everything we do”. It then features the main expression on display – the Shahada – which corresponds to the declaration of faith in Islam, and which Assia recites for me in Arabic, explaining that this means “God’s uniqueness and highest existence, and Mohammad is His Prophet”. The last Arabic saying corresponds to a Dua, a special request addressed to God, asking for His blessing upon the family’s livelihood and sustenance.



Figure 2

A frame displaying the *Basmalah*, the *Shahada* and a *Dua* for the sustenance and livelihood blessings hanging on the wall of Assia’s living/dining Room (it reads from the right to the left, from the top to the bottom)

Right next to this large frame, another frame (Fig. 3) of slightly smaller dimensions is hung in a vertical position. Assia tells me that this frame also reproduces the Basmalah, which she recites in full in Arabic before explaining how these words are always repeated when starting to read the Qur’an. In the meantime she also tells me that the Basmalah corresponds to “In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful”, and points out that the written words have been, in this particular object, artistically designed.



Figure 3

A frame displaying the *Basmalah* hanging on the wall of Assia's Living/ Dining Room

This overall multi-sensory composition certainly sustains and justifies the fact that Assia feels spiritually charged within her household environment, insofar as she associates the described objects with God and Islam, and insofar as she finds in them all a source of divine protection. These associations and religious callings are strongly defined by the recognition and embodiment of the Arabic script available in her home in different formats (with special emphasis on the wall frames). Assia also manages to read the written words in the wall frames, and to recite them in Arabic verbatim, which suggests that she is not only able to retrieve sounds and the overall semantics of the words reproduced simply by

looking at the written words inscribed on those objects – relying for that on inscribed practices (Connerton, 1989) – but that she also implicates her body, her speech abilities, her cognitive and mnemonic skills in the recognition and in the vocal reproduction of the displayed Arabic words. In doing so she demonstrates the extent to which the written words in the frames have already integrated the mnemonics and the mechanisms of her body and mind, as incorporated practices (Connerton, 1989). In short, she can read the sacred works hanging in her ‘front room’.

However, the described wall frames do not only hold for her a spiritual and religious status, but clearly contain extra power in triggering in her other feelings, emotions and recollections which are not necessarily religious or Islamic. As a matter of fact, when I met Assia at her home for the “Photographic Exercise” she did not hesitate in including in her selection of objects the frames hanging on her living and dining room walls, including the one with the “Throne Verses”. She simply started by saying that these frames are significant for her because her husband, Kamal, made them all. Stating that these frames with Arabic inscriptions are very unique and even exclusive, in terms of harbouring an artistic *aura* and an authenticity (Benjamin, 1999), Assia described the materials used by her husband to make them. Then she placed the history of these objects within the context of socio-economically austere moments she and her husband have faced in the past, and explained that Kamal found in painting and arts and crafts an alternative extra source of income, which enabled him to afford extra personal belongings. Painting emerged as a workable and gratifying means of contributing to Kamal’s personal expenses. The frames in Assia’s living/dining room thus became symbols of unique and exclusive work that she proudly highlights for having become part of her life trajectory, as well as of her and her husband’s life story, as a married couple and as a family. This makes these frames temporal and emotional markers in the family’s narrative and memory.

Although I did not have the opportunity to talk with Kamal about his art works, in order to better understand his view point on both the choice to do Arabic calligraphy, and why he created these particular Qur’anic and non-Qur’anic religious expressions as opposed to other motifs, Assia’s personal relation to these particular frames attests to the variety and complexity of meanings, values, functions and roles that Islamic home objects, namely fragments of the Qur’anic

text and other religious sayings, can actually play and accumulate, both in their materiality and immateriality, for and among my interlocutors. Assia's case suggests that religious objects, including the wall frames with Arabic inscriptions featuring essential Islamic sayings and expressions, are used to enact the sacred and to call for God's divine protection upon the household members. They also constitute crucial elements in the making of the personal and social practices of daily life, both bodily and cognitively. However, it also demonstrates that religious objects can trigger in oneself feelings and affects for family relatives, whom the perceiver associates with these objects, as well as recollections of significant periods in one's personal and family life story that are worthy of note, and which the objects strongly relate to.

In this way, objects that appear to be exclusively valued and signified according to their primary message, conveyed at a first level of signification – which in this case is mainly religious – also hold and carry other kinds and sources of meaning and value, which are cumulative as well as subjectively and emotionally furnished. In Assia's case this occurs mostly at a second, if not third, level of signification and interpretation and is derived from both the visual perception of the frames and her immediate association with former experiences in her family life, which triggers in her feelings and emotions regarding her husband and events past (Merleau-Ponty, 2010). It is in this sense that instead of being limited to their intrinsic meanings, and literal Islamic words in the Arabic language, Assia's wall frames become forever associated with her husband – their artistic creator – and to the events that surrounded the conception of these unique frames in time and space, or the biography of the objects (Kopytoff, 1988). The biography of the frames becomes deeply entangled with that of their creator, who eventually constitutes, apart from the sacred word of God, one of the most important *objects* for Assia. In particular, they constitute *biographical objects* (Hoskins, 1998) that support the narration of her family life story, while also being evocative objects (Turkle, 2007) which she can think with and feel, and thereby remember her relations with her husband, and significant moments of her family life story. As Sherry Turkle (2007) would argue, these constitute crucial companions in Assia's and her husband's life narrative, since they are charged with the extra agential power of marking and supporting their family biography, and of producing effects and affects on their beholders. As a result, her subjective

and affective relations with the frames hanging on her living/dining room walls provide evidence of the primacy of the family as a social framework of memory (Halbwachs, 1992), within which recollections and affective subject-object associations are produced.

However, Assia's family memories, as triggered by the wall frames, also constitute memories of class and of the positive socio-economic mobility they have experienced and benefited from. This is part of the reason why she is very keen on narrating these entangled stories. Therefore, even though they are not necessarily exhibited with the intention of conveying status – as is the case in other households discussed in previous research (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Halle, 1993) – Assia's wall frames symbolize the family's socio-economic accomplishment, as the context within which they were made is associated with socio-economic austerity and creative attempts to overcome this. For this reason these objects carry a sense of family pride, which is also involved in an artistic *aura* (Benjamin, 1999), as it was her husband who made them, turning them into irreproducible objects.

This artistic aura ascribed to the wall frames holding the Qur'anic message is actually unique to Assia's case, as the rest of my interlocutors do not seem to care as much about the artistic character of their religious objects, being much more concerned with the object's sacred message, divine power, nature and even origin. Alternatively, some tend to reflect upon the degree to which these items also constitute objects of identity and socialization. Despite the fact that this applies to interviewees of all ages, it is considerably more common among the youngsters in the field. In fact when asking them about the importance of having objects of home décor with Islamic signs, some highlighted the fact that the latter prompted in them a sense of who they are, both for themselves and for the potential guests they might host, thus allowing the participants to differentiate themselves from the non-Muslim Portuguese majority. This point confirms both Chevalier's (1999) and Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton's (1981) arguments that domestic objects correspond to materializations of household members' self-identities, both individually and collectively, even though in the particular case of some of my interlocutors, and concerning the objects indicated here, such materializations are limited to religious identifications. It is nevertheless important to stress the fact that by constituting objects of identity, the religious objects

indicated above also corresponded both to objects of social integration and differentiation (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981): Of *integration*, because these objects enable belonging to a particular community, which in the case of my interlocutors is defined by religion, bonding them to a shared Islamic belief; and of *differentiation*, because through such objects the beholders manifest their individuality, their differences with respect to a wider society where other elements of identity tie them together with the whole. In the case of the youngsters, the pointedly Islamic objects thereby play a role in emphasizing their religious differences with regard to Portuguese society, which is shaped by a dominant Catholic majority, both in faith and cultural terms:

Cat. – *Is there something at home and in your daily life that reminds you of Islam?*

Nadim – *Yes, there is! Whenever I'm at home and whenever I can, I pray... the wall frames that we have; the religious frames, they also make us feel connected... to religion, even when we are not really thinking of it, we look at the frame and remember...*

Cat. – *Do you feel it represents a call for prayer? Do all these inscriptions take you to...*

Nadim – *Yes! It's a way to remember, probably...*

Cat. – *To remember?*

Nadim – *Yes, because sometimes I may be somewhat forgetful; I look at the frame and remember.....but I think it is more a question of Identity....For a person that does not know that we are Muslims. I think that is important.*

Cat. - *Do you think this is a way to identify yourself?*

Nadim – *Yeah!*

Cat. - *And do people usually ask you anything about it? Do people who come here usually ask?*

Nadim – *Yes, what does it say, what is that framed inscription...*

Cat. – *And do you feel that's important? How does it mark your identity?*

Nadim – *Yes, because it's part of my own identity; the fact that I am a Muslim, I... Sometimes it might not be positive but...*

Cat. – *But why wouldn't it be positive?*

Nadim – *Because I think that it doesn't... people... there might be some people that... people that won't identify themselves through religion, I really think this is how it is! Many people might think: "I'm not what I am because of my religion"; but the truth is that because of our religion, and all the principles we are taught... during the period we are learning our religion... when we were younger... Then after, these are things that remain and that are intrinsic to our identity, and that shape our way of being. Therefore, what we are is shaped by the religion we have! I guess...*

(Nadim, born in Portugal in 1984)

Nadim, one of the youngsters in the field who also happens to be an active member of the Youth Committee of the Lisbon Islamic Community, demonstrates how religious home décor objects constitute both objects of personal and of social identity – in this case of religious belonging – when assuming their role of social integration and of differentiation. In doing so he reinforces the idea that these objects can also have socializing effects (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981). Even though he does not argue that he has learnt to be a Muslim simply by becoming accustomed to seeing and living with these objects at home, since becoming a Muslim constitutes a far more complex process, Nadim suggests that his relation to the Islamic objects displayed at home became important in sustaining the processes through which he has interiorized, incorporated and reinforced his religious values and beliefs. Thereby Islamic home décor objects assume an important role in the youngsters' religious socialization, in addition to the experience of Islamic schooling undertaken in the community, as well as other forms of learning and of interiorization of Islam, including partaking in rituals such as the salat/namaz, asking for duas and reproducing religious sayings and greetings, some of which I learned about in the field, and which deeply implicate the body and the senses in the process of embracing Islam/becoming a Muslim, both for women and men²⁵. What I would like to suggest and emphasise here is the extent to which many of my interlocutors' religious socialization finds its completion in the home environment through several significant subjects and objects that interact there, these being the family-household members and the

²⁵ For more on embodied Islam cfr. for instance Bashir (2010)

material and immaterial objects on display, even when they do not seem to be at all relevant in these processes. I would even argue that these objects, together with the domestic group, are likely to enable an unconscious internalization of images, ideas, beliefs, feelings, belongings and identities over a period of time, following the argument stated in previous research that objects of home décor play a socializing role in the construction of social worlds (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Bourdieu, 1990; McCarthy, 1984; Mead, 1992). This point adds to the argument that Islamic objects of home décor do not only hold religious meanings, but also social and cultural value, in addition to their affective, evocative and biographical significance.

In the following section I will conclude this chapter with a discussion of the different layers of meanings and value of certain Islamic objects, by exploring two broad categories of objects observed when visiting my interlocutors, namely gifts and souvenirs. Such exploration privileges audio-visual evidence provided by one of my female interlocutors – Saphira – whose biographical narrative and ‘Photographic Exercise’ are illustrative of the affective and mnemonic significance of gifts and touristic souvenirs with primary Islamic messages in the creation of both *inalienable wealth* (Weiner, 1985) and in facilitating the transition processes of both loss and displacement (Turan, 2010; Parkin, 1999).

2. 4. THE REPRODUCIBLE AS ‘INALIENABLE WEALTH’²⁶: ON ISLAMIC GIFTS AND SOUVENIRS

As argued so far, religious objects, both those inscribed with Arabic script and others marked by visual representations of Islamic sites or simply by phonetic and visual triggers of the Islamic bodily practice, have, for the majority of my interlocutors, the power to enact the sacred in their domestic space and for the household members. However, these objects are perceived as objects of socialization as well as of integration and differentiation with respect to outside society, especially for the youngsters. In addition to this, these Islamic objects hold the power to trigger in their beholders thoughts, feelings and immediate associations to significant others, as well as to past events and former experiences,

²⁶ The concept of *Inalienable Wealth* is presented by Annette Weiner (1985), following the re-examination of the Gift as proposed by Marcel Mauss (2002).

which are affectively related and inscribed in the telling objects²⁷. This is when these prove to be both *evocative objects* – since they correspond to, as Sherry Turkle (2007) argues, objects through which *one can think with* past events – and *biographical objects* (Hoskins, 1998; Hoskins, 2006) – as they are objects which can relate people’s personal and collective stories, thus gaining agency and autonomy from their beholder. In this sense, the evocative and biographical power of many of my interlocutors’ religious home objects is manifested insofar as the objects’ biographies (Kopytoff, 1988) are also caught in the net of the beholders’ biographies, producing entangled subject-object relationships, stories and narratives that can no longer be isolated nor made partial. This interdependency is added to the already entangled relationship between the subject and the objects, which underlies the embodied nature of any subject-object perceptual engagement, through which repetitive habits are reinforced, with repercussions for the re-enactment of cultural and religious practices, which in the words of some of my interlocutors are defined as tradition and identity.

However, I could observe that both the affective meanings and values, as well as the evocative and biographical powers of many of the ‘Islamic objects’ highlighted here, can only be justified by the circumstances that brought them within the reach of their beholders, which are primarily dependent on the modes of acquisition of the Islamic objects at stake. While some of the objects mentioned so far were not valued according to the circumstances that brought them into the hands of their owners, since they can hold both identity and sacred meanings, a great number of the objects described and analyzed were particularly valued by my interlocutors, in particular by the mature women or mothers in the household, due to the fact that they were gifts from significant family members or friends, either deceased or living, who they esteem and care about for various reasons. It is because many of the described ‘Islamic objects’ were given to them by people they still have or used to have a relationship with in the past that these women attributed to them affective value besides the religious and sacred meanings and powers they might have. Considering that, as Mauss argued, once “embedded in

²⁷ The extra meanings and values attributed to religious objects of home décor is certainly not exclusive to Islam and Islamic objects, since Christian iconography is also likely to hold other significations apart from the religious, as for instance attested by Halle (1993) in his study of Art and Class in the American Culture.

the context of exchange, objects become containers for the being of the donor, who freely gives up part of him or herself to another” (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981, p.37), I would suggest that the importance attributed by my interlocutors to such gifts is rooted in the fact that they are perceived as carriers of the soul and the energy of those who the recipients regard highly, and who they wish to keep being connected to through these gifts. During these processes, and just like in Marcel Mauss’ classic analysis of the *hau* inscribed in objects, gifts were also cherished and treated as humans by my interlocutors, especially the mature women in the field, who tend to place them in social areas of the home, such as the family lounge, when not in other locations of the home that still stand for the ‘front region’.

Saphira’s case illustrates quite well this type of intimate and complex subject-object relationship, since many of her home objects marked with Islamic messages and meanings constitute first and foremost cherished gifts from both friends and close relatives, whom she loves and holds in high esteem. As a young divorced mother of two, who proudly claims to be a dedicated ‘Muslim woman’ of Indian descent, and who works in her family shop for sometimes more than 50 hours a week given the lack of an extra income in the household, Saphira has, in fact, very little time to use her own living and dining room, leaving it in an immaculate and almost untouched condition. Not always having time to watch TV, which constitutes the most appreciated and regular activity in her living and dining room, Saphira says she sometimes leaves the door of the family lounge closed for many days at a time.

The front regions of her home are clearly marked by a wide range of Islamic objects of a similar nature and representation, alongside other objects of subjective value and significance. When I first visited her at home for an interview I immediately saw a golden plaque with Arabic engravings. The indication that this is the home of a Muslim family became even clearer when crossing the flat’s long corridor, where Islam is signalled via several wall frames with both golden Arabic expressions and pictures of the Ka’ba, and by a unique wide black fan hanging on the wall that displayed red-embroidered Arabic words. This corridor is also a passage to the living and dining room, which corresponds to the first room on the right hand side. Inside the living/dining room the most prominent decorative objects, both in terms of size and visually, are pictures and

wall frames representing Mecca, Medina and the Ka'ba, apart from other items also suggestive of a religious affiliation to Islam, all of which come together to create a highly decorous and ornamented atmosphere in Saphira's family lounge.

It is within this deeply visually Islamic environment that Saphira feels at home, and finds, just like all other interlocutors, peace of mind and divine protection. However, her relationship with many of the described objects, especially those with primary Islamic meanings, does not simply remain at the level of the reception of the sacred power or of religious appropriation. When looking for objects to talk about and to include in the 'Photographic Exercise' Saphira took me immediately to her living and dining room. She was very tired that day, but still agreed to receive me at her place at around 9.00 pm, after a full day of work standing in the shop. Her 'Photographic Exercise' proceeded in a somehow improvised manner, according to what first came into her sight and mind, as well as in response to her daughter's occasional interference. Her family lounge constituted an important source of inspiration and stimuli, appearing to be, in fact, the right place to find objects marked by stories and memories.

The first object she actually referred to was a small golden and silver clock located on top of the stereo device and cabinet, which I choose to designate here as the "Basmalah Clock" (Fig. 4). Even though displaying the Basmalah in Arabic, Saphira's first comments regarding this particular item were as follows:

Saphira — *Let me think... I have to find it, right?*

Cat. — *Yes, sure! You have to think! While you think I will start taking out my materials...*

Saphira — *At this hour... Actually that clock...*

Cat. — *That clock?*

Saphira — *That clock that I've just received... I think it is relevant!*

Cat. — *Yes it is!*

Saphira — *I've received it in June....July [Saphira starts counting the months with her fingers]...in August!*

Cat. — *Last August.*

Saphira — *Yes, it was last August. It was from a childhood friend whose daughter got married in Mozambique... and I received this clock as a gift from her daughter's wedding.*

Cat. – *It's her daughter's wedding gift... they gave it to you...*

Saphira – *Yes, they sent it to me from Mozambique with my mother... I mean... For me it became very important and... I mean, it has a very special value, firstly because she remembered me; because she is a childhood friend; secondly because we were apart from each other... I mean... this has only demonstrated that there is still... that we still have a very big friendship!*

Cat. – *Certainly.*

Saphira – *And I... I don't know, It is valuable to me! Even though I went to live there... I mean, you know... we were many years apart from each other... and friendship cools down... things and time pass... but no! She was one of the friends that touched me!*

Cat. – *So, when you look at that clock.....*

Saphira – *I mean, for me it is not about the value...*

Cat. – *That's what I think it's interesting... When you look at that clock, what do you think then? what do you feel?*

Saphira – *I feel a very strong affection... I mean that friend is always with me; whenever I'm sitting here and look there!*

(Saphira, born in Mozambique in 1967)

The conversation reproduced above is of especial importance since what the Basmalah clock first prompts in Saphira is not, in fact, as some would expect, an identification with Islam, nor even the reception of God's sacred and divine protection. Moreover, the Basmalah clock does not trigger in Saphira the initial sentence that all my interlocutors always start their religious practices with, and that all Qur'anic Suras start with (except for Sura 9 (Haleem, 2010)), that starts with "Basmalah". One could consider the possibility that what actually leads Saphira to acknowledge the clock's significance is simply her seating position, right next to the clock, which makes it difficult for her not to see it. One could also consider the possibility that what leads Saphira to select the clock to talk about is simply her attempt to check the time of the evening, in order to justify her difficulty in providing me with objects for the 'Photographic Exercise', which she had agreed to do that day. I would also consider the fact that since this clock had

only started being displayed a few months before this conversation took place, it is also likely that Saphira is still able to “cultivate it” (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981), contrary to other objects that, with the passing of time, are likely to become undeclared cues for appropriate activity or behaviour in their respective settings (Miller, 1987). However, I trust that what leads Saphira to choose this particular clock for this exercise is what she actually explains above, and her testimony reinforces the argument that Islamic Objects can, in fact, hold extra subjective, affective, personal and social values and meanings beyond the religious values ascribed to them. In fact, in this particular case, the Basmalah clock constitutes for Saphira a significant gift from a dear childhood friend from Mozambique whom she highly regards, thereby turning the clock into a material link to her friend. This confirms Marcel Mauss’ (2002) statement that objects enable and enact the establishment of social bonds between subjects/groups, as they enable the spiritual transference of souls through gift exchange. His focus is, arguably, devoted to archaic societies, particularly located in the Polynesian and Melanesian islands in the Southern Pacific, where the dominant economic system is not ruled by the monetary market economy. Even though Mauss’ (2002) analysis is very particular to such local contexts, his theory of the gift has been seen as significant in the understanding of the importance of objects in the construction of social bonds and in the definition of social systems of meanings and beliefs in other societies (Douglas, 2002). Therefore, it can easily be applied to this particular case, allowing for a better understanding of how Saphira’s Basmalah clock not only represents and symbolizes her cherished childhood friend from Mozambique, but also seems to, considering the interview transcribed above, possess a part of her friend’s spirit and soul, which is transmitted and made present through the permanent exhibition of this gift in her living room, as well as through her choice to refer to it. It is in this perspective that the object’s and the donor’s identities become blurred, as if indistinguishable, such that it is impossible that they be dissociated from each other.

Saphira does not make reference to any sort of gift exchange and reciprocity obligation between herself and her friend, “as it is not individuals but collectivities that impose obligations of exchange and contract upon each other” (Mauss, 2002, p.6). However, and assuming that, as Mauss (2002) argues, there are rarely ‘pure gifts’, I would argue that further information on the gift exchange

between Saphira and her friend would certainly allow for a better understanding of their relation, of their past, and of the social norms that shape their particular bond. In light of the absence of further data on the importance of Saphira's friendship or on the degree of reciprocity between the donor and the recipient, I would emphasize the fact that this gift seems to establish quite a significant level of commonality between the donor and Saphira. This commonality seems to rely firstly on the attempt to remember and maintain childhood friendship ties and memories that risk being forgotten with the passage of time and with the physical distance that, as Saphira says, cools down the bond between the giver and the receiver. The reinforcement of the connection and the maintenance of memories is simply enabled and enacted through the giving, as well as through Saphira's acceptance of the gift and effort to keep it in good shape and in the front room, with all that this entails. In this sense, and based on her account, I would argue that the Basmalah clock not only gains the status of a personified gift, the carrier of the giver's soul and energy, it can also account for the past and for the collective memories that bind the two friends together, which they wish to maintain going forward, thus rendering the clock an object of inalienable value (Weiner, 1985). In her ethnography of the Trobriand Islands, Annette Wiener re-examines Mauss' notion of inalienability, of the *hau*, the spirit that is embedded in objects of different types, the *taonga*, and understands that the New Zealand Maoris use objects such as stones, bones and clothes which are attached to lineages and mystical identities, in order to represent and preserve the power of ancestral groups and individuals. This goal is satisfied through keeping-while-giving rather than through reciprocity, as Mauss has previously stressed. The value of the objects kept and given between the New Zealand Maori is, in Wiener's terms, not only of economic and symbolic power, but also deeply sacred and historical, insofar as they are carriers of an ancestral and mystical past that is meant to be continued across generations. To keep an inalienable object is to receive an ancestral identity and mythical power. Even though the objects given must be ultimately returned to their original owner when in exchange and circulation, in essence Wiener's main point is that the *hau* is kept while being given.

Saphira's Basmalah clock cannot be accounted for in terms of a mystical power that is waiting to be enacted by means of keeping it as if it was an

heirloom, as in the case of the New Zealand *taongas*, as Weiner's concept of "Inalienable Wealth" implies. However, I would still argue that it holds an inalienable value, since it constitutes a living link between the two friends, as well as a physical support, a reminder, a memento and a keepsake object of both personal and collective memories that are designed to be kept while also being given between friends who are remotely located. By means of a sensuous relationship with the Basmalah clock Saphira remembers not only her friend and the event of the gift, but also recalls the days of their friendship back in Mozambique. These are times and experiences that Saphira cherishes deeply and which were interrupted by the historical events that led to her family's decision to flee Mozambique and migrate to Portugal in 1980. By having the opportunity to recall her youthful friend every time she sees the Basmalah clock, she finds a way to keep her friendship and those days alive and present, just like the *taonga* "attends to the problem of loss and of expansion of self, but from a historical perspective" (Weiner, 1985, p. 224). Similar to the New Zealand *taonga*, the Basmalah clock reminds the holder of a particular historical context, which Saphira holds dear and which she suggests is able to supersede the obstacles of time and distance in an inalienable manner. Nevertheless, the events that would be likely to threaten the persistence of memory are also triggered by the clock, due to the deep impact the country's transformation had on her personal, familial and friends' life stories.



Figure 4

A clock with the *Basmalah* expression at Saphira's home

Her case is a rich demonstration of the important qualities and strengths of home objects which are perceived to be mainly religious in acts of collective remembering. Apart from the Basmalah clock, Saphira selects another perceptibly religious object exhibited in her living room to include in the 'Photographic Exercise'. This object is a large wall frame/tapestry including the representation of the Ka'ba, Mecca and Medina, placed above the main sofa, which does not have any religious words in Arabic (Fig. 5). The acknowledgment of its significance follows the interference of Saphira's daughter – Noor – who arrives minutes after Saphira has started referring to her cherished objects in the home, and asks her mother if she has mentioned the 'big frame'. Noor comments: 'this frame is so big, so big, that my mother has even forgotten about it!' Noor's interference forces Saphira to look at something that, even though it has been

within her immediate sight (for around 15 years, which is the life time of this object), was no longer being consciously perceived by her.



Figure 5

A wall framed mat representing the Medina and the *Ka'ba* at Saphira's home

After Noor's interference Saphira does not hesitate in confirming and reinforcing the significance of the 'big frame', and even apologizes for not having mentioned it before (as if betraying her own convictions). Once again, her immediate reaction to the selected object is of great affection for the frame's donors – her parents – which leads her to embark on a long narrative of recollection of the circumstances of the gift. Just as in the case of the Basmalah clock, the wall framed tapestry with the representation of the Ka'ba and Medina first prompts in Saphira associative thoughts and feelings towards her parents, who brought her the mat as a souvenir of their pilgrimage to Mecca. Moreover, while looking at it, Saphira places her recollections mostly within her family framework of memory, in relation to the particular moment of the gifting. She then complements such associations using her subsequent lived experience and

memories of the locations represented in the frame – Mecca and Medina – which she has visited while on pilgrimage (both Hajj and Umra²⁸).

Saphira – *Listen, this has A LOT, A LOT of value for me, because this was a gift from my mother and father, when they went for the pilgrimage to Mecca.*

Cat. – *When they went to Mecca.*

Saphira – *They brought me this... well, this is a mat, which I made into a frame afterwards. I mean, this is a souvenir from my parents for me.*

Cat. – *And when was that? 15 years old or more?*

Saphira – *Noor is 17 years old... so, 15!*

Cat. – *It's around 15 years old. Even though, I mean, looking at it, it seems to be two years old, not even...*

Saphira – *It is 15 years old.*

Cat. – *It's very well kept. But I mean, they brought it from there... and for you, what does it mean to you? The pilgrimage? A gift from your parents? It's...*

Saphira – *No. For me it's everything! It's the place I went to see. I've been there. So, I know it, but at the time they brought it for me, and I received, I mean, as a gift that they brought from there, and I've always cherished it a lot. And after having been to Mecca, I even value it more!*

Cat. – *But when you look at it, do you think of your parents...?*

Saphira – *Yes, yes, yes!*

Cat. – *That's your experience?*

Saphira – *That's it!*

Cat. – *Ok. Is there... Which place is this one? Ah! Only now I saw the angle. This is the Kaaba... and on this side?*

Saphira – *That's Medina.*

Cat. – *Medina... But here the images are overlapping, isn't it?*

²⁸ I was told in the field that *Umra* corresponds to the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina without the profound religious intentions of the *Hajj*, its main spiritual form. However, this is defined as a the “lesser pilgrimage to Mecca, performed as an act of piety at any time except during the eighth to tenth days of *Dhu al-Hijja*, the last month of the Muslim calendar of the Muslim calendar during which the main pilgrimage, the Hajj, is undertaken.” (Nanji and Nanji, 2008, location 4857 from the ebook.) In short *Umra* corresponds to the pilgrimage outside of the specific time of the *Hajj*.

Saphira – *There are three.*

Cat. – *Three, that's right.*

Saphira – *That's Medina. This one in the middle I think that's also Medina, and this one I think it's the Ka'ba. That's it!*

Cat. – *And when you look at it, I mean, you see...*

Saphira – *I look, I miss it; I imagine it a lot...*

Cat. – *Do you recognize exactly the same image?*

Saphira – *Yes. Yeah...*

Cat. – *Its actually quite similar to those videos that you've lent me from the pilgrimage that were...*

[Saphira turns around and points the small photograph hanging on the wall with the image of the Ka'ba]

Saphira – *That one as well. Have you seen it?*

Cat. – *That one as well. But that video you lent me has exactly the same image...*

Such an overlap of narratives regarding the perception of the object and its immediate association to its respective donors, plus the recognition of the represented place enabled through actual memories of the place, and its immediate effect, suggests the production of a complex entanglement of thoughts and feelings regarding the object's biography, materiality, representations and meanings, thus the subject's-object's entangled stories/memories (and ultimately their unequivocal interdependency). Just as in the case of the Basmallah clock, the entanglement of Saphira's personal and collective stories with those of the wall frame leads to the conflation and fusion of the object's and the subject's identities, producing either *personified objects* or, if one wishes, *objectified subjects*.

This complex entangled relationship between the subject's and the object's stories is also suggestive of the need to undertake and to apply a bi-dimensional approach to the meanings of things: one focused on the object and the other on the inscribed message. In Saphira's account, while the primary meanings refer to the object itself, in its physical, material aspects and with all its intrinsic biographical details and symbolic meanings, the secondary meanings refer to the objects of

representation that are mediated/conveyed by/in the frame – the Ka’ba and Medina – which are defined by the visual image apprehensible to the eye, and its subsequent appropriation by the interviewee, whose recollections of lived experience of locality and work of imagination contribute to the process of signification. However, as Saphira’s narrative demonstrates, it is not so easy to isolate the objects from the message, since the meanings and values implicated in the subject-object relation are, for the most part, interdependent. She valorizes the tapestry because it reminds her of her parents, such that it carries her parents’ souls and energy, just like the hau is carried in New Zealand *taongas*. But she also does this because the framed mat in its material and physical form was purchased in the context of her parents’ pilgrimage to Mecca, where she has been, thereby leading her to recall her actual lived experience and not just the mediated experience of her parents. Therefore, the frame carries both her parents’ spiritual energy and a part of its original sacred site, which is also simultaneously represented and remembered by Saphira.

Taking each dimension into account at a time, I start by looking into the material and physical existence of the framed tapestry in order to discuss the importance of this object’s biography in Saphira’s perception, mnemonic recognition, associations and subjective valuations. In fact, this object constitutes, as she mentions, a souvenir from Mecca given by her parents around 15 years ago. Throughout this process, the tapestry/mat seems to have been constituted originally as a commodity, as an object of exchange value, from the moment of production to that of sale within the context of religious tourism when her parents purchased it. Even though some might argue that Mecca and Medina are not essentially touristic destinations, but rather sacred sites, or simply religious centres of spiritual journey for its pilgrims (Raj, 2007) – and thereby that all items brought from there are not commodities – in reality the pilgrimage to Mecca (both Hajj and Umra) has been described and stated as a deeply commodifying experience for both its travellers and for all the objects and services available throughout the journey up to their destination (Hammoudi, 2006a). Therefore, even if Saphira’s parents had acquired the mat as an object which is endowed with the holiness and uniqueness of the place where it was sold, thus constituting an object of religious *aura* (Benjamin, 1999), I would suggest that such perception of authenticity could have been instrumentalized in order to divert the buyer’s

attention from the act of commodification of both the buyers and the object being purchased, following Hammoudi's (2006b) auto-ethnographic account of his pilgrimage. Additionally, not only is it pointed out by Hammoudi (2006a) that a wide range of similar objects of various kinds are extensively and permanently being sold in this religious destination, but both Saphira and her sister Hoor – who is also one of my informants – mention that all siblings in the family were given objects of a similar kind and value as a gift after their parents' arrival back from the Hajj. Moreover, both Saphira and her sister Hoor have, in fact, received on the same occasion, similar if not exact reproductions of the same objects, suggesting that during the pilgrimage both their parents bought regular copies of religious objects with the intention of offering them to relatives and friends, just as Hammoudi (2006a) describes in his narrative of a pilgrimage.

In this case, how can this object hold any authenticity? Even though Saphira's framed mat was constituted originally as a commodity, its next biographical phase corresponds to that of a gift, which triggers in the recipient both the recognition and recollection of an aspect of the sacred sites, as well as of the donors' loving souls and energy. Such an argument is echoed by Igor Kopytoff (1988) who states that both people and things have several biographies, which stress different moments, phases and aspects of their careers, trajectories, and lives. Therefore, taking Saphira's position into consideration, apart from the connection to her parents, who ultimately are symbolically represented and emotionally associated with the frame, this object seems to retain an almost unique existence, and "an authenticated relation to [its] original [place of] dwelling" (Lury, 1997, p. 78), which corresponds in this case to Mecca/Medina. While constituting a commodity, the frame has also gained the status of a traveller-object insofar as the "culture of others is bound into the physical confines of the object" (Lury, 1997, p. 76), retaining the essence of the holy site, its spirituality and its sacredness, while it dwells-in-traveling and travels-in-dwelling, as Lury would suggest. This is partly why Saphira does not relate the wall frame only to its donors, but also to the sacred sites where it was originally acquired (Mecca and Medina), thus recognizing in it the authenticity of a sacred place. Such appropriation seems to fit the mask of authenticity the mat was certainly endowed with at the time and place of the sale, enacting in her the

feeling of being closer to the centre of the earth (Eliade, 1987), according to Islamic tradition.

The moment the mat was offered to Saphira it gained a career other than that of a simple commodity. Based on these diverse sources of subjective and emotional value and meaning attributed to the mat, she decided to frame it in order to exhibit it in one of the most prominent spots in her living room, as a way of cherishing it and having it always perceptible (at least if *cultivated* (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981)). Along this path, the mat has thereby acquired a singular value and life position, outside that of homogenization and commodification, becoming what Celia Lury (1997) describes as a tripper-object. Lury says that “tripper-objects are those objects whose traveling is teleologically determined by their final resting place”, and yet “while the object may have ‘personal’, ‘sentimental’ meaning in its final resting place, this is a meaning which is not deemed intrinsic to the object, and thus is not publicly valued” (Lury, 1997, p. 79). Even if the mat was not acquired or bought in order to be displayed as a wall frame, its current physical and visual position in Saphira’s living room determines a completely new path and trajectory from that within which it originated. Nevertheless, it appears to still retain a certain *aura* (Benjamin, 1999) which is related to its place of origin, and at the same time it has gained extra relevance as a prompt for recollections and associated thoughts and feelings, which are not homogenized, but singular and personal, even if they occur in the context of family memories.

Although Lury (1997) differentiates a traveller-object from a tripper-object, Saphira’s framed mat proves the extent to which a souvenir can actually accumulate more than one object category simultaneously, as a way of fulfilling its different biographies (Kopytoff, 1988). For this purpose I mention that Celia Lury (1997) points to a third category of touristic objects, which can eventually explain the fluidity of status, meanings and values of Saphira’s framed mat. As she says, touristic objects are “in between open and closed in their meaning, and in between there and here in their journey” (Lury, 1997, p. 79). Lury also argues that due to this intermittent and fluid existence, touristic objects might be rendered insignificant, except if they are meant to signal movement. I would argue that the movement enacted by Saphira’s wall frame is of a dual nature: both of physical and geographical distance from the place of acquisition (and representation,

although I will return to this point below) and of temporal distance. In this latter case, the movement being enabled and re-enacted is of pure associative mnemonics, since association and memory are what still define the value that Saphira attributes to the frame, enabling a temporal movement from the past to the present, and so forth. Such processes imply remembering her parents and family, remembering the moment of the gift, remembering Mecca and Medina as experienced in a disorganized and unstructured manner, as if no strict line can be placed between times, relatives, experiences and even imagination. The wall frame holds for Saphira the ability to bind together the variety of events and subjects separated by time and distance, hence giving it an inalienable value, just as in the case of the Basmalah clock.

It is also necessary to mention in this regard that Saphira's father has passed away, leading to a possible accentuation of the emotions underpinning such movement between the past and the present, and to the valorization of the framed mat as an object of inalienable wealth (Weiner, 1985). Even though she is not explicit about such entanglement of thoughts and emotions with regard to the framed mat, the truth is that objects can also play a 'transitional role' while mourning a cherished one, hence enacting a healing function, according to Winnicott's theory of the *transitional object* in *Playing and Reality* (cfr. for instance Pollak, 2007; Turan, 2010). In any event, some of these considerations touch upon the second dimension or level of understanding of Saphira's relation to and appropriation of her wall frame.

Moving to a second dimension of analysis which focuses on the main object of representation of the mat, this corresponds to both Medina and Mecca, locations that are suggested through the representation of the Ka'ba (Fig. 5). This frame displays a religious theme and visual semantics which are of high importance both for this object's physical biography, as well as for Saphira's associations and projection of memories. As a given religious souvenir, the mat carries a part of its original place, which is also represented and inscribed in it (Fig.5). It is this representation that somehow triggers Saphira's recognition of the place pictured and generates associations with her own experience of doing the Hajj and Umra, and of being in those places. Her associations and recollections triggered by the wall frame transcend the time of the gift, traveling across time

and space, across life events, which are not sequential but simply bound together through the frame and its representation.

Despite how, after receiving the mat, she could not help but see in it both her parents while also imagining the Islamic sacred sites, after having been to Mecca her perception of the frame changed. Not only did she attribute to it a higher value, but she also managed to recognize its images through recourse to her own memory. Therefore, while looking at the frame and the message projected by it, Saphira is prompted to produce overlapping narratives based on recognition, mnemonics and imagination, which do not always understand time according to a sequence, nor events as necessarily contiguous, nor does she necessarily recall only her own lived experiences, but also mediated ones. This reinforces Rushdie's (1982) argument that the boundary between what has been lived and what mediated tends to blur with time, especially when cherished objects are at the heart of the triggering of past experiences. At some point reality and fiction become intertwined and are no longer identified discretely.

2. 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter I have explored the various levels of significance that objects with primarily religious semantics hold for different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins. I have demonstrated how these particular objects constitute the dominant markers of my interlocutors' 'front areas' (Goffman, 1990) of their domestic space, and provide the perceptual means through which the sacred can be enacted in their home space. From frames displaying Qur'anic messages in Arabic to images and photographs of the *Kaaba* and Medina and home décor objects with Arabic and religious inscriptions hanging on the walls of my interlocutors' front rooms, all appear to be perceived as hierophanies (Eliade, 1987) - mundane objects through which the divine is manifested and through which subjects can re-enact their religious practice of Islam both bodily and sensorially. The Arabic language, which constitutes the language in which God revealed the Qur'an to the prophet Mohammad, is still perceived as the original language of Islam's holy book, and hence the code to the inimitable word of God (Saleh, 2010; Esack, 2002; Graham and Kermani, 2006). Therefore, the Qur'anic text in Arabic corresponds to the word of God, and is a

prominent entity through which the sacred is enacted in the participants' homes; ultimately this is the miracle of Islam. It is for this reason that the Qur'anic word is also disseminated in different shapes and forms in the participants' homes, facilitating not only the manifestation of the protective power of God in the domestic sphere, but also the means through which my interlocutors can recall the sacred word of God. This is also what justifies my interlocutors' ability to recite the Qur'an verbatim from memory without yet being proficient in the Arabic language, as is the case for many Muslims in the world (Esack, 2002; Graham and Kermani, 2006). In this way these objects do not only constitute domestic identity objects, but also objects that trigger bodily and sensory responses from their owners, who, in a more or less conscious manner, re-enact mnemonic knowledge of their religious practice, stored in both their bodies and minds (Connerton, 1989; Bergson, 2004). Such a relationship with these domestic décor objects becomes part of the religious socializing habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) which the participants' bodies know, whether it refers to the verbatim recitation of Islamic words in Arabic, or to the bodily ritual implicated in their relationship with the material and physical objects of practice and of relation with the divine – in short the act of praying.

However, despite the apparent primarily religious values and functions at the heart of my interlocutors' relationships with their 'Islamic home décor objects', items holding primary Qur'anic messages and religious semantics also carry, in the majority of occasions, other meanings and values that transcend merely religious ones. In fact, a more phenomenological approach to these subject-object relationships demonstrates the extent to which these objects correspond to biographical (Hoskins, 1998; Hoskins, 2006) and evocative objects (Turkle, 2007) that tell their owners' stories and allow them to keep recalling a wide range of collective memories that bind together both the owners' stories and the objects' biographies. In many cases this encounter of biographies is also defined by the ways in which the objects have come into their owners' possession. When given by significant others, the indicated objects appear to also hold the soul of the giver, adding to the aura of the place which they came from – which they carry – as well as to the memories of the events that bring the giver and the given together. These are in fact what, in the case of my interlocutors, justify the attribution of an inalienable value (Weiner, 1985) to gifted objects. Therefore,

gifted objects with religious inscriptions and representations grant extra meanings and values attached to past events, as shared between the giver and the given, which often become materially encapsulated and sustained in the object in the process of being kept and cherished by their recipients. This inalienable value has an even more curious impact when we consider the case of religious touristic souvenirs, especially those from the Hajj, which, due to their arguably ephemeral and reproducible nature (Benjamin, 1999), would never be able to conceptually maintain the aura ascribed to any work of art. However, the truth of the matter is that my interlocutors' Islamic souvenirs do maintain a certain aura since they also contain a biography and in their course change their career (Appadurai, 1988b; Kopytoff, 1988), which ultimately poses some challenges to the way one not only perceives Islamic souvenirs but also questions the role of Islamic home décor objects in the processes of identity formation and in the act of remembering subjects' collective belongings.

3. BEYOND THE VISUALITIES OF BELONGING: RE-ENACTING MEMORIES OF MOZAMBICAN-NESS IN THE PORTUGUESE HOME

3.1. INTRODUCTION

I grew up in a home surrounded by various blackwood objects of home décor, as well as by batiks²⁹ hanging on the walls of the social areas of the domestic space. These have always reminded me of the existence of a country I have never been to – Mozambique. Added to this, the scents and flavours of Mozambican cuisine as well as my parents’ constant narrativization of their past lived experience back in Mozambique during the colonial period, sometimes supported by the visual aid of family albums and by shared remembrances produced while talking to friends with a similar trajectory, also marked my upbringing. This was how a certain Mozambique became both present and absent in my life; present through the multi-sensory, material and affective environment displayed and made available to me; absent as we were always physically and temporally apart.

My parents’ relationship to and connection with colonial Mozambique was a nostalgic one, as if they had been deprived of continuing to live in a sort of promised paradise and homeland, where life was good, where everything was much better, and perceived to be far more advanced and developed than in Portugal. Such a perception of their Mozambican past is not surprising considering my parents’ higher symbolic power as white colonial subjects, as well as their higher social, cultural and economic position within the colonial structure, compared to all the others in the racial hierarchy of peoples making up the colonial state (Matos, 2006; Marques, 2001). But I did not always understand this while growing up, nor did I immediately understand that this corresponded to a white man’s point of view, who, according to Machado (2011), still feels himself to have been forced into exile from his perceived homeland³⁰ within the context of

²⁹ Mozambican *Batiks* are pieces of cloth painted/drawn with molten wax that often represent native populations in their daily affairs, and which are used as tapestries to be framed and hung on the wall.

³⁰ Researches on aspects related to the identity and belonging of the so-called “retornado” are very scarce. Apart from Pires’s(2003) significant sociographic analysis of these subjects’ integration in Portugal, very few academic works have dealt with their arrival to Portugal and subsequent

the Portuguese empire. In fact, and despite having progressively understood the ideological transformation that put an end to the colonial rule in Mozambique, up until the beginning of my fieldwork I believed, in a clearly naïve manner, that anyone migrating from Mozambique to Portugal in the aftermath of decolonization would share this attachment to a homeland and would therefore manifest such feelings in all those domestic multisensory ways. As far as I knew, the forced departure from one's country of birth and/or of upbringing, whatever the motivation, would be enough reason for feelings of loss regarding a place one supposedly calls home and that to a certain extent one longs for, leading to the objectifying of such feelings through objects of décor and other multisensory means.

Therefore, I expected my interlocutors to maintain a certain connection to a past life in Mozambique and to reveal and manifest it in similar ways to those described above. No matter what their memories and positioning regarding the colonial system, it would not be so unlikely that the participants would manifest these feelings and connection to that country in the shape of visible marks, material culture items and general multisensory evidence in use and engagement within the space of the home, similarly to what some research findings on the material, visual and sensory expressions of aspects of postcolonial identity and belonging in the domestic space also demonstrate (McMillan, 2009b; Tolia-Kelly; Tolia-Kelly, 2004a; McMillan, 2009a; Dibbits, 2009; Horst, 2008). After all, even what is remote, both in space and time, can gain substance and shape through "relations that give absence matter" (Meyer, 2012, p.103) and through sensory connections that can - or not - be mediated by material items, or simply through past and present multisensory experiences (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b; McMillan, 2009a). As a result, and considering my interlocutors' biographies and trajectories, I sought in my interlocutors' most private and intimate dwelling spaces material and visual signs that could suggest links to past lived experiences in Mozambique and affective connections to that country. This would allow me to

complex postcolonial identity challenges. Among the very few are for instance Lubkemann's (2003) work on the feeling of strangeness of mixed race "retornados" in Portugal; Sheila Khan's (2006) research on the identity ambivalences of mixed race Mozambicans currently living in the UK and in Portugal; Ovalle-Bahamo's (2003) work on the ambivalences of identity and belonging among white Angolans in Portugal; and Machado's (2011) specific work on the white "retornado's" identity.

understand their sense of Mozambican-ness within the context of postcoloniality, hence contributing to the study of the Lusophone postcolonial subjectivities.

However, once in the participants' domestic spaces, I could not find these visual and material traces of connection to Mozambique or an expression of Mozambican-ness through material and visual evidence. Instead, most of these signs were absent from my sight, and all the homes I visited through my fieldwork were alternatively dominated by a material and visual connection to the world of Islam, as illustrated in the previous chapter.

Apart from glass and porcelain items, which ranged from tea and coffee pots/sets to other decorative objects such as lanterns and clocks, which, similar to other Portuguese homes, dress bookcases and furniture shelves in my interlocutors' front homes, the visual signs that suggested the participants' connections to Mozambique were, as I could see, scarce. I could simply identify general and random small ornaments made of ivory, African blackwood and other wooden materials, that were often kept on furnishings located in different areas of the living/dining room, such as tea tables, dining room dressers and other 'front room' cabinets, and which would match a certain image and essence of Mozambican-ness as discussed by Marta Rosales (2007) and not so different from my own family experience. In one particular case, I also came across batiks of different dimensions representing native Mozambican populations. Moreover, there were other statues and figures made of corn straw, decorative ostrich eggs on wooden stands, and *pilões*³¹ randomly located in different spaces, such as the living room and kitchen, which discreetly insinuate links to Mozambique, as they had been brought from there.

Still, I was faced with the challenge of being able to recognize material, visual and other multi-sensory traces associated with ethno-national categories of Mozambican-ness, as well as signs of presence and connection to such collective belonging, which I was aware of myself, though only partially and in a biased manner. This inevitably led me to question whether I was looking for that which was invisible but present through other sensory means, which I was - or was not –

³¹ The Portuguese word *pilões* is the plural of *pilão*, an often wooden mortar that has grown to be perceived as a symbol of the Mozambican gendered agricultural work. For more on its significance in the Mozambican society see (Sheldon, 2002).

able to recognize, or simply for that which was non-existent but still visible through random and coincidental visual means, that could have meanings other than those an outsider could imprint onto them. This required further discussion about the meaning and the status of both the absence and presence of signs of Mozambican-ness that could also provide a comprehensive understanding of the significance of the visual – but not only the visual - for an outsider.

It is with these questions and thoughts in mind that in this chapter I will be exploring some of the ways in which my interlocutors objectify their collective senses of belonging associated with forms of Mozambican-ness and Portuguese-ness in the home. I will discuss the contradictions between the visible and the invisible signs of Mozambican-ness in my informants' front rooms and will be addressing the significance of multisensory engagements produced in the domestic space in revealing objectifications of belongings. An initial ethnographic account of a particular domestic research context (Mr. Dawud and his daughter Azeeza) reflects the complexity and disputes at play in the interplay between the home décor objects, the foodstuffs offered and commented on, the postcolonial identities and belongings stated, enacted and ultimately felt in relation to Mozambique, and the contrast between visual and non-visual items in the shaping of ambivalent Mozambican identifications. This account is followed by a discussion of the conscious and unconscious political, affective, material, sensory and bodily forms of a Lusophone Mozambican-ness recalled and enacted by my interlocutors within their domestic settings, which will conclude with reflection upon my interlocutors' postcolonial memories of Mozambican-ness.

3.2. POSTCOLONIAL AMBIVALENCES AND THE IMPERATIVE OF THE SENSES AND OF THE AFFECTS IN UPROOTED BELONGINGS

Azeeza joined the Youth Committee of the LIC half way through my fieldwork. She was in her late twenties. After learning about my research Azeeza invited me to come to her home for lunch. When I arrived at her flat, located in a Lisbon suburb, I encountered a slightly different decoration from the homes I had been in before. Starting with her flat's front door, which did not exhibit a plaque with Arabic words, and moving on to the display of a wider range of African

objects, Azeeza's home did not seem to be a *home of Muslims* like the others. I felt I was in a home of Mozambicans.

The living/dining room was, as with all other homes I've been to, clearly symbolically divided by classical wooden furniture and by other furniture sets filling each part of the room. I could still see some golden Arabic inscriptions on a black background framed and hung on the wall in the dining room, but, unlike the homes of my other interlocutors, these were much smaller and less obvious. Following the hall's right hand corridor, the dining room was immediately on the left, arranged around a table and chair dining set and a wooden sideboard located against the longer wall. On top of this rectangular sideboard there was a long white napron³² laid lengthwise. On top of this was a porcelain ornament in the centre and a wooden miniature of drums on the right. What was also prominent in this space was the large light brown framed batik representing a Mozambican village with huts and its inhabitants, which decorated most of the wall above the sideboard, thus confining to a smaller area the Islamic inscriptions in Arabic on the left upper side of that wall. Since this was the first and almost only time I could find such a prominent visual material link to Mozambique in my interlocutors' home place, I immediately reacted to it by saying to Azeeza: "Ah! You have a Batik! I also have one at my parents' place!" Azeeza simply answered that it was fading, due to aging, and that she had another smaller one in her room, which she showed me immediately. Azeeza opened the cupboard of her bunk bed and there it was, a small colorful batik simply glued to inside of the door. She looked at it with pride, noting how colorful it was.

Apart from this visible connection to Mozambique, other multisensory elements and components of Azeeza's domestic atmosphere contributed to making one feel surrounded by a Mozambican world. The moment I entered her home, I could smell the food Azeeza's mother, Marta, a very smiley, tall, chubby, assertive mixed-race³³ lady, in her late 40s, born and raised in Mozambique, had cooked for our lunch. Apart from the Portuguese traditional *Bacalhau à Minhota*

³² A *Napron* corresponds to small tablecloths made through a crochet process.

³³ Even though the category of mixed-race can stand for different and diverse inter-racial and inter-ethnic backgrounds referred to by my interlocutors, I am using this category here to identify Marta's white Portuguese and black Mozambican parentage.

– a cod fish dish made in the Minho region³⁴ fashion – she had also cooked a *Chacuti*, a traditional Goan meat dish seasoned with spices and coconut and commonly cooked in Mozambique (See for instance Rowan, 2004). When Marta asked if I liked it, I told her I was not sure if I have ever tried *Chacuti* before, but that I have certainly heard about the dish, which I was very curious to try. I told her also that she had cooked too much food and that I did not wish to trouble them so much, but they all seemed happy to welcome me with all those elaborate dishes, as they kept saying that this was part of Mozambican hospitality.

While in the kitchen I could also see a big wooden pilão on top of the cupboards, which I felt comfortable drawing Marta’s attention to, due to her easy-going attitude. “Ah, you have a big pilão!” to which she replied “Yes I do!” After chatting a bit about it, Marta said that the *whites* call it *Almofariz*, clearly articulating the linguistic differences between ethnic and racial groups.

Lunch was served only after Azeeza’s father, Mr. Dawud, a short, slim and shy man on his early 50s came in from *namaz*³⁵. Not only was this a true feast, but also a long and gustatory experience, lasting until around 4:30pm. Azeeza brought her mother’s handmade mango *achar*³⁶ to the table, which she knew I liked. Aware of this, Marta commented on me liking spicy food, whereupon I mentioned that I’d grown up eating hot and spicy food in my parents’ home. The lunch was an opportunity for us to get to know each other better, to talk and to exchange ideas, since this was my first time there. They clearly and understandably wanted to know more about me; who I was; where my parents are from and what work I was doing, but they also talked about different events and themes, including Mozambique, which I claimed to be connected to through my parents’ story of migration. While listening to me, Marta kept praising the quality and the taste of several products and foods they used to have in Mozambique, compared to what they taste like in Portugal. From the food to the beaches, Marta mentioned that everything tasted differently and was better there. But apart from talking about Mozambique, we also talked about the LIC, the LMC and the YC, which Azeeza was still trying to learn how to be a part of. Even though actively participating in

³⁴ Minho is a region in the north of Portugal.

³⁵ *Namaz* is the Urdu word for performance of prayer (*salat*, in Arabic), which is commonly used among Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins.

³⁶ *Achar* is a common transliterated word from Hindi given to pickled sauce.

the conversation, Mr. Dawud was not always very talkative, or at least he was very cautious about what he would say, both about Mozambique and about the LIC and LMC, for reasons I later came to understand through his biography and my fieldwork.

In fact, when narrating his life story, Mr. Dawud turned out to be a disillusioned Frelimist; a man who used to believe in a sovereign socialist post-colonial Mozambique and in the party that represented it. After Mozambique's independence in 1975 he chose to fully embrace the citizenship of his own country, contrary to a large number of his family members and the majority of my interlocutors. Mr. Dawud was 17 years old at that time, and as a young man he could not see any reason to leave his country of birth. He hoped to help rebuild his homeland, the only one he had known, by subscribing to the ruling party's socialist ideology. After all, this was the country where he, his parents and his siblings were all born, despite a remote link to India. After marrying Marta, and Azeeza's birth, Mr. Dawud started feeling that life was becoming economically and socially unsustainable, and that the politics of the post-colony (Mbembe, 1992) were betraying his integrity and honesty. It was following his realization that such a system – which was meant to be a fair provider of its populations' basic needs, such as food, health and education – was not being organized fairly, nor could it allow him to survive, that he felt the need to leave Mozambique: "If I want to be honest I couldn't stay at that time in that country." In the meanwhile, he was also encouraged by his parents and siblings to settle down in Portugal, where he decided to stay in 1983, before getting his double citizenship (Mozambican and Portuguese). Not long after, Marta and Azeeza joined him in this foreign yet familiar country. Their arrival and the process of settling down in Portugal are described as being difficult, not only because Mr. Dawud did not have (nor had he brought) any wealth with him, but also due to racial discrimination. Facing difficulties in getting a job in Portugal, even in companies where some "white people that came from Africa" had a high position and did not help him, for fear of being recognized as *retornados*. Mr. Dawud only found support and work opportunities among Indian Muslim friends whom he knew from Mozambique, and who were already settled in Portugal with their own family businesses (Cfr. Malheiros, 1996). Only later on did he manage to get a job

with Mozambican airlines, where he worked for more than 20 years before becoming unemployed. The Indian Muslim community in the Lisbon metropolitan area, he stated, had provided him with the support the rest of the country did not offer him. However, at the same time, he did not always feel part of this community since, as I came to learn through both Azeeza and Marta, they were still labelled and perceived as Black/Mozambican Muslims among them.

I understood why Mr. Dawud felt uncomfortable expressing his views about Mozambique and the community. Firstly, ethnographic experience and evidence explains why he did not always feel part of *the community*, despite the fact that this was (apart from his extended family) the only group that provided him with social, economic, cultural and religious support in migration. Secondly, his life narrative is revealing of a Mozambican identity and sense of belonging produced in constant ambivalence, which has shifted along with the political and ideological transformations that have marked his country of birth and have led to his migration to Portugal. All through his biographical narrative he claimed to be Mozambican, and yet he did not always wish to fully embrace this, saying that he did not feel connected to the country. This could probably be explained by the fact that his identity position was shaped by a clear move from a formerly colonized condition towards a liberated one, and by a subsequent progressive return to a subaltern post-colonized position, when he settled down in Portugal. It became clear that his relationship with Mozambique and Portugal was far more complex than he could (or wished to) express, and that to delve into his affective, sensory and material expressions of belonging could provide further insights into this complex mosaic of positions and constrained and managed personal revelations.

An exploration of the significance of the elucidative domestic material, visual, multi-sensory environment I was experiencing in Mr. Dawud's home, became more than eminent, as this was truly suggestive of the presence of Mozambique in this family's life, despite his claimed detachment from that country. Was Mr. Dawud aware of how he was connecting to Mozambique through such an environment? Was he deliberately using it in order to continue some tie with his country of birth? What was the relevance of this atmosphere to his sense of belonging, and how was I to understand it in line with his claimed detachment from Mozambique?

Unlike his wife, Mr. Dawud did not always show an interest in talking about Mozambique, nor did he wish to emphasize sensory differences between Mozambique and Portugal, past and present, nor even to think of the potential physical, material, sensory and even affective evidence of his attachments. In fact, when I asked him to think of things that would allow him to feel connected to Mozambique, he denied the significance of this multi-sensory environment in these processes and expressed his disconnection from his country of birth:

Cat. – What are the things that you have here at home, or that you own, that make you feel connected to Mozambique?

Mr. Dawud – (silence)... I didn't understand... ... What makes me feel connected?

Cat. - Yes, what sort of things in your daily life make you feel connected to Mozambique?

Mr. Dawud - É pá³⁷ (I mean), I think that I don't... I'm not connected to Mozambique through my daily life. Only the fact that I was born there. Because I was born; because of the familiarity, that's it, apart from that... in my daily life... in the old days... I came here to the West, here... to Portugal... here to the country... I don't have a connection in my everyday life, despite the fact that even by chance I was working in an airline company, which was Mozambican... And that might be what at that time made me feel [connected]...

(Mr. Dawud, born in Mozambique in 1957)

I could not understand there being nothing in Mr. Dawud's daily life that would connect him to Mozambique. How to make sense of many of the conversations we all had, of Mr. Dawud's claimed position, as well as of Marta's constant comparisons of the gustatory experiences in Mozambique and Portugal?

³⁷ I found that the Portuguese expression "É pá", which is commonly used in an exclamative manner, is recurrently used by most of my interlocutors to justify things past and present. Similarly to the English expression "I mean", with which some start many of their sentences, the expression "É pá" carries a certain informality for my interlocutors.

How to make sense of Azeeza's attachment to Mozambique, clearly noted through our conversations and through the photo albums, touristic guides to Mozambique, as well as other materials she showed me on different occasions? How to make sense of the presence of the evident home décor objects in the family lounge and the Mozambican food served in an exercise of sensory differentiation of tastes past? If Mozambique was no longer important in Mr. Dawud's life and in his family's life, why then keep reproducing all this material, visual, sensory and gustatory evidence of Mozambican-ness?

These contradictions between the stated and the experienced led me to further reflect upon the assertive neglect of sensory things made available, commented on and shared around the table. Two hypothetical and often-conflated explanations arose. One based which I started to believe held a considerable truth, which suggested that objects – such as food, as well as items such as the batik – belonged to the realm of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990), of the *habit-memory* (Connerton, 1989) that only the body knows as a result of a progressive habituation, such that it is no longer an object of reflection. Another is based on the political postcolonial considerations that he was forced into after becoming disillusioned with the Mozambican regime and migrating to Portugal, leading to his progressive internalization of the dominant other's position, reflected in his embrace of a sense of Portuguese-ness and in the marginalization of a sense of Mozambican-ness.

First, tackling the degree to which the multisensory atmosphere described might have been internalized as part of the family habitus, questions of accuracy in the reading of the identity of the objects mentioned above can be understood in terms of their significance in shaping Mr. Dawud's identity and belonging, insofar as silence and a dismissive attitude can be revealing. It remains important that one explores the phenomenological nature of the subject's relationship with the objects described. However, because these sensory objects in Mr. Dawud's home were hardly reflected in the discourse, operating instead at the level of the unconscious, it does not mean that they cease to hold power and significance in cultural construction of the self. This is also an argument put forth by Daniel Miller (1987) when discussing *the humility of objects*, where he argues that the physicality of artefacts “act as a bridge, not only between the mental and physical

worlds, but also, more unexpectedly, between consciousness and the unconscious” (Miller, 1987, p.99). I would stress that not only does the physicality of the artefact play this role, but also it is the sensory, perceptual and bodily qualities of the objects, in their interrelation with the subject and their affective qualities, which produce such processes of articulating and bridging the realms of the conscious and the unconscious. The objects seen and touched, but also smelled, tasted and felt, appear to allow a bridge between the conscious and the unconscious, thus facilitating the expression of the self, and thereby the creation of connections, alliances, and ultimately of belonging (Cfr. for instance Edwards et al., 2006b; Pink, 2004; ManalansanIV, 2006).

Moreover, considering that it is through socialization and interaction with *a world of objects* (Bourdieu, 1990) that the subject constructs his or her sense of being in the world, as well as an unconscious social *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990), it is very likely that the overall multisensory atmosphere described above has been incorporated, produced and reproduced over Mr. Dawud’s life-course, in ways that do not always call upon his rational and reflexive judgment of the items’ identities and their role in his own subject positioning and practices. By falling into the dimension of unconscious daily life experience, these objects hold the value of enabling the re-enactment of previously acquired practices, many of which constitute and incorporate elements of un-reflexive habit.

Nevertheless, Mr. Dawud’s disconnection from Mozambique might also be grounded, as pointed out above, in his disillusionment with the postcolonial reconstruction of Mozambique, and in his subsequent internalization of an *othering* position that can justify his decision to migrate to and remain in Portugal. This is clearly stated when Mr. Dawud justifies the lack of material, visual and sensory affiliation with Mozambique with the fact that he “came to the West”, to “Portugal”. Not only is Portugal projected as a country in its own right, apart from those who it colonized, but it is also identified with the geo-political category of the “West”. This is also articulated with respect to Mr. *Dawud’s* trajectory of migration, implicitly from the “East” to the “West”, thus appearing to carry the postcolonial weight of power relations.

Cat. – *How was life in the Island of Mozambique back in those days*

[period of his childhood]?

Dawud – *As all over Mozambique of that time one used to live well. ONE USED TO LIVE. Today one vegetates, né³⁸?*

Cat. – *What was the meaning of living well?*

Dawud - *How can I explain that?... to live well... there was harmony... there was... I don't know... I don't know how to express myself... there was...*

Azeeza – *More conviviality...*

Dawud – *Yes, more conviviality... more friendship (...) more... I don't know, more everything, isn't it? I think that the fact that we came here ... separated... at least there was more... a (...) a sense of family, isn't it? More unity in the family... and that is everything for one to live well, isn't it? I think so.*

The whole range of words, thoughts, and feelings expressed by Mr. Dawud show how his perception of the changing quality of life in Mozambique coincided with his apparent political shift to its politics, and the way he also appears to embrace the dominant other's point of view. Having encountered a paradigmatic transformation in the way of life that he saw growing up, Mr. Dawud went on to dismiss the present postcolonial conditions of Mozambican-ness. It is in this sense that any current connection with Mozambique is denied. Mozambique has disillusioned him. It is also important to bear in mind that for him any connection to Mozambique is dependent not on a spatialized perception of this country, but instead on a temporalized form of Mozambican-ness, one which subsists beyond place. These are grounded in the feelings, emotions and memories of times past, which have become difficult to materialize:

Cat. – *So, are there things in your daily life that make you feel connected to Mozambique?*

³⁸ “Né?” corresponds to the contraction of the Portuguese rhetorical question “Não é?” which means in English “isn't it?”, and its respective contraction “innit?”. I keep Portuguese expression due to its regular use among some Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, who wish to gain reassurance regarding their own views in interaction with others.

Mr. Dawud – *É pá only Saudades³⁹, né? Saudades of⁴⁰ friends, that's for sure!*

Cat. – *Friends.*

Mr. Dawud – *Friends... not even the ones that are there! Those that no longer exist! But yes, saudade for the life we had! But these... these are things... clearly these are things that probably are not in Mozambique! Things outside of Mozambique! The saudades, the conviviality... the way we used to live, né? That's it! The saudades!*

By claiming that the only things he keeps, that make him feel connected to Mozambique, are saudades of friends and the life he used to have in his youth, Mr. Dawud confirms that his only connection to his country of birth lies in the past, rather than in the present. The saudades he feels refer to things that no longer exist in today's Mozambique. In this sense, this feeling of connection to place is not necessarily rooted in a geographic location, but instead in the affective memories of good times past. Therefore, temporality supersedes place, and affects give shape to postcolonial political positions.

What one could question here is whether such privileging of time over place, and the shaping of political positioning through affect have the potential to allow for a more enduring memory of place, since Mr. Dawud mentions things he misses from Mozambique that are no longer in Mozambique; in other words *things* that exist in a dimension that is not always tangible, but instead affective, and belonging to the realm of the heart. This, alongside Mr. Dawud's disillusion with postcolonial Mozambique, justifies his decision to take *his* Mozambique out of place and to place it at a different level of existence.

Mr. Dawud's ethnographic case demonstrates how the refusal to consciously locate his feelings of Mozambican-ness materially, visually, and in other objects is symptomatic of an ambivalent identity position which conflicts with an affective relation to a time which no longer exists, but whose felt sensory

³⁹ *Saudades* is a Portuguese word that is asserted not to have an equivalent in English, due to being a noun rather than a verb. For that reason I decided to keep it in its original sense. However, the closest English translation can be for instance the verbs 'to miss' or 'to yearn for'.

⁴⁰ The noun "saudades" demands the preposition "de", "of" in order to specify whom one misses or yearns for.

and emotional marks provide continuity to his routines and make sense of his everyday life. Perhaps to associate this past with clearly acknowledged objects of identity can only work to remind him of his loss, of what no longer exists, forcing him to continually live in the past, which is incommensurable with his present existence. As a result, Mr. Dawud seems to have taken the practical decision to dismiss any tactile, material and visual signs of Mozambican-ness, as it seems to have become much more tolerable to live under the assumption that he has moved into the West, even if affective and embodied forms of Mozambican-ness still remain, though perhaps not always at a conscious level.

Mr. Dawud's ethnographic case is significant insofar as it stresses the ambivalent identity positions produced across coloniality and postcoloniality in the understanding of the declared and stated, as well as unconscious, embodied, and often affective forms of belonging to a Mozambican collective ground. While the discourse of the practices might not match the practices themselves, this does not mean that these are not two sides of the same coin. In fact, both reveal the complexity of being postcolonial, being Mozambican while also Lusophone, and having an attachment to a Portuguese/European and Western way of being in a world where non-whites are still feature lower in the hierarchies of peoples and races.

While much is still to be tackled and further discussed in this chapter, I can already say that Mr. Dawud's relationship with Mozambique, and with his past life there, is shared by most of the parents in the family-households contacted, who were born and have lived at least their childhood in that country. The parents' narratives of the 'old Mozambique' mostly focus upon the colonial Mozambique, describing a no-longer existing prelapsarian 'lost paradise', where friendship, harmony, freedom, abundance and beauty mark happy memories of childhood and youth, like Mr. Dawud's and not so different from what I grew up seeing and listening to in my family home. However, while some enjoy returning to it when remembering it, others prefer to keep it in the past, mentioning little or less about it for many different reasons. This 'old Mozambique' is perceived by many of the parents in the field to have disappeared with the independence movements and the communist regime that followed. Whereas for some the end

of colonialism in Mozambique represented the liberation of a subordinated country, as it did for Mr. Dawud, for others the independence of Mozambique constituted a moment of uncertainty and disorientation, especially regarding economic conditions, social, ideological and political freedom and safety, hence forcing them to try to find a new home elsewhere, and often in Portugal.

Additionally, the parents' narratives are often produced in contrast to the 'Mozambique of today', which is perceived as a place rather than a time, that can only provide conditions to enjoy paradisiacal holidays. This is what most of my interlocutors seek, despite the more adverse, corrupt and poor living conditions that it offers compared to Portugal. Furthermore, narratives of the old Mozambique emerge in contrast to the place of immediate relocation, such as Lisbon, which came as a shock and a disappointment compared to the imaginaries that many had of it, especially through media representations, but which could still offer better future prospects than a country undergoing transformation as a result of the official end of colonialism.

In the following sections, I will explore further possibilities of material and sensory connections and enactments of senses of Mozambican-ness, which range from the past to the present, both consciously claimed and unconsciously performed, and which can further improve our understanding of how and what kinds of Mozambique and forms of Mozambican-ness have been kept and maintained in the bodies, feelings and minds of my interlocutors, as well as how they can be encapsulated in different material, visual and sensory objects in a variety of ways. Further reflections regarding the degree of intergenerational acts of transfer of certain collective memories of belonging as well as imagined communities associated with Mozambique will also feature in this discussion.

3.3. THE 'MOZAMBICAN' HOME-DÉCOR OBJECTS: FROM TRIP SOUVENIRS TO IDENTITY MAKING OBJECTS

"Probably the home décor objects!", "blackwood and ivory items", "The batiks!" say some of my interlocutors in response to my question regarding the objects kept in the home that make them feel connected to Mozambique. My insistence on understanding the eventual significance of materiality in enacting a

sense of Mozambican-ness would push them to think of all the potential material and visual signs in their home place, whether personal objects or family home décor objects chosen by other household members for display, both in the front and the back areas of their home. While the youngsters in the field would stress the plural family ownership of the objects more often by saying “we have”, their parents would choose personal home décor objects that enunciate a connection with Mozambique, not necessarily because they deeply cherish these items, but because home décor was most often their responsibility. And yet, the particular home décor objects that hold a certain association with Mozambique or with a sense of Mozambican-ness would often be mentioned to me after a minute or so of thinking and/or looking around in search of the potential visual and material traces of their connection to that country in their domestic space. They might refer to objects they have bought in Mozambique during recent trips there – their own or their family members’ trips – which would therefore be souvenirs, which would often be projected as *traveler-objects* brought from elsewhere, hence combining “the ability to travel well in the sense that they retain their meaning across contexts and retain an authenticated relation to an original dwelling” (Lury, 1997, p. 78). This is quite significant since my interlocutors’ primary criteria of identification of their material and visual home objects associated with Mozambique is not dependent on the potential nostalgic need to remember or to identify with Mozambique as a birthplace – unlike what I have experienced in my family home and what is known to define the relationship of the white so-called retornados with colonial Africa (Machado, 2011) - but instead concerns the objects’ biographies and the extent to which they encapsulate part of the renewed experiences experienced in that country, especially within the context of more recent holidays and family visits. The touristic categorization of the objects associated with some sort of Mozambican-ness, which is encapsulated in the souvenirs brought home and displayed, suggests my interlocutors’ position of departure from that place and time, signaling that “they had moved on”, though in a way that still carries a certain affective attachment and projection of belonging to a time and space past and remote, such as those in Michael McMillan’s (2009a; 2009b) exhibition of the “West Indian Front Room”.

This brief assessment of my interlocutors' relationships with home décor objects stamped by a Mozambican identity insofar as they constitute *traveler-objects*, or objects brought from Mozambique in the course of holidays there, is quite well illustrated by Tia Sameeha's domestic setting and biographical account. Born on the Island of Mozambique in 1968, Tia Sameeha has moved across at least two Mozambiques, one prior to her trajectory of migration to Portugal in 1976, when she was 15 years old, and another located on the postcolonial time-space axis. She lived most of her childhood with her maternal grandparents in the old city of Lourenço Marques while her parents remained on the Island of Mozambique taking care of a successful cashew plantation and family fabric business. She used to divide her time between school and formative activities such as cooking and sewing, which were not only part of the gendered Portuguese colonial schooling system (Pimentel, 2007; Neves, 2000), but also encouraged by her grandmother, who would occupy her time with domestic activities. Despite regulated childhood and gendered youth activities, which to a certain extent contributed to an imagined Portuguese and European world, Tia Sameeha remembers these times with joy and happiness, but her happy days in Mozambique came to an end when her grandparents sent her to Portugal during the early years of Frelimo's political regime, when youths were recruited to be part of the 'dynamising groups,'⁴¹ which Tia Sameeha was already proudly part of. Fearing that she would be sent to communist countries for ideological training, her grandparents and parents agreed that she should flee the country, which she regrets due to the fact that she also needed to embark on a journey of discovery of a country she only knew through schoolbooks and through the radio - Portugal. It was only after 20 years that Tia Sameeha managed to return to her birthplace, which she found completely destroyed and unrecognizable. When asked about how she found Mozambique 20 years after having left it, Tia Sameeha says that it was completely different from what she had left and that she and all her family members were very sad to see old family properties completely destroyed. Mozambique nevertheless remains a country that she identifies with, firstly because she says it is her place of birth, secondly because she likes Africa. For

⁴¹ The 'dynamising groups' constituted the Frelimo regime's way of giving power to the people and corresponded to "bands of party enthusiasts, mostly young and inexperienced, who were sent in factories, offices and businesses to try to improve production and generally stimulate activity along the lines of government policy" (Chabal et al., 2002, p.199)

these reasons she tends to return there every now and then for tours, especially along the Mozambican coast, which she finds beautiful. It is in the context of these touristic journeys to Mozambique, and even to South Africa, that Tia Sameeha tends to find souvenirs, which she enjoys buying to decorate her flat in suburban Lisbon. This was ethnographically evident on some of the occasions when I visited her in her home-place and when she told me that she had several things that make her feel connected to Mozambique. However, when inviting me into her living/dining room, Tia Sameeha started pointing out the home décor objects that she brought not only from Mozambique, but also from other locations she has visited on recent holidays. Just as with other objects brought from travels and holidays, the place of origin seems to be one of the most important defining criteria of the objects that compose her large family lounge, as well as other areas of the home where household members also have a say regarding decoration. During her biographical interview, Tia Sameeha took the opportunity of showing me the rest of her family flat, where several souvenirs, including one brought from Mozambique, are on display in the room of one of her children. Our conversation proceeded as follows:

Tia Sameeha – ... *we always have things that make us feel connected to Mozambique... and to places we have visited... This for instance came from Tunisia; when we went to Tunisia he [her son] brought this... This is from... Mozambique... they have it there...*

Cat. – *How do they make that?*

Tia Sameeha – *It's with sugar cane leaves that they dry and then they make these small things with straw and things like that. These are straws and then they identify the people. For instance, this a lady that brings a pilão; this is a pilão; do you know what a pilão is?*

Cat. – *Yes I do. I also have one at home.*

Tia Sameeha – *And then they carry these bundles of clothes and then these are the warriors, isn't it? This represents the warrior...*

Cat. – *But would this represent people living in any particular area of Mozambique or not?*

Tia Sameeha – *Eventually... It's more to identify people living in villages, their work, isn't it? and these are the leaves....the corn leaves (...)*

dried corn leaves that they use to make these arts and crafts... There are straws of I don't know what, therefore we always have things that remind us of... but this is more of a souvenir, isn't it? Because he [her son] has always something from anywhere he goes... he buys.

(Tia Sameeha, born in Mozambique in 1968)

Despite the detailed description of the arts and crafts item exhibited in her youngest son's room, Tia Sameeha engages with this particular object not on the basis of its potential power to trigger in her any feelings of nostalgia or memories of her happy childhood or youth in Mozambique, but on the basis of its souvenir character produced within the context of her son's journey to Mozambique. For this reason, the item shown and described allows her and her family members to remember good days spent during that or other holidays in that country, rather than during a past life time.

The type of conscious relationship Tia Sameeha has with her home décor objects associated with Mozambique also underlines many of my other interlocutors' focus on the biographical stories of things (Kopytoff, 1988) bought or recently brought from that country, which they have returned to several times after settling down in Portugal. Despite revealing the type and nature of domestic objects that are perceived as Mozambican, and apart from reproducing common perceptions of what material culture means and stands for, these objects are often seen as *traveller-objects* (Lury, 1997), meaning souvenirs from Mozambique that “retain their meaning across contexts (...) and authenticated in relation to an original dwelling” (Lury, 1997, p.78). Moreover, they also seem to symbolize the deliberate decision to move beyond the African ground that no longer offers the same comfort and safety now it has gained its legitimate independence.

However, one should not neglect the fact that most of my interviewees who migrated from Mozambique did not carry any objects on their journey to Portugal. In fact, for those who have undergone migration, apart from basic items such as personal clothes, very few other objects were carried in displacement due to the difficulties in fleeing Mozambique with possessions, and due to the fact that most possessions were cared for by family members remaining behind in the

aftermath of decolonization. If extra items were carried in displacement, these were often photograph albums, such as wedding albums and children's first pictures, which, despite having perhaps played an important role in the transition of precluded identities (Parkin, 1999) and in the facilitation of the environment (Turan, 2010), are not always revisited today. Whilst a few of my interlocutors insisted on showing me these albums when narrating their personal and family life stories, more tended to not even recall where these might be in their flat. This inability to recall where these albums are shapes the idea that a great number of the participants in the field have, either consciously or unconsciously, broken with their past in Mozambique, as a way of dealing with both present and future projects of identity and belonging. Considering that many claim to have lost everything on their path of migration, including houses, businesses, valuable possessions and – most important of all – a life and future in Mozambique, to remember a past life in Mozambique seems to have become a burden, a task that would eventually bring even more pain. Some even stress the fact that by asking them all these questions I am forcing them to remember things they would rather not recall. In this sense, not only to forget where some of the objects carried in migration – especially those that render no utility or material value, as Parkin (1999) explains – is likely to constitute a minor event in my interviewees' lives that were already so much disrupted, but also a desired act, especially for those who have gone through displacement and for whom to remember a lost life is in fact needless and painful. What is left then are the possibilities that the present and the future can offer, which is not always far away from many of the experiences that shaped them as persons, as Lusophone subjects in a colonial Mozambique.

Even though such a feeling of loss is evident among all parents in the family-household units that I have contacted, it can perhaps be better understood through Assia's biography and the way she articulates her migration to Portugal via the forced and deliberate loss of her *transitional objects* (Turan, 2003; Turan, 2010; Parkin, 1999). Born in the old city of Lourenço Marques in 1955, Assia reconstructs the circumstances in which she claims to have been driven from her home country over a period of 48 hours after her expulsion was declared in the local newspaper. Married to a descendent of citizens of Portuguese India, who at the time of the independence of Mozambique had chosen Portuguese nationality,

Assia was left with no other option but to choose Portuguese citizenship in order to accompany her husband, hence making her remaining in Mozambique impossible. In the seventh month of her first pregnancy and after having saved and struggled for at least a year in order to manage to decorate her home, Assia was forced to leave Mozambique with her husband, taking with her only the 20kg of luggage allowed. She embarked on a journey of migration towards an imaginary Portugal that she had only heard and learnt about from school history books and local Mozambican radio, which used to broadcast news about Portugal rather than about Mozambique. All was left behind, including her extended family, parents and siblings:

Cat. – So some things were kept by your brother, and other simply stayed there...

Assia – That's right... And they stayed. Some of the things my parents went to pick up... very few... and some other things disappeared... Sometimes I even say that I don't want to remember, né? (laughs) I don't even want to remember, it's not worth it. It breaks my heart... (laughs) we used to have... I mean... in the meanwhile we used to have the whole trousseau, we were married for a year already, and everything we did, everything...

Cat. – Everything you made and wished to keep...

Assia – (...) Sometimes I tell my children: "look, when we were 21 years old we were already.... we already had ideas, we imagined to have our own home... we married and had our home, we had already chosen our furniture, it was almost all paid for, we had already our bed furniture, we had everything! We were kids, we were 21 years old... today with 21 years old I think they don't even think of life, né? But we at that time...

(Assia, born in Mozambique in 1955)

To remember items lost in migration represents to Assia remembering a whole life left behind and wasted, which was built upon hope in the future and shaped by the material investment that she and her husband had made for a life ahead, and that they were already starting as newlyweds, all of which was

eventually lost when fleeing Mozambique. Some of her belongings were eventually recovered during trips she managed to go on to Mozambique some years later. However, as she suggests, while much of her material loss was recovered, part of her loss cannot be retrieved – it lies within, in her heart, where her old Mozambican life still lives.

It is therefore in this sense that the loss of material goods – carriers of *precluded identities* (Parkin, 1999) – signals the closing of a chapter in my older interlocutors' Mozambican lives, as well as the beginning of a new life made up of new material references. In the absence of material goods from the old Mozambique, no triggers are available to remind oneself of the painful loss of happy days and of a hopeful future lost in migration, and only the new ones can potentially drive them towards a more recent past or towards an unknown future.

However, and instead of merely assuming that the continuation of past lives was totally disabled and disrupted for those who fled Mozambique for different reasons due to the loss of their material structures of living, one must also remember that much of what is carried in migration is deeply embodied, through bodily habits, memories of the senses and affects, and through the meanings and the significations one already holds (Basu and Coleman, 2008).

Moreover, just as with many of the Islamic objects discussed in the previous chapter, many of the Mozambican souvenirs hold other meanings and values. In fact, a few of my interlocutors acknowledged the significance of objects kept in the back areas and on display in the front zones of their homes to which they attach a Mozambican identity, and also as a way of projecting and/or embracing a personal identity which is both cultural and collective. Cultural because they refer to a cultural expression they claim to share; collective because they allow for the identification of a certain form of belonging-ness to a certain group identity – in this case the Mozambican people (which is not shared by all, perhaps representing the colonially subordinated subjects that they do not want to be identified with, especially after migrating to Portugal). Such aspects result from the fact that those who do classify Mozambican objects as objects of identity feel at ease with openly and fearlessly recognizing an ethno-national Mozambican identity through their personal possessions and are reflective and conscious about such a position. This is for instance the case of Noor, a woman born in 1963 in the old city of Lourenço Marques, who despite claiming her Portuguese-ness

alongside her integrated Indian-ness, does not cease to call Mozambique her homeland. Therefore, when asked if she keeps things that make her feel connected to Mozambique she says:

Noor - *I already had many... many arts and crafts... things made of blackwood, for instance, objects frames and hanged on the walls, books, Mozambican writers... the fabrics for instance. Whenever I go I like to [bring things like these].*

Cat. - *When you look at those things what do you think? If you think of a fabric, for instance, or a blackwood item, what do you think?*

Noor - *That they are part of the expression of a culture that is mine.*

Cat. - *So, do you feel part of it? Do you feel that it is something yours, something personal?*

Noor - *Yes. Personal and... apart from the diverse cultures, I have an identification with my homeland, with the African culture, and I know that that is the basis of my homeland, and that's how I identify myself with – an African culture with... Asian influences and European, because I was born in an overseas Portugal – but the basis of what I feel is not only with the people of Portuguese origins, it is an identification with the land.*

Cat. - *With the land. So do you have those things exposed and exhibited, or are they in more reserved areas?*

Noor - *Yes, yes, I used to have them exposed.*

Cat. - *And currently they are more reserved?*

Noor - *Yes.*

(Noor, born in Mozambique in 1963)

Even though I did not have the chance to visit Noor's home and to explore many of the things that she tells me about in various interview moments, her account of the objects that allow her to connect to Mozambique is deeply revealing of the meaning of materiality in the home, including in projecting and objectifying her sense of belonging. Noor does not reduce the triggers and the evidence of her connection to Mozambique to home décor objects, nor does she

limit these to the material and the visual, instead including objects that need to be apprehended through tactile experience, such as fabrics, and which are not necessarily exhibited in the front room. She also includes in this category of objects things that are in fact abstract, and which she embraces through literary skills. Noor reveals, throughout her interviews, a deep love for linguistic wisdom and knowledge, and in particular for Mozambican Lusophone literature, which also informs her career as a secondary school teacher of Portuguese. She grew to love this through her childhood in Mozambique when listening to stories and legends that extended relatives would come to tell in her family household unit. The dream to continue studying, to be a critical mind, and to have a career path, made her decide to migrate to Portugal. Having most of her family's support, Noor settled down in Portugal in 1977 at 14 years of age. In Portugal she continued yearning for Mozambique, but for a Mozambique that was liberated from its ghosts and oppressors, and that could also integrate its colonial history into its own identity. Not only did she come to terms with her postcolonial position and past, but her educational background seems also to have allowed her to produce a much more reflexive discussion concerning the ideologies shaping Mozambique's past, present and future than most of my other interlocutors. Noor was also much more at ease with, and even willing to admit to, her African roots, as well as the way these could be, and even were, objectified for her. She would acknowledge and claim the traces of her attachments and senses of belonging by highlighting the importance played by different sensory objects as well her personal literary interests, and through telling her life story. It is through Mozambican literary knowledge, which can be partly materialized through books read, kept and cherished, that she claims to be able to feel most connected to Mozambique. This does not simply constitute a connection based on her remembrance of past times, but instead involves objects of articulation and identification with a place which she still calls her homeland today.

One ought to question what such an identification with place means and entails. Is identification in this case merely defined by her place of birth holding a primordial value and meaning? While engaging with Noor's life story, many more aspects started becoming clearer, and yet also more complex, to me, especially regarding the degree of ambivalence felt by most of my mature interlocutors about their connections to Mozambique, and to their declared and undeclared forms of

Mozambican-ness. Additionally, her interview reinforced the need to move forward from a perspective that, despite its significance in asserting identity positions and desires, stresses that beyond visual material traces and evidence, other sensory objects and related practices also hold the power to trigger and facilitate affective and sensory memories of belonging beyond those directly stated.

Firstly, throughout her interview she stresses the fact that Mozambique is where her family created roots and left behind a legacy based on her maternal grandfather's teachings and translations of the Qur'an from Arabic into Arabic-transliterated Mozambican oral dialects (by means of a movement of Islamization that also succeeded in teaching reading and writing to the illiterate population).

Secondly, when referring to what she misses most when thinking about Mozambique, Noor also produces synesthetic narratives based on sensory experiences she recalls as being unique to that country, and which she has not found in Portugal or anywhere else. She says: "I miss the heat, the sun... and... the landscape, isn't it? The landscape, is what I miss the most; the sea... the colors that are different, very intense". Such a deep sensorial and affective account of her relationship with Mozambique is, as she says, telluric; it relates to the Earth, thus gaining an almost mystic and sacred character, which does not fall far from Mr. Dawud's account, explored above, insofar as what he also misses is something that he locates in nature. Just like Mr. Dawud, Noor and others claims this telluric connection to the land which is often described in sensory terms, and involves an intimacy that can hardly be cognitively described, but which can only be felt, hence making it difficult to assess from an outsider's point of view. These sensory descriptions often concern the smell and colors of the land, including the soil, and clearly demonstrate a symbiosis between my interlocutors and a country that some even claim to be part of themselves

Thirdly, instead of simply being rooted in the African soil, Noor's affinity with Mozambique is also defined by a multicultural mosaic of identifications, which includes diverse cultures, namely African, Asian and European. Her claim of Asian influences is mostly narrated via familial links to India and to both Islamic and other Oriental philosophies. Also important are her European influences via the Portuguese-ness which was promoted through the Portuguese colonial presence in East Africa and the Indian Ocean, thus making them

equivalent to an Overseas Portugal as most of my other older interlocutors also stressed. Noor's Mozambique is then defined by what she calls a romance between Asia, Africa and Europe, which encapsulates a strong sense of Imperial Portuguese-ness.

Noor - I feel very Portuguese, because I'm Portuguese History! And I usually say that this is a love triangle between India, isn't it? Asia, and Africa and Europe. (...) I feel totally identified with Portugal through the language, the culture, the literature, and I feel that when I arrived, I arrived to a second home. I have my birthplace, but I have many homelands... and ultimately I can only paraphrase Fernando Pessoa and say that my homeland is the Portuguese language. In a world, or within a multi-linguistic and cultural origin, the union point is the Portuguese language, (...) not only at the level of my maternal language but also at the professional level. Therefore, I think that the synthesis is all done in that particular way; if I was born in an Overseas Portugal, and if I even consider myself to be the Portuguese History – Vasco da Gama went to India, all that trajectory is in my genetic line and in my life.

Noor claims to be the outcome of Vasco da Gama's journey of discoveries and arrival in India, thus reclaiming a sense of Portuguese-ness that goes back to the XVI century's history of the Portuguese discoveries. She also focuses mostly on the sounds and system of the Portuguese language, claiming to belong to a Portugal that is not necessarily territorial, nor is it rooted in a delimited time or space, but that is instead located in the linguistic sphere which she speaks, hears and feels both intimately and professionally. "My homeland is the Portuguese language", she says. Such an account and statement completes then the universe of identity and of belonging that Noor claims above when also trying to identify the range of objects or things that would make her feel connected to Mozambique. This is in fact a Mozambique that speaks Portuguese, precisely because of Vasco da Gama's journey across the Indian Ocean towards Indian lands. By metaphorically encapsulating the whole Portuguese imperial project, which Noor believes herself to be a child of, Vasco da Gama is then perceived as being

inscribed in her genetic line, hence corresponding for her to a certain point of origin and to an almost genealogical kinship tie with the Portuguese.

Noor's claims of Mozambican-ness are then not only dependent on the experience of a colonial life lived in that African country, but also of internalized forms of Portuguese-ness produced together with the epic narrative that informs and legitimizes the discourse of the Empire. Therefore, Noor's sense of identity and belonging entails a strong and assumed mimic position of identity, which is both partially one and another (Bhabha, 1994), and that encapsulates the historicization of the powerful one's point of view - the former colonizer's perspective of history.

And yet, after 30 years of living in Portugal, *Noor* has also progressively internalized and incorporated several sensory experiences of a country she had previously imagined, but always acknowledged, in order to define herself as a Mozambican woman.

Noor - At the end, when I had the opportunity to return to my birthplace, I understood that the reality was of another kind, and that I had been living in a world of memories and that I needed to face the fact that things have evolved and that they are others, and that I also felt saudades of many things...even though I had lived an intense summer I also felt saudades of the smell of the chestnuts, the leaves falling down in the Autumn, of Christmas, of this bustle, and at the end I understood, isn't it, that probably there are very important things when we are away, and we think, we stuck ourselves to that memory, but that everything else we are living in the present must be integrated, and that it is also part of us.

Despite expressing a strong affection for her birthplace - which not all other parents did - Noor's affection for Mozambique seems also to find its right place in a time of her life that is already past, and which needs to live side by side with her sensory and affective senses of belonging to Portugal. It is when moving across spaces that Noor calls home that she gains consciousness about her own nostalgic relationship with her place of birth. And yet, instead of keeping Mozambique in the realm of a frozen time that did not evolve, just like in the

American sense of Nostalgia explained by Seremetakis (1994), Noor releases the past from its chains, incorporating it into her present sensory and affective experience, which is also shaped by sensory memories of a postcolonial Portugal, which altogether gives her a sense of wholeness of existence as a Lusophone Mozambican or a Mozambican Portuguese.

Noor's case is deeply illustrative of the extent to which, despite the different feelings of belonging one is aware of, embodied forms of identity produced through the progressive internalization of sensory experiences cannot easily be defied or forgotten. Despite her love for Mozambique, she cannot deny the Portuguese-ness that has always defined her, and that has shaped her sensory memories even more strongly in recent years. Her condition of in-between-ness is therefore openly asserted, unlike with many of my other interlocutors who made a decision to be Portuguese first and foremost. The latter tend to choose either/or. Only when their sensuous bodies call upon old sensory memories of locality do they return to a past time and enact their multiple and multi-layered collective belongings. But I will return to this point further on in this chapter. Before that, I will be exploring some of the implications of *Noor's* continuous yearnings for Mozambique, where sensory traces compose elements of her affective attachments, for her oldest daughter's memory, imagination and identity. The discussion concerns the intergenerational processes of the reproduction of collective forms of Mozambican-ness, which, though remembered in the first person, can also be internalized through different sorts of mediation, that is storytelling and objects of home décor.

3.4. MEDIATING AND RE-MEMBERING FORMS OF MOZAMBICAN-NESS ACROSS GENERATIONS THROUGH STORYTELLING AND OBJECTS OF HOME DÉCOR

Noor – What I always tried to do was to transmit some values to my daughters and they feel Mozambique as their homeland; they wished they have been born there and I used to also tell them the stories of my childhood, those I lived. Therefore, that love that they have for that land is so intense that sometimes I wonder if (...) If I might have exaggerated isn't it? They got involved in such a manner that they feel that nostalgia, just like me!

An *armchair nostalgia* (Appadurai, 1998) for Mozambique, a nostalgia without memory of lived experiences of that country, is something that I rarely encountered among my young interlocutors. Though a few mothers discussed earlier in this chapter kept narrating and referring to their affective and sensuous memories of the country where they were born with their children, most of the youngsters have listened to their progenitors' stories of a changed world of reference with a certain scepticism and critical ear. This has been shaped by their lived experiences of that country, when either visiting it or for some when living there for periods that did not exceed a year.

However, Maysoon, Noor's older daughter, is one of the exceptions in being a young participant whose sense of belonging – and even identity – has been deeply defined by her mother's narratives of her past life in that country. Although, just like most others, Maysoon has been able to build her own perception of Mozambique, especially during the year the family moved to Maputo, when we met for an interview she kept talking about her mother's almost poetic memories of her past life in Mozambique in a way that clearly illuminated her own place in the world. Maysoon had grown up with the power of her mother's stories of Mozambique; stories that reveal strong affective connections to a country. Her descriptions of both the sunset and the moon, as well as the stars in the sky and other sensory experiences seemed then to be deeply fused with her mother's nostalgic descriptions of a sensory world that was already too far in the past to keep being renewed and continued. To a certain extent, Maysoon's narrative of her mother's experiences showed the impact of *armchair nostalgia* (Appadurai, 1998), which the latter feared she had transmitted to her daughters, as enunciated in the quote that opens this section. However, instead of having been produced by the force of capitalist logic and by consumer objects endowed with an imaginary of past times, which Appadurai (1998) claims to be the case when these processes occur, this armchair nostalgia has been produced on the basis of the affective mother and daughter relationship, justifying, just as Shammās' (2002) story demonstrates, the transfer of feelings of identification with Mozambique and/ or a certain sense of Mozambican-ness rooted in love relationships and a feeling of solidarity for the loved one's loss and desire.

Maysoon's affection and desire for Mozambique is based on love ties shared with her mother. However, because she articulates it through her own lived experiences she tends to conflate two places but not the different temporalities which hers and her mother's experiences are respectively tied to:

Maysoon – (...) it was just like my mother tells us, but I think that it is also important the way people tell things...because when my mother would tell us those stories you could really see in her eyes, I mean that saudade, and... to remember that, which was so touching, that she has passed down on to us, "It must really be" and for us it has become special due to the way my mother told us, because we have been there, isn't it? It wasn't us who had gone through all that moment, but I mean, the person who has told us, there is a very close affective connection, very strong and she transfers it in such an intense way that almost takes us also to that moment(...)

Cat. – So you almost feel as if you have lived the same.

Maysoon – I almost feel that I have lived the same, and it is actually strange, but that's true; we.... there are many stories that if I close my eyes I can think that I was there, but this is only because as my mother says: "So you know those stories because I told you!" Because we sometimes start telling her stories, and it's that thing "Ah! And so when my mother told us this, when she told us that..." And people say: "Ah! But were you not there at that time? Because these are recent things..." And We: "No! My mother has told us this... therefore we... that's it..." She actually always transmits a certain saudade, if not she transmits that her childhood was very happy, and that it was full of flavours and colours and family and loads of unity.

(Maysoon, born in Portugal in 1988)

Apart from the fact that Maysoon had visited Mozambique a couple of times, the year she lived there seems to have equipped her with recent direct experiences of that place, where she claims to have always felt at home. Having attended Portuguese high school in Mozambique, where she has also made several

new friends, Mozambique did not seem to her a big step and change from her life in Portugal. For her to move to Maputo constituted simply an exciting change to a world which she has clearly grown up with, and which still incorporated many of the references to a life and world she had left in Portugal. And yet, through her own lived experiences of being located in Mozambique, Maysoon seems to have had the opportunity to give shape to the stories heard, and to the events and situations that had, until that moment, remained mostly in the realm of her imagination.

It is in this sense that in the course of our interview Maysoon's narrative of her *mediated* (Dijck, 2004), and even prosthetic, memories (Landsberg, 2004) of the old Mozambique lived by her mother, blended with her own remembrances of the lived sensory and affective experiences in that locality, hence making it difficult for me to distinguish them. Even though referring to the mix between imagined and lived memories, this conflation of memories between both Noor's and Maysoon's perceptions of both lived and mediated spatio-temporal *Mozambiques* resembles Rushdie's (1982) ruminations on how his own remembrances of his childhood house in India have changed over time, in particular due to several mediations and representations of India he has accessed during his life in England. Similarly, it also suggests the extent to which mediated memories and memories of lived experiences come together in the creation of an imaginary homeland, an imagined location which can be accessed through affective and sensory memories of experiences.

The conflation between Noor's and Maysoon's perceptions of both lived and mediated spatio-temporal Mozambiques is also significant as it contrasts with differences in the perceptions and memories of Mozambique narrated by both most of my young interlocutors and their parents. But, even though the latter would not always assume a clear link, their memories of youth and childhood still clearly suggest a certain intimacy with sensory experiences. Their children are not always able to make sense of these sensory experiences and memories, nor are they as keen as Maysoon to replicate them. Instead the youngsters' perceptions and views of Mozambique are defined by conflicting views of that country; views that position Mozambique beneath a desired level of progress and modernization, in contrast with what Portugal can offer them. What Maysoon demonstrated, just like Azeeza and very few other informants, is rather unusual, insofar as her

narratives of Mozambique moved beyond the hierarchy of peoples and countries, being rooted in a mix of her mother's and her own memories of lived experience there. Moreover, these were also based on an affective bond established with her mother's past, which very few wished to focus on too much.

Such a contrast between the majority of the youngsters' relationship with Mozambique and Maysoon's, as well as their respective relationships with their parents' old Mozambique can be observed and understood in terms of how they relate to the home décor objects that were either brought from or purchased in Mozambique at different times. While the great majority claim not be connected to their parents' homeland by also dismissing the significance of the eventual domestic material and visual evidence of a familial connection to that place, a few others – like Maysoon – tend to articulate their connection in terms of their own perceptions of that place using these sorts of material culture items.

What is also interesting to note though is that as a recipient of mediated memories of her parents' homeland, and as former direct dweller of a Mozambique that she grew to love even before seeing it, Maysoon encapsulates in souvenirs a wholeness of her own happy experience of that locality. Souvenirs from Mozambique do not in her case symbolize a moving forward from an old place and time, but instead represent the possibility of retrieving a past lived with intensity.

Maysoon – Regarding objects, all the things that we have are more recent, but because we brought them from there. We do not have anything that my parents have brought from there at that time; ... I don't know... I mean one the most popular woods from there are the blackwood and therefore we have some things in blackwood because there was a time that my mother was crazy about blackwood.

Cat. – She was what, sorry?

Maysoon – She was crazy about blackwood thus she brought loads of things. Therefore, we have some in the living room, and we had some things in ivory (?)

Cat. – And so do you have them on display? Or are they kept aside with care? How do you see it?

Maysoon – They are on display in the living room. I mean they are

already part of the (...) living room... of its decoration, our decoration in this case is really made of blackwood; that's probably the dominant thing in the living room.

Cat. – *And when you look at those objects, that were brought from Mozambique what do you feel? What do you think of?*

Maysoon – *Actually I remember it a lot⁴², (...) I mean it's very typical and... they were bought really on the streets, in those streets full of people, and the street vendors and it is very funny, and us buying that and exchanging and many things! But...*

Cat. – *So do you see the whole situation?*

Maysoon – *I see the whole situation, but also... and because it makes it... really an environment... I think it probably makes us recall a bit Mozambique because we are here, but the fact that we bring some objects that take us there, or that makes us (...) the fact that these items are there so close to us, because I mean the living room is the place where we spend most of our time every day or whenever we pass, and that makes us feel...*

Cat. – *A connection?*

Maysoon – *Exactly! A connection and they are always there for us to remember any past, or any space that is part of us.*

Despite being souvenirs from Mozambique, blackwood objects located in the family-household living room and bought in the street markets of Maputo trigger in Maysoon the *wholeness* of moments lived in that city and country, meaning that attempts to “recapture the totality of the old way of life” (Fernandez, 1982:9 in Sutton, 2001) relate in this case to the multi-sensory atmosphere around their purchase and to her experience of living in Mozambique for a year. Such evidence poses intergenerational challenges regarding the meaning of trip souvenirs, brought as *traveller-objects* (Lury, 1997) from Mozambique. While for the parents who claim not to feel connected to Mozambique, and who do not

⁴² I am translating this in order for it to make sense in the English language. However, in the case of this and other interlocutors who move across different *Mozambiques* there is a tendency to refer to it as “there”, “lá” in Portuguese, which somehow contributes to keeping the sense of uniqueness of the place.

objectify such belongings, souvenirs from Mozambique allow them to move forward and to break with their Mozambican-ness in postcolonial Portugal, and for those youngsters who do feel attached to Mozambique through affective identification, as in Mayssoon's case, these might gain additional signification, namely the evocative power that facilitates a whole structure of recollections and remembrances to be brought into the present. Yet, as in the case of Proust's (2002) Madeleine, the retrieval of the whole structure of recollection and of remembrance of events felt, experienced and imagined, does not assume that memory is something external, but instead "any past, any space that is part of us", as Mayssoon argues. Mozambique has, as she explains, become embodied, whether one wishes it or not, whether it is claimed or not, whether it is real or not.

Despite not sharing the same experience of locality and affective relationship with Mozambique – with a few exceptions – other interlocutors express exactly the same process, especially when narrating their relationship with some material objects kept and used in the home, which are likely not to belong to the realm of consciousness, but instead are part of bodily routines and habits. In the following section I will problematize the importance of material culture in enabling the enactment of belongings, which, though denied in acts of positioning that classify and draw subjects with labels, still live within oneself.

3.5. EMBODIED MEMORIES OF MOZAMBICAN-NESS

The embodied shape of Mozambican-ness is in fact one of the most significant aspects observed throughout my fieldwork, though it was not always explicitly stated due to the postcolonial ambivalences of identity explored so far, and others I will discuss within this chapter. While those like Mayssoon who feel connected to Mozambique tend to claim and explain their different forms of Mozambican-ness through an unfolding of their different forms of embodiment and bodily enactments of ethno-national senses of identity produced alongside different subject-objects relationships, those who claim a disconnection from that country tend not to claim such belonging, also refusing to show any material evidence of this connection in their lives and in their homes. However, they also tend to embody it through several sensory means that they progressively stored in their bodily memories, and which they may not always be aware of, insofar as they enact belongings without claimed identification. Even in the case of the

former, who stress their attachments to Mozambique, the acknowledgment of their embodied Mozambican-ness has often been produced as a result of long conversations and insistent questions led by me, regarding the nature of their connections to Mozambique, including all the material and sensory shapes that accompany such connections. In some cases, I was given the justification that since in Islam figurative images are not allowed it is therefore uncommon to display items with figures, which objects of blackwood often tend to do. In others cases, no justification was given, suggesting an almost total irrelevance of the material in objectifying any sense of Mozambican-ness, hence leading me to further explore phenomenologically their relationships with things that are part of their everyday life, but that they would not always deliberately stress as relevant.

Apart from raising questions regarding my interlocutors' actual need to externally materialize objectifications of Mozambican-ness in the home, this considerable absence of visual and material signs of a family life trajectory appears to signify a departure from an already transformed Mozambican, as well as from an African, formerly-colonized position, which for most of my interlocutors holds little value in a postcolonial Portugal. Those are likely to allow social and cultural colonial power relations to be restored and applied to their current postcolonial existence, thus turning the participants into marginalized subjects.

Furthermore, it also appears to suggest a retrospective differentiation from the formerly colonized and lower class groups of times past, which these objects – if existing – are likely to have been endowed with. As Marta Rosales (2007) argues with regard to the Portuguese Catholic elite in colonial Mozambique, objects that are described as African, and which are also made of blackwood and/or ivory, were not valued during colonial days. This was either because no African culture was then acknowledged, or because these would largely be associated with the lower classes in the old capital of Mozambique. I would then suggest that, apart from the present postcolonial circumstances that definitely shape my interlocutors' senses of belonging-ness, there is also a significant anachronistic exercise concerning how the present value and meanings ascribed to Mozambican/African home décor objects might find roots in the perceptions of value that these objects used to have in colonial days, and which have since been reproduced. In other words, apart from present identity positions of Portuguese-

ness and of European-ness, similar reasons behind the devaluation of the African-ness of home décor objects observed among the Portuguese Catholic colonial elite can apply to my interlocutors, and especially the older ones who migrated to Portugal. This means that the older participants seem to have shared the same tastes and cultural choices as the Catholic colonial elite. This is also likely to derive from practices of colonial mimicry (Bhabha, 1994) of the dominant other, which justifies the fact that many of my interlocutors have opted to embrace images and ideas of Portuguese-ness and European-ness.

However, while none of my interlocutors have explicitly expressed or claimed the same values and meaning regarding objects defined as ‘African’, according to Rosales’ (2007) categorization, when engaging in conversations regarding, for instance, the use and knowledge of Mozambican dialects and proximity to Mozambican culture some of them have immediately wished to detach themselves from an African identity. In one particular case the reply I got to the question regarding whether the participant knew a southern Mozambican dialect was “We are not black!” And yet, this answer was often attached to positions of class, a higher class from which forms of cultural differentiation could also be derived. On other occasions different interlocutors, who would not wish to state a high class position and who suggest having had a deprived life experience in colonial Mozambique, would demonstrate having learnt Mozambican dialects spoken in their regions of birth and residency, with which they would associate a strong affective, sensory and telluric sense of identification.

These points raise further questions regarding the heuristic value of my interlocutors’ use or lack of Mozambican home décor objects in terms of the degree of colonial and postcolonial mimicry of the dominant white other. Additionally, they also demonstrate the extent to which ideological, class and affective positions inform material and visual objectifications of Mozambican-ness. Furthermore, the points raised bring to light questions concerning the degree of consciousness and unconsciousness implied in the tastes, systems of classification and belongings claimed by Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, which is also likely to be intrinsically related to the degree of embodiment that connections to Mozambique might have gained for my older interlocutors. This latter argument is also of significance since Mozambique is

recognized to have been incorporated through subject-object relationships that belong to the realm of everyday life and of routine, hence rendering such an internalized character deeply obscured and not always obvious to those who do not wish to be Mozambican, African, and ultimately Black. This is because it was only when exploring the sensory and bodily connections with Mozambican objects among my interlocutors that I gained further understanding of how Mozambique has become progressively embodied beyond choice and positioning. These processes have been produced diachronically, though not all always in the same shape and to the same degree. In fact the perception and degree of embodiment depends on the type and nature of the subject-object relationship that often enables such processes and that also denounces the degree of continuity of past bodily practices, which tend also to be rooted in sensory experiences and feelings originally lived in either colonial or postcolonial Mozambique. Furthermore, these different degrees of embodiment of senses of Mozambican-ness are not always implicated in conscious acts of becoming oneself (Hall, 1996a) that would better match a Mozambican identity position, since many of my interlocutors do not claim a Mozambican identity, claiming instead an Indian and/or Portuguese identity, apart from their Muslim-ness. This relates, as I already outlined earlier in this chapter and as I will be further arguing, to the fact that a Mozambican identity and sense of belonging is not desirable in a predominately white post-colonial Portugal, since this will be associated with a subaltern identity. However, when a sense of Mozambican-ness is defined by sensory and bodily past experiences that are also affective, these are also either consciously claimed and/or unconsciously manifested through bodily practices and sensory memories that are continuously recalled. In particular, such embodied connectedness to Mozambique is suggested by participants in the field through their acknowledgment of the significance of foods, food habits and practices that allow them to find the flavors of Mozambique and of their more or less conscious, more or less desired sensuous and embodied Mozambican-ness, as well as to either give continuity to past practices or to re-invent them, so as to recreate a wholeness (Sutton, 2001) of past experiences rooted in Mozambique and an imagined community of belonging (Sutton, 2001; Anderson, 2006; Murcott, 1996). Within the category of foods are often included foods sent from Mozambique or foods exchanged between Portugal and Mozambique, as well as

those cooked and eaten in the Portuguese home, apart from food utensils through which past food habits and tastes are retrieved and reproduced, thus shrinking spatial and temporal boundaries between the here and there, and the now and then. It is not only the acknowledgment of the importance of food from or of Mozambique that relativizes the importance of materiality and eventually of the visual items in evoking the presence of Mozambique in the home, but it also attaches Mozambique to the realm of flavors, tastes and smells, and to sensory embodied habits and memories, which, although not limited to the table, can eventually and ultimately bring Mozambique back to the table, as has been my own experience throughout my fieldwork and my life.

Though many examples can be offered to illustrate these arguments, I will stress Yasmin's biographical case in the next section. Through this example I will explore the different modalities of remembering and imagining sensory forms of Mozambican-ness encapsulated in foods and drinks associated with Mozambique, specifically examining the case of Mozambican *coca-cola*. Ultimately my goal is to show how particular sensory experiences related to taste have facilitated the reproduction and imagination of forms of Mozambican-ness across time, space and generations, regardless of the identity positions desired and stated by the participants.

3.5.1. Re-membering and imagining Mozambique through tasteful sensations: the case of the 'Mozambican *coca-cola*'

Yasmin stressed her sense of Mozambican-ness the day I met her for the biographical interview. In her early twenties, Yasmin kept mentioning how Mozambique has always been part of her family-household everyday life, not only as a result of her parents' continuous narration and mediation of memories of a happy youth in that country – which she came later to visit in order to fulfill her curiosity and to verify their stories – but also as a result of the cooking and eating practices that would bring *Mozambique around the table*, through food ingredients sent from Mozambique and/or cooked in the family home in Portugal:

Cat. – Regarding things that might have come from Mozambique, do you have anything here at home that makes you feel connected to Mozambique?

Things that you might have brought?

(...)

Yasmin – I mean, we have many sorts of food that come from there; (...) but whenever someone comes brings us always something, even if it's only prawns, we know it's different... it has a different taste. (...) In terms of... of the home, of things for the home, we don't have a lot of things, we have very few things made of blackwood, but... I think that here at home at least, we do not need to have many objects to remember Mozambique, because we remember it very often.

Cat. – So when do you remember the most?

Yasmin – Hum... I think every day!

Cat. – Every day...

Yasmin – Every day when... sometimes we drink coca-cola and we say "Ah! And the one from there is tastier...!" Every day we feel that, especially when... when it is the fasting month, and because it is there where the family is very large around the table; when the fasting month is ending and we celebrate we also remember, because there the family is also very big and they have the culture of... going out and distributing food to everyone's homes, and this is when we remember the most... But (...) we remember every day.

(Yasmin, born in Portugal in 1986)

Food sent from Mozambique and/or food and drink consumed in the home are shown to be the objects that trigger in Yasmin a connection to Mozambique in her everyday domestic life. As an object of collective commensal engagement in the family-household, foods and drinks associated with Mozambique constitute for her a central shared element through which her, and her family's, sense of Mozambican-ness can also be discussed, mediated, reinvented and remembered. However, while these gustatory practices seem to signal and allow her to project and conceive of a certain idea of Mozambican-ness, the food sensory universe that Yasmin refers to is diverse, multi-spatial and multi-temporal, insofar as it seems to move across different temporal sensory experiences of family household members and generations. In short they cannot refer to the same taste-related

experiences occurring simultaneously, even if one considers that they have been produced in the same place. For this reason the food sensory universe that Yasmin refers to gains a multidimensionality that allows for the understanding of the importance of food in the construction and endurance of senses of Mozambican-ness across time and space in a twofold intertwined process suggested by many of my interlocutors. Firstly, it allows for a better understanding of how food perceived as Mozambican can actually enable processes of affective remembrance based on sensory and affective evocations of wholeness of past experiences in Mozambique brought into the present tense. Secondly, it also facilitates processes of continuity and change of sensory collective memories of belonging across generations, through which a certain sense of Mozambican-ness is not only embodied but also passed on to following generations.

Starting from these processes of endurance of a sensory collective memory of belonging across generations, it is through the food that anyone who goes to, brings from, sends from, or has even tasted in, Mozambique, that identification with this ethno-national community is established and brought closer to the here and now. In this case, Mozambique just needs to be tasted in order to be identified and recalled in its uniqueness. The sensory authenticity which Yasmin claims to be attached to Mozambican food, such as the prawns and even the *coca-cola*, is conveyed by the statement that there these foods and drinks have a different flavour compared to the same or similar products or brands in Portugal. By considering such spatialized and geographic differences in the location of taste, Yasmin produces a narrative of the memory of the senses, which is similar to the one that Seremetakis (1994) produces with regard to the loss of Aphrodite's peach. As Seremetakis says, the memory of the peach, which she has grown up with and to which she attached the taste of the summer, was located in its difference. Therefore, its absence rendered all the other available peaches simply tasteless:

People only alluded to the disappearance of the older peach by remarking on the tastelessness of new varieties, a comment that was often extended to all food, 'nothing tastes as good as the past'. (Seremetakis, 1994, p.1)

As far as Yasmin is concerned, this sensory memory of foods continues to have deep importance considering that she was born and raised in Portugal, and that her sensory referents are expected to be mostly rooted in that country and not in Mozambique. Furthermore, such transfer of a potentially primary referent from Portugal to Mozambique is also of interest because it was facilitated by Yasmin's visit to her parents' home-land, where she has had the opportunity to gain her own sensory and embodied memories of Mozambican-ness. Through such experiences and processes Yasmin came to negotiate her parents' sensory memories of Mozambique and even of Mozambican-ness.

This is not something surprising or unlikely to occur, as Maysoon's example illustrates the extent to which the sensory memories of others play a fundamental role in the construction of lived sensory memories of experiences of locality and in the incorporation of affective ethno-national attachments. However, in the case of food, this is clearly a mobile and sensory artefact through which such attachments are objectified beyond mere storytelling. This is the case since food constitutes an important means through which imagined communities are constructed (Murcott, 1996), while also being an object through which belongings are emphasised through taste-related, olfactory and tactile experiences commonly associated with an ethno-national ground.

The idea that the Mozambique of different times and sensory experiences comes together to form an imaginary of a common homeland and site of belonging is further explored through the case of *coca-cola*⁴³. It is not only Yasmin who mentions that *coca-cola* tastes better in Mozambique. Such sensory differentiation between temporalized and spatialized versions and appropriations of the same commodity is actually at the heart of the definition of the authentic shape and taste of Mozambican-ness and of the classification of the authentic Mozambican experience among many of the participants. In being viewed as

⁴³ Many of my interlocutors do not perceive *coca-cola* as an American product, and refer to it as an object through which a sensory and affective differentiation between Mozambique and Portugal is enacted. As for the older participants, many also refer to the Mozambican *coca-cola* as a sign of modernization and progress, which they associate with the colony. While I did not learn much more in the field about this topic, constituting simply a sensory example of differentiation between the past and the present, between colonial Mozambique and postcolonial Portugal, the meanings attributed to the Mozambican *coca-cola* in the old colony of Mozambique and in Portugal, both imperial and postcolonial, both by my interlocutors and others with similar trajectories of migration, could perhaps be further explored in another research project.

tastier, different and generally better the Mozambican *coca-cola* tends to signal a Mozambican-ness of authenticity and originality. This is because through the association of the idea of originality and uniqueness with the Mozambican *coca-cola* all other *coca-colas* are claimed and recalled as being less tasty, if not simply different.

One would eventually expect the sensory differentiation between the *coca-cola there* and *here* to result from a sense of “nostalgia for an imagined time of simple reciprocal exchange and a repressed cry of anguish about the loss of that imagined community.” (Ray, 2004, ebook location 1039), which is what defines Bengali-Americans’ relationship with both American and South Asian food and food practices and habits. Nevertheless, my interlocutors, especially the parents, show little of what we can call nostalgia for a lost homeland. Whether this has been a conscious choice as a way of moving forward and of pragmatically ceasing any suffering occurring due to the remembrance of what has been left behind, or whether it is a way of refusing an identity position that might be attached to a subordinated or marginalized status, the fact is that most have come to terms with their loss. For this reason, I would not argue that my interlocutors hold a nostalgia for Mozambique; perhaps they might only hold a *nostalghia* for Mozambique in the Greek sense of the word (Seremetakis, (1994), insofar as their perception of the past and of their relationship with Mozambique is based on a reflexive position regarding different temporalities and the acknowledgment of “the transformative impact of the past as unreconciled historical experience.” (Seremetakis, 1994, p.4).

However, if doubts arise with regard to the reasons why my interlocutors replicate many of the Mozambican flavours of their youth, or of their most homely experiences, these can be clarified by noting how the preparation and eating of these foods is intrinsically tied to culinary practices that integrate these subjects’ *habit-memories* (Connerton, 1989) and *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990) of belonging. While this argument was briefly outlined through Mr. Dawud’s and Azeeza’s ethnographic cases, it will be further examined in discussing the role played by some of the most prevalent dishes and cooking practices pointed out by my interlocutors in the re-enactment of bodily, sensuous and colonial memories of Mozambican-ness in the Portuguese home.

3.5.2. Enduring colonial *foodways*: Cooking and eating coconut and peanut curries

Ingredients such as the coconut, which is considered more typical of northern Mozambique, and the peanut, which is more often used in the south – and which are readily available in Portuguese markets – constitute fundamental components of Mozambican cuisine, which most claim to have grown up cooking and/or simply eating. Most of the dishes cooked with such ingredients correspond to the commonly known coconut or peanut curries, which, despite resulting from a fusion of culinary practices and being labelled as ingredients to accompany Indian cuisine⁴⁴, do not always integrate the mixture of spices which the so-called Indian curry does. This fusion of dishes and tastes does not come as a surprise as the Indian curry is known as a colonial invention of the Indian culinary arts during the British Empire rather than an Indian dish per se (Appadurai, 1988a; Narayan, 1995), thus showing the extent to which any ethno-national designation of culinary practices results partly from political and power constructs.

With respect to the coconut and peanut curries that my interlocutors prepare and consume, it is mostly the mature women, or mothers, who cook them as part of a family habitus (Bourdieu, 1990), which they have incorporated both through the tastes and practices reproduced from colonial Mozambique onwards. For this reason if they cook many of these curries and other Mozambican dishes from what are perceived as typical Mozambican ingredients in postcolonial Portugal, this is not because they long for given flavors or a whole life left behind, and wish to retrieve through synesthetic wholeness (Sutton, 2001), but because these dishes have also become part of an embodied self, incorporated through a ‘whole way of life’ (Williams, 1997) made up of habits, rituals, prescriptions and regulations which construct the family and individual habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) from colonial Mozambique to postcolonial Portugal and across generations.

Halima’s biographical case and account is expressive of some of these articulations, especially the latter. Halima was born in Mozambique in the city of Nampula in 1968, to parents of Indian descent who were born and raised in

⁴⁴ See Chapter 4 for further considerations regarding my interlocutors’ ‘Indian’ culinary practices and perceptions of ‘Indian’ cuisine.

Southern Africa. She left her country of birth in 1976, when she was only eight years old. At that time, her father feared for the stability of his businesses and his family life and decided to move to Portugal. Even though Halima was taken to Portugal at an early age – which she believes to have facilitated her integration in the European country – she feels that her roots are African. Such discursive construction of “origins” results mostly from her first return trip to her country of birth, at the age of 18, when she claims to have re-encountered her roots all through her sensory and affective telluric and sensorial relationship with Mozambique; a Mozambique that smells like soil, and that cannot be fully described, but also in the recall of sensations produced by the atmospheric environment, the climate and the warmth that embraces one in that African land. Once again, just like other participants in the field, Mozambique becomes Africa, and Africa Mozambique in a truly metonymic way, though the Mozambique that is recalled as being the provider of a previous good life speaks also of the Portuguese language and calls Portugal its master. It was in fact precisely because of this relationship of colonial dominance that Portugal appeared to be, for Halima’s parents, the way out of a political and economic situation of uncertainty, as well as a place where the family’s future could start to be re-delineated. Once in Portugal, Halima’s father continued in the same type of business they had once had in Mozambique, with a shop in one of the first shopping malls in the Lisbon metropolitan area. Following her father’s advice and request, Halima started helping in the family shop after having completed the 7th grade in school. Despite having lived in Portugal for more than 30 years Halima’s deep sensory and embodied sense of Mozambican-ness had not been erased. It can be found not only when traveling to her birthplace, but also when cooking foods she grew up eating and cooking together with her parents, and which simply require the inclusion of particular ingredients perceived as typical in Mozambican cuisine:

Cat. – Concerning the things that you have at home, is there anything that makes you feel connected to Mozambique?

Halima – Food!

(...)

Cat. – How is the food?

Halima – You will notice that... a person that came from Mozambique

and that had grown up with that – I mean, this is also because of my parents... a person that is brought up with... at least until a certain age with that type of culture. (..)There are some typical dishes that I end up cooking that remind me... at the end I learnt them with my parents!

Cat. – *With your parents that came from Mozambique....*

Halima – *Yes, food!*

Cat. – *So is that what makes you feel more connected? Food?*

Halima – *Yes, it is the food.*

Cat. – *The food. And when you cook do you think about it? Is it thinking about what you used to have there?*

Halima – *No... no, no, no! It's because it is already inside of me!...*

(Halima, born in Mozambique in 1968)

Food ingredients and food-related practices clearly play an important role in triggering embodied senses and memories of Halima's Mozambican-ness, just as they do for many other participants in this research. However, what makes Halima's case interesting is that she is one of the few who is able to verbalize and discursively construct the extent to which she holds and carries an embodied sense of Mozambican-ness which is not necessarily based on a mere memory of the senses kept and stored in her body in the course of lived experience of that locality, but as a result of her *habitus* of belonging, produced within the Portuguese family home. Moreover, what is also clear from Halima's words is that her sensory embodied Mozambican-ness rests on a memory that has been inscribed in her body through repeatedly enacted practices, and which comes to reproduce a bodily knowledge of a sensory relationship with food ingredients and flavors that entail doing-cooking (Giard, 1998c). By means of this a sense of belonging can also be enacted almost instantaneously by force of habit and the perceptual body memory rather than by force of intellect (though the latter is never completely absent from *doing-cooking* (Katrak, 1997; Giard, 1998c)). As Luce Giard explains when discussing the importance played by invisible gestures, doing cooking "is the medium for a basic, humble, and persistent practice that is repeated in time and space, rooted in the fabric of relationships to

others and to one's self, marked by the 'family saga' and the history of each, bound to childhood memory just like rhythms and seasons" (Giard, 1998b, p.157). Similarly, Halima's memories of food correspond to memories of cooking learnt through her socialization with her parents, which instead of constituting a collection of memories of isolated lessons of how to cook that are located in time, correspond to a memory-action; a memory that looks to the future and "if it still deserves the name of memory, it is not because it conserves bygone images, but because it prolongs their useful effect into the present moment." (Bergson, 2004, p.93).

Halima's construction of the Mozambican embodied self results from an incorporated *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990), which somehow also shares Halbwachs' (1980) understanding of intergenerational transmission of a collective memory, and is facilitated by cohabitation, mutual interaction and affective identification with her parents' sensory forms of Mozambican-ness.

Additionally, as mentioned above, I would argue that these same Mozambican food-related practices are likely to derive from the reproduction of ritualized practices of cooking those same dishes previously incorporated in colonial Mozambique. In fact, the great majority of my interlocutors, namely mature women in the field, claim to have had the habit of cooking or of eating either the coconut curry or the peanut curry in their family-household, on the weekend, and during their youth in colonial Mozambique. The habit of cooking and eating either coconut or peanut curry at the weekend would also, in some cases, bring family members and neighbors together to prepare the doing-cooking in practices such as cleaning the rice, which would be an inevitable domestic task undertaken by family members and neighbors rather than by servants working in the home. Even though some of the tasks of preparation for cooking are no longer required due to industrial processes that have taken over several domestic activities, the same continuous practice of family members helping in the cooking preparations for Mozambican dishes is still occasionally enacted in postcolonial Portugal, especially at the weekend. Thereby the practices of Mozambican cuisine demand much more from interlocutors than what they define as more "practical dishes", which they tend to cook more often in order to ease the commensal practices. These dishes correspond mostly to either Portuguese or European food and dishes, such as steaks with French fries

or rice or even spaghetti, as well as lasagnas and pizzas, which are typically greatly appreciated by the youngsters.

Alimah's biographical case illustrates these processes quite well. Her case shows the degree of reproduction of culinary practices and rituals from Mozambique to Portugal, which is evidence of the continuity of a precluded form of Mozambican-ness in the country of relocation. When I had the opportunity to visit her at home, her abode was dominated by Islamic signs and images and Qur'anic phrases, and Mozambique did not seem to mean much to her, considering the absence of any material or visual signs decorating her home, which would provide evidence of her connection to that country, where she grew up. She was actually born in 1962 in the city of Karachi, Pakistan, to parents of South Asian descent, and was taken to the old city of Lourenço Marques in Mozambique when she was nine months old. It was only after spending some time with her in her home and listening to her life story that I understood the way in which Mozambique was still a crucial reference point in her life, and in fact more present than ever. It was not only present in the many pictures and recipes that Alimah brought from Mozambique and that she took out of the closet in order to narrate her life story, but it was also clearly present in the gesture of offering me prawn rissóis⁴⁵ and samosas, which she would carefully prepare and fry for me every time I came to visit her. During one particular visit Mozambique was present in her regret for not having kept a peanut crab curry for me to try, a traditional Mozambican dish that she had cooked the Saturday before. When mentioning it, she stated that in fact the cooking and eating of this dish is also a habit brought from Mozambique. As she tells it, in Mozambique the family and neighbors would gather to help in the *doing-cooking* of the already typical Saturday peanut curry. Despite a few transformations in the *doing-cooking*, much of the old habits Alimah had grown up with in the Mozambique of her youth were maintained. Therefore, just as in Mozambique, she prefers to cook the peanut curry on Saturdays, when her two boys are off school or work and can help her with chopping onions:

Alimah – *I cook those things... I cook a lot of Mozambican food, for*

⁴⁵ *Rissóis* are fried snacks very commonly found in Portugal.

instance.

Cat. – *You do? What are the dishes that you cook?*

Alimah – *Peanut curry.*

Cat. – *Which is really from the south, from Maputo, isn't it?*

Alimah – *Yes. Peanut curry with Prawns.*

Cat. – *And did you use to cook it in the days of your youth?*

Alimah – *Yes, yes, we used to cook it. We would always cook it. –(...) It was on Saturday. (...) Peanut curry and rice; even here I cook it. I cooked it last Saturday; actually I did it, because ...it was Saturday and so I also had their [her sons'] help to chop the onions and everything; peanut curry with crab...*

(Alimah, born in Pakistan in 1962)

Alimah's practice of cooking Mozambican dishes she once used to cook and eat in Mozambique constitutes clear evidence of the extent to which her sense of Mozambican-ness integrates both a sensory and an embodied memory of belonging that has been continued after migration through habits and rituals that had also once structured weekdays and the passing of time. This is because the cooking of Mozambican dishes such as the peanut curry was made part of a habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) of belonging.

However, it is necessary to mention that her objectification of a habitus of belonging through her family and Mozambican food practices also counts on a memory-action (Bergson, 2004) and a habit-memory (Connerton, 1989) that is marked by a bodily engagement with the recipe books and the kitchen utensils which she originally brought from Mozambique. In fact, when I asked her about the domestic objects that would make her feel connected to the country of her childhood, instead of referring to the photographic album she brought out of the closet in order to narrate her life story to me, Alimah highlighted both her recipes and her wooden spoons with which she cooks the popular Mozambican peanut curry:

Cat. – *Right. So tell me Alimah, are there things in the home or do you*

have anything that makes you feel connected to Mozambique?

Alimah – That connects me to Mozambique....Yes, there is!

Cat. – What would that be?

Alimah – The things that I brought from Mozambique.

Cat. – Are these many of the things you have just shown me?

Alimah – Yes, these, the recipes (...) my wooden spoons that I brought, those very typical from Mozambique. Those, some bigggggg spoons [she deliberately prolongs the sound] to cook the peanut curry. I only use them on those days, and that's it!

Cat. – You only use them on those days?

Alimah – Yes, because they are more practical. On a daily basis I use another type of... those wooden spoons that you buy here, those thinner ones... and among those things that make me feel connected to Mozambique are also the saudades of my parents, that's what connect me the most to Mozambique. I feel that I have more.....my children and (...) probably we transfer more that to my children, what we miss the most! While living here, my children love the Mozambican food!

Alimah's objectification of sensuous forms of Mozambican-ness is illustrative of many of my other interlocutors', and particularly the mature women in the field. It reveals the extent to which Mozambique, and a sense of Mozambican-ness, is expressed through food and food-related practices, though not all relate to that formerly colonized country in the same way. Additionally, it demonstrates how these food-related practices require the subject's relationship with both ingredients and utensils by means of which forms of Mozambican-ness are enacted. However, in Alimah's particular case, these objectifications are particularly important because she expresses both a sense of Mozambican Indian-ness or Indian Mozambican-ness that most hold, but don't proclaim, in such a hybrid manner. In narrating her life story to me, *Alimah* shows how both the recipes given by and copied from her mother's culinary written knowledge and expertise - and which are not even necessarily perceived as typical Mozambican food, but instead Indian recipes, through which a sense of Mozambican Indian-

ness⁴⁶ is foregrounded - have played a fundamental transitional role in her relocation to Portugal.

And yet, one should not admit that the processes of reproducing bodily practices and habits around the doing-cooking of the peanut curry entail simply a body mechanism that is repeated over and over again without any sort of transformation or mental activity. In fact repeated bodily practices tend to actualize their respective embodied habitus regarding the context and circumstances within which they are enacted, proving the sequence of gestures that inform the doing-cooking to be creative and inventive, just as Giard (1998c) and Sutton (2001) argue. It is therefore particularly useful to return to Alimah's account in order to observe how the Mozambican food habits which she narrates and enacts are not only continuous but actually adapted and invented in an asynchronous manner, in ways that still contribute to processes of continuity and reproduction of a sensory collective memory of Mozambican-ness:

Alimah – (...) Do you know, in Mozambique, we used to cook the peanut curry with the rice, and the actual Mozambican food of the African from there is the peanut curry with the corn flour pure. It's called the Pupu.

Catarina – Pupu?

Alimah – Yes, they used to call it Pupu. I never ate it there! Believe me I never ate it! The housekeeper used to do it for himself and everything, but we would never eat it! I came here and once....

Catarina – You felt like eating it.

Alimah – No! Once my husband said “Cook that; it must be good with peanut curry, and everything...” I did it! My children started enjoying it. Now every time I cook peanut curry, we can't have it without corn flour! But I, the last time I said it immediately, ok, because I had my arm like this [Alimah had broken one of her arms and it was plastered up to her elbow] I couldn't do it,

⁴⁶ Even though my interlocutors do not acknowledge the fusion between Indian and Mozambican food, referring instead to Indian food, a vast literature available about Indian cuisine, culinary and gastronomy, both in India and abroad, is very clear about the extent to which Indian food constitutes a construct of both the colonial and postcolonial ideological, socio-economic and demographic circumstances, and of the nostalgic expressions of the Indian diasporas across the globe (Achaya, 1998; Narayan, 1995; Roy, 2002; Waetjen, 2009). The same can be argued with regard to the Indian food in Mozambique, which is likely to be designated as Mozambican Indian food.

because that needs to be stirred and everything... and I never learnt it! No one told me how to do it. I started thinking; look, I saw the housekeeper putting the water, putting the salt, putting the flour inside, and stirring... Look, once I did it and it didn't come out very well....

Cat. – *But, did you try to know how to do it? Did you try to call your parents?*

Amilah – *No, no! I never contacted anyone, because my mother does not also cook it! (...)Do you see? For me what connects me the most to Mozambique, besides the saudades, it's the food!*

Alimah's words follow my question regarding the home objects that make her feel connected to Mozambique. It is therefore curious to see that after her emphasis on the recipes and the Mozambican wooden spoons brought from Mozambique through which the taste of home can be continued, she also stresses her postcolonial re-appropriation of Mozambican dishes, in particular of the corn flour pure as a side dish to the peanut curry she remembers the housekeeper in her home place creating. Her narrative is deeply illustrative of how she responds to her husband's desire to eat the housekeeper's corn flour pure, which she claims to have never eaten during her life in Mozambique, but which, given the distance from home, appears tasty and desirable. Could it be that what would have been at stake for Alimah's husband, and even for herself, is simply the feeling of nostalgia for the lost home as encapsulated in the corn flour pure – the *Pupu*? However, how could there be any nostalgia if Alimah claims to never had eaten such a dish, and if no memory of taste remains? While neither she nor her husband carries a memory of such taste, they do hold some bodily memory of it; a memory of smell perhaps, or a memory of the bodily gestures of those cooking and eating it, which had been sensed in different ways. Clearly Alimah demonstrates having memorized visual scenes of the *doing-cooking* of that housekeeper enacting a *sequence of gestures* used in the making of the corn flour pure, which though already remote, was also more familiar and therefore desired, and thereby not so difficult to reproduce.

3.6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter I have explored the senses of Mozambican-ness expressed both discursively and bodily by my interlocutors of different age groups. By senses of Mozambican-ness I mean my interlocutors' different forms of connection to Mozambique, both past and present, both colonial and postcolonial. While departing from my own particular family and my own personal experience, positioning and connection to a Mozambican world of reference, I have discussed the extent to which the intertwining of the participants' discursive, bodily, sensory and affective objectifications of Mozambican-ness allows us to better understand their postcolonial subjectivities in the post-metropole.

Because many of the senses of Mozambican-ness expressed by my interlocutors showed contradictions with reference to the match between discourse and practice, I have endeavoured to make sense of them by articulating: the absence of material and visual links with Mozambique in the shape of objects of home décor and other items in use in the home; the meanings implied in the objects visually exhibited in my interlocutors' 'front rooms' (McMillan, 2009b); the multi-sensorial environments produced and experienced throughout my fieldwork; and the meanings discursively produced by the participants in the course of conversations and interviews. This approach also had at its heart an intergenerational approach, as a means of understanding the extent to which parents and children connect to Mozambique, both past and present, in the context of postcoloniality.

While most of the parents who collaborated in this research narrate a biographical story that takes Mozambique to be a geographical place of birth or upbringing and as a point of departure in migration, most tend also to claim not to feel connected to that country, here taken as a place. As a result they tend not to objectify any sort of belonging to such a place through material and visual home décor objects. The few home décor objects on display in their homes' front rooms that are connected with that country, correspond in fact to souvenirs and small tokens brought by my interlocutors from recent trips there, holding no affective relation to the country they were born or brought up.

Therefore, what I came to understand is that most parents in the field perceive the Mozambique of their youth as a time; a time when life was good and

happy despite acknowledgements of the unequal social relations produced as a result of Portuguese colonialism. That time was for most gone the moment Mozambique gained its independence. Because they can no longer find the country of their youth in the current Mozambique they show signs that they have moved forward from it and have embraced a steadier and more comforting position of identity and belonging – this being a sense of imperial Portuguese-ness following on from the imperial Mozambican-ness which they have been brought up with in colonial Mozambique. Clearly these constitute elements of a politics of identity and belonging that sheds some light on my interlocutors' postcolonial subjectivities and belongings, or more precisely on what it means to be Mozambican and Portuguese in postcolonial Portugal.

But the most interesting point to stress here is that all these aspects of identity and belonging can be better understood not simply through looking into the discourses of the self, but instead in considering the discourse of identity and belonging with respect to the discourse of practice, and more importantly with the ethnographic observation and participation within the home and alongside the multi-sensory environment there available, by means of which sensory and affective forms of belonging are continuously being enacted, though in an often unconscious and unstated manner. Hence, despite initial interrogations regarding the relevance of home décor materially in displaying and representing my interlocutors' Mozambican-ness, what a triangulated analysis of the material here presented does is to evidence these subjects' complex and ambivalent identity positions, as well as their often unconscious embodied forms of belonging, which they do not always desire. In fact, as postcolonial subjects, or Lusophone *colonial implicated subjects*, many of my interlocutors are not at ease with a Mozambican identity, which seems to be attached to a subaltern position conferred by the African-ness of Mozambican-ness. This is both the case with many parents and with the youngsters in the field, who preferred to facilitate their own feelings of belonging, and even ideological positions regarding their country of birth, through pragmatic decisions to *become* Portuguese.

Such positions show the extent to which the dominant Other *living inside* is made welcome, and they are also evidence - particularly in the case of the older participants - of the long processes of colonial mimicry produced through

processes of dwelling, uprooting and regrounding (Ahmed et al., 2003) from a colonial Mozambique to a postcolonial Portugal which defines them as postcolonial Lusophone subjects. This does not mean they are not Portuguese, which they are whether they claim it or not. In fact, even among those who embrace their Mozambican belonging-ness, their narrative is often surrounded by ambivalent feelings and a historicized identity wherein imperial Portuguese-ness never fades. After all they were raised along with the Portuguese and had a Portuguese education, not to mention the social and cultural references which have certainly informed who they feel they are up until today. Nevertheless, the need to acknowledge one's identity not as a Mozambican but as a European/Portuguese is in some cases suggestive of the complexity and ambivalence of identity and belonging for these colonially implicated subjects, prompting me to further argue that it is evidence of how well the colonial ideology succeeded in reinforcing a hierarchy of peoples and of how it prevailed throughout and even after colonialism was officially over.

But if this chapter allows us to understand how colonialism did not end, it also comes to demonstrate the extent to which the politics of identity and belonging overshadow the participants' still remaining affects and sensually embodied forms of Mozambican-ness (though a Lusophone one). What this ethnographic and phenomenological approach hence demonstrates is that political positions of identity often tend to conceal the continuous sensorial and affective forms of being and becoming, in both a conscious and an unconscious manner. This is because when looking at the foods, drinks, ingredients and food-related practices within the realm of the home one can see how forms of Mozambican-ness that were incorporated during colonial times continue up until today, even if in transformation. Perhaps the clearest evidence of this is not only the simple transfer of tastes and flavors from past lives in Mozambique, but the reinvention of a certain Mozambican-ness produced along with insignias of an ethno-national sensory uniqueness and authenticity found in one of the most globally circulated commodities – the Mozambican *coca-cola*. Perceived as different from others, the Mozambican *coca-cola* experienced today in that country allows the family-household members that have not shared the same lived experience and temporalities of lived pasts to recognize and construct an enduring sense of

Mozambican-ness produced through taste. This is also facilitated by other Mozambican foods sent from that country to my interlocutors, who can retrieve a whole structure of memory of bygone times through flavors and textures brought into the Portuguese home.

If memories of the senses enact forms of Mozambican-ness that have been repressed for reasons that belong to the realm of the political (Hall, 1996a; Hall, 1990), practices of *doing-cooking* Mozambican dishes, such as the Mozambican curries, also bring into the present a continuously ritualized practice that re-invents and re-creates (in transformation) the embodied feelings, sense memories and bodily *sequence of gestures* (Giard, 1998a) enacted and seen in the past home. This past home is not simply Mozambique in its African-ness, nor is it a geographical location; it is instead mostly a Portuguese former colony, which despite its pitfalls is recalled as a place of warmth, due to the friendships and family ties cultivated there. Therefore, despite the ideological transformations that led the older participants to migrate and flee Mozambique, this remained a ground of affects rather than a place. Having been carried within their hearts, Mozambique has thus also become part of the embodied self in affective ways, which can always be retrieved through sensations triggered by foods and food-related practices, as well as by family ties that remain in place, which retain its constant presence in their lives. For this reason, home décor objects that one would expect to be associated with Mozambique are not simply Mozambican, but instead tokens of affective relationships past and present.

Clearly the youngsters do not always share their parents' feelings and attachments to a Mozambique that does not resemble their narratives, apart from the telluric poetics, which not all of them feel. There are few cases when affective identifications with Mozambique have in fact been passed on to the younger generations. This is partly because Mozambique is, for the majority of the youngsters, an African country/place, which they perceive as a developing country which is socially, culturally and economically far from the Portuguese/European life they have brought up in. Therefore, Mozambique is not the Portuguese former colony of their parents' memory, but a place that the majority does not feel a sense of identification with (with the exception of those who have been the recipients of the "armchair nostalgia" of their parents' affective

memories of their youth in Mozambique). Hence, the majority of youngsters tend to marginalize any sort of identity connection to Mozambique, which they do not wish to belong to.

However, through the sensory and embodied forms of Mozambican-ness embraced in the home place, which carry the insignia of colonial days, either through the taste of the Mozambican curries or the techniques of *doing-cooking* (Giard, 1998c), these youngsters are in a position to continue reinventing their parents' silent attachments and embodied belongings, not because they are Mozambican, but because they belong to the family home. As a result they demonstrate the extent to which belonging to Mozambique is beyond their desire to be, remaining instead in the realm of the affective body and the senses.

4. RE-CONSTRUCTING AND NEGOTIATING LIVED AND IMAGINED FORMS OF INDIAN-NESS THROUGH FOOD AND MEDIA: BETWEEN THE FAMILY HOME AND THE COMMUNITY OF PEERS

In India I know I am a stranger; but increasingly I understand that my Indian memories, the memories of that India which lived on into my childhood in Trinidad, are like trapdoors into a bottomless past.

(Naipaul, 2012, ebook location 82)

4.1. INTRODUCTION

India remains a real source of inspiration and imagination for many diasporic subjects of South Asian origins who carry on and practice its culture in their everyday lives. In many cases these subjects have never been to India and they don't even agree about what India consists of, and yet they often produce narratives of identity and belonging drawn from an imagined place and time called India, usually constructed through imagination and mediated memories of various kinds (Ghosh, 1989; Manuel, 1997; Breckenridge and Appadurai, 1989; Rushdie, 1982; Naipaul, 2012). As subjects of South Asian origins, the participants in this research would have arguably gone through similar processes to others with a similar background. As in the many conversations I shared with my interlocutors in previous research as well as at the beginning of my fieldwork they kept referring to an Indian world and culture which they would often engage with. I wished to investigate how they have been enacting forms of Indian-ness as part of their collective memories of belonging in their everyday life context, and how this can or cannot be related to India, as a ethno-national ground which these forms of Indian-ness can be connected to. While these expressions cannot be reduced to the home, I sought material and visual signs of Indian-ness in my interlocutors' intimate realm of the home, which could indicate the extent to which such collective grounds of belonging might shape the participants' everyday lives. These would likely not be different from the ways in which other

postcolonial and diasporic groups express their senses of being in the world, and how they connect to other times and places in the home, as some research studies have attested (Ghosh, 1989; McMillan, 2009b; McMillan, 2009a; Turan, 2010; Dibbits, 2009; Tolia-Kelly, 2004b).

However, once inside the participants' homes, I noticed almost no material, physical or visual signs of connection to India, though I did not always find it easy to know how this link could be expressed and what India could consist of, as I did not share with them any sort of Indian-ness nor any familial imaginary and mediated memories of India. While this placed me at a certain disadvantage, it also offered me the opportunity to reflect upon what forms of Indian-ness consist of, how they can be manifested and what and where India is.

In the home, my attention was occupied, right from the start, by the presence of DVDs of popular Indian films and CDs of popular music placed randomly in dining/living rooms, mostly on top of the dining room table, or inside the glass cabinets housing the TV or sound system. While these did not constitute home décor objects - proposing instead a reconsideration of what constitutes an 'object of belonging', and what is perceived as a 'media object' - they concerned what shapes the materiality/immateriality of the domestic space, and therefore their relevance in the manifestation of belonging. Furthermore, and as with the gustatory experiences I encountered in my interlocutors' homes and their ambivalent positions of Mozambican-ness, I was faced with the contrast between the almost absent visualities of Indian-ness – exclusively signaled for me by the visible Indian audio-visuals – and the participants' expressed detachment from India, in addition to the meals I was offered which were of Indian/South Asian origin. In fact, apart from meals, snacks and drinks discussed here, I was also served more often than not with what were perceived to be homemade Indian salty snacks such as samosas and *puri*, as well as Indian sweets, such as *meethai*, and milky drinks like *badam* milk and milk tea/*masala* tea/*chai*. Not being accustomed to them, my attention was often drawn to them, leading me to question my interlocutors about the significance of this entire multisensory atmosphere. While most did not seem to attribute to these sensory objects any relevance in signaling their senses of Indian-ness, I was once again surprised by what they meant and how they have come to be a part of their everyday lives. This was also because other field events – not exclusive of the domestic space – had

previously led my attention to the extent to which multi-sensory expressions of Indian-ness such as those above were being re-produced in the field.

Such simultaneous manifestations of connection to and disconnection from an Indian world of reference, which I started learning about from a great number of my interlocutors and while in the field, was revealing of the incommensurable equivalence between senses of belonging and the conceptions of a geographic ethno-national territory where they could eventually be/feel rooted in. The same incommensurability has already been pointed out by Liisa Malkki (1995) in her ethnography of the processes and interconnections between historical memory and national consciousness, and it clearly challenges the equation between culture and place, which tends to essentialize peoples, cultures and ethnic groups by rooting them in place. My intention was never to root people in place, nor was it to force an Indian identity onto those who wish not to state it. Nevertheless, considering that to a certain extent some diasporic groups – as well as displaced populations and postcolonial migrants – tend to project imagined and imaginary homelands (Rushdie, 1982; Safran, 1991) which they have either experienced or not, and that constitute the *object of memory* (Slyomovics, 1998) of kin/relatedness (Shammas, 2002), it would not be unlikely that images of India and of its culture could still constitute a point of reference and of continuity among my interlocutors. Moreover, considering that home-making processes tend to be facilitated and mediated through transitional objects carried in migration and within the kinship group (Turan, 2010; Turan, 2003; Basu and Coleman, 2008; Parkin, 1999), I also hoped to understand the extent to which my interlocutors' engagement with the described, observed and other sensuously experienced objects would also consist of enactments of Indian-ness, carried in migration and across homes as sensory traces of a collective past and history (Joseph, 2007). Such research assumptions became even more inescapable when experiencing an ethnographic episode, which suggested how formations of Indian-ness constitute not only re-enactments of unconscious habitual and familial memories, but how they are also entangled with aspects of ethno-national power being produced within the context of the *community*, on the basis of different ethno-racial, cultural and national backgrounds, feelings, claims and positions. It is this ethnographic tale which I will be narrating, in order to lay out the structure of this chapter and start discussing the extent to which connections to an Indian world are ambivalently

imagined and constructed across generations, especially through Indian food and media, like trapdoors into a bottomless past, as Naipaul (2012) argues in the quote that opens this chapter.

4.2. A TALE FROM THE FIELD

It was 8.00 am and I had planned to meet the members of Youth Committee (YC) of the Lisbon Islamic Community (LIC) in front of the Lisbon Central Mosque (LCM). There was an excursion to the Batalha Monastery⁴⁷ and to the Mira de Aire Caves located in the center of Portugal that Sunday, as part of the provision of recreational opportunities for the youngsters. When I arrived at the mosque I only recognized Azeeza and her family. They were all inside their car, parked right in front of the mosque, waiting for other community members to arrive. After parking my own car I decided to greet them and wait with them for the rest of the group.

A few minutes later, a bus arrived and parked in front of the mosque. It was the excursion bus and we were all departing together from there to the center of the country on a ride that would take around an hour and a half. Simultaneously, some youngsters started arriving in their own cars, which they parked around the mosque. Seif and his younger brother, Zubair, who were both in their twenties, were the second to arrive, joining me and Azeeza in front of the mosque. They were very excited about the excursion although this was not the first time they were going to be part of such an event, as years before, Seif used to have a more participative and even leading role in the YC than at that moment. In his late twenties, after graduating and working independently in the field of Arts and Interior Design, his interests became not only wider, but the time available to be part of the events of the LIC became scarcer. His constant travel was already keeping him away from most of the activities, leaving him no time to join his brother and all the other youngsters in the social gatherings of the community. Still, he knew most of the members of the YC and occasionally joined them.

⁴⁷ The Batalha Monastery constitutes an icon of the Gothic Architecture in Portugal and is located in the city of Batalha in the centre of the country.

Gradually the youngsters started arriving. Most were also part of the leading group of the YC of the LIC, although I did see some new faces, several months after I started my fieldwork. Some of the younger ones, who were in their early teens, also joined the excursion with their parents.

A few groups of youngsters started gathering in front of the bus. While Azeeza's parents and grandmother decided to get onto the bus, she and her sister remained outside waiting for more people to arrive. As Azeeza had been ascribed an organizational role in the excursion, she seems to have felt she should stay a bit longer outside, making sure everything went as planned. Azeeza's responsibilities on that day had resulted from her own confrontation with the leading members of the YC about "who the committee really was" and "who could actually participate in the organization of the events". She was very uncertain about her own integration in the YC, as she had confessed to me a few days before the excursion. She told me she did not feel completely part of the committee since she often had little say in the internal decisions. As someone who claimed to be a Mozambican Muslim she also mentioned that, as much as she tried to participate, "the Indians" were always the ones in charge. Therefore there was often little she could do to help with or change the youth community events. After being confronted with Azeeza's doubt the leaders of the youth committee tried to solve the issue by inviting her to participate in the organization of the excursion to the Batalha Monastery and the Mira de Aire Caves planned for that day.

Whilst waiting by the bus for the late ones, the youngsters started discussing what music they should be listening to over the two hour ride ahead. Seif replied immediately that Tia Karam was arriving and that they should all wait for her to arrive and decide, a comment which was then followed by his own ironic laugh. Curiously, when Tia Karam, a middle-aged single woman, arrived she also said: "We have to think about what we are going to listen to". She had brought many CDs of Indian music and at that moment Seif went back to his car to get his own CDs of Indian music. While decisions were being made, I asked the young girls around me where one could get these CDs, to which they replied "You might be able to find them in the Indian shops in Martim Moniz". Returning from his car with his CDs Seif produced a CD of music from a recent Bollywood film – *Saawariya*. He whispered to some of us, including myself, that he would like to play more recent Indian music, otherwise they would be limited to Tia

Karam's "old music". Later on I asked Seif where he got all his CDs of Indian music from and he replied that he had bought them in India. Nazeem, another young leader of the YC mentioned that the day before she had had her "Indian side" tuned in more than usual, inasmuch as she had been listening to Indian music on You Tube and "eaten more Indian food than ever". This was, she said, not common considering that her mother does not watch Indian films often, and therefore she does not know many lyrics, songs or even films.

When everyone had arrived, we all boarded the bus. Once we were on the move, Zubair stood up and took the bus microphone in order to make a *Dua*⁴⁸ in Arabic. Thereafter religious soundscapes⁴⁹ in Arabic language were also reproduced through the bus radio player that repeated the name of the prophet Mohammad several times. A few minutes of silence was interposed, then Indian music was chosen to be played by those at the front, who were Tia Karam, Tia Ranya and Tia Sameeha. After a time of Indian tunes being played, some of the youngsters at the back of the bus started complaining, saying they would rather listen to more recent Indian songs. While these discussions were taking place, the youngsters at the back were also playing UNO, a card game, as well as challenging each other with a quiz about the capitals of different countries. After forty minutes on the road the bus stopped for a break. When returning to the bus, Tia Ranya started offering everyone some 'Indian salty snacks' and 'Indian digestive seeds', called *Puri* and *Ajowan* respectively, which she carried in a small Tupperware box. The bus continued toward the Batalha Monastery for the visit, after which we all went for lunch before visiting the Mira de Aire caves. The lunch took place in a restaurant located somewhere between the Batalha Monastery and the Mira de Aire caves, and people were concerned as to who they would sit next to. Azeeza and her family were physically separated from the majority of the group. Only Seif joined us as there was no alternative place for him. We started talking about his work and some Indian films or films portraying South Asians. After lunch, Tia Karam said she was going to the kitchen to prepare *milk tea*, often called *chai* among Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican

⁴⁸ A *Dua* constitutes a request, a religious act of supplication.

⁴⁹ A soundscape corresponds to "any acoustic field of study." and "events heard not seen." (Schafer, 1977). A soundscape can therefore both be a *natural* sound produced in nature but a non-human action, and a sound produced as a result of a human action. I will be using this concept to refer to all sounds produced by both mechanical reproduction and the human voice.

origins, which consists of spiced warm milk with tea. When coming back to the table with jars of 'milk tea', Tia Karam started serving everyone who wanted it. It was when she was already drinking her own chai and talking with Tia Ranya and Tia Sameeha, her habitual female group of friends, that I passed by her. She then asked me if I wanted some tea, to which I replied that I was already satisfied with lunch, hence refusing it. Tia Karam told me then "If you don't drink it you can't become an Indian!" a comment which caught me relatively unprepared, and which led me to reply that "even so, probably I wouldn't be able to become one!" While some remained around the table chatting and drinking their chai, other people, mostly parents and mature adults, had found a room in the restaurant in which to do *namaz*. They had also brought their own *musallas*, prayer mats, hence suggesting that a previous contact had been made as to provide the appropriate conditions not only to prepare the chai, but also to pray in the restaurant facilities.

The visit to the caves followed and at around 5.00 pm it was time to drive back to Lisbon. Once again Indian music was played for a large part of the time. But at some point, some of the youngsters in the group, who were previously willing to listen to Indian music, started complaining about having it all through the trip. Nazeem was tired of it, and said: "I'm falling asleep with this music. I'm tired of it, change it. I'm tired of this voice already!" Nadine, who was very keen on listening to and singing Indian music all through the trip, continued singing. She could sing most of the lyrics of the songs from films in Hindi, she said, and only a few of the others could actually follow her. Everyone started feeling tired and they clearly wanted to rest. There was therefore a moment of silence that lasted for a while, which was broken by some of the youngsters' desire to start singing again. This time it was the Portuguese national anthem and most sang in a loud voice. Other Portuguese songs followed and at some point the radio was on again, this time to play Portuguese and Brazilian music. It was almost 7.00 pm when we entered Lisbon's perimeter. Zubair left his seat to talk with Azeeza, who had collaborated with him and Hana in the organization of the excursion. He then stood up at the front of the bus and used the bus microphone to do another *Dua*. Azeeza joined him at the front and thanked everyone for coming.

This ethnographic episode initiates a discussion about how senses of Indian-ness are claimed and ascribed to/by the participants in the field. It also shows how they are both materialized (and dematerialized) through multi-sensory objects, such as ‘Indian music’ and ‘Indian food’, which once used and appropriated tend to facilitate acts of becoming and belonging to a clearly Indian substratum. This is grounded in the socializing experiences of everyday life both at home and within the community of peers, which have also left sensory marks in one’s body and are henceforth hard to forget. When reproduced either via the bus radio player or through the human voice, ‘Indian music’, as all participants in the field designated it, provides sensory and bodily shape to *re-membering* forms of Indian-ness. Similarly, Indian food offered during the excursion is also capable of creating ethnic belonging and kinship, hence almost turning a non-Indian into an Indian, as Tia Karam’s playful comment addressed to me seems to summarize.

But while these briefly discussed aspects require further discussion, they cannot be addressed without reference to how they define a sense of community, within which they also emerge. In fact, the event narrated above discloses the dissonances and heterogeneous experiences of any postcolonial and diasporic community, which, despite being imagined as stable stability (Bauman, 2001; Clifford, 1994; Baumann, 1996; Stanton, 2005), is diverse and at times internally conflictual. This is partly due to the complex unfolding of both positionalities and affective forms of belonging operating there, which are also intersected by ‘social locations’ (Yuval-Davis, 2011) such as gender, ethnicity, racial, class and generational differences, depending on the specific case, and which are also in permanent dispute, as I will be discussing in this chapter. I will also show how sensory things “made Indian” play a crucial role in legitimizing ethnic, racial and cultural identities, hence demonstrating how power crosses its edges and boundaries.

Therefore, in this chapter I discuss the multisensory ways through which my interlocutors negotiate both their positions and embodied forms of Indian-ness. For that purpose, I will focus on the significance played by the two main everyday-life objects highlighted throughout the ethnographic tale above – Indian food and media – in the construction of my interlocutors’ narratives and sensory affective memories of Indian-ness. For pragmatic reasons I will be dividing this discussion in two main parts: one focused on Indian food and another dedicated to

Indian audiovisuals. Through such an approach I aim to explore how both lived and imagined forms of Indian-ness have been re-invented across time, space and generations.

PART 1

4.3. WHEN INDIA GOES MOBILE: RE-INVENTING AND RE-PRODUCING FORMS OF INDIAN-NESS THROUGH FOOD OBJECTS AND FOOD-RELATED PRACTICES

As suggested through the ethnographic tale detailed above, Indian food cooked and served in the field constitutes one of the most significant multisensory objectified forms of Indian-ness within the context of my interlocutors' everyday lives. However, while this was the case, I was often told by my interlocutors that they did not feel connected to India and that there was hardly anything material or immaterial that could allow for such connection to be activated. Only in a few cases was food recalled as the only domestic objectification of Indian-ness, and even so 'Indian food' was not always consciously considered or reflected upon by my interviewees as an evident material and sensory indicator of a sense of Indian-ness. In fact, similar to what has occurred with other objectifications of embodied memories of belonging in the field – such as of Muslim-ness and Mozambican-ness – I was once again faced with a dilemma brought about by the contradictions between the observed, the experienced and the felt, which was narrated and discursively recalled and stressed by the participants. Furthermore, I was also faced with the incommensurability between my interlocutors' ethnic culture and practices and the physical place which often attributes the former an ethno-national identity. I decided thus to question some of my interlocutors directly regarding whether or not food could eventually constitute a sensuous link to India and its culture, despite the nature of its deeply contested articulation. What my interference brought to the surface was the acknowledgement that Indian food is part of a *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990) of belonging among different generations and groups of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, insofar as it integrates *a world of objects* (Bourdieu, 1990) which the force of habit is built upon and through which ancestral structures and dispositions of belonging have been clearly defined.

In what concerns India... so, regarding specific objects we don't have anything. Many times I remember it when... when there is someone cooking curry, or when we open... the spices in the kitchen, and when we see all those spices, more like that... saffron and things like that.

(Maysoon, born in Portugal in 1988)

Cat. – *And all those foods make you feel connected to India or how do you see it?*

Sufyi – *No, I don't feel it in that way... é pá, I feel that it is something that comes from an ancient tradition, and that it is... already a habit, the custom of drinking that tea... in the morning, the tea at night, but it doesn't have a connection... but I know that it is something that comes down from ancestor to ancestor.*

(Sufyi, born in Mozambique in 1986)

Cat. – *And is there anything that makes you feel connected to India or not?*

Halima – *Nothing!*

Cat. – *Nothing?*

Halima – *Nothing! Nothing!*

Cat. – *Not even the food?*

Halima – *No, Indian food... food yes... because... it is also the type of food that we cook, isn't it? I cook, but more in the winter. Isn't it? Because it is a type of food that is inside of the Muslim community that is based here, because ultimately it came from Mozambique, because our grandparents were already from India, and things like that, and it is also a bit in the way we are. But I, as I was 8 years old when I came here, I think that I've ... a bit of Portuguese food as well... in my daily life. And at the end of the day, because of my trips... I end up always learning about other types of food... because in*

my home I use different types...

(Halima, born in Mozambique in 1968)

It is not only cupboards filled with spices that seem to trigger links to India for Maysoon, but also Indian food and drinks cooked and consumed on a regular basis are considered by both Sufy and Halima as something that has become an embodied part of the self, similar to what Mozambican food represents for many. However, whereas in the case of Mozambican food and ingredients, memories of the senses are more deeply ingrained in one's body through their association with a past lived experience of locality (Brah, 1996), Indian food tends to be considered as a more integrative object of group identity, and is identified as part of regular domestic and communitarian practices that have continued across time and space. For that reason, the latter is not a motive of yearning but simply a component of life and of living in the making of the here and now. This can be clearly understood by the use of the plural "we" when referring to these sensuous experiences of the communal body.

This sense of living a sensuous experience activated by Indian food finds its roots, as both Halima and Sufy suggest, in the long ancestral family trajectory, which allowed it to be kept and continued across time and space as a constant source of belonging. This enacts in many of my interlocutors a clear mythical and un-lived sense of collective family memory (Halbwachs, 1992) rooted in their ancestors' primordial links to India. My interlocutors thus place themselves in the perspective of the latter. As a result, Indian food constitutes both gustative device through which a collective family memory and imagined community of belonging is constructed. This almost seems to be equated with an imagined kinship/relatedness group; a group that is originally situated in the India of the past, and thus in relation to place, but that can only through taste and ritualized practice be continued from generation to generation, and preserved in the minds and bodies of my interlocutors. "It's something that I know that comes down from ancestor to ancestor", says Sufy, thus reinforcing these arguments.

However, while demonstrating the importance of Indian foods and their respective practices in the reproduction of an imagined bond to India, this being

consanguineously imagined, both Sufiy and Halima demonstrate how Indian food holds the power to project India in an almost homogeneous manner, and as an entity uprooted from its potential geographical location. This is of particular interest not only because – as several authors have noted – Indian food needs to be considered according to its culinary diversity (Appadurai, 1988a; Roy, 2002; Narayan, 1995; Mannur, 2007), hence requiring one to consider ethno-regional, class and diasporic differences in taste, ingredients and culinary practices, but also because my interlocutors' perspective demands one to think of India and of Indian culture beyond its territorial borders and rather in its transnational forms of expression and objectification. In fact, my interlocutors' mentioning of Indian food demonstrates the extent to which such sensuous traces of connection to India require one to perceive India not necessarily as an actual place, but instead as a space that is created and imagined in a different dimension of existence, often out of place, as well as in one's mind, with respect to the senses, and in the body of the group that they can either know or not, simply as an imagined community (Anderson, 2006) and with whom they believe they share a collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992). Mannur (2007) describes such a construction of India and of Indian-ness as *rhizomorphic* in order to characterize the multiple and disordered diasporic processes of identification produced through the culinary idiom. However, her discussion does not exclusively focus upon those who are away from India and that are trying to project it. She also reflects upon the multilayered constructions of India and of Indian-ness, which are rooted in imaginaries that hold no sense of an original referent of identity through food. She does this by drawing on a short story by Shani Mootoo (1993), whose main character is a Trinidadian woman of South Asian origin whose conception of Indian food has nothing to do with India.

I would argue that it is precisely this idea of belonging to an imaginary structure of identity without the original referent, as implied in Mootoo's story, that defines my interlocutors' perceptions of Indian-ness, as observed in their relationship with Indian food. Apart from deriving imagined sensory traditions that establish their connection to a collective past – their ancestors' primordial past – this perception of Indian-ness needs to be understood in light of the global flows that have brought about new possibilities of the construction and appropriation of *imagined worlds* (Appadurai, 1998) of belonging, and which allow this to be

mobile and transferable with respect to both space and time. This is not only something that Halima's interview excerpt suggests, but is also an argument reinforced by Tio Amir, a middle-aged man, born and raised in colonial Mozambique.

Cat. – *Is there anything related to... are there any Indian things that you ask for, or don't you even have any interest in them?*

Tio Amir – *There is no need, there is no need, because nowadays there are many Asian people – and when I say Asian I'm talking about the Hindus as well. So, our food is very similar to the Hindus', therefore its suffice to say that we have roots in India and Pakistan – and there are already commercial stores, small grocery stores that sell these sort of seasonings, foods that come from London, which is much easier than coming from Mozambique, so you have everything here. Actually, it's curious to see that today one can find everything here not only for people of the Indian community, but also for the Chinese and Japanese community, I mean everything! Today in Portugal one can find foods for all sorts of people? Even African [food] for instance...*

(Tio Amir, born in Mozambique in 1949)

In making reference to 'Indian food' Tio Amir explains how for him any physical and spatial connections to India are actually useless, if not nonsensical. Born in the old city of Lourenço Marques in 1949 to parents of South Asian descent who were also born in Southeast Africa (Mozambique and South Africa), Tio Amir simply responds to my question regarding the domestic objectifications of Indian-ness and the potential need to ask family and friends from Mozambique for 'things Indian' by saying that there is no need since most – and this 'most' refers mostly to food – can be found in postcolonial Portugal. This is because from his point of view – as described by many others in the field – South Asia has become mobile and easily accessible in/from anywhere through food, thus rendering forms of Indian-ness and Asian-ness as *floating signifiers* (Hall, 1996b) and mere spatial imagined constructs based on gustatory signs that are simply out

there in markets and groceries to be sensed and felt, but that have no original or fixed referent to be assessed. Though emerging alongside discussions and debates around the notion of race through the voice of Stuart Hall (1996b) to demonstrate how race constitutes a discursive construct grounded in an ever-shifting cultural, social, historical and political substrata rather than in genetic and biological scientific evidence, the concept of a *floating signifier* informs the process of constructing India and Indian-ness by means of a gustatory and sensory experience that is mobile and never fixed. Instead it is defined by the flows that allow the “tastes of India” to be created and recreated in an ever-changing way and within the context of transnational and disrupted flows of peoples, ideas and commodities among other landscapes (Appadurai, 1998), along with a constantly revisited perception of collective past and cultural traditions.

Eventually the idiom of gender comes into Tio Amir’s account in taking India and senses of Indian-ness outside of the home and the community of peers, while still fostering it in a metaphysical substratum of gustatory existence – a taste that can ultimately be found in Indian grocery stores in the Lisbon metropolitan area. This is likely to be a more appropriate way of recreating India and/or a gustatory Indian-ness for him, not only because women are the ones doing the cooking most of the time, but also because he is married to a Portuguese woman, who was not socialized with Indian food.

However, and leaving aspects of gender for later, what is also of interest in Tio Amir’s interview excerpt is the fact that he expands the category of Indian and inserts it into a wider notion of identity and belonging, namely that of being *Asian*. Furthermore, the significance of Tio Amir’s interview lies in the fact that he defines Indian food as a mobile object of identity that is also turned into a commodity. While shifting the idea of Indian-ness into the category of *Asian*, he claims that *Asia* is for sale in Portuguese local groceries in the shape of the foods, spices and seasonings needed to cook and taste the food of his *origins*. This is curious considering that the Lisbon area where most of my interlocutors shop for ‘things Indian’ is the Martim Moniz shopping area in downtown Lisbon, where not only Indian foodstuffs but also Chinese and other ethnic products can be widely found (Mapril, 2002; Costa, 2011). Perhaps Tio Amir’s emphasis on Asian foods reflects this multi-ethnic market mosaic, or it may refer to how he has built up his own sense of *othering* on his journey from colonial Mozambique to

postcolonial Portugal. From this point of view, Tio Amir's account and perception of Indian food encapsulates the floating character of Indian-ness; an Indian-ness that is also Asian-ness and South Asian-ness and which is constantly redefined according to both the place where it can be found in postcolonial Portugal and the imagined commonality of belonging that produces a collective sense of Indian-ness.

Nevertheless, when referring to Asia, Tio Amir also seems to take into consideration the South Asian cultural substratum. This is clear when he places himself within the same point of view of both Muslims and Hindus, whom he claims to share roots with and who are spatially remotely located in India and Pakistan (South Asia). Therefore, even though he suggests the need to think of foods according to global flows and markets, he does not cease to project a sense of collective identity and community of belonging originally located in the Indian sub-continent. Thereby he contracts regional and religious differences as displayed through food, which risk making it simply 'Indian'. The same articulation between peoples, cultures, places and foods is also extrapolated to *others*, when he proposes that other Asian foods are also available in the Portuguese market to other Asian people, such as Chinese and Japanese, as if food, people and place might eventually be so intrinsically tied together, and as if selling ethnic diversity for different publics and users has not become an urban reality, even in contemporary Portugal (Cook and Crang, 1996; Costa, 2011). By doing so, Tio Amir emphasizes something that has also defined my entire fieldwork experience – the fact that food makes belonging, and that it serves both to include and to exclude group identities by being bounded with power. It is this intersection to which I now turn.

4.3.1. Indian Food, Power and Belonging in the Lisbon Muslim Community

Throughout my fieldwork, food made and shaped belongingness insofar as it was constantly articulated and associated with ethno-national categories of identity, reinforcing the assumption that food constitutes a medium through which one imagines ethno-national communities (Murcott, 1996; Anderson, 2006). Moreover, it also shaped belongingness in the sense that, as suggested in the

ethnographic episode above, Indian foods and drinks are often used in ways that are intended to integrate members in an *imagined community* (Anderson, 2006) by means of which a projection of a collective sense of kinship/relatedness is produced. For instance, in the tale that opens this chapter, snacks, drinks and general foods perceived as Indian were used throughout the event narrated as signs through which youngsters could gain a sort of *habitus* of group, as well as being the explicit means through which kinship/relatedness, hence belonging, was in the making. It is not only Nazneem who mentions how she feels ‘her Indian side’ to be more accentuated when she eats more Indian food than usual, but also the majority of the interviewees’ offerings integrate Indian foods, and, at a later moment, Tia Karam tells me that not drinking *masala tea/chai* means I am unlikely to become Indian. Despite the fact that this latter event was the playful comment of someone who starts seeing me as a soon-to-be insider, or as an already undesired outsider-inside presence, ultimately what is suggested in this episode is that it is through consuming Indian-related foods/drinks that the chances of becoming Indian can be seized. Therefore, just as in other research where food plays a fundamental role in making kinship/relatedness (Carsten, 1995; Meigs, 1997), Indian food appears to hold the power to bolster kinship/relatedness among the participants in the field, thus facilitating the enactment of belonging.

However, and apart from reinforcing classic observations about how food constitutes a symbolic and processual means through which belonging is defined and ethno-national identities are constructed (Meigs, 1997; Carsten, 1995; Pottier, 2012; Murcott, 1996; Carsten, 2007; Carsten, 2000), what the evidence presented above also triggers is a discussion around the way Indian food has gained the capacity to project and define power relations in the field. It is widely acknowledged that food has always been bounded with power, and that a significant part of its social and cultural relevance is univocally related to how groups positioned in higher segments of the power hierarchy either appropriate the other’s foods or impose their own and other people’s foods in order to reassure their own higher condition in society (Mintz, 1996; Appadurai, 1988a; Hirsch, 2001; Narayan, 1995; Holtzman, 2006). Nevertheless, I would be lying if I did not mention how surprising this is when thinking that such processes shape an already

marginalized group in Portuguese society who have been projected as the *other* on so many occasions (Tiesler, 2000; Zamparoni, 2000; Vakil, 2004).

In fact, Indian food constitutes a sensory object through which uneven power relations are exercised within the context of the LMC based in the LCM. To be more specific, during my fieldwork ‘Indian food’ was often offered during social and religious events taking place mainly in the LCM, aside from a few other foods and drinks that some would identify as rather more Portuguese or Mozambican. Though the boundaries between all these categories need to be questioned – given that it remains difficult to discern food’s ethno-national identities due to its inherently intertwined and creolized histories, especially in colonial Mozambique where cultural flows and trade contacts shaped new culinary possibilities (Ghosh and Muecke, 2007; McCann, 2010) – food and drinks classified as generally Indian were regularly cooked and served during *Niaz* lunches, *Eid* ceremonies, and during the month of *Ramadan* in the LCM to all Muslims and non-Muslims in attendance. Apart from the predominately Indian menu, which includes *Biryani*, *Akni*, *Sooji*, *Tarkahi Chawal/Khawó Sainrun*, *Zardá Mithó Khawó*, *Chacuti*, *Samosas*, *masala tea /Chai/Indian tea*, *mango/Lime Achar*⁵⁰, the only non-Indian foods and drinks made available were other salty snacks, soft drinks, such as Coca-Cola, Fanta, and juices, as well as *Harira*⁵¹ soup.

These Indian menus tend to be prepared for celebratory moments in the space of the LCM by cooks, who are mostly men of South Asian origins who have migrated to Portugal via recent chains of migration and who do not speak Portuguese. Whether or not they know how to cook Indian food, any decision of what to cook passes through the concessionary commercial venture that manages the kitchen of the LCM. During my fieldwork there were also a few active members of committees of the LIC, of both Indian and Mozambican origins, collaborating in the kitchen management in order to make sure that the meals were prepared in a large enough quantity and on time, as well as to ensure they were served to all visitors and members waiting for a meal. These participants often directed these cooks in languages/dialects other than Portuguese, and the

⁵⁰ Some of these words correspond to names of South Asian dishes, foods, drinks, sides and snacks as I was told by one of my interlocutors. They are written in different South Asian languages and dialects, such as *Memon*, Urdu and Arabic, though they are transliterated into the Latin alphabet.

⁵¹ *Harira* soup is a traditionally Moroccan dish.

latter would, most of the time, obey their orders, showing gratitude for having been embraced and given a job.⁵²

Though I did not have the opportunity to further investigate the management of the kitchen of LCM and its implications for community relations and identity formations, the fact of the matter is that during my fieldwork a predominantly Indian menu was often prepared and offered as part of social and religious celebratory moments, contributing to the shaping of food habits and apparently unimportant equations between Muslim-ness, Indian culture (constructed as unified Indian ethnicity), food and power among different members and generations of Portuguese Muslims within the space of the LCM. The question regarding why Indian food was served at the LCM seems to almost precipitate the allusion and proposal made to me by Tia Karam with regard to my own consumption of masala tea, as noted in the above ethnographic episode: “If you don’t drink *milk tea* you can’t become an Indian!” Could it be that the decision to serve mostly Indian food implied a decision to initiate all Muslims into an Indian Muslim-ness? Whether this is deliberate or not, the fact of the matter is that Indian food is regularly cooked and/or provided within the space of the Lisbon Central Mosque, appearing to *Indianize* all other Muslims and to re-enact a higher power position in the hierarchy of Muslims.

It is also worth discussing the ways in which Indian food also tends to shape senses of Indian-ness among my interlocutors, both across the community of peers and within domestic contexts, and how it also reinforces power relations between different Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins. The questions that emerge here are which Indian food is being produced, and how does it become Indian. These questions require one to delve into the processes of making Indian food as a powerful resource of identity and power, taking into account variables of gender, generation, ethnicity and class. I believe these processes to be anchored both in the present circumstances of dwelling and relations with many others, as well as with respect to conceptions of Indian-ness carried along a family path of migration, as demonstrated in the following section.

⁵² During my fieldwork these men of South Asian origins were occasionally spoken to in the English language, allowing me to understand certain dialogues they had with executive members of the LIC and other members of the LMC. On other occasions, when they were approached in South Asian languages/dialects, I could also understand from the tone of voice used the extent to which orders were being given to them, and their often obedient response.

4.3.2. The making of an *authentic* Indian Food: Ethnic, gendered, generational and historical disputes and debates

If in the context of the kitchen of the Lisbon Central Mosque migrant men of South Asian origins are the ones cooking, within the context of the domestic space mature Portuguese Muslim women of Indian and Mozambican origins are the ones taking on this task, including cooking Indian foods. Most admit to cooking and eating Indian food on the weekends only, when more significant ceremonial, social and commensal events take place, wherein they also combine or alternate this with Mozambican dishes. In this sense, Indian food is also left for when moments and contexts of *decorum* are to be created for guests, thus constituting the meal served when someone visits them at home. Indian food served during these events might be intended to please other peers who share similar tastes, as well as to “present [...] ultimately what is still part of their own culture” to non-Indian guests, as one of my interlocutors, Hanif, says. However, this decision to reduce Indian meals to such occasions can also be explained by the fact that Indian food is relatively heavy to digest and time consuming to prepare and cook, as I was told. Therefore, and in line with what happens with the Mozambican food cooked at home, many of my interlocutors prefer to leave this food for when there is more time for preparation. In fact, women tend to cook Portuguese dishes and others which they perceive as practical dishes on a daily basis, reserving only a few food habits that involve Indian ingredients/foods in some way as traditional practices, as long as these do not interfere with the urban lifestyle of the household members, especially the youngsters who are not always so keen to taste those dishes.

Despite tending to refer to Indian food in very general terms, hence contributing to the construction of an almost homogeneous sense of the culinary and gastronomic, my interlocutors also referred to a few food rituals and practices that are (as mentioned above) perceived as being tied to particular ancestral traditions, and thus are also ethnically based. In this respect, it is important to note that perceptions of ethnicity/caste difference still shape the identities of those who claim a pure Indian background – and which tend in the field to generally

differentiate *Memons* from *Surtis*, and their internal branches⁵³ – which also produces differences in cooking habits and eating practices/rituals. In particular these claims of difference in relation to caste/ethnic group are produced via consanguineous blood shared with ancestors migrated from different regions in South Asia, prior to partition. These caste/ethnic differences result in a wide range of cultural variances observed at the level of cultural practices, values and traditions, including the dialects and languages spoken (though there is also here a considerable amount of plasticity and intertwining as a result of years and generations of co-existence from colonial Mozambique onwards). With regard to food, I have particularly observed the mobilization of these ethnic differences in the production of intra-ethnic differences of Indian-ness in the field. As an example, one of my young interlocutors highlights how his mother is better than other women at creating some South Asian dishes, which has nothing to do with his affective kinship ties, but instead with the caste/ethnic difference of the cook:

É pá....é pá, [refers to the dish Kari Kitchari] it is a rice dish with yogurt, Kari on top and then it has....it is a vegetarian dish; it doesn't take meat, and on top of that my mother is surti; the surtis make a much better kari kitchari than the memons, because it is really something....but do not write that in your book, otherwise I will be kicked by the memons! (He laughs)

(Sufyi, born in Mozambique in 1986)

However, as pointed out earlier, there is still a perception of a unified form of Indian cuisine being projected and disseminated in the field, which often conflates ideas of Indian-ness/South Asian-ness with Muslim-ness. For instance, in a moment of excitement when trying to show me what *meethai* are, one of my mature female interlocutors, Saphira, tells me that if I am traveling to London and

⁵³ Even though the perception of caste/ethnic difference is not considered by all participants to be an important component of their Indian-ness, the name of the caste/ ethnic group of origin is still often pointed out as a trait that differentiates Portuguese Muslims of Indian origins, being especially mobilized to restore both uniqueness and a position of power within the LMC, particularly among Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, though this is also intertwined with aspects of class. A clear example of this is the case of Tia Ranya who claims to belong to an ethnic group that is descended from the Prophet Mohammed – the *Sayyids* - and who takes up a leading position in several activities organized by different committees of the LIC.

meeting Muslim friends, I can ask them where to find *meethai*: “They must know it, and you ask them to show it to you!” she says. Later I learned that *meethai* are traditional South Asian sweets, which many of my interlocutors actually eat and share with cherished ones during Ramadan and on other special occasions, making for that reason special requests for family and friends that either travel or that are based in the UK and/or in Germany to send them to them. In some cases, relatives and friends also gift *meethai* to my interlocutors as a gesture of goodwill and of intimacy. The assumption that any Muslim would definitely know where to find *meethai* soon came to be seen as a more complex statement as what was at stake in Saphira’s comment was a conflation between a religious and an ethnic identity.

If parents do not always problematize such conflation between Indian-ness and Muslim-ness, the youngsters often criticize it, as the way they relate to Indian food both inside and outside of the mosque demonstrates. Even though they do not make a big deal of comments regarding why Indian food is served at ceremonial occasions in the mosque, having grown up with most of these dishes, they are also not so fond of the way many of these foods are cooked and how they taste at the mosque. Many also complain about the spiciness of the snacks and dishes, which they end up refusing to eat. Whether or not taste could be associated with an attempt to refuse an ethnic identity attached to Indian food, I am also led to believe that many simply do not like the tastes offered because they have been socialized with what are described as ‘Portuguese dishes’ or as ‘practical everyday food’. Moreover, many of the youngsters often yearn for types of food other than Indian, including fast food meals, such as food and snacks from McDonald’s on occasions when over-Indianized menus would be served in ceremonies at the mosque. On several occasions attempts were made by the youngsters in the field, members of the youth committee, to have *McHalal* hamburgers from a trusted *halal* source served at social and/or religious ceremonies taking place in the mosque, and outside of it. Additionally, I was often part of temporary youth *escapes* from the mosque, during official events taking place there, in order to get *sundaes* and other treats from the closest McDonald’s drive-in in the city. In both these cases, the only consideration in mind was whether the food and drinks served were *halal*, meaning if they were prepared according to Islamic law. Still, both these examples act as tactics used by the

youngsters in order to create an alternative to the mosque's Indian food, as well as to place themselves within the perspective of western gastronomic flavors, which they have also been socialized with, but which seems to entitle them to claim a reinforced European Portuguese-ness.

Having said this, it does not mean that certain Indian food is not recognized or acknowledged by these youngsters as *authentic* or *inauthentic*. On some other occasions, the same interlocutors who would engage in *McDonald's escapes* from the mosque, stressed how the Indian food served at the mosque is in fact *authentic*, just like the Indian food they have at home, as compared to all other Indian food served in restaurants and other public spaces, where “white Portuguese” do the cooking. For instance, on one occasion when I was invited by Yasir and Sameera for lunch, we took some time deciding what to eat and where to go for a meal. After browsing some ideas and finally deciding on vegetarian food, which seemed safer considering everyone's tastes and their halal restrictions, we went to a new buffet-type vegetarian restaurant located in Lisbon city center. When there, Yasir and Sameera started commenting on how ‘Indian food’ outside the home was “all-fake”. Their comments resulted from the selection of samosas available as part of that afternoon's buffet, which did not look or taste as good as those they would have at home or at the mosque, they said. Firstly, Yasir mentioned that they were too spiced, and secondly, Sameera said they were far too big, and that a samosa should be smaller in size, than that which was served there. Even though this was not an Indian restaurant, both Yasir and Sameera could not help but make comparisons between the snacks and meals available in the restaurant, and the “true” Indian food they would eat at home or at the mosque, to which they added: “white people don't know how to cook samosas or curry”, “it's completely different from the ones we eat at home”. The day after was the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Lisbon Islamic Community at the LCM and, as usual, there was a varied Indian menu prepared for all those invited to the event. Samosas, roast chicken and chips, as well as *sooji* (an orange mixture to have on the side, I was told), *Akni* (rice and meat, similar to “*Arroz à Valenciana*”⁵⁴ as it was described to me by some of the youngsters⁵⁵), and carrot

⁵⁴ “Arroz à Valenciana” is a popular Iberian and Latin American dish that owes its name to a region in Spain, Valencia. It contains rice, different meats and vegetables.

⁵⁵ The majority of the youngsters call most of the Indian dishes by their South Asian name, only

achar (pickled carrot) were served together with soft drinks such as *coca-cola*, juices and water. Apart from the drinks, and the chicken and chips that involved nothing particularly Indian in the way of preparation or seasoning, other randomly bought deserts were also brought to complete the meal in the early afternoon. Soon after all the adults were served in the large dining room located on one of the lower floors of the Lisbon Central Mosque, the youngsters, who were often in charge of these tasks, finally sat down to have their meal. Yasir came to attend the event, and joined the rest of the youngsters, including myself, around the same table. “Do you think these samosas are better than the ones we ate yesterday, Catarina?” he asked me. I had no doubt they were better, and said “Yes, of course!” to which he replied “These are *real* ones, and the ones from yesterday were not!” Yasir was testing me and trying to show me the difference between *authentic* and *fake* Indian food, bringing to light his own intimate connection to an Indian universe, where authentic forms of Indian-ness exist far from everyone else’s reach.

What is interesting and curious in these episodes is that both Yasir and Sameera claimed to know the *authentic* sensory signs of Indian-ness, without ever having been to India or claiming to feel connected to India. Certainly one should not presume that “authentic Indian food” is necessarily located only on Indian ground, as this would constitute a culturally purist fallacy, insofar as cultures and their practices are transformative and “moving targets” that have surely been uprooted from any essentialized geographic primordial place (Breckenridge and Appadurai, 1989; Gupta and Ferguson, 1999). Additionally, I do not wish to argue that there can only be one authentic form of Indian-ness and of Indian food, which by comparison renders all its *rhizomorphic* derivatives as *cultural bastards*, as Mannur (2007) notes, citing Shani Mootoo’s ‘Out on the Main Street’. Just as in the case of Shani Mootoo’s characters, who defy hegemonic constructions of Indian-ness through the idiom of food – as they refuse to designate so called food items in all their respective Indian idioms, and who propose locally and familiarly redefined forms of Indian-ness – I would argue that one can appropriate and recreate her own perceived sense of belonging according to desire. Both these things occur among Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins.

translating them into a Portuguese equivalent when in my presence in order for me to be able to understand the sorts of contents and cooking techniques used.

What seems striking then about Yasir's and Sameera's comments regarding the authenticity of the samosa is the fact that they both rely on their own most private, domestic and communitarian sensory experiences of taste, smell and sight in order to claim knowledge and authority over legitimate and authentic Indian food. This leads me to interrogate how this perception of the authentic samosa was produced along the way, and when Indian food cooked at home or by a peer becomes essentially Indian. In short, how is a samosa, or a curry, or even any other Indian dish constructed as authentic by comparison to inauthentic ones? And how does Indian food get to be constructed as "Indian", owing to the ethno-national label that classifies it and differentiates it from others, hence rooting it in a geographic ground?

While some of both Yasir and Sameera's arguments might suggest the answer to these questions, since it is mostly taste and size that makes the difference and defines this snack both as Indian and authentic, this still requires reflection on the referents that they are relying on in order to make such claims. I would argue that in this particular case, where Yasir and Sameera project this sense of the authenticity of the Indian foods mentioned, they are shown to have been shaped, or perhaps *stamped* by, as Halbwachs (1980) would put it, a sense of Indian-ness that was simply mediated to them by family members and peers through sensory experience – and which is enabled simply through food cooked, perceived and eaten – similar to how Shani Mootoo's (1993) characters allowed them to experience some sort of Indian-ness, which has nothing to do with them feeling connected with India. Just as in the case of the characters from Shani Mootoo's story, what is authentically Indian for them surely stems from their own familial experience of all those flavors and sensory experiences, relating to taste, visual perception and smell, which they recognize, or these would not have been inscribed in their most intimate memories of the senses (Seremetakis, 1994), which certainly shaped a legitimized category of belonging.

This is not to say that there is an irremediable Indian-ness in these youngsters, just because they acknowledge all the signs of what is right and wrong in so-called Indian food both within and outside of this universe of Indian-ness, but to say that it is through the making of such family *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990), which enables and determinates the placing of oneself within the perspective of a primary group of socialization, that they have gained such knowledge and a

mediated family memory (Halbwachs, 1992) of Indian-ness. Yet, knowing the taste and the shape does not endow one with full sensory capacity to fully reproduce the same exact sensory object in future, as for instance both Yasir and Sameera do not know how to cook the authentic samosas, and are only able to recognize them. However, and because the memory of a sense can be stored in the memory of other senses (Sutton, 2001; Seremetakis, 1994), their memories of taste might maintain the potential to remember food preparations. Therefore, there is always opportunity and space for creative reproductions to take place in the encounter between the bodily practice, the memory of the senses and the sensory object of perceptive engagement one deals with.

As a result, even though both Yasir and Sameera might not know how to cook Indian food, since they might only “know how to eat” - as Sameera’s mother has told me - it is not totally unlikely that the same flavors, tastes, shapes and sensory experiences will be sought after at future events during which both Yasir and Sameera identify *authentic* Indian food. Through food continuously tasted and embodied within the domestic, communitarian, intimate and familial social frameworks of belonging, *rhizomorphic*, imaginary and affective forms of Indian-ness are also likely to be passed down through generations.

4.3.3. Which Indian Food?

While an answer to the question of how this idea of the authenticity of Indian food came about among my younger interlocutors finds reasoning in the long lasting sensuous experience that shaped the making of *habitus* both within the family household as well as within the community of peers, some considerations still need to be put forth with regard to the displaced and *rhizomorphic* referent informing the food’s Indian-ness and as to how far this image of authentic Indian food goes. As I mentioned earlier, my interlocutors’ forms of Indian-ness constitute *floating signifiers* whose referent appears to have little to do with India. Moreover, as far as it concerns the tasteful experience and signification of Indian-ness attached to Indian food, this is not only easily available in postcolonial Portugal due to the development of transnational markets, which allows the participants in the field to recreate tastes, smells and shapes stored in their memories of senses and within their bodies, but it is also demonstrated to have been extensively *cooked* in Southern Africa, namely in

Mozambique. This is because in the great majority of occasions when Indian food was brought into discussion it was attached to a Southern African Indian-ness, mostly located in Mozambique. The question that emerges when considering these facts, is how notions of authenticity associated with Indian food could have been constructed, projected and transferred within both the family and community of peers across generations in a trajectory of migration that departs from South Asia a century ago, settles in Mozambique during colonial times, and arrives in Portugal in a postcolonial context, when ideas of Indian-ness were already shifting and becoming increasingly transnational under different colonial and political rules?

This question needs to be asked as the literature that brings to light this discourse of authenticity around Indian food refers primarily to the experience of uprooted Indian migrants who yearn and long for a mostly known India and South Asia, for its own homely tastes and flavors, which they will try to reproduce through food (Mannur, 2007; Roy, 2002; Ray, 2004). However, this is not the case among Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, because most of them were born and brought up in colonial Mozambique and/or postcolonial Portugal, so they cannot be cooking and eating Indian food as a form of longing for India - or can they? What my fieldwork disclosed is that they project a dislocated sense of Indian-ness, which has been fabricated outside of India, and surely beyond place. Moreover, and apart from other aspects related to the deeply imaginative and political processes beneath the construction of Indian food in different social contexts (Appadurai, 1988a; Roy, 2002; Narayan, 1995), the significance of asking this question lies in the fact that historically Indian food could not simply have been transplanted from the Indian sub-continent to colonial Mozambique and thereafter to Portugal unchanged, as it is likely to have been deeply transformed and influenced by a wide range of food ingredients and habits, facilitated not only through the migration trajectory of many of the families and individuals that freely settled down in colonial Mozambique, in a movement that clearly entails loss and processes of re-adaptation, but also through the local and already transnational flows of peoples and things that shaped the social, cultural and economic life in that Portuguese former colony, and even before the migration of my interlocutors' ancestors to Mozambique. In truth what we know today as Indian food is heir to the ancestral Indian Ocean trade, even before the

16th century, when the Portuguese set about their expansion into the New Worlds and the Indias (Achaya, 1998; Boxer, 1969). As noted by several authors (Boxer, 1969; McCann, 2010; Ghosh and Muecke, 2007; Malheiros, 1996), throughout the period of the modern empires Mozambique was integrated in the intense trade rivalries that occupied the Indian Ocean African coastal commerce for centuries, with both Arab and Indian traders disputing the economic dominion of the region. It was when the Portuguese arrived in the region and attempted to control the Asian spice trade that new dynamics were brought to the Mozambican coast, transforming an already hybridized mixture of food ingredients, tastes and flavors. Therefore, and apart from socio-economic circumstances shaping the availability and lack of ingredients in general, one cannot think of Indian cuisine apart from the Mozambican one in this part of the world, nor can one think of them apart from the “trade and the emergence of cosmopolitan maritime culture along the oceanic rims” (McCann, 2010, p.160), that together with the construction of the European seaborne empires, have defined them ever since.

This is an argument that is not completely strange, nor does it remain unacknowledged by some segments of the field participants, as for instance the image behind a restaurant owned and run by some of my interlocutors also demonstrates. Drawing on its online presence and identity, the restaurant, which I will entitle *Masala*, stresses the fusion character of its own Indian and Mozambican food essence, hence supporting the idea that my interlocutors’ Indian foods as cooked and eaten are the result of spatial, temporal social, cultural and undoubtedly political transformations. The narrative provided on its website draws on my participants’ ancestral trajectory of migration from Gujarat to Mozambique, and thereafter to Portugal, where an almost epic tone claims to meet Vasco da Gama’s galleon en route from India, in order to present its own identity:

Gastronomy of Indian inspiration: Let’s follow its traces, disperse in time and space. These that we’ve chosen are noble and rich, making it a pilgrim of a culture. Let’s depart from Gujarat in the Indias, where only what the man would collect from nature would be used.

With a new profession, it also started using other fruits of the sea and of the soil. And there it remained for years... until an exodus forced it to migrate to Mozambique, in the Africas, where it met other aromatic companions on the

journey. And so, without noticing, it sat at the edge of the Old Europe, on a Lusitânia that added accents and cedillas to it, thus transforming its name.

(...)

'Masala' is a restaurant with an Indian-inspired cuisine. The menu seeks to draw a journey that started in India, in particular the region of Gujarat, followed by a passage through Mozambique, arriving at last to Lisbon. It is as if it is Vasco da Gama's return journey.

The 'Masala' restaurant does not intend to be a restaurant of fusion food, it is instead a space that reflects the lived fusion of the people who make it, people that live somewhere in this encounter between the Indian, Arabic, Mozambican and Portuguese cultures.

The food presented is merely the reflection of that long journey... with no beginning, nor end⁵⁶.

Even though one ought to be aware of the marketing strategy underlying the creation of the image and the story beneath the identity of the *Masala* restaurant, the narrative offers a much more complex view of my interlocutors' Indian food, defying its more usual singular and authentic image. As suggested in the narrative, *Masala's* food is simply inspired by India, since it has moved across a trajectory of migration and across times, which have endowed it with an intrinsically transformative character, where Indian-ness constitutes an already transformed entity. This has first been shaped by the creative projects of humankind, including through its combinations and inner transformations while still in India, as well as by their exodus and diasporic migration to Mozambique. It is thus in Mozambique that these tastes, flavors and ever-transformative foods have met "new aromatic companions", which incorporated further mixes and creolizations into this food. These fusions result not only from the ingredients growing on the land, its tastes and aromas, but via local encounters with Arabic flavors, as well as with the Old World, the Old Europe, and in particular the Old Portuguese counterpart in the shape of a Lusitânia that speaks the language of Romans, and which has therefore added its own flavour to an already shifting palate.

⁵⁶ This is my translation of the narrative presented in Portuguese on the website.

This description of *Masala's* food seems then to align with Tio Amir's earlier claim about the mobile character of Indian food. However, contrary to the latter's perspective, it is uprooted, personified, and with a quasi-life of its own insofar as it has been creatively changed, no longer having either a beginning or an end.

And yet, despite its deeply creolized and de-essentialized character, the construction of the hybridized *Masala's* food does not cease to hold on to a prevailing image of both Indian-ness and Portuguese-ness, which seem to be met by the hands of the Empire, which has ultimately changed it. Therefore, despite all the mixes that it claims to result from, it is argued that it is almost a return journey to a Portugal that *discovered* and conquered it by adding its own *accents and cedillas*, thus changing its name.

It is not surprising then that many of my mature interlocutors' references to Indian food are far from constituting a mere transplantation of Indian culinary delights, being instead associated with a wide and diverse range of foods, tastes, preferences, and flavors, where the appropriation of local ingredients prevails. Most of my mature interlocutors' memories of food cooked and eaten in Mozambique, in a period from the late 1950s to the late 1980s, refer to dishes, foods and food habits which tended to mix Mozambican and South African ingredients, such as the peanut and the coconut, as well as other Portuguese and English foods and practices.

If this stresses the already creolized sensory atmosphere that Mozambique represented for some Indian and Mozambican Muslims living there, it also brings to light the fact that it remains extremely difficult to distinguish foods based on ethno-national grounds, and that perhaps just as identity positions are defined by processes of hybridity which cannot dissociate entities from the mix, so foods cannot be purely identified as simply Indian or Mozambican, though they may be the result of discursive rhetoric constructing them as such. And yet, as far as the history of foods goes, Indian food can be in this case also African and European, if not simply imperial. Therefore, instead of simply questioning what is Indian in the food cooked and eaten in the field – which most of the interlocutors are keen to distinguish – I consider it worth returning to the following question: when does food become Indian and how does it gain the label of authenticity? This is certainly a question that is difficult to answer and that would certainly gain from a

return to the field for an enquiry especially focused on food. However, without attempting further data collection, I would argue that the understanding of perceived authentic Indian food among my interlocutors has clearly been produced as a result of acts of imagination along with a sensuous lived experience, which has been boosted by a family and gendered *habitus* shaped by perceptions of a constructed faraway homeland, as well as via migration and the passage of time. It is within the context of such experiences of continuity and change that new and often imaginary constructions of a gendered Indian-ness seem to have been negotiated across different generations, as I discuss next.

4.3.4. Re-producing intergenerational gendered memories of the senses

If India or its adjective – Indian - has become a portable imaginary this is because it has been encapsulated in certain tastes and flavors for many of my interlocutors, having also been stored in their memories of the senses. Indian food, which circulates through worldwide flows and is believed to be located within the context of the social frameworks of belonging, such as the family and the community, and which is thus personified in *Masala's* food, seems to have migrated along with its legitimate carriers across time and space, crossing a European colonial ideology via African soil. Throughout this process Indian food has, as I have argued above, been transformed and fused with local flavors, hence leaving us the question of how it can still be designated in this way and still encapsulate any sort of authenticity.

Besides straightforward matters of power, which inevitably frame the conscious political positions of everything “Indian”, I would argue that as far as it concerns my interlocutors’ tasteful construction of what is Indian (and certainly of India itself), this has first been produced in colonial Mozambique and in migration to Portugal, along with gender roles transformations which today have repercussions for the way both parents and youngsters in the field relate to it. This is because colonial Mozambique was a significant context of life and passage for many, especially my mature interlocutors, who have learnt not only about India while in relation with their family members and community of peers, but also about how to be men and women. While my older interlocutors were in colonial Mozambique, India was constructed as an ancestral narrative, integrating both an

oral and bodily domestic female knowledge, which most individuals only learnt in a fragmented manner due to ideological, social and cultural values and transformations being endorsed. The latter have thus contributed to shifting traditional gender roles among women of South Asian descent, even though the Portuguese hegemonic ideology during colonial times was deeply patriarchal, as it promoted a female lifestyle subordinated to *masculine domination* (Bourdieu, 2001) which was continued by *domesticating* women (Pimentel, 2007; Neves and Calado, 2001); and despite the fact that Indian women remained associated with the domestic sphere during the emergence of Indian nationalism in the early- and mid-nineteenth century (Chatterjee, 1993). As a result of these shifts in gender roles and values most of my mature female interlocutors did not engage purely with domestic life while in that context. As most claim, they attended Portuguese schools, together with other children and youngsters, pursuing in many cases a career path, and attempting through both deliberate and non-deliberate means to enter the public sphere of society, especially by participating in the public life of the country where they were living. By public sphere I do not necessarily mean political life in the classic Habermasian sense of the expression, but instead the usage of public spaces and available products of the city of Lourenço Marques/Maputo, where all came to settle down at some point in their lives. It is true that such opening of my mature female interlocutors to the public space in Mozambique requires further research, through an historical and oral historical approach that can also be articulated with respect to their engagement with Indian food, constituting perhaps a future topic of investigation. However, it is also interesting to see how despite having been subject to the colonial education of the time, where they have learned “everything a woman should learn” including how to cook, sew and study, as one of my interviewees claims, a considerable number of them pursued an education and career, hence entering domestic life only through alternative, creative, and perhaps, subversive means. In this way many have broken with their mothers’ traditional gender roles, which were wrapped in domesticity, with implications for their preparation and cooking of Indian food.

Alimah’s case is deeply illustrative of how gender positions matter in the processes of incorporation of culinary knowledge passed down from previous generations and how transformations in gender roles do affect the way such *habitus* can be partly left un-transferred through bodily means and how it can also

be deeply changed through *cooking by the book* (Sutton, 2006). Her example is also suggestive of how senses of Indian-ness have been re-constructed and re-invented in migration, with obvious repercussions for how they are re-appropriated in migration from South Asia and Mozambique to Portugal.

Born in Karachi to parents of South Asian origins, who had migrated to Mozambique only after her birth in 1963, Alimah grew up with her siblings in the old city of Lourenço Marques, where she attended the Portuguese school because her father insisted they studied in order “to be someone”, she says. Despite the Pakistani citizenship that she held throughout her life in Mozambique, Alimah developed a strong attachment to Mozambique and to a life of studying and of joy in that country. Her affective words describe a world and life lost with the passage of time, as well as with Mozambique’s independence, which factors she feels have affected her own and her family’s future. As a child, Alimah used to learn ‘a bit of the Qu’ran’ with her mother, in the early hours of the morning, before going to school. Alimah describes these as busy days “(...) from Monday to Friday always studying (...) Schools would start at seven in the morning!” There was therefore very little time to do anything else domestic, not to mention that there was also no need for it, considering that her mother would do all the cooking and the domestic servants would take care of the cleaning. “We relaxed ourselves a bit, you know? My mother would do everything for us!” Outside of the home, all other moments would be spent with her female friends and neighbors. Alimah faced Mozambique’s independence with feelings of fright and fear; apart from the instability and austerity that marked the aftermath of decolonization, which she recalls having delayed her studies. Despite her father’s encouragement to continue studying and even to go to university, Alimah did not go beyond the 9th grade, which is something she feels regret for, considering her love of education. However, in the mid-1980s she came to assist her father in the family store because he knew little Portuguese, and soon after she was offered an administrative job in a South African transportation company based in Maputo. Alimah was actually able to take this job because she could speak English, a language that she polished through interaction with relatives and pen-pals based in South Africa (despite her mother’s insistence that she speak Gujarati, and in spite of her father’s preference for the Portuguese language at home). When she took the job she was already engaged to her future husband. After marrying, Alimah

saw herself moving in with her mother-in-law and resuming a life of domesticity, which she did not like, and which led her to tell her husband she would rather keep her job in order to avoid clashes with the women in the house. At that time she also told him, “at home there is no work, only to cook!” But she also saw this job as an opportunity to make a living and to financially help the household, especially as Mozambique’s civil war was still at its peak in the mid-1980s, and more money and resources were required for the most basic of goods and services.

Alimah’s life project as a woman with a job outside of the home set her apart from the family life that her mother experienced. No doubt part of this was also the choice of her father, who saw in education a world of possibilities for his children, including his female children, hence raising questions regarding Alimah’s degree of conformity with her father’s desires. Though this is not the place to explore the different forms of patriarchal values and operations imposed on my interlocutors, and their respective forms of resistance, it is clear that Alimah privileged a formal education, and if she did not learn how to cook, neither Indian nor any other type of food, this is in part because of the path she chose to take outside of the home.

However, when we met at her home in the Lisbon Metropolitan area, it became clear to me that she really had not learnt any Indian cooking back in Mozambique with the women of her family, so she must have learnt it at some other time and in some other way. In fact, not only had Alimah cooked samosas, *rissóis* and a chiffon cake, like many of my interlocutors, but she had also prepared what she claimed to be a South African black tea, as well as a warm drink called *Badam* milk for me to try. Additionally, she had brought into the living room two of her Indian cookbooks to show me. Though thrilled with all the food I was mostly concerned with the question of what possible importance all that food, and in particular the cookbooks, had for the extent that Alimah actually learnt how to cook Indian food, and subsequently to perform her Indian-ness. Even though one of the cookbooks – *The Best of Indian Delights* – was simply a gift from a former pen-pal based in South Africa, the other book – *Indian Delights* (Fig. 6) - had actually been bought in South Africa a few months before Alimah migrated to Portugal, to help her with cooking practices. During her days in Mozambique Alimah would often travel to South Africa in order to visit her sister who was based there, and therefore it was not surprising that she had bought

something there. What was truly curious was the fact that she has picked this particular book to take with her to Portugal. The reason she gave for it was that she felt the need to have some support when cooking while away from her mother.

Cat. – *So did you buy it here?*

Alimah – *No, no. It was in South Africa... around two months before I moved to Portugal.*

Cat. – *Ok. So do you remember the place where you bought it?*

Alimah – *It was in a big store in... it only sells books... how do you call it...like papers, stationary, gift shop and all that, books... it was where I bought it.*

(...)

Cat. – *So do you usually cook many recipes from it?*

Alimah – *Yes, I cook many recipes from it. I also learnt a lot of things from it because here I did not have anyone to teach me! And before I used to not do anything; I was working, and knew how to cook very little or even nothing, do you see what I mean? It was my mother-in-law who used to cook when I was living in her house... in my mother's, she was also the one doing the cooking, and I only used to help and therefore, that's it... I learnt a lot of things... the most difficult things.*

Cat. – *And are these the books that you consider more important?*

Alimah – *Yes, they give me a lot of support, a lot of support.*

(Alimah, born in Pakistan in 1962)

While the book *Indian Delights* was brought to my attention in the context of Alimah's life story and as part of her photographic exercise, gaining the status of a biographical object (Hoskins, 1998), that is an object that supports her own life narrative, it also held further significance, in particular regarding the gendered intergenerational modes of culinary transmission available, and henceforth the maintenance and transfer of belongings across countries in a trajectory of migration. In fact, Alimah decided to buy the book *Indian Delights* in order to

have some culinary support in Portugal. Although not explicitly mentioned, it is possible to note her desire to reproduce what she has registered in the memory of the senses through food cooked by both her mother and her mother in law. By buying and carrying it with her over the course of her migration to Portugal, Alimah appears then to also transfer to the book the possibility of unlocking the secret memories of tastes and flavors formerly experienced, but which she did not know how to reproduce without support. The book appears then to hold a precluded identity at risk of loss in migration (Parkin, 1999); an identity that is wrapped in taste and flavor, and which is associated with the *Indian Delights* experienced in the family homes she lived in.

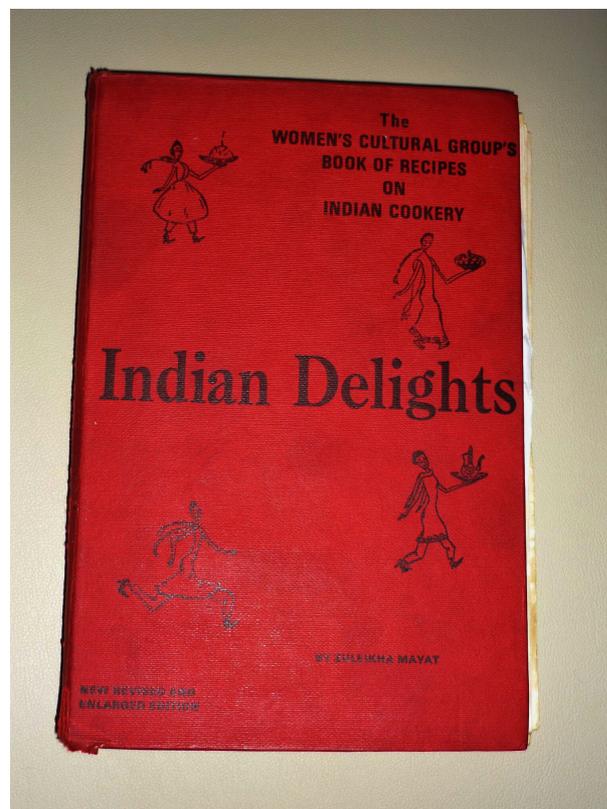


Figure 6

Alimah's cookbook, *Indian Delights*, edited by Zuleykha Mayat

Even though there was no opportunity to further explore Alimah's decision to pick this particular book, it is worth noting that its own history in the South African context reflects precisely the shift in gender roles described by

Alimah (Vahed and Waetjen, 2010; Waetjen, 2009). Resulting from an oral history and ethnographic project that was intended to put into writing both the practical cooking knowledge of ancestral gendered memory and the new recipes/cooking techniques of South African women of South Asian origins, the book *Indian Delights* was intended to offer not only a literary account produced by these women, but also the possibility for future generations of women of South Asian descent to learn how to cook what they have not been able to learn from their mothers, either because these mothers have been too busy working outside of the house or because the young women were too engaged with studying and pursuing higher education. Furthermore, it also intended either implicitly or explicitly to project and endorse images of Indian femininity and womanhood, which despite the considerable changes led by migration and modernization, still adhere to traditional ideals. As Zuleikha Mayat writes in 1988 in the new revised and enlarged edition:

The cookery book, as such, is something that is foreign to Indian women. Each dish that has been taught by her mother or some other female relative is a family favorite that was handed down from generation to generation, and although new additions are attempted from time to time, these are well tried out before it comes to the hands of a beginner. (...) However, our way of life now is such that mothers can no longer teach each individual dish to daughters under the old rigid conditions. Girls stay longer at school and manage their own homes sooner than the old days, where they still have a term of apprenticeship under the mother-in-law. Under these changed circumstances, one finds the need of a good and reliable cookery book an essential entity. (1988, p. 15)

Furthermore, as Thembisa Waetjen (2009) suggests, even though the book *Indian Delights* in all its editions, from 1961 onwards, has given an account of the technical and technological transformations in culinary practices popular among women of different South Asian origins and affiliations, hence reflecting the changes of ideals of womanhood and the household economy and family systems, as well as the local cultural transformation that those food practices came to meet,

it did not cease to project general ideas of “food traditions of India” found in Durban and which were meant to be preserved. Furthermore, and despite the fact that it compiles old recipes “existing in memory and practice” (Waetjen, 2009) of different family and ethnic lineages, it is likely to have played a significant role in projecting general and collective ideas of ‘Indian-ness’ among Southern African Indians, thereby constituting a manual of *Indian Delights*. For this reason, and as suggested by Waetjen, the book holds a heuristic value when analyzing “gendered spaces in which blended practices of cooking and literacy affected collectively imagined meanings of national and diasporic identities” (Waetjen, 2009, p.575).

To have found the book *Indian Delights* in Alimah’s home, and to have learnt that this is one of her most cherished items, is revealing of the coincidences and the parallels between her life narrative (and engagement with Indian food) and the purpose behind the making of the book. In fact, Alimah fits precisely into the profile of reading publics planned for *Indian Delights*. While much more could be explored regarding Alimah’s relationship to this cookbook and its significance in facilitating processes of continuity and change in cultural culinary practice, as well as in its owner’s identity making, it has not yet ceased to reflect the possibilities played by cookbooks launched under the umbrella of Indian cuisine/culinary delights in the projection of certain ideas of Indian-ness among populations of South Asian origins outside of India, namely those based in Southern Africa, including Mozambique. This is because it proposes an alternative to practical knowledge, which is no longer transmitted through apprenticeship, where the involvement of bodily and sensory skills is implied in the learning processes, and which is therefore based on *cooking by the book* (Sutton, 2001). The use of the cookbook means that, to a certain extent, there is a particular memory of the senses that was lost, or not transmitted at all, thus requiring one to re-engage with and re-appropriate a *cooking memory* through means that are deeply mediated, and which will be shaped by several factors, where memories of taste might remain. This is no doubt the situation in Alimah’s case.

Concerning the rest of my mature female interlocutors, despite the fact that no one else mentioned the significance of this or alternative cookbooks, in a few other cases some commented on how they were interested in asking friends and relatives based in South Africa to send them one or other Indian cookbook, thus

demonstrating the importance of these objects in their own ability to either reproduce or reinvent Indian foods. Additionally, most commented emotionally on their beloved mothers'/grandmothers' skills in the kitchen, as well as many of their 'tricks of the trade'. These discourses are also often wrapped in emotional feelings which bind mother/grandmother and daughter/granddaughter together in kinship, and which seem to determine a strong preference for family/home food in all its variety. Some stated as well that they had learnt with their mothers/grandmothers many of their recipes through apprenticeship, and in a few cases I could see skillful bodily practices and techniques applied in the preparation of samosas. However, the questions as to whether many of these skills were acquired through apprenticeship or through *cooking by the book* are a matter requiring further research. For instance, the book *Indian Delights* also provides images and photographs that show some of the techniques used in cooking certain Indian dishes (see Fig. 7), and which are in fact very similar bodily gestures to those that I have observed, raising questions regarding how these practices were acquired.

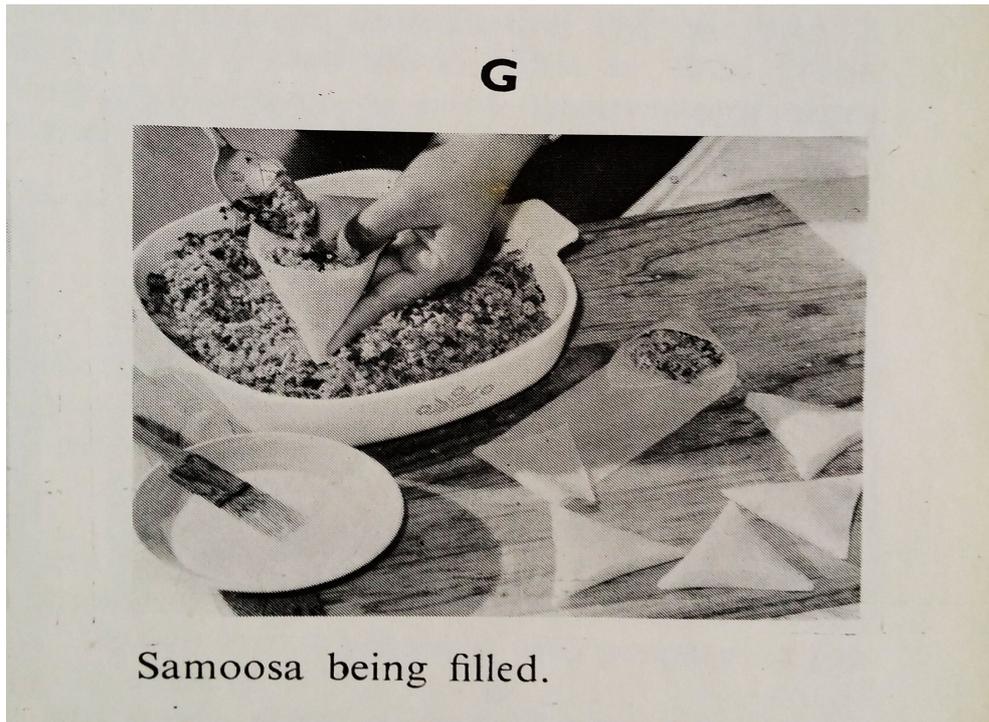


Figure 7

Gestures of how to fill in samosas (Mayat, 1988, p.147)

Whether the gestures seen in Figure 7 were learnt through apprenticeship or by the book, the truth of the matter is that many of my interlocutors claim not to have cooked as many Indian recipes, nor as good dishes, as their mothers' or grandmothers', both in Mozambique and in Portugal, because the latter were also the ones cooking and because the former were often engaged with other activities beyond the domestic, as in Alimah's case. Their life goals were also considerably different, insofar as they were clearly more focused on the 'outside world', in contrast to their mothers, who still held a principal role in domestic affairs, from cooking to teaching the Qur'an to their own children and in some cases to many other children from their community of peers (though these accounts need also to be considered according to class differences and symbolic power in society, since those with lesser resources seem to have endorsed their female children's domestication).

But looking further at today's practices, most of my mature female interlocutors do not cook Indian food on a daily basis, apart from ritualized habits

that some still maintain as long as these do not interfere too much in household life. Those with free time, and in need an extra source of income (especially housewives), tend also to cook samosas and other Indian dishes to sell to anyone who wishes to buy, thus integrating the informal economy structure focused on cooking and selling both *Indian delights*, as well as what I would call ‘Imperial Indian Mozambican foods’, that is foods and delights of both Indian and Mozambican inspiration that were not only commonly prepared and eaten in colonial Mozambique but also in many of my interlocutors’ homes.⁵⁷ Other women, especially those who are full-time professionals and who have little time on their hands, tend to buy these foods either from other Muslim women of both Indian and Mozambican origins, or from other women of South Asian origins based in the Lisbon metropolitan area, regardless of ethnic differences and religion, who also integrate this informal economy structure. In these latter cases of full-time professional women, it is also common to have female relatives, who are housewives, coming to help with the cooking, as well as with the children’s education along with their upbringing, apart from also relying on domestic housekeepers to do most of the domestic work, and in some cases the cooking.

Notwithstanding biographical variations, these overall gender transformations have defined the lives of Muslim women of South Asian and Mozambican origins from colonial Mozambique to postcolonial Portugal and seem to have led to both the desire to re-encounter the affective tastes of the family homes of their childhood and youth, and to perform gendered images of Indian womanhood, hence re-inventing versions of Indian-ness through what is perceived as authentic Indian food. One should neither neglect both the communitarian and family frameworks in continuously shaping these perceptions nor the crucial role played by Indian cookbooks in the imagination of a never-experienced and always-mediated India and ideal of Indian-ness. Cookbooks such as *Indian Delights*, edited by Zuleika Mayat, constitute crucial sources and repertoires of Indian-ness through which women embracing gender roles beyond those proposed by their progenitors are likely to have gained extra Indian culinary knowledge through which ideals of Indian-ness may be projected and incorporated as authentic. Alimah’s biography serves thus to explain how ideas of

⁵⁷ Some of these include for instance *chacuti*, prawn curry in Mozambique’s fashion, *rissóis* and *samosas*, with the latter being the most common.

authenticity associated with Indian food have already been produced and imagined in Southern Africa, and over the course of migration from Mozambique to postcolonial Portugal, by my mature interlocutors in an attempt to re-create the food of the family home, which is both stored in the memory of their taste senses and in their imagination of a gendered Indian performativity.

PART 2

4.4. LIVING WITH INDIAN AUDIO-VISUALS: CONTINUING, DEFYING AND RE-INVENTING INDIAN-NESS ACROSS GENERATIONS

If food or food related practices perceived as Indian constitute regular objectifications of an ambivalent sense of Indian-ness, the engagement with Indian audio-visuals also corresponds to a disputed enactment of incorporated forms of Indian-ness for my interlocutors. Though widely present in the field, either in the form of CDs and DVDs of Indian audio-visuals in participants' homes, or screened/played through TV/sound system sets, or even reproduced through the human voice, as described in the ethnographic narrative that opened Chapter 4, Indian audio-visuals were only very occasionally underlined by participants as potential links to an Indian frame of reference. Either mentioned in response to my question regarding the domestic objectifications of belonging, or considered as a means through which certain representations of India are conveyed, these media – namely Indian films and music– were not necessarily recalled as an obvious trigger for a sense of Indian-ness, nor were they identified as a widely known link to a country that most did not feel connected to. Once again, I could not help but think that perhaps India as a place had little to do with any perceived form of Indian-ness. However, how could I make sense of the multi-sensory media atmosphere described? Or were they not important in the definition and explanation of my interlocutors' belongings?

My interlocutors' assertive discredit of their engagement with Indian audio-visuals in the shaping of their senses of Indian-ness left me ill at ease once again, not only because I was continuously experiencing the latter in the field, but also because I knew from previous research (Valdigem, 2005) that the consumption of Indian audiovisuals was a common practice for both parents and children in the field. These were also the objects of domesticity and of

domestication (Morley, 1993; Morley, 2006; Silverstone et al., 2006), that could gain complex values when facilitating the imagination and remembering of ethno-national Indian identities over a long history of migration, as attested to by other research (Manuel, 1997; Karim, 2003; Gillespie, 1989; Qureshi and Moores, 1999). Therefore, I decided not to wait for spontaneous mentions regarding how these items were used in their life-stories, and opted instead to address them directly with focused questions about the extent to which audio-visuals, both in content and materiality, have actually been present in their lives, and about their significance in the re-production and/or negotiation of their past and present feelings of belonging.

Questions such as “do you watch Indian films?” “What do you think about Indian films?” and “do you remember watching Indian films during a particular period?” as well as “do you listen to Indian music?” “What do you think about it?” and “has Indian music been always present at home?” were asked as most respondents did not automatically comment on the extent to which these audio-visuals had any sort of significance in enabling senses of connection to a place like India, either lived or imagined, or even in enacting senses of Indian-ness. These questions were intended to unveil the potential conscious and/or unconscious engagement with Indian audio-visuals throughout processes of both primary and secondary socialization among my interlocutors, that derive from a potentially internalized *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990) of Indian-ness. These were also aimed at understanding this engagement with “Indian media stuff” in terms of my interlocutors’ uses of “Indian media practices”, following Nick Couldry’s (2004) notion of *media practices* and entailing questioning what people are doing and how they categorize what they are doing with media in a long term process of continuity and change. These need also to take into account that, as with all other forms of media use, appropriation and practice (Thompson, 1995), my interlocutors’ engagements with Indian audio-visuals are routinized as well as determined by the ‘moral economy of the household’ (Silverstone et al., 2006) within which they are integrated. This approach needs then to pay attention to an overall set of social and cultural practices within the context of which Indian media emerge.

Even though I am aware that one should not formulate a simplistic categorization of “Indian audio-visuals” I will be approaching Indian audio-

visuals as a whole to refer to all sorts of Indian media contents and material shapes/ platforms, for two reasons which I explain below and which I will be exploring further in this second part of the chapter.

Firstly, most of my interlocutors made almost no effort to explain differences in style or genre resulting from an ethnicized identification of these audio-visuals, mentioning only the most obvious categories of Indian Music and Indian Film to differentiate them. As a result, they tend to designate all media as simply “Indian”. I was often drawn to the explanation that Indian audiovisuals constitute carriers and components of a certain Indian culture. This means that any of the ethnic differences that could eventually be ascribed to “Indian media” have been compressed and generalized by my interlocutors, leading to an overlap between contents, genres, media type and even platform, all relating to the *same* imagined ethno-national ground. One cannot forget that some of these processes are heir to the ways migrant and diasporic groups reflect and imagine uprooted origins, belongings and homelands when engaging to several mediations (Rushdie, 1982). Particularly with reference to the South Asian diasporas, several research projects attest that India and Indian-ness have been constructed and imagined in the course of several subject object relationships, with media being a crucial one (Manuel, 1997; Gillespie, 1989). Moreover, Orientalist readings of Indian film shed some light onto how a general image of India has been politically constructed by the media and cultural industries of the *West*, and its critics (Thomas, 1985).

However, concerning the analysis of my interlocutors’ constructions of India and of senses of Indian-ness through their engagement with so-called Indian media, it is important to take into account the framework of the *othering* and imaginative processes of identity and belonging produced from colonial/postcolonial Mozambique to postcolonial Portugal and across generations. Intrinsic to this discussion is an analysis of the means through which classifications of Indian-ness apply both to the media and the practices produced around them. This is particularly important when considering that the use of Indian media entails a significant degree of embodiment of forms of Indian-ness, by means of continuous repetitive habitual Indian media practices, which give shape to a *social habit-memory* (Connerton, 1989) of Indian-ness. To be more precise, this is achieved through a continuous perceptual association and

identification grounded in the repetitive ability to make sense of a sensory world previously perceived and associated with an Indian universe, which Indian audio-visuals represent for my interlocutors.

Secondly, the reason why I will be using the term Indian media here to refer to all Indian audio-visuals contents is that throughout my fieldwork I understood that there is, at the level of use and appropriation, association and memory of these media contents, a significant degree of intertextuality⁵⁸, leading Indian film and Indian music to often become merged and fused within the borders of each other's kinds and genres. In other words, Indian film and music seem to be metonymic of each other when referred to by most of my interlocutors. As these would often merge in my interlocutors' discourses, as if no distinction can be made between them, and as if both integrate a network of relations that are unveiled once followed by the participants through both their visual and aural experience and memory of Indian audio-visuals altogether (and as if one speaks for the other as a part of the whole, or as the whole of the part), it often became very difficult to keep separate references to each of these media. Therefore, it was at times difficult to understand which was the referent of which. Perhaps illustrating the deeply multisensory character of the experience of both watching and listening to Indian film and music, such intertwining at the level of my interlocutors' mentions and recollections of past and present media uses, appropriations and practices, demonstrate as well the extent to which these constitute a profound synesthetic experience, where the isolation of the senses becomes an impossible task to pursue as some have also argued, though with regard to other intermingled perceptions (Seremetakis, 1994; Serres, 2008).

It is following these overall perspectives that in the next sections I will explore the uses and appropriations of Indian media according to a generational perspective. I start by looking at how the parents (mostly mothers) tend to engage with Indian audio-visuals in their everyday lives, and establishing points of continuity and change in their *Indian* media practices in both the past and the

⁵⁸ Ulrike H. Meinhof and Jonathan Smith (2000) explain how the term intertextuality cannot simply be reduced to the textual traces inserted in other texts, but how it actually implies as well a long chain of interactions and networks produced "between texts, producers of texts and their reader's lifeworlds." (2000, p.3) While the idea of intertextuality can translate these processes well I would also argue that the situated contexts of usage and appropriation, as well as the practices produced around particular sorts of media, also play a significant role in determining these interactions and the experiences they imply (Cfr. Thompson, 1995; Couldry, 2004).

present, as narrated and observed in the field, namely from colonial to postcolonial Mozambique. Secondly, I will examine how these subjects' children perceive and engage with Indian audio-visuals which they have been socialized with, and how these perceptions shape the moral economy of the household, as well as how they negotiate their sense of past, present and future, and their collective senses of Indian-ness. This discussion will serve to finalize the reflection regarding the role played by Indian media practices in the reproduction and/or reconstruction of practical, material, sensory and affective memories of Indian-ness, beyond the identity positions consciously, socially and politically situated in *difference* (Hall, 1996a).

4.4.1. En-gendering and re-making belongings in postcolonial Portugal through 'Indian media practices': The parents in the field

Most of the parents in the field enjoy using Indian media contents whenever they have the time to do so. This is particularly the case among my mature female interlocutors, who derive gratification from their uses of Indian audio-visuals. Generally, I learned that the rental of DVD films, as well as the exchange of films with relatives and friends that travel across Mozambique and the UK, and the viewing of films and other audio-visuals either online or less often via the cable channel *Zee TV* is a common practice. In addition, tuning into the *Swagatam* radio programme on Sunday mornings, as well as the playing of CDs of Indian music on domestic sound systems and/or on special websites dedicated to Indian film songs, such as *smashits.com* for instance, constitute a few examples of Indian media being chosen and used on a relatively regular basis by many of the older participants. These are mostly used at home but are also occasionally in some of their workplaces, depending on the media and the contents displayed, and the nature and ownership of the work. If the workplace constitutes a personal/family business, some of these media are more likely to be played, but even in these cases these often observe public concerns of *decorum* and identity performance (Goffman, 1990), hence restricting the exhibition and exposure of these Indian media practices in public settings. Additionally, the radio and music player in the car constitutes a common site where parents occasionally

play ‘Indian soundscapes’⁵⁹, apart from different recordings of religious prayers, which are also heard either when travelling alone or in the company of close family members as well as more intimate friends, generally integrated in the community of peers.

However, despite the general pleasure and satisfaction produced as a result of the engagement with Indian media and audio-visuals indicated above, the parents’ uses and appropriations of these demonstrate considerable differences based on class, symbolic status, education, and on the ethno-national and racialized identity positions claimed or ascribed. For instance, some parents from mixed/Mozambican backgrounds claim to use Indian audio-visuals less frequently than their Indian counterparts, because they have not mastered the languages which most of this content is produced in, mostly Hindi, although in some cases it can be Urdu or Gujarati. This clearly brings to light the importance of the semantics and understanding of the narrative structure in the moment of decoding some of the texts (film and music), thus reinforcing the importance of the interaction between these and a beyond sensory experience. However, even when they do not always fully master the languages in which the Indian media contents are produced, broadcast and experienced, parents of mixed Mozambican background still claim to enjoy the audio-visuals, citing that this is because they were either socialized with them or simply that these are an integrative part of the community/society within which they have been, and still are, integrated. Mr. Dawud’s case is deeply illustrative of how such media and cultural engagement is produced in relationship with the community of peers:

Mr. Dawud – *By influence isn’t it? My father, through my grandfather’s influence...the society, by the society where we are integrated (...) We have Indian friends, and maybe because of that.*

Cat. – *But did you used to talk about music and film when in Mozambique?*

Mr. Dawud – *Yes, of course, né? We used to talk and we still do it today ... I talk with my daughters and talk... I have friends that are also Indian... So we... talk about this or that film that is good and things like that... and*

⁵⁹ I will be here using the expression Indian soundscapes to refer to any sound heard that is articulated with repertoires of Indian-ness.

therefore there is that tendency (...) É pá, but I like it, perhaps because of the influence of the society we are a part of. That's it...

(Mr. *Dawud*, born in Mozambique in 1957)

By being integrated into a Portuguese Muslim community highly dominated by an Indian cultural framework and leadership, parents from a mixed Mozambican background are thus inevitably immersed within an Indian cultural and media atmosphere, which is perhaps difficult to escape from. Not that they would necessarily wish to escape it, since most of the discourses stress not only a certain degree of habituation from colonial childhood days in Mozambique, as I will explore further in the following section, but also the considerable gratification taken from these media contents. However, does this mean that they have been free to choose to engage with such media beyond the structures of power which inevitably shape them? I would say that, as observed with regard to Indian food, Indian media has become a main cultural reference for those parents who claim a mixed Mozambican background insofar as this constitutes a way to enter the dominant Islamic communitarian setting and social networks in the Lisbon Muslim community, hence inviting them to initiate processes of cultural and ethnic *Indianization*. In certain cases this might entail the risk of confusing ethnicity with religion, though the intermingling between religion and culture is inevitable in whatever circumstance.

Having said this, it does not mean that all things Indian are blindly used and appropriated by these participants from mixed Mozambican backgrounds, and that strategies of resistance to these dominant identity repertoires cannot take place. While some of these parents who claim a mixed-Mozambican identity might reduce their interest in continuing their use and appropriation of Indian media, some are also likely to claim a higher religious legitimacy as a way of finding their place within the scope of the community. The interesting part is that this attempt to gain a higher religious legitimacy is strategically sought through a keen engagement with a mediatized Arabic Islam, by means of an intensified consumption of Islamic soundscapes as a means of gaining an accurate pronunciation of Arabic words to be expressed while praying, which seems to

simultaneously refute the dominant *Indianization* of the Lisbon Muslim Community. For instance, Assia, a middle aged woman who claims a Mozambican background and identity, and who mentions that she listens to recitations of the Qur'an in Arabic in order to rectify her own use of the sacred words, succeeds in claiming a distinction from her 'Indian counterparts' based on an accurate pronunciation in Arabic, when it comes to reciting and praying with the Qur'an.

Cat. – *Assia, do you have any.....do you have any CDs with recitations of the Qu'ran?*

Assia – *Yes, I have.*

Cat. – *So are there some sounds that you listen to once in a while?*

Assia – *I listen to... I have... I have over there a thing with cassettes, actually it was a gift of the Qur'an to us.*

Cat. – *In cassettes?*

Assia – *I have cassettes as well as CDs.*

Cat. – *And do you usually listen to them at home?*

Assia – *We usually listen to them, and I mean... sometimes... even to rectify...*

Cat. – *The sound?*

Assia – *The sound, the pronunciation... of the Qur'an, isn't it? The Arabs are the owners of the... they have the gift of the language (...) They are the ones who read, pronounce... and therefore, I don't know if you have already noticed, even the... the Indians, when they pronounce (...) lā ilāha illa l-Lāh [part of the Shahada, the declaration of Islamic faith] they pronounce it in a different way... they are capable of saying (?)... they don't pronounce it well...*

Cat. – *The Arabic?*

Assia – *That's right, the Arabic.*

(Assia, born in Mozambique in 1955)

Assia's tactics of resistance in terms of achieving a higher symbolic and religious legitimacy than the "Indian Muslims" include claiming a stronger attachment to an Islam professed in Arabic. However, this does not stop her and other parents from engaging with Indian audio-visuals. As underlined above, the latter engage with prevailing communitarian cultural repertoires along with other Indian-related objects and practices. In this sense, there is a certain degree of adoption of sources of Indian-ness, which many have grown up with, and which can still allow them to access a more supported Islamic setting and communitarian framework. Some Indian media contents are therefore adopted and used as a key to create affinities and identifications in order to *enter*, or to have more opportunities of integrating into, the community activities and events organized by the ruling group managing the Lisbon Islamic Community. It is in this sense that despite not showing a particular interest in Indian audio-visuals, Assia still chooses to listen to the *Swagatam*, a radio programme broadcast every week on the Orbital radio station which primarily targets Indian communities based in Portugal.

Cat. – *And what about that programme that is broadcasted on Orbital radio on Sundays?*

Assia – *Ah! I listen to it (...) I also listen to music, I enjoy listening...*

Cat. – *Is it because of the music? What do you look for there?*

Assia – *(...) I like listening to his talks, the culture... I mean... to those things he talks about regarding Indian culture (...) I enjoy listening to the news as well sometimes... that's it. They provide news and community events*

...

Apart from these specificities involving the use and appropriation of Indian media, further differences are also worth exploring regarding parents' engagement with Indian audio-visuals. In fact, concerning matters of class, education and profession, the less educated one is - particularly among those who claim 'Indian origins' - the higher the preference for and consumption of Indian audio-visuals. The level of education, the type of profession one holds, as well as the symbolic status conferred on oneself by perceptions of uniqueness in terms of

ethnicity and caste origin, are also often equated with both specific claims of Portuguese-ness and the embracing of Indian-ness. The higher one's perceived educational and employment symbolic status, as well as ethnic/caste group, the stronger one's claims to an ambivalent Imperial Portuguese-ness and uniqueness of Indian-ness within the rest of the community. While these latter processes can be observed in different ways in the field, they find very clear expression in the uses and appropriation of Indian media, insofar as such claims are often articulated alongside a refusal to engage with the most popular Indian audio-visuals. To better illustrate this point, it is worth drawing on the narrative of one of my interlocutors – Tia Ranya – who claims to hold a high status among most of the ethnically Indian population of the Lisbon Muslim Community, since she claims to belong to a group that is directly descended from the prophet Mohammad, and also due to her high educational and professional status. When we met for her interview, Tia Ranya tended to relativize the significance of the most popular media and programmes broadcasting Indian audio-visuals in Portuguese society, such as *Zee TV* and the *Swagatam* radio programme. Despite acknowledging the significance of the most popular Indian media and media contents available in Portugal in connecting individuals to a sense of origin, Tia Ranya claims that these have no importance to her, using a dismissive tone which reveals a feeling of contempt towards these media, and a certain pity for the people who engage with them.

Cat. – *So what do you think about that TV station called Zee TV? (...)*

Tia Ranya – (...) *This is how it is: that TV channel is good for whoever misses India, because there is no programme that one can say is interesting. It is everything very... it is a little bit crazy.*

(...)

Cat. – *And regarding that programme on Orbital, the Swagatam?*

Tia Ranya – *I never listen to it (...) That is...*

Cat. – *That is what?*

Tia Ranya – *It is irritating! (low volume) (smiles)*

Cat. – *It is irritating? Why do you find it irritating?*

Tia Ranya – *É pá because! Because(...) I think it is very poor... no... that is really for... that's it, it is for people who... don't have anything to do.*

No! (Reconsiders and changes the tone of voice, claiming a compassionate no). Don't have anything else to do, no, but probably have saudades...

(Tia Ranya, born in Mozambique in 1954)

When reading Tia Ranya's words presented above one could consider that she does not like to listen to Indian media in general, but the truth of the matter is that she actually admits to enjoying listening to Indian audio-visuals when she has the time to do so. What she also shows throughout her interview is a denial of engaging with the most popular Indian media contents, claiming instead to use her own discs and to prefer making her own choices of films, rather than receiving what is available in the popular "Indian diasporic media". She also mentions that she enjoys listening to *Ghazals*, "a form of Persian and Urdu love poetry that is sung as light classical music and common in pre 1970 film music" (Morcom, 2007, p.267) and to *Qawwalis*, "a traditional song style, a Sufi devotional genre, with a distinctive style of lyric setting and much rhythmic improvisation with the lines of the text" (Morcom, 2007, p.40). Despite being sometimes integrated into Bollywood films, none of the genres can be identified with the most typical contemporary Hindi film songs. The latter are, as Anna Morcom explains, the result of a hybrid style that articulates traditional Indian theatre songs, western musicals and melodic influences, Urdu poetic tradition, Hindi folk and classical music, in contrast to the devotional poetry that Tia Ranya selects. By making her own choice of Indian *soundscales* and *visual-scales* Tia Ranya appears to echo some of the critiques from Indian cultural purists concerning popular forms, by apparently criticizing reproductions of Hindi pop culture.

Apart from these differences in the uses and appropriation of Indian audio-visuals which most parents, namely the mothers, acknowledge and claim to gain gratification from, my mature interlocutors also demonstrate the extent to which these media are often integrated in specific domestic and habitual media practices. Some of them regret no longer being able to enact them as they would wish to, for various reasons. Either this is due to the lack of available time – especially in the case of Indian films that require a minimum of three hours viewing, or because of gendered domestic, family and professional tasks, related to the household

dynamics and power relations produced there. The reality is that most of the mothers regret the progressive loss of old Indian media uses and habits.

In some cases the loss of old media uses and habits apply not only to Indian media, but also to other general media, used either at home or outside of the domestic space, partly due to gendered family engagements which leave them less leisure time. However, in the case of Indian media the decrease in consumption seems to be even more striking insofar as these appear to require particular conditions for both individual and collective use, whereby habitual practices concerning Indian films have decreased even more. This is also because the amount of time needed for them, as well as the family settings and circumstances when all members *should* be gathered around the TV or happily sharing radio or audio player soundscapes – are no longer likely to spontaneously occur. Apart from the lack of time for such family media practice, and the lack of availability of all to participate at the same moment, the existence of other media contents and entertainments in the home, such as Portuguese and Brazilian soap operas on prime time TV screened on a daily basis, seems also to provide alternative media interests, as well as practices and routines which tend to progressively break with older ones, whereas Indian audio-visuals of different kinds, such as films and serial dramas, could eventually become more habitual. Furthermore, such transformative media practices and routines are determined by the gendered power relationships produced within the domestic setting, as indicated in previous research (Morley, 1993; Gray, 1992). For instance, Alimah claims not to have had the opportunity to watch content on *Zee TV* recently because of domestic tasks, while her husband is the one choosing what to watch on the TV which is in the dining/living room. She joins him afterwards to engage with these broadcasts, but does not get to choose them.

Alimah – *Look, I watch... I have the Indian channel, Zee TV.*

Cat. – *Zee TV?*

Alimah – *Yes, Zee TV.*

Cat. – *And do you understand what they say? Which language is it in, I actually have never...?*

Alimah – *It is Hindi.*

Cat. – *Hindi. And do you understand Hindi?*

Alimah – *Yes... More or less, but what I like more, is to watch films.*

Cat. – *So does it also show films?*

Alimah – *Every Saturday, but recently they haven't shown so many. Previously they used to show them on Sundays as well... I like watching films... but I like more to watch those concerts of the actors, when they come here... otherwise those on Zee Cine Award. I really like those things! The pink gossip stuff, and all that. Regarding dramas, I watch some, one or another... but recently, for the past two months... one month and so... I have not even been watching them, why? Because I finish cleaning the kitchen and come here where my husband is; he is usually watching the soap opera The Other on TVI and I got involved and started following it...*

In some other cases, the change in Indian media practices and habits in the home are also determined by considerable generational differences in taste, with parents enjoying Indian media contents more than their children, hence leading the former, in particular mothers, to adopt certain tactics in order to be able to adjust and reconcile their own interests and tastes and those of their children, along with their own gendered domestic roles. Some of these tactics play with the sensory qualities of the audio-visuals at stake in relation to the domestic space and its respective use by those living in the home. This means that the use of Indian audio-visuals in the home is likely to become a deeply spatialized social practice, which is also managed according to the sensory perceptions and tastes of those sharing a household. For instance, and returning to Alimah who enjoys listening to Indian soundscapes, these are somehow concentrated and channeled into areas of the home where she and her husband can better enjoy them without disturbing their sons, who do not particularly like them. Such tactics reflect the extent to which there is a considerable privatization of Indian media practices within the domestic space in response to youngsters' interests and tastes.

Cat. – *So regarding for instance the music that you listen to here at home, is there any music that like listening the most, Alimah?*

Alimah – *(...) I like listening to music from Indian films.*

Cat. – *So do you listen to music whenever you have Zee TV on?*

Alimah – *Yes, alternatively... if... how can I explain it... if I had it recorded, someone... does those downloads and all that... but that is very rare. I don't have this sort of...*

Cat. – *So do you sometimes ask your children to take some things from the internet?*

Alimah – *No, and here there is the radio on Sundays, Swagatam, and I listen to it there, only there.*

Cat. – *So do you listen to that programme?*

Alimah – *Yes, on Sundays I do (...). It is a way of listening to the music, and things like that...*

Cat. – *So is it more because of the music?*

Alimah – *Yes. My son says "Ah! You must be crazy to be listening to that early in the morning!" (Laughs)*

Cat. – *So they don't like it?*

Alimah – *No. They are asleep.*

Cat. – *Ah! They are asleep. So they don't listen to it either.*

Alimah – *No, they don't listen to it. They are asleep.*

Cat. – *But they don't care much about it, do they?*

Alimah – *No, they don't care.*

Cat. – *But on one hand this is a way you have to listen to music. And is what is being said [on the radio] also important? Do you think so?*

Alimah – *No because I... I don't think so (...) He doesn't speak... This is how it is: I'm here cleaning the house; I'm tidying up the beds; I (...) the radio, I put it in the living room; I used to have it here in the living room, but sometimes we used to be here, my son studying or something like that, and that was bothering [her son], and therefore I took it to my room! And we listen to it there, and I am in the kitchen cooking. Meanwhile my husband is lying down, and is there listening to the music.*

Cat. – *So he also likes it.*

Alimah – *Yes, he does, he does. Actually those... he likes some of the music, but the radio per se... is... sometimes an ad, for instance, yesterday I listened to it and – there was that thing of the childhood day, and I learnt about it through the radio...*

Alimah's interest in the *Swagatam* programme is due to the film songs, of which she is particularly fond. This is also a weekly happening in the sensory life of the home, as is the case with the cooking of Indian and Mozambican food, with her taking the lead in turning on the radio *Orbital* during the weekly 'Indian programme'. She does it while her children are asleep, taking care not to bother them. However, a significant shift had previously taken place when her children complained about the sounds of that radio programme. Avoiding disturbing them in their own affairs and tastes, Alimah decided then to keep the radio in the bedroom in order to be able to play and listen to the *Swagatam* programme. There, she and her husband can listen to it without worrying about disturbing their boys. However, while the programme stands as a foregrounded sound for her husband, insofar as it is his main object of perceptual attention, for Alimah it stands instead as a background sound (Tacchi, 1998), alongside which she undertakes the domestic tasks that no one else will do. In this sense it is not only the Indian soundscapes that are subject to different gendered domestic practices, but they are also somehow manipulated in their spatial scope, when the radio is moved around the home – though 'sound is no respecter of space' (Bull and Back, 2003, p.8) – in order to meet intergenerational interests, tastes and focuses of perceptual attention. This is also achieved through the shifting of the material device – the radio – that allows this sensory manipulation to take place within the home. This not only confirms the unequivocal material dimension of sound and the media (Tacchi, 1998; Silverstone et al., 2006; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Morley, 1995), but also reinforces the idea that the home constitutes a deeply sensory space (Pink, 2004), where both material and immaterial objects circulate in ways that shape one's sense of self. Therefore, despite the fact that not many participants recognize media as a domestic means of objectification of belonging-ness, it becomes clear that these constitute objects that encapsulate possibilities of projecting, recalling and constructing senses of identity and of belonging, by means of sensory embodied forms of engagement with both visual and soundscapes beyond their respective interpretative and semantic potential.

This deeply gendered and generational view of how Indian audio-visuals are engaged with does not only appear to define differences between my older and younger interlocutors. These also seem to echo other processes of intergenerational change in taste and interest, of which the parents in the field

have also been agents. In fact, as I explore elsewhere (Pereira, 2013), not only have the parents initiated in colonial Mozambique long term processes of cultural change by embracing contents other than those perceived as Indian, they are also currently showing a progressive decrease in interest in engaging with certain types and platforms of Indian media, especially the most popular ones. For instance, several parents claim to have ceased subscribing to the popular channel that broadcasts media content to the South Asian diaspora worldwide – *Zee TV*. Even those who still subscribe claim to feel little identification with the content broadcast, as is the case for Tia Ranya. Apart from the class variances that justify the decrease in interest in such media/contents, other arguments offered vary from not having the time that they used to have, to no longer having interest in the content, which would better suit their mothers and older sisters, when the latter would stay over at theirs for long periods of time. Many claim that this TV channel better suits older women's entertainment interests, since they are also more engaged with traditional Indian culture. It is then safe to argue that Indian culture is equated with traditional Indian female roles and values, especially with those that are often dedicated to both family household life and domestic space. This also shows the extent to which some of my older female interlocutors seem to move away from given gender images and ideals, which they defy alongside carving out their own educational and professional paths, through which they have gained a significantly emancipated social position both among community members and in more general social terms. In this sense, whether these discourses regarding the uses of *Zee TV* derive from their lack of interest in Indian media or simply from predefined ideas of gendered roles that they might wish to contest by claiming not to watch it, many of these women seem to negotiate traditional gender roles through the uses and appropriation of popular Indian audio-visuals.

This discussion regarding my older informants' negotiation of gender roles through popular Indian audio-visuals offers further material for reflection when verifying that some of those who do claim to express higher pleasures in their engagement with these popular Indian media tend also to compare them to soap operas and *telenovelas*. This is of particular interest because the latter have traditionally been constructed as female media content inasmuch as they have been known for tackling perceived feminine topics, such as family, marriage, relationships and personal lives (Gledhill, 1997; Brunsdon, 2005). This is of

particular relevance because such TV content has been labeled as being a lower order cultural and media format, if not trash, and thus distant from supposedly high cultural forms (Brunsdson, 2005). The even more interesting aspect of this articulation is that it is precisely this genre of media which becomes aligned with femininity, and hence segmented as a marginal object of culture within a hegemonic masculine world of values, cultural production and ideology. Whether these apparently complex representations of the perceived-as-popular Indian media might or might not have been embraced by the participants who are rather critical about them, in order to defy the dominant gender roles and social perceptions of those who consume them, is a matter for further research.

However, for the purpose of accuracy it is also important to bear in mind that the process of negotiation involved in my mature interlocutors' identities may also hold the shape of a certain *de-ethnicization* (Milikowski, 2000), where the *white masks* (Fanon, 2008) constitute an empowering device, continuing processes that were actually initially produced in Mozambique's colonial context. In fact, as I argue elsewhere (Pereira, 2013), parents in the field, in particular the mothers interviewed, claim to have grown up with, to have chosen and to prefer European and Western media content, apart from that which their parents would usually prefer, and which would generally be of Indian production, genre and style, when living in colonial Mozambique. This is because the latter would not always be so significant for them, considering the environment within which they were living, and because they would simply prefer instead the wide range of media within their reach, which was mostly European and American. This is likely to have shaped their tastes, preferences and senses of identity and belonging. Therefore, instead of exclusively thinking according to gendered dimensions of usage of Indian popular audio-visuals, it is important to consider that behind the decentered consumption of such contents might also be attempts to break with ethnic differences which are also likely to have been articulated with respect to positions of class, as power and identity in the colonial structure were deeply dependent on aspects of ethnic/racial and class difference. In what particularly concerns my interlocutors, those who preferred using European and Western media content, especially radio content, demonstrate stronger desires to embrace a Western identity alongside still evident senses of a Mozambican Indian-ness. The question that arises here refers to the reasons why these mature

interlocutors still continue to gain gratification through their usage of such media, and to be, either consciously or not, willing to engage with Indian audio-visuals in postcolonial Portugal. This is the topic of discussion of the next couple of sections.

4.4.1.1. Dis-locating affective forms of Indian-ness through audio-visual objects and related practices carried in migration: From colonial Mozambique to postcolonial Portugal

Despite the progressive decrease in interest in using Indian audio-visuals which are tied to gender, class and ethnic effects, parents in the field can still generally find a certain degree of gratification in their usage of popular forms of Indian audiovisuals. A significant part of this gratification is justified by the fact that many of these media hold for these parents a certain *nostalgia* (Seremetakis, 1994) value. This is because these media allow them to locate a homely feeling located in times past, and more precisely in their childhood and youthful memories, which clearly has nothing to do with India. In particular, images, ideas and senses of Indian-ness appear to have been sustained along with *moving targets* (Breckenridge and Appadurai, 1989), which Indian audio-visuals represent. These are accessible to the human sensorium, through which a continuous process of perceptual, affective and bodily engagements are enacted, thus triggering my interlocutors' return to cherished childhood memories of belonging. These are mostly located in the time-space context of colonial Mozambique, rather than in India.

Cat. – *Do these music make you feel connected to India?*

Saphira – *No! I have never been to India, I have never been to Pakistan... that does not make me feel connected... It makes me feel connected to Mozambique, because this was what I have always listened to... I used to listen... romantic music during my adolescence... and I still listen to some of it (...) sometimes my Nour says: "Hey Mum, do you want to tune it here?" And so I ask her to play the music from my adolescence and when I am listening to it, in that precise moment I am living my adolescence... saudades!*

(Saphira, born in Mozambique in 1967)

Cat. – *What is the music that you usually listen to?*

Tia Sameeha – *Every kind of music, all kinds. Today I felt like... I had this thing, that make Sara [housekeeper] upset with me because I didn't let her listen to Portuguese music that she enjoys listening to... African music... I have the recorder over there... a CD player and she usually listens to African music, and today I really felt like listening to Indian music. That's it, sometimes I feel a little bit, a bit nostalgic and I feel like listening to music from my childhood, and things like that... because we used to listen to Indian music at that time...*

(Tia Sameeha, born in Mozambique in 1968)

In this sense, Indian audio-visuals consist of “sound souvenirs” (Bijsterveld and Dijck, 2009), sensory objects that facilitate a return to a whole structure of memory kept in my older interlocutors’ hearts and senses. This sonic and affective return to a time past is not an uncritical and unreflexive one, but the outcome of the Greek sense of *nostalgia* (Seremetakis, 1994). In addition, because many of our senses are interrelated with synesthetic experiences where the whole is memorable, so discrete Indian audio and visual objects hold a synesthetic potential to trigger the multi-sensorial and affective memorable whole that lies beyond each one of its sensory memories as well as beyond the text itself. As a result, remembrances of past Indian film experiences – which intersect with memories of both sound and the visual – often emerge as *reconstructed epochal pictures* of a bygone reality. This means that even if facts and figures are recalled in the context of one’s lifetime, they often “serve as landmarks; [...] each figure expresses an entire character, as each fact recapitulates an entire period in the life of the group” (Halbwachs, 1992, p.61). Therefore, what is at stake in these acts of remembrance is not simply the sounds or images. Instead, these acts of remembrance constitute the partial retrieval of a general social and cultural context within which these multisensory elements were experienced and cherished

throughout a period of the subjects' lives. Therefore, while not always consciously noticed by my mature interlocutors, this sense of *nostalgia* is not simply defined by a sense of pain and of estrangement, but also by an impetus to return to old habits and Indian media practices that have become part of their bodily and sensory memories. Both Indian film and film songs encapsulate a source of synesthetic experience which tends to trigger affective and sensuous memories defined by old bodily and perceptual habits around media, which are not always or necessarily focused on specific references to particular films screened and watched in the past – though this can sometimes occur, especially when a direct comparison between the old and the new films is conducted – but instead in the social and cultural practices themselves. As a result, the potentially *nostalgic* feeling towards Indian media seems to also derive from *habit-memories* (Connerton, 1989) where the body in its perceptual qualities and capacity comes to reproduce old practices and sensory experiences around cheerful experiences, and which in one way or another tends to reinforce an engagement with Indian media, with inevitable implications for their own senses of Indian-ness.

In order to further and reinforce these arguments, in the next section I will examine the parents' memories of Indian media practice in both colonial and postcolonial Mozambique. I believe these can shed light on how these media practices have been carried out and transformed in migration, with repercussions for the way they currently enact collective forms of Indian-ness.

4.4.1.1.1. Reproducing “Indian media practices” from colonial to postcolonial Mozambique: Spatial and ideological shifts and the re-making of an audio-visual and embodied Indian-ness

Apart from the private home, the weekly outings to the local cinema in the city of Lourenço Marques constituted the main space-contents where my older interlocutors used to engage with Indian audio-visuals during colonial times. The important point about these cinema outings is that they were part of wider social practices, with Indian film as well as music making up a significant part of my interlocutors' familial, affective, and social public lives and practices in the urban space.

The narratives collected actually echo Nirmal Puwar's discussion of the memories of outings to the cinema by populations of South Asian origin in post-war Coventry. Using Alan Blum's concept of *scene*, which refers to how "the city makes place for intimacy in collective life" (Puwar, 2007, p.253), Puwar engages in an analysis of how such cinema practices entailed not simply the negotiation of meanings underlying the films screened in the cinema by their respective viewers and listeners, but how they are in fact remembered as social events and happenings that would take populations of South Asian origin into public space to engage in entertainment and community life. According to her these events were constituted as "social cinema scenes" insofar as different diasporic groups "yelled at the screens, shared food together, and held charged meetings" by means of which "work, pleasure, and politics collided within the space where films were shown, under one roof" (Puwar, 2007, p. 257). The 'social cinema scenes' that she describes and analyzes also constitute moments of affective and multisensory experience, where the life of a whole community recreated a home away from the racism and marginalization encountered by many. They show how public life was intimately experienced in public spaces, where the film constituted the pretext for wider socialization, such as the preparations for the gathering, including dressing up, cooking and sharing time together, along with the actual spatial trip to the cinema.

Drawing on Puwar's approach it is possible to understand the significance of Indian audio-visuals in shaping a sense of the past, childhood and youth for my interlocutors. Their cinema outings too constituted "social cinema scenes", which most parents recall with joy and deep emotion, hence leading me to designate them as "Lourenço Marques/ Maputo Indian Social Cinema Scenes". From this perspective I would argue that the feelings recalled, together with the remembrances of the wider social and cultural events, are what explain some of these parents' *nostalgic* feelings towards these and other Indian media practices. In fact, Indian audio-visuals tend to trigger in these interlocutors a whole context of remembrance where the purpose of the practice was not, or is not, the usage of the media but the continuation of wider contexts of living, like those described by Puwar. This is because narratives of weekend cinema outings in Mozambique in order to watch sometimes more than one Indian film, along with family gatherings and meetings with friends, were often cited in interviews as the high point of the

week. Additionally, memories of the cinema are deeply intermingled with memories of the use of space in Lourenço Marques/Maputo, as they are narrated along with other practices that used to shape my mature interlocutors' leisure time in that city, such as the practice of using the local cafés such as *Scala* and the *Continental*, either before or after the matinée. Cine-theaters such as the *Varieté*, the *Olimpia*, and others located in local neighborhoods, were part of wider journeys through urban space. These outings were, as in Coventry, social cinema scenes' "key attraction" (Puwar, 2007, p. 265), as they could also provide the right atmosphere for people to meet, and in particular for boy-girl flirtations. These too were a main purpose of the outings, turning these multisensory contexts and settings into truly intimate public spheres for populations of South Asian origin in colonial Mozambique, as well as contexts where the Indian community could create affective ties. Therefore, I believe that these Indian media practices constituted the social, cultural and affective contexts within which collective senses of Indian-ness were reinforced while in colonial Mozambique.

Hoor – *We would start on Saturday... on Saturday we would gather all the [female] friends; we were 13 or 14 girls. We used to go to the cinema, to the matinée, and then we would go for a snack. And my father was so...*

Cat. – *Where would you go for a snack?*

Hoor – *To the cafés... there was the Scala, the Continental, and my father was so sweet for us that in order for us not to be alone, and not to return home late at night, he would come and pick us and then what would he do? He would take our friends and would drop them at their place!*

Cat. – *And those female friends were they also people that they knew?*

Hoor – *They were Indians as well. (...) And then he would pick them and would drop them all at their place because of us. See how much he was our friend.*

(Hoor, born in Mozambique in 1968)

Cat. – *And was there any place, any time when you would go to watch Indian films, or not?*

Saphira – *We used to have on Sundays’ afternoons. On Sundays afternoons there was... it was the family day. Even though we used to meet, there were gatherings, and we used to meet....our parents and their friends, us with our [female] friends... and we used to go to the matinée... But families to watch Indian films (...)*

Cat. – *And apart from the family and all those values, what did you like the most to watch in the film of the period?*

Saphira – *Honestly, it was not even the film, it was the convívio (‘being together’). It was that adolescence... young... it was the type of convívio, where boys and thereafter girls would come; the girls... it was... the gazes, do you know what I mean? It’s completely that adolescence... and it was more on that basis, in fact it was not the film.*

(Saphira, born in Mozambique in 1967)

Tio Amir – *It is the way I’d say, the point of interest was the convívio, and it was an opportunity also for people to meet and to see the girls, the boys to see the girls, to meet, and to develop a sort of friendship.*

(Tio Amir, born in Mozambique in 1949)

What is also curious is that my interlocutors’ memories of their “Lourenço Marques/Maputo Indian Social Cinema Scenes” seem to traverse from colonial to postcolonial periods of ideological change. In fact, it is not always clear if these scenes have completely ceased to exist in the post-independence period, since some of those who remained in Mozambique after decolonization, up until the 1980s, still refer to these occurrences (though it is also likely that memory finds it hard to distinguish practices along a linear time line).

However, if there was room for change within their domestic contexts with regard to their uses of media, this seems to have been motivated instead by the technological apparatus which they gained access to while in Mozambique, particularly pre- and post-decolonization. In fact, my older interlocutors’

discursive memories suggest a significant transformation of both their leisure activities and general media practices – including their Indian media practices – with the arrival of TV and VCR. Even though up until the early 1980s the practice of watching Indian films was a predominantly public one in the capital of Mozambique, with the introduction of TV and VCR in some of my interlocutors' homes the habitual forms of engaging with Indian film seem to have been transposed into the home and the private sphere. Two of my mature female interlocutors produce rich and picturesque descriptions of how these technological innovations brought social change in terms of continuity, in particular regarding spatial engagement with the cinema screen starting to be improvised and adapted to the domestic space:

Cat. – *So, do you remember the first TV you had?*

Saphira – *We didn't sleep the whole night! When my father surprised us; it wasn't for sale in the city of Maputo in Mozambique, because it was during that period of the war, and so it came from South Africa. We were the third family to buy a television and video. And on the day that it arrived, it arrived at night. So, after dinner, my father told us: "Look daughter, daughters, today I'm going to surprise you. I bought... it's going to be a gift for you and it is a television and video. And when the man came to deliver it, it was midnight.*

Cat. – *Midnight. So you did not sleep the whole night.*

Saphira – *No, no. And from then on...*

Cat. – *What did you watch?*

Saphira – *It was a film, and it already had a video film, an Indian film, and on the first weekend we invited our friends to come and see a matinée there, at home (...) it was a big party!*

Hoor – *It used to be so funny! We used to change the whole living room, and we would make a sort of cinema, and then we would arrange the chairs in rows. The elderly used to seat in the front and we, the youngsters, would go to the back. We would be there those three hours... we would cry, because you know that in Indian films there are those scenes... then we would cry whenever the films were sad, and then we would try to pretend it was nothing,*

isn't it? Each one in his/her own way (...) then at the end of the film my mother would always insist on giving us a snack. She would serve us a snack and that's it. It used to be this way...

Both Hoor's and Saphira's accounts of the introduction of TV and VCR in their homes in Mozambique are very suggestive of how certain aspects of the ritual of going to the cinema in the city were likely to have been adapted to new technological circumstances, without really having ceased to exist. This opportunity to experience the introduction of these audio-visual innovations in Mozambique was determined by the fact that both of them – who also happen to be sisters – remained in Mozambique up until the early 1980s.

However, if the public “Lourenço Marques/Maputo Indian Social Cinema Scenes” do not seem to have been affected by the ideological shift that marked decolonization, the domestic and private uses of Indian media clearly have been. Firstly, this is because the privatization of my interlocutors' Indian social cinema scenes seems to have been assisted by clandestine alternative means of production and reproduction of media contents, which were heavily censored by Frelimo, the ruling party, as some of my interlocutors stressed. As Saphira suggests above, some of the clandestine means of production and reproduction of media contents corresponded to the purchase of media devices and contents (as well as other commodities) on the black market and through unsurveilled means of consumption that used trusted and informal networks in South Africa. Ultimately these constituted everyday tactics of resistance (Certeau, 1988) in relation to the communist regime in power, enacted by those who remained in postcolonial Mozambique and re-enacted Indian social cinema scenes, embedded as *habit-memories* (Connerton, 1989), in the domestic space.

Apart from these, other tactics of resistance to the impact of the ideological shift in the post-colony are also evident. For instance, parents recall preferring tuning into South African radio stations rather than Mozambican national radio in order to continue accessing soundscapes from colonial times, which ceased to be broadcast thereafter. These later soundscapes refer both to “Indian soundscapes” and to sounds that are likely to have shaped my interlocutors' senses of Western-ness and European-ness (Pereira, 2013). This

suggests that South African radio stations continued to provide them with a diversity of soundscapes which fall outside of the agenda of postcolonial Mozambican national culture (Graça, 2005).

Despite the fact that this assumption requires further research, I would argue that my interlocutors' endeavors to keep accessing the wide range of soundscapes they had once known, during the postcolonial order, is likely to have facilitated their own Indian re-ethnicization. This is firstly because my interlocutors' memories of the uses of media contents and objects in the post-independence period reflected their desire to continue engaging with Indian audio-visuals made accessible through South Africa (apart from scarce Portuguese media contents). Secondly, this is also because those who migrated at a later stage to Portugal seem to claim a stronger sense of Indian-ness, which can perhaps be correlated to their own re-channeling towards a more Indian-oriented cultural repertoire and soundscapes due to the relatively easier access to the latter via South Africa, despite also accessing other soundscapes on national radio, and further research on these processes would also be welcome.

But when looking at the fieldwork material it is already possible to illustrate and expand these points if one is to examine, for instance, Alimah's memories of Indian media practices. Alimah stayed in the capital of Mozambique after independence, migrating to Portugal only in 1989. Even though she always had access to a wide diversity of media apart from Indian audio-visuals during her childhood, when independence came she was 13 years old and much of the media world she knew ceased to be available. Abba, Pink Floyd, Michael Jackson and Stevie Wonder are among the American and European pop music groups/artists that she stopped listening to when *Radio Clube de Moçambique* became *Radio Moçambique* after 1975. As an alternative she and her family members started looking for other tunes via South Africa in order to continue enjoying some of the music they liked. Apart from recalling the impact of decolonization in terms of Mozambican national radio broadcasts and in her own uses of the radio and radio recorder, Alimah recalls her engagement with a radio station from South Africa which used to provide opportunities for listeners to communicate with each other through a pen pal programme in the morning, and which broadcast Indian music in the afternoon.

Cat. – *And was there music?*

Alimah – *Yes. We always had the radio on.*

Cat. – *The radio... but did you used to listen more to Portuguese, Indian... or English music?*

Alimah – *It was more Indian music, but we used to listen a lot to English music as well! For instance, in my time it was the Abba, the Bee Gees, Pink Floyd, more...*

Cat. – *During that time, right...*

Alimah – *Yah! Pink Floyd, Michael Jackson, it was more of that stuff... it was our time, it was my time, more... Stevie Wonder...*

Cat. – *And your father enjoyed more listening to Indian music, right?*

Alimah – *Yes, yes, yes. My father liked it very much.*

Cat. – *And did you used to find discs, did you have cassettes or not?*

Alimah – *We used to record it from the radio... because during that time of Samora there was nothing! We were limited, you know? No... there were no films from abroad, everything was censored. So things were chosen according to communism.*

Cat. – *Right. But before the independence did you used to have access to more things?*

Alimah – *Yes, yes. We used to have access to everything! Even though it was a Portuguese colony we used to have access to everything! Everything, everything, everything!*

Cat. – *And even Indian music? Were there any discs?*

Alimah – *As well, yes, yes... English. At that time I remember that they used to speak a lot about the Beatles and all that...we used to have access to everything, concerts, football, and when the new year would come, all of us used to go and celebrate it over there in the Avenue*

(...)

Alimah – *...In South Africa there was a radio of Indian music, and we used to tune and listen to it in Mozambique. And so we would listen; apart from that there was also that thing of the Penpals... therefore... just like today we have the messenger, and we meet and talk with a lot of people, (...) sometimes without knowing where they are - so we started writing between ourselves; it was a way of practicing our English... with those girls from*

Durban, and afterwards I end up not meeting them, but...

Cat. – That's so funny. So was it a South African radio?

Alimah – South African.

Cat. – And did they have an Indian programme, is that it?

Alimah – It had an Indian programme, yes; and a Portuguese one as well! In the morning that was called Paralelo 27, and there were announcers that used to be part of the Radio Clube de Moçambique, from Lourenço Marques, who fled, all of them – many Portuguese fled to South Africa. Therefore the Paralelo 27 Radio was created, and in the morning we used to listen – but in the morning we were still at school – only whenever we were on holiday we used to listen to it a lot... there was the 'Paralelo 27' and in the afternoon, after 2.00 pm there was the Indian radio, in the same radio station.

Cat. – And how was the station called?

Alimah – It was called Radio Truro

(...)

Alimah – Yah, it was called like that. But actually it was... they had one station in Durban and another in Johannesburg, in Hillbrow.

Cat. – And still you managed to tune it...

Alimah – Yes, they had Short wave, the name I no longer remember...

Cat. – So you would always try to tune in that radio station...

Alimah – We... it was a great way of spending our time.

Cat. – So there were the penpals and what else? Was there also Indian music?

Alimah – Yes, Indian music, and we used to write to each other a lot, many times by letter and we used to make friends, at that time...

Several questions and points can be derived from Alimah's interview excerpt. Not only do her account and reflexive memories of the ideological transformation of Mozambique reveal considerations regarding the position of this Portuguese former colony in the global market of goods, but they also draw our attention to how the Empire was perceived by subaltern subjects. Furthermore, Alimah's account above also allows me to raise questions regarding her degree of alignment with the former colonial regime, as she shows disappointment with the

lack of commodities in the post-colony and excitement about the wide range of cultural and musical repertoires available in colonial Mozambique. Could one argue that Alimah's embrace of the wide range of musical tunes and other varied commodities, not to mention other services perhaps included in the noun "everything", assertively affirmed, indicate a certain degree of "colonial mimicry" (Bhabha, 1994)? While all these points and questions require further research, Alimah's enjoyment of Western and European music apart from Indian soundscapes throughout her childhood and youth – and thereafter her own re-channeling of predominantly Indian soundscapes through alternative and South African radio stations – also suggests that she is likely to have re-engaged with an Indian musical world post-independence. It is also worth noting that Alimah claims a strong sense of Indian-ness – though a largely Mozambican one – which leads me to question the potential effect that her re-connection to an Indian cultural universe in a postcolonial Mozambique might have had on such a positioning. In any case, Alimah's memories of past media practices in postcolonial Mozambique show how Indian media continued to integrate some of her significant media practices, hence facilitating her own sensory and affective identifications with collective forms of Indian-ness, even if in a transformative manner.

Therefore, regardless of the obstacles that my interlocutors faced in order to continue engaging with Indian media, Indian media practices have been reproduced through colonial to postcolonial times in Mozambique, with inevitable implications for their own – and potentially their children's – forms of belonging, as I explore in the next section.

4.4.2. The youngsters in the field: Constructing and negotiating postcolonial senses of Indian-ness through Indian audio-visuals and representations

While most of the youngsters in the field claim not to like Indian media, most still have much to say about the topic. They claim to have grown up surrounded by Indian audio-visuals in their homes and domestic spaces, where their kin, especially the women in the family, used to play Indian music and Indian films with a certain regularity. These social media practices are also recalled as part of the process of their upbringing in the family home and as

cheerful moments which would be enacted as both ritualized and multi-sensory domestic events. Many of the remembrances of these family media practices are triggered by memories of sound, these being either languages and dialects, such as the Memon dialect, Gujarati and Urdu, thus reproduced through human voice or mechanically, or simply film songs, which my interlocutors claim to know and to have learnt by heart. Moreover, they are also narrated as events that would happen repeatedly in ways that would easily bring together sound, image and the bodily practice of watching, listening, singing and performing alongside Indian media, hence highlighting the multisensory and intertextual aspects of engagement with this media.

Yes, I understand it [memon dialect]. The rest I also understand because actually in the old days I used to watch more Indian films (...) in my grandmother's home (...) on Saturday nights (...) on Fridays sometimes too.

(Nasser, born in Portugal in 1986)

I know [Indian songs]. I know everything... so when we were kids, my brother and I, used to sing loads of Indian songs. We used to watch films with my mother, with my grandmother, with my aunts.

(Nadim, born in Portugal in 1984)

Cat. – And at home did you use to listen to and watch Indian films?

Maysoon – No! We used to watch! Those 10, I always watched at home with my family and all that.

(Maysoon, born in Portugal in 1988)

I associate many songs to things, do you know what I mean? For instance, when I was a child, there was a song, that I kept listening to, I listened, I listened, I listened (...) I can't remember the name of the song, but

if you ask them, all the boys of my age, all of them will know it (...)

(Sufyi, born in Mozambique in 1986)

Apart from reinforcing the metonymic, intertextual and/or multisensory mnemonic experience of Indian film and film music previously noted, what most of my young interlocutors' discursive memories of past Indian media practices suggest is the extent to which they have internalized sounds, images and languages/dialects described as Indian through the re-enactments of their parents' Indian media practices and through engagement with Indian media at home. Even though these events are not narrated with the same emotional depth as their parents' cheerful narratives of their Indian media practices, in particular both the public and private "Lourenço Marques/Maputo Indian social cinema scenes", these media still seem to have inculcated Indian soundscapes and visualsapes in most of the youngsters' sensory memories of childhood, thereby justifying, as Sufyi says, that "most will know it" and have something to say about it.

Moreover, many of the youngsters went on to argue that Indian audiovisuals constitute carriers of Indian culture. Despite claiming not to like Indian media in general, the latter are still seen as *media* and objects of Indian tradition, through which they can gain a sense of their origins, roots and culture, and through which a sense of the past has been passed down in a clearly mediated way:

Cat. – I mean, what do Indian films mean to you?

Maysoon – They mean... perhaps in terms of some ancient traditions, probably I don't do them or don't have that tradition, but I know that perhaps my ancestors used to have them regarding some stuff (...) of weddings, all those elaborated dances and clothing...

Nasser – It's complicated to be watching something just because it has to do with my culture, with my roots (...) They watch them because, because... why do they watch them? This is the issue... it is to feel the culture, their roots... I think that it always take us... even if it is simply the language. The Indian language... it always takes us to be aware of our past; if we are really

Muslims or if we are really Indians (...)

To have been brought up along with Indian audio-visuals, even occasionally, seems to have provided them with the means through which repertoires of Indian-ness could be identified and objectified in order for them to confront and re-enact them. This perception does not cease to be relatively gendered, as both Maysoon and Nasser's accounts suggest. While Maysoon focuses on how films represent visions of a tradition that is reified in the way parties take place and "Indian clothing" is used and displayed, Nasser focuses on the extent to which Indian films constitute mirrors and vehicles of a culture he calls his own, but that he does not have an interest in. He argues that the Indian language triggers an awareness of a collective and common past, a past that can only be known to and/or imagined by *real Muslims* or *real Indians*, those who know *the language*.

Despite this tendency to homogenize this imagined Indian culture, in the general use of the "Indian media" label - and which is at times merged with Islam by my interlocutors who claim an Indian ancestry - one cannot neglect the impact of current ethno-national and racial differences produced in the Lisbon Muslim community in the way Indian media socialization takes place among my young interlocutors, and how they allow for negotiations of different senses of Indian-ness. If most recall growing up with Indian media, one of my interlocutors - Yasmin - who happens to claim a predominantly Mozambican identity and not to feel integrated into the LMC - argues that she does not hold any childhood memories of Indian media practices. This denial of the significance of Indian cultural influences for her media and aesthetic tastes or interests is not only justified by the fact that she claims not to have been exposed to Indian media in the course of her life, as opposed to most of the youngsters (though she is able to comment on them widely), but by her parents not always having been keen to maintain those media practices. In truth her parents also show a particularly ambivalent Mozambican Portuguese-ness, which is marked by a strong attachment to a Lusophone colonial Mozambique, as well as by a life story and migration trajectory where both European and Portuguese cultural and national references prevail alongside a communitarian religious network of relations where

Indian forms of Muslim-ness have also been reproduced. However, both have been equally socialized with these media in colonial and postcolonial Mozambique, and her mother is keen on following Indian media in postcolonial Portugal as a strategy of integrating into the leading group of the Lisbon Muslim Community. What this suggests is that political perceptions of ethno-national and even racial differentiation produced within colonial settings and carried through migration are at the heart of different emotional engagements with socializing media objects, which in turn seems to have had an impact both on the conscious and the affective choice of what is claimed for oneself as an object of both belonging and identity. This is because having been raised in a family household of five that feels deeply attached to a Mozambique which both her mother and father were forced to flee in the aftermath of decolonization, Yasmin rules out the importance of any sort of Indian cultural thread in her own biography, which only later became an integrative part of it:

People have always told us that we had that Indian look, and we have always said no, that our parents are Mozambican. And then we started asking our parents if there was anyone in the family that came from India, and then my father told us that his father had come from India... if I'm not mistaken it was from Goa or from Diu, I can't remember. From their story, we... I don't know it thoroughly because I did not have the pleasure to meet my grandparents, really.

(Yasmin, born in Portugal in 1986)

If any recognition of Indian-ness has been called upon, that is not because she has been reviewing and re-narrating her family story throughout her life, but because people who she interacts with on a daily basis outside of the LMC, project onto her a racialized “Indian look”, which she has been forced to deal with, just as described by Stuart Hall’s (1996a) narrative of identity.

However, while Yasmin might not have grown up with the same degree of exposure to Indian media in her home, these media are not completely strange to her. Evidence of that is that she still claims not to like it when her mother uses

these media in the family home. This leads me to think that if Yasmin refuses any sort of connection to a world that is also not so foreign to her parents, this is because the latter have not cherished it with the same degree of emotional engagement as they did other media, in particular those that have a link to Mozambique and to Africa in general, a world which is, as they demonstrate, in their hearts. In light of her parents' lack of affective ascription to Indian media practices in the family home, along with the devaluation of the family's Indian past and origins (which Yasmin needed to ask about), it is unsurprising that Yasmin's relationship with her Indian past through Indian media came to be marginalized practically, and even ruled out from her own narrative of identity and belonging. Had she felt her parents' affective engagement with Indian media, she would (perhaps) have regarded them in a different light, thus illustrating Shammas' (2002) affective and sensory intergenerational transfer right.

However, the impact of affect on media taste and engagement is not a straightforward process, considering that even when the parents in the field transfer emotionally-endowed engagements with ethno-national communities of belonging and all the objects that allow them to be imagined and recalled, their children do not always match the former's affective relationship with certain objects of memory. What is nevertheless evident is that the children of those who do show a clearer recognition of these multisensory objects of identity and memory (which does not mean that they will ascribe the same affective value and/or that they will engage with them in the same manner as their progenitors, especially their mothers and grandmothers), claim that only eventually when they grow older they might "feel more connected to *their* roots," and therefore want to further engage with Indian media.

These points enable us to advance considerations regarding intergenerational differences in the engagement with these media, both past and present, and their respective implications for parents' and youngsters' respective identity claims and senses of belonging. As noted in the previous sections, despite variances and differences most parents claim to gain some degree of gratification from Indian media contents, and by contrast most youngsters claim to watch them rarely and not to enjoy them, despite still knowing them quite well. This applies not only to those youngsters who claim not to have been socialized with these genres and types of media, but also to those who exhibit a few cheerful childhood

memories associated with these media uses and practices. Additionally, this is mostly the case with the young men in the field, who tend to articulate and address aesthetic critiques to the genres of Indian films, in particular, by comparing them to other genres of popular media, such as soap operas, which reinforces the youngsters' gendered engagements with these sorts of media. While I shall discuss this later, what is important to note here is that affective identifications produced during family household engagement with Indian media are not a reason for the youngsters to claim those identifications and shared belongings. In fact other identity factors are at play when consciously choosing with whom, what, and where to belong and identify. In the following section I will address more systematically the youngsters' Indian media practices and the repercussions for these subjects' senses of Indian-ness.

4.4.2.1. The youngsters' 'Indian media practices': Negotiating senses of Indian-ness

If the youngsters occasionally engage with Indian media this is not because they are particularly keen. Instead, they simply wish to spend some time with members of the family household, who want to use Indian media, either/both film and/or music. The youngsters rarely have control over how these media are played in the home, since they are dependent on the household moral economy. This is particularly evident when it comes to domestic practices of watching Indian films, when most of the youngsters interviewed – especially those who assert a stronger Indian identity position – claim to do it simply to enjoy some time together with their mothers, aunts or grandmothers during the weekend.

Hanifo - Sometimes I also watch in order to seat with my mother and watch a film... There are good films, but generally the films are not very good, I don't like much Indian films.

Nadim – No, films are not as regular [as Indian music]. But once in a while my mother watches an Indian film. Even I sometimes come here to watch it with her.

Hana – *Once in a while I feel like it, yes. Or my mother and me play it on the weekend, whenever we've got nothing to do. But usually we always have something to do, therefore there is never enough time.*

This sense of togetherness driving the youngsters' Indian media practices in the home is something that Marie Gillespie (1989) encountered during her research with families of South Asian origin in Southall in the late 1980s. In comparison to her research this is even more the case when the use of Indian films is at stake, suggesting the extent to which this is a collective practice. Most of the youngsters do not choose the Indian film to watch at home, leaving this task to the mothers/mature women at home/in the family, who usually take the initiative on the matter, but they can occasionally participate in these choices, especially by assisting and supporting the latter in renting, downloading and streaming films online or through search engines (such as *Ovguide*) that they claim to know better. However, since many of these films are also acquired through family friends who occasionally travel to either Mozambique or other countries where these are available, most of the choice process is also left to chance and the taste of those constituting the network of ties within the community of peers and in the extended family. In this sense, most of the youngsters have little say regarding the Indian films, conforming to the family choice available. This is not a perceived problem, since the youth do not seem to care much about choice within this category of films. By contrast, they claim to care much more about the choice of what most generally designate as American/English-speaking films, a category that they clearly prefer to the former. This opposition between Indian and American/English-speaking films is quite strong among most of the young participants, being equated with a contrast between the older generation and their own, as if watching Indian films is something particular to their parents' and grandparents' generations. This equation is in fact largely aligned with their own perceptions of most things Indian, even though parents in the field tend also to seek to be updated with the new Indian media releases, a practice that can hardly be identified as old.

But apart from this intergenerational contrast, if the youngsters are to choose and watch any genre of Indian audio-visuals, this will be music programmes broadcast on *Zee TV* (for those who have a subscription to the channel on their home TV box), which they find more entertaining due to aspects related to the genre itself. Programmes such as *Indian Idol* and *Antakshari* are of interest to some of my young interlocutors, who will only very occasionally engage with these sorts of TV contents on their own:

Hana – *I watch more at the end of the day, there are always some films, I don't know... There is also... and then there is always – just like there are the American Idol, or the Idols – there is also the Indian Idol (...) They have many things... and (...) There is, there is a programme that is very... a very nice, that is Antaksharik. Basically a person starts singing a song, and then stops in the middle; then with the last syllable that the person has said we have to find another song to sing.*

Nasser – *It is not that I enjoy watching, but I do find it interesting. I guess that... If I were to watch, I would easily watch a programme like that one, ok? Because it is a music program where they sing, but I don't understand it, and that's the issue!*

These occasional individualized engagements with Indian music TV programmes are justified by the fact that the youngsters find fewer faults in them than in Indian films, judgments that are dependent on their perceptions of media genres, which I will explore in the next section. However, this does not mean that the former will be desired by most. In fact, these are not so common and they are also not detached from particular psychological dispositions and social conditions, which must be in place in order for these Indian media practices to be enjoyable. These dispositions and conditions vary from “being in the right mood” to having “the right atmosphere”, and are important in that they can actually determine the course of family engagement with Indian media content. Once these conditions are gathered it is likely that these participants can take some gratification from these media uses, even if they do not always openly-state it. For instance, two of

my young female interlocutors previously mentioned – Hana and Maysoon – claim that if they are in the right mood and if the weather and seasonal dispositions are in place, they can allow themselves to enjoy watching both Indian dramas and films. Maysoon argues that when she imagines herself watching an Indian film “it is always winter, at the end of the day, under the blankets. It must be cold and when eating popcorn” (she laughs).

What these aspects of mood and atmosphere also stress is that the media practices concerned are dependent on affective predispositions that also constitute objects of emotional experience, which they do not always wish to (or cannot allow themselves to) express openly. This becomes more obvious as most mention how watching an Indian film, for instance, is marked by everyone crying, and when interviewees also associate particular films and melodies with loved ones, who are remembered through the reproduction of particular images and soundscapes. This can be particularly illustrated through Hanifo’s ethnographic case discussed below.

The day I met Hanifo for the photographic exercise coincided with the day I also met his mother, Hoor, for the same purpose. On the Friday I arrived at their home, Hoor assured me that her son would be coming home after doing *namaz* at the mosque. We decided to start her photographic exercise, after which she also insisted on making us tea in the “Indian way”. We were already in the kitchen when Hanifo arrived. The context of interaction was particularly informal and friendly. We had already established a certain trust between us, and both Hoor and Hanifo were relaxed enough to express many of their feelings and worries. Minutes before Hoor had actually told me how she was worried about her son’s friends and company, and that he trusted non-Muslim friends more than people from the community. Her concerns were that her son would become distant from the family’s religion and values, and the fact that her husband was away for work was making her feel pressured with respect to her elder son’s education. But Hanifo was actually quite present in the life of the family household, using his father’s physical distance to occasionally play the role of “the man of the house”, by questioning Hoor about her outings, which she was also not particularly keen on, since she had fought hard for “her own rights” as “a Muslim woman”, one that could be educated and that did not need to be a housewife, as her husband had initially desired. Having gained the freedom to pursue her studies at night and to

complete the 9th grade while also working part-time at her brother's estate agency, Hoor saw no sense in having her son asking her where she was going. Instead, she demanded that he be home by 2.00 am on the weekends, when he would enjoy going out after a busy week at university. But Hanifo was actually happy to obey and if there was something missing in his life that was his father. When we started his photographic exercise we started discussing all the things that were important to him, and after having shown me both the kitchen cupboard where he would find his preferred cookies and biscuits, as well as his first computer bought after a whole summer of work during his early teens, I simply asked him if there was any song or film of importance to him. Our conversation went as follows:

Cat. – *Is there any song or film that is important to you for any reason?*

Hoor – *You are always crying when watching that film.*

Cat. – *Which film?*

Hoor – *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham*

Cat. – *Ah! I've seen that film.*

Hanifo – *What a rubbish film. That's the only film that makes me cry!*

Cat. – *Ah! Is that the only film that makes you cry? But you really like it, no?*

Hanifo – *I like it, I like it. I've already seen the film more times than my mother.*

Cat. – *Show me the film and talk a little bit about it for me, please.*

Hanifo – *The film is about a son that respected his father a lot, but one day he did not obey his father, and the father kicked him out of the house...and then there is the reunion with the parents and then the father asked him for forgiveness and things like that.*

Hoor – *And what does it remind you of, ask him Catarina!*

Hanifo – *It reminds me of my father.*

Cat. – *And is that the reason why you like the film so much?*

Hanifo – *Is it's not because it reminds me, but because I like the story of the film! It is a film that... it is a very emotive film in my opinion.*

Despite having previously learnt from Hanifo that he was not particularly keen on Indian films, the conversation that followed his photographic exercise shows that films like *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham*, which most of my young interlocutors claim to know, triggers in him emotions deep enough to remind him of his father, now living in Angola for work purposes, and who Hanifo only sees every three months. Constituting an evocative object (Turkle, 2007) through which Hanifo recalls his father, the film is associated with his loved one, perhaps following the family relationships that the film represents, that Hanifo is keen on, and that he also seems to see reflected in his own family life. As such, the film holds the power to make him cry, which both Hanifo and other male youngsters in the field tend to criticize and to associate with lower quality media contents, as opposed to American films and media, for instance, which they prefer for having what the former lacks.

Hanifo's case is illustrative of how Indian audio-visuals can only find room in my young interlocutors' lives when they have already become objects of affective ascription; when they have become associated with an emotional experience that is linked to loved ones, who are remotely located but whom they wish to bring into their everyday lives. To play Indian moving images and sometimes melodies facilitates the affective and sensory processes of evocation and association, which they have become attached to. One could eventually question whether this has something to do with any sense of Indian-ness or with India at all, since what seems to be at stake is the use of Indian sensory contents as mediators of affective relationships that are also located in the present. While this does not fully dismiss the ethno-national associations ascribed to these media, it does certainly put into perspective the difference between meanings and associations, defining those rooted in lived experience more effectively than those simply based on imagination.

However, I would also question whether it is not exactly through these affective engagements with Indian media that are articulated with respect to the affective relationships they are associated with, that different forms of Indian-ness have actually been passed down. This remains an important question when considering that many of my young interlocutors do not actually understand the original languages and dialects of the Indian audio-visuals broadcast but still recognize them as important carriers of an Indian culture and sense of Indian

community, partly because they have grown up with the *rhythmic mnemonics* (Goody, 2006) of the languages of their grandparents, and to a lesser extent of their parents, and therefore *feel* the culture through recognizable languages/dialects spoken and heard. It is true that in some cases not understanding the meanings put youngsters off from further engaging with Indian audio-visuals. Nevertheless, in other cases these meanings are inferred from the films, viewed with either Portuguese or English subtitles, through which they learn and appropriate, in the process of making sense of the narratives, the themes and topics of many of the films they watch. But ultimately, whether these meanings are understood or not, “sonic taste” and affective value seems in the case of music and other sounds to be prioritized, gaining the most significance when wishing – or not – to engage with Indian soundscapes. For this reason, some actually go on to search for film songs and other Indian soundscapes online on their own at home (using *You Tube* in particular), after having heard them in films, on others’ car radios or in their homes, without needing to actually have seen the movie and without needing their parents’ and/or close members of kins’ suggestions to do so. Alternatively, others maintain the practice of listening to CDs of Indian music given by members of kin who they love and who have become associated with those Indian tunes. The only fundamental difference between these youngsters’ practices and their parents’ is that the Indian soundscapes which the youngsters will be looking for are not always tied to the films watched, nor are they associated with remote pasts lived and imagined in Mozambique, or to the news and events surrounding the Indian communities in Portugal, as provided by *Swagatam* which is broadcast every Sunday morning. Instead they are mainly associated with the sensory and affective dimensions triggered by these audio-visuals.

Moreover, many of these youngsters’ Indian media practices are also associated with new Indian sound fusions and mixes, which they happen to know about through friends, including Hindu and Ismaili counterparts, and other chill out and new wave sounds which have gained a certain popularity in postcolonial Portugal. Portuguese Hindus and Ismailis of similar Indian and Mozambican origins are also the ones who often organize *Bangra* parties, gathering together several youngsters of Indian origin, and they are perceived to be the ones who still value an Indian culture in Portugal, as if they still hold the quintessential form of

Indian-ness. Some of my young interlocutors are invited to these parties but claim not to enjoy them very much. To be part of *Bangra* parties and Hindu or Ismaili Indian cultural events is therefore not so common a practice among my interlocutors. Partly this is because all these events are oriented to an Indian culture meant to strengthen ties between youngsters of a shared ethnic background, who are not in the majority of the cases Sunni Muslims. If some of my interlocutors engage with new Indian soundscapes produced in mixed and fusion sound productions, this is mostly because of the networks of friendship established with other *Portuguese Indians*, who they ethnically and racially identify with, and this is also endorsed by the family's general sense of Indian-ness embraced since colonial times in Mozambique. Furthermore, from the point of view of dating and marriage, Portuguese youngsters of Indian origin appear to occupy a higher position in the family's invisible and unstated romantic hierarchy because, as one of my informants once mentioned to me, "An Indian family will almost certainly wish that their son or daughter marry an Indian, who is not only Muslim, Muslim yes, but Indian as well!" A sense of Indian-ness appears to be reinforced through these gatherings, though this is not desired or embraced by most who, despite their ambivalent positions, tend to privilege their Muslim-ness and Portuguese-ness.

Having discussed how and when my young interlocutors relate to, engage with and refer to Indian media, further questions emerge regarding how Indian audio-visuals are used and refused, along with these subjects' considerable familiarity and even intimacy with such media. Taking into account that most have grown up with Indian audio-visuals, which they know reasonably well – even if it is only the phonetics and soundscapes embedded in the Indian languages and dialects, which they also perceive as being carriers of an Indian tradition they belong to – they fail to cultivate these openly. Therefore I question whether such a complex unfolding of Indian media practices can be addressed simply according to matters of taste and aesthetic judgment and/or as the result of processes of de-ethnicization (Milikowski, 2000) and of *whitening strategies* (Fanon, 2008) produced along with the fear they are becoming *Indian* solely through using Indian media, which they certainly are not. Do these youngsters simply not like these media, as a matter of aesthetic taste, or do they wish not to engage with them for fear of embracing what they perceive as an old fashioned form of Indian-

ness, which is also represented as the *Orientalised other* (Said, 2003), a *black skin* which is therefore to be covered by *white masks* (Fanon, 2008)? Do these complex and ambivalent positions and claims regarding Indian media in general result from both these points and processes? And yet why would my interlocutors aim to de-ethnicize themselves as a way to refuse to be the Orientalised other when they actually tend to privilege their Muslim-ness and the latter is deeply Orientalized within Portuguese discourse and society? In any of these cases, how are they perceived and how can one make better sense of the role of Indian audio-visuals in their lives, including the positionalities and affective senses of belonging of these youngsters? To answer these questions, in the following section I will first look at how the young participants in the field perceive and appropriate Indian films, as a genre, so as to gain an insight into aspects of taste and aesthetic judgment, as well as to understand how these define their Indian media practices. Secondly, I will further explore processes of both identification and de-identification produced along with these and other Indian media content, in order to picture the complexity of the puzzle at stake, and their intrinsic relationship with aspects of difference, ethnicity, senses of belonging and the Lusophone postcolonial identities of young Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins.

4.4.2.2. A matter of taste and/or simply embracing *white masks*?

As in Marie Gillespie's (1989) research on the South Asian families in Southall and Rosie Thomas's (1985) analysis of how Indian cinema is commonly perceived in the West, my young interlocutors see Indian films as being "all the same". However, in the case of my interlocutors this emphasis comes along with a few comments regarding the differences between old and new Indian films relating to the use and appropriation of these contents, as well as their own aesthetic readings of the genres. While most of the old films are for the youngsters associated with their childhood Indian media practices in the family home and with loved kin members, or have been mentioned to them by parents or grandparents, the new films, which they get to know through family and friends as well as online and/or in the local rental video clubs, are sometimes perceived as

being mere copies and clones of American films, which they would rather watch on Friday or Saturday nights, either in their home or outside of it.

In considering the dominant topics and themes in Indian film narratives, most of the youngsters refer to family values, kinship relationships especially between parents and children, and romantic love. In particular, love relationships and impossible love affairs, predominately based on rival families separated by caste, class and other differences, are identified as crucial components of what some designate as “a very Indian film”, by contrast to others focusing on ethnic and religious differences, with other eventual romantic subplots. For an unsatisfied audience it is surprising to see the length and detail of the narratives produced around many of the recalled film plots. However, their claims of dissatisfaction, or even of dis-gratification, rely precisely on the fact that they claim not to identify with all these narratives, representations and dramatic concerns. When it comes to romantic love relationships very little identification is produced, either because they live in the *West* or because their *parents are modern*. However, despite not being openly claimed by the participants, the recollection of some film plots denotes slight processes of identification with the characters and occurrences in films where family and kinship values such as the love shared between parents and children constitute the main focus of the narrative.

Many also note the lack of sex scenes as a significant feature of Indian films, in particular the older ones, by contrast to what happens in their American counterparts. This is also a justification for picking Indian films for a family weekend night. However, the fact that *all is peace and love* as one puts it, along with scenes not being too *advanced* (in terms of sexual mores and violence), as another of my interlocutors says, as contrasted with American films, constitute some of the aspects that put many of the youngsters off watching these films. These elements are perceived to signal unrealistic and incredible situations based upon mere fantasy. The use of fantasy, which most dis-identify with, as well as the highly choreographed musical scenes, which most equate with low quality aesthetics, are some of the main reasons for the youngsters’ significant lack of gratification when viewing Indian films:

Nasser – *Firstly, Indian films are very long. Then...right, that’s it...they*

are very... that is a lot of fiction... it looks like sci-fi. When one punches another, you can hear it along several kilometers and... and these things, I don't know, they don't make sense. For instance, I don't like films...The Matrix... I don't like ET films and things like that. (...) That's it, I don't like it. It might be that in many years time... but that does not fit in the reality where I am integrated. (...)

Cat. – So the Indian films are similar to ET films, is it?

Nasser – It is not like ET films. It is different. An Indian film is different!

Cat. – So tell me.

Nasser – An Indian film....people don't... I don't know, probably there are no cinema schools there. Probably they did not learn it well, I don't know... (laughs) I know that they are the largest film producers... isn't it? Bollywood is the largest film producer in the world... But that's exactly that... they don't... the revenues are not enough to pay the films. They always have loss. And why? If the films were good they would manage to go to... other markets, I don't know... European markets...markets that were not only Muslim and Indian (...) If they were really... for instance an English film, English, American film, English... if they are good films, an African watches, a Muslim watches, a Pakistani watches... everyone.

Sufyi – I can't find any interest in that! Sometimes, whenever I want to be there a little bit with my mother or my father, especially whenever I am watching with my mother, she is watching that, and I sort of look and I simply can't see it even for a while and say: "Damn it, how can you watch that?" because that is a little bit about the Indian reality that... I mean I am used to the European reality where you see things like... now, films where they do this and move their face (Sufyi moves his neck in an abrupt way and laughs, demonstrating how unnatural the movement is)

Cat. – So you mean that they are not well done?

Sufyi – Yeah, that for me is very basic, very badly done! You are used to another quality, and when you see that you simply run away!

Cat. – But apart from that, what about the stories, the contents?

Sufyi – Ah! I don't find them good. It's always a big suffering, always

suffering! In the Indian films the stories are always: they suffer, suffer, suffer and everything ends well. But it is the same thing in the soap operas of TVI; it is the same thing, the same thing in the Brazilian soap operas, I can't find them good, do you see what I mean? I also can't find any interest in any of that!

Comments on how badly done they are and a lack of artistic value shape critiques of the genre and of the industry itself. While beautified endings wrapped in emotional break-downs are associated with bad film-making – claimed to please only particular types of audiences, especially South Asian and Muslim ones – they are also associated with their parents, and especially female audiences, who are considered to be pleased with what are perceived to be lower media genres. Apart from showing the youth's alignment with a dichotomized view of Indian and Western film and filmmaking conventions (Thomas, 1985), this point is also particularly curious insofar as Indian films are equated and compared with popular media of perceived lower quality, such as soap operas and *telenovelas*, which produce a climax of emotions based on suffering and have happy endings, which most believe their parents, especially their mothers, enjoy. While this depreciation of Indian films reveals class-based judgments, this comparison of genres once again brings to light the gender prejudices that often inform the audience's relationship with popular culture dramas, where emotional being and experience is attached to perceptions of femininity. Such comments are more openly produced by the young males in the field who, as has been observed in audience research about soap operas, also profess the most negative, often ambivalent, judgments regarding popular media genres which are seen as predominantly feminine, emotional and therefore inferior (Brunsdson, 2005; Gledhill, 1997). However, this does not mean that the female youngsters are necessarily less critical about Indian films. They are simply more ready to admit to taking a certain gratification in their use of these media, though this is still limited since they too address the same critiques:

Yasmin – I think that it has contents that are sometimes, too musical, too much... and it is too... it has an action that is too fake (she smiles) if I can

say it in this way; I don't like it much, and I'm more used to another kind of... to the American films, that are much more violent. Those are too much peace and love.

Hana – *My aunt watches that, and when I watch with her I laugh out loud, always a lot... (smiles) because that is a drama! I laugh... because they always do those close ups of people...*

Cat. – *And do you find it excessive?*

Hana – *They are excessive yes. And so...but sometimes I enjoy watching old films, of when I was little, that's it.*

As suggested in both Yasmin's and Hana's quotes, the occasional gratification that young women take from watching Indian films does not stop them from sharing many of the young men's feelings and perceptions about this genre. As demonstrated by the shy smiles and laughs occurring throughout the interviews and comments shown above, most take an amused and light-hearted attitude towards Indian films, and claim to simply laugh and joke whenever any image, scene and/or frame seems less realistic than they would expect. Clearly, the Hollywood film scene constitutes the main frame of comparison. However, what this also tells us is that everything that has to do with the relationship between Indian audio-visuals and the performance of Indian-ness is viewed with irony and mockery. In fact, while most recognize actors, song lyrics, accents, expressions and films which they are able to recall and sometimes narrate, most use these events/occurrences, persons and/or stories as opportunities to find a common source of amusement, either in the family home or among peers. This can be illustrated by the tale from the field that this chapter starts with (Part 2), and by other episodes observed during fieldwork, where the youngsters' engagement with Indian audio-visuals constituted collective opportunities to show how *mocking is the motto*.

While these events contrast with claims of disinterested gratification taken from Indian audio-visuals, they are also suggestive of how these media do not cease to provide my interlocutors with an opportunity for amusement and pleasure, as Gillespie (1989) also found in her research. However, it remains

crucial to stress here that the pleasure and gratification observed does not refer to a serious and dedicated engagement with such contents, and but these are certainly not different from occasional experiences of fun and entertainment, which also define many experiences regarding other media. The question then to be asked is what one means by pleasure, and how it is defined through different emotional experiences that determine perceptions of how pleasure can be classified. Furthermore, when does pleasure signal gratification in one's experience and discourse, and what are the rational, conscious and political grounds for it remaining unstated? Clearly, gender positionalities and prejudices constitute, as observed above, significant factors for one's refusal to admit pleasure derived from popular media. However, it also seems to me that the youngsters' take on how pleasure can or cannot be acknowledged in relation to Indian films is based on the critical and negative readings of representations of Indian characters and the genre, which fits into a strategy of differentiation and dis-identification with conveyed images of Indian-ness, ethnically speaking, and which attempts to align with a dominant Western/European view of not only media quality and aesthetics, but also of a cultural, ethnic and racialized identity. This is because the youngsters' attitudes towards and judgments of the Indian film genre and its representations not only make use of western categories of media aesthetics, which deeply neglect the conventions of the Indian film genre, just as most western critiques do (Thomas, 1985), but they also carry processes of de-ethnicization and de-racialization that attempt to negate and set aside any feelings of Indian-ness by claiming instead a Portuguese Muslim-ness. Such processes are not only implicated in the youngsters' attitudes towards and judgments of Indian film; they also apply to most of the Indian media and objects discussed in my fieldwork conversations and interviews with the youngsters. When senses of Indian-ness are at stake, processes of de-ethnicization emerged as a clear standpoint of most youngsters' identities, where the break with their parents' "Indian tastes and choices" and subject-objects relationships is required as a way to feel part of Portuguese society, and as a way of actually realizing their own sense of Portuguese-ness, seen as superior and more progressive compared to the perceived older and less-developed Indian ethnicity and culture:

Hanifo – *I listen to Indian music... in the beginning I had that mania*

of... I don't know... the mania that "I'm white, I am from Portugal, I don't like it".

Cat. – What mania, sorry?

Hanifo – I am from Portugal and therefore I'm not going to listen to Indian music... that's right... the youngsters have that mania.

Cat. – But what, you had that mania, do you think that is a mania?

Hanifo – That is a mania of many, many youngsters here; they have that mania that they don't listen to Indian music...

Cat. – And so how does it go? Explain that to me please.

Hanifo – Because Indian music is... it is perhaps a shame to listen to, I don't know... No! Whenever one is young ...one used to think... "To listen to Indian music, ah, that is for our parents, we don't listen to that!"... we listen... I don't know... rock music from here... I don't know...

Nasser – Because if we don't try to change those things [Indian cultural references and past] I will be working with my mother in the shop, I'm not going to study... I'm not going every day to the mosque – not that I shouldn't do it (...) But ...é pá... I don't know! I wouldn't progress! And I think that to progress it is necessary to ignore the difference, é pá to feel that we are all the same!

To refuse to engage with or take pleasure from the consumption of Indian films and media in general is to refuse to be Indian, and by contrast to assimilate a Portuguese identity. As stated in Hanifo's interview, Indian soundscapes reflect and are associated with an old, racialized and ethnic identity that most of the youngsters do not feel at ease with, and which they would rather dissociate themselves from through refusal. The refusal to admit pleasure or to use Indian media can only then be reversed when the racial and ethnic differences shaping their consumption remain unseen and unconsidered. However, since it is difficult to find a context where one constructs oneself outside of difference (Hall, 1996a; Ahmed, 2000), it remains hard to perceive and represent the use of Indian audiovisuals in postcolonial Portugal beyond the ethnic, racial, cultural and political differences that shape power relationships and processes of estrangement between

subjects. Despite having grown up with these media, and knowing them well; despite occasionally being willing to engage with them within family gatherings or via the associative affective memory of loved ones remotely located, my young interlocutors tend to face a number of challenges that define their need to consciously position themselves with respect to those discursive differences produced in society. Being subject to racialized *estrangement* and *othering* processes by mainstream Portuguese society and having to internalize such differences and hierarchies, they act in ways that signify attempts to engage with *whitening* (Fanon, 1967) strategies by denying embodiment of signs of difference, of the other. This is not to say that any senses and feelings of Portuguese-ness are not truly felt, experienced and made part of one's sense of belonging, since the experience is at the heart of how they feel their Portuguese-ness. However, the interplay between this Portuguese identity and their Indian-ness is often taken as contradictory, in particular when thinking about an imagined sense of tradition and origin that most do not wish to comply with and embrace, as this is also associated with a perceived obsolete and underdeveloped Indian-ness and Indian past. What such a conscious positioning suggests is a dichotomized view of Portuguese-ness and Indian-ness, which is also rooted in a power hierarchy that resembles the relation between the colonizer and the colonized. Seen as superior and progressive, according to the mission that has actually driven them to expand the Empire and to colonize assumed inferior subjects and societies (Césaire, 2000; Memmi, 2003), the Portuguese and his identity tends to be preferred by these youngsters to the old fashioned, almost child-like Indian traditions, practices and tastes (Nandy, 2009), which for most remains almost a shame to admit and openly embrace. To embrace Indian-ness is therefore the same as remaining in an underdeveloped state of being, as if this is the truth and actually not the discourse and the logic that underlie the structure of colonialism. As Ashis Nandy argues with respect to British and other European colonialisms in Asia, Africa, Latin America and India, it is precisely the homologies between the sexual and political dominance of the West, and the childhood of the colonized that have legitimized the European exploitation of both material and mental resources in these societies. Exerting power in the name of progress and modernity, European colonialisms managed to colonize local economies, bodies, raw materials and natural resources, as well as the minds and culture of those represented as lacking enlightened

civilization. As a result colonized cultures were transformed, and many of their mental states shaped by an internalized belief that Westernization would be a superior option to their supposedly inferior state of being. To listen to and register my young interlocutors' relationships with Indian media is to see how colonialism has evolved and entered the postcolonial metropole. Their desire to be "all the same", without differences, as Nasser states, does not simply entail a desire for a better world where differences are not a motive to separate and discriminate, but a strategy of invisibility and of *de-ethnicization* (Milikowski, 2000), where all can become *white Portuguese*. It entails a racial and ethno-national project of becoming the *other* that still leaves their Muslim-ness intact.

4.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This is the moment when the ethnographic tale that opens this two-part chapter gains clarity. The multiplicity of material and sensory sources of Indian-ness that fulfills a journey of the discovery of touristic sites in Portugal seems to provide my interlocutors with a sense of an Indian past. Indian food and drinks served both on the bus and in the restaurant, as well as the music sung on the journey constitute enactments of an Indian-ness that has been rehearsed over and over again, although remaining in dispute, and that is, as discussed throughout this chapter, attached to a sense of origins. This perception of the original point with which these sensory objects are associated has nevertheless been constructed and imagined in an abstract, affective and ritualized location, just as Naipaul's (2012) India is, such that it has no actual geographical site. Indian stuff (or which is perceived as such), encapsulates mobile and ever-changeable forms of Indian-ness that have been created and have moved across time and space as *floating signifiers* (Hall, 1996b). Indian food cooked and eaten in commensal contexts, and Indian media used and appropriated in collective atmospheres constitute the remaining traces of an imagined India that has "a bottomless past"; a past that is in fact invented and sensorially mediated throughout different temporalities and periods in a collective story of ancestry and migration. For this reason I would argue that most of the Indian objects and object-related practices enacted by the participants in current times, and associated with forms of Indian-ness, integrate invented traditions (Hobsbawm, 2003). The degree of inventiveness of traditions

produced along with these objects can be observed in the way they are perceived in the majority of cases as genuinely and authentically *Indian* – despite differences in style and type, and despite the ethnic diversity that underlies the real India both before and after the creation of its nation-state – as well as how these are perceived as cultural traits of a Portuguese Islam, but one that has become Indianized.

This inventiveness of Indian-ness does not come as a surprise, since as Amitav Ghosh argues “the links between India and her diaspora are lived within the imagination” (1989, p.76), which positions India and Indian-ness within the realm of the mind and of experience. However, with respect to Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins the crucial point is that this degree of inventiveness grounded on an imaginative substratum has not only been taking place in postcolonial Portugal, where the younger generation of interlocutors were mostly born, but in fact started in colonial Mozambique where the latter’s grandparents were either born or migrated to. Clearly these are processes common to those usually defined as *twice migrants*, as in the case of Indo-Caribbean (Ghosh, 1989; Naipaul, 2012) and East African South Asians (Bhachu, 1985) based in the UK, but who are likely to have only migrated once in their lifetime or not at all, having therefore learnt about India only through different forms of mediation and replication of experience. With regard to East African Sikh settlers in Britain, Parminder Bhachu (1985) argues that unlike direct South Asian migrants in the UK, East African migrants never had the myth of return to India. Instead, they tended to reproduce the home they had previously built in East Africa, its institutions and all the conditions of living and status held there. Their understanding of Indian-ness had already been transferred to Africa during the British Empire, and from there it has also been reproduced in the UK, in the shape of community ties and kinship relations. This is also the case regarding Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, with the only difference being that we are here referring to the Portuguese colonial empire and its intersections with other imperial ideologies and domains. In this case, even though British formations and meanings were relevant in defining senses of Indian-ness across the twentieth century in East and South Africa, Portuguese colonialism (and its postcolonial formations) has also been particularly significant in shaping my interlocutors’ senses of Indian-ness, with this impacting on the

sense of being Indian Muslims across generations. The importance of this point can be observed at multi-temporal and intergenerational levels, along with the different socio-economic, cultural, historical and political circumstances lived through and recalled in many different ways, shapes and formats.

The analysis of my older interlocutors' lived memories of the colonial past shows the role played by Indian food and media in reconstructing and imagining an Indian community of belonging. These processes have been enabled alongside processes of hybridization and localized forms of Indian-ness, and were prompted by the need to adapt to local circumstances of settlement. Moreover, they were also prompted by access to a wide range of local and transnational flows of goods, ideas and representations, including European and Portuguese values which colonialisms endorsed and which were attached to images of modernity and progress in South East Africa. By embracing them, most of my older interlocutors went on to transform traditional gendered social roles, through which ethnic senses of belonging were also challenged. All these processes are illustrated through their bodily relationships with Indian things , as well as others that became attached to dominant ethno-national collective references of identity and belonging. Not learning how to cook Indian food as it has been traditionally transmitted through apprenticeship and not solely gaining gratification from Indian media but also from other categories of media, most of the parents embraced both continuity and change in terms of what it meant to be Indian, or to be an Indian Muslim in colonial Mozambique. They have progressively incorporated western positions of identity – albeit a Lusophone colonial one – shaping a multilayered colonial positionality that does not always reflect the pitfalls of colonialism, nor does it cease to reproduce itself internally within the context of the Lisbon Muslim community.

However, their progressive westernization via the internalization of mediated forms of European-ness, has not only affected the meanings attached to India and their Indian-ness, but also that of their descendants who, having already grown up in Portugal, embrace it as their dominant cultural identity, thus defying feelings of other-ness in a postcolonial time-space context. The preference for the identity of the dominant *other* is expressed through the idioms of food and media. Through a refusal of “things Indian”, which most tend to be ashamed of, they seek a more dominant acceptable position, a *white mask* which they believe to better

match their sense of Portuguese-ness. The refusal of Indian stuff is thus an indicator of a political positioning which does not fully dismiss some degree of appreciation, nor does it erase the affective and sensory dimensions that perception allows for.

But if the indicated aspects help in understanding my interlocutors' general resistance towards objectifying Indian-ness through any material and domestic means, the fact that the objects explored in this chapter belong to the realm of regular experience sheds some light on apparent contradictions between the observed, experienced and what has been pointed out by the participants in the field. In fact, not only the parents but also most of the youngsters have grown up with the wide range of Indian sensory items explored in this chapter. These objects have also become part of a "way of life" continuously reproduced and replicated. Having played an important socializing role in their lives, most of these things have left marks of belonging in their sensory memories, in their bodies and in the many practices that come with these material and perceptual engagements. However, instead of being merely *Indian* these have become attached to familial and communitarian shared experiences and to collective memories of an Indian-ness produced within their most significant social frameworks – the family household and the community of peers (Halbwachs, 1992). It is within such contexts that many of these material cultural items have also gained affective and emotional value; they have become attached to home, family, relatedness and peers, to the here and now, hence giving shape to an imagined community that has nothing to do with the place called India. While these objects contribute actively and politically to the making of the community, these prove also to be objects of present experience and practice, which tend to be forgotten and neglected in both domestic and everyday life. In this sense, as objects of the present, Indian food and media show the extent to which the myth of India lives on in the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990) that activates group *habit-memories* (Connerton, 1989) on a daily basis. This is what seems to scare the youngsters the most, apart from the deeply ethnically and racially-defined representations that they are endowed with by Portuguese civil society, which do not always account for their sense of Portuguese-ness. Finding it difficult to come to terms with these much more intimate, affective and bodily aspects of their belongings, it is better to consciously resist them, to avoid accentuating even more

the differences that are produced beyond their own will by their dominant racialized *other*. While this applies to most objects discussed, when it comes to Indian media the uneasiness and attitude of denial is noteworthy. Here, perceptions of the value of Indian popular media intertwine with the taste of the *other*, whom they were also socialized with, and who remind them of the need to hold onto perceptions of tradition and origins, in order to *become* someone else. As a result, through ironic and critical takes on mediated traces of an indeed invented past they move across spaces of identity and of belonging, playing with the I and the Other. Identity is shown then to be something that one plays with; engages and disengages, becomes and disposes, until the moment when the body acts and shows the way to belong, hence betraying the individual's sense of self.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In the process of conducting this research I have been intrigued by how different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins have both produced and reproduced collective memories of belonging associated with ideas of *Portuguese-ness*, *Muslim-ness*, *Mozambican-ness* and *Indian-ness*. This interest follows on from both the outcomes of previous research contact with this group and my own family experience, as well as my perception of an over-Islamicized and over-ethnicized view of these subjects in recent years, both in civil society and academia, especially post-9/11 (Bastos and Bastos, 2006; Tiesler, 2000; Gould, 2007), which I intended to unravel. I have therefore endeavoured to, apart from other things, deconstruct essentialized views produced around these subjects, and especially to return them to the framework of a *Lusophone* postcolonial critique, following recent approaches to the “invisible migrants of decolonization” that places these (and other) subjects back into the history of the European empires and decolonizations (Brettell, 2003; Cooper, 2003; Lubkemann, 2003; Ovalle-Bahamón, 2003; Smith, 2006; Smith, 2003). This field of study still faces a dearth of multi-disciplinary approaches focused on the everyday life, identity, belonging-ness and memory perspectives of those who have gone through colonialism both directly and indirectly. With respect to the particular case of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins only very occasionally have they been acknowledged as postcolonial subjects, in particular in essays and research projects regarding the roots of Portuguese Islam or the role and identities of the Indian diasporas in colonial Mozambique and postcolonial Europe (Vakil, 2004; Leite, 1996; Malheiros, 1996; Bastos, 2005; Bastos and Bastos, 2005).

For the purpose of this particular research project, I have thus been interested in exploring both the affective and political processes through which these postcolonial subjects have been formulating their senses of belonging across generations, using the context of *Lusophone* postcoloniality as my wider frame of analysis. From this perspective, I departed from the general labels of identity that these subjects often call upon themselves – often as a result of social representation – such as being Indian, and/or Muslim, and/or Mozambican

(besides them being Portuguese, which is usually forgotten by civil society and academics) - in order to deconstruct how and when they have constructed themselves as such and become who they are. Such an approach also foregrounded different fields of study, in particular that relating to belonging and memory. Since one needs to explore the experiential, affective, sensory and mnemonic processes of connecting and being in the world (Treacher, 2000; Miller, 2003; Jackson, 1996; May, 2013) in order to understand who one is, throughout this research I have privileged an approach that pays attention to both these subjects' discursive and practical expressions of belonging, resulting from their engagements with multisensory items along their life course. The focus has been not on the ultimate definition of the self, often attached to identity labels, but mainly on the mnemonic processes of formation of the participants' identities and belongings, and on analysis of the role played by the material and sensory "world of objects" (Bourdieu, 1990) surrounding them in these processes.

Therefore, this thesis aims to contribute to the Lusophone postcolonial critique approach, by researching everyday practices and discourses produced around processes of memory and belonging by different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins within the context of Lusophone postcoloniality. Additionally, it contributes to the study of Memory and of Belonging, and draws on a Material Culture and Media approach that can help in understanding how these processes are sensorially defined. Apart from focusing on sensory experiences and how they can reveal affective and unconscious objectifications of belonging across generations, particular attention has also been paid to aspects of power; in particular to the impact of power perceptions and relations in defining positions both of identity and of belonging. Such an approach also finds inspiration in the field of Cultural Studies, which has from the start informed a wide range of research around migrant populations, ethnic and gender minorities, as well as many of their practices both involving and not material culture objects, as well as media content and devices (Barker, 2000; During, 1993).

Such an interdisciplinary approach could only be accomplished through a sensuous ethnographic fieldwork (Stoller, 1989) whereby I managed to gain access to these subjects' complex, multilayered, sensory, material and affective senses of belonging - beyond the highly politicized labels that often define them

simply as Muslims and/or as Indian Muslims. During this fieldwork, conducted over 12 months (between 2007 and 2008), I have privileged a multisensory approach to the experiences and processes being currently produced in the field.

While I had, for this purpose, intended to immerse myself in the field, and to accompany my interlocutors within their everyday life, my access to this was somewhat limited by the varied circumstances that often underscore their erratic urban lifestyles. As a result, I ended up, more often than not, carrying out participant observation of important fragments of my interlocutors' everyday lives, conducting sensory and tasteful ethnographic fieldwork. This took place within both formal and informal regular events taking place within the context of their domestic spaces and in the several public spaces used by Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, such as, but not exclusively, the Lisbon Central Mosque.

My approach to the field involved an understanding of the notion of collective memories of belonging from two main perspectives. One focused on the exploration of diachronic processes of subject-object relationships, through which collective belongings have been progressively bodily, sensory and affectively continued; the other focused on the stories and events recalled in the present tense within the context of their family and biographical narratives. Given this, I examined the significance of particular sensory objects in use or in constant interaction with my interlocutors in the re-enactment of their collective memories of belongings, both within their private settings and the context of their groups of peers associated with the Lisbon Muslim Community, from an experiential and mnemonic point of view.

While biographical and family narratives provided me with insight into personal and collective constructions of the self, consciously selected according to the present tense and to the politics of identity and belonging (Bogner and Rosenthal, 2009; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Rosenthal, 2006; Rosenthal, 2007; Hall, 1996a; Ahmed, 2000; Halbwachs, 1992), the material culture approach was tied to the analysis of my interlocutors' phenomenological relationships with several sensory objects over their life course. This was particularly useful in demonstrating how their collective memories of belonging need to be tackled and understood through a phenomenological approach, considering perceptual engagement with things which one interacts and is socialized with. Such an

approach sheds some light on how belongings are produced once the body connects with its multisensory surrounding as well as how belongings can be continuously re-enacted through perceptual triggers that act upon the body. It is through the formation of the habitus, which relies on the incorporation of meanings, feelings and structured structures predisposed – which constitute the “embodied history” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56) – that a social memory, a collective memory of belonging is then produced. These are not always conscious processes – since the body does not always know what it knows (Connerton, 1989) – hence rendering the epistemological exploration of belonging a much more difficult task. However, such a task allows for the individual’s ways of being in the world to be unveiled and understood beyond the politicized categories of identity that have dominated much of the research within postcolonial/ diasporic studies (Hall, 1998; Loomba, 2005; Shohat, 1992; Fanon, 1967; Memmi, 2003; Hall, 1990). It is also through this approach that this thesis has aimed to contribute to the study of Belonging, as well as to the study of Memory and Material Culture.

But having stressed these complex and determinant memory processes alongside the formation of belongings, one cannot argue that different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins have blindly and mechanically been re-enacting past belongings through objects without any degree of change. On the contrary, just as the objectification of the habitus entails change in the utterances of previously incorporated dispositions, so these subjects’ collective memories of belonging also entail processes of change, defined by the refusal and denial to engage with particular objects, as well as by creative tactics of negotiation of the objectifications of the habitus which shapes them, as I have learnt throughout this research. This is discussed in each of the chapters of the thesis which discuss the significance of different subject-object relationships in these and other processes whereby belongings are re-produced and negotiated in postcoloniality.

Access to the field and the first visible and material evidence of connections to ethno-national and religious collective worlds of belonging suggested my interlocutors’ primarily Islamic identities, as Islam is primarily materialized in the varied Islamic objects of home décor furnishing their “front rooms” (McMillan, 2009b; McMillan, 2009a). However, further exploration of their phenomenological relationships with these signs showed that they hold a

vast number of meanings and values apart from the religious ones. In fact, many of the Islamic objects exhibited in my interlocutors' 'front rooms' constitute "hierophanies" (Eliade, 1987), meaning profane objects through which the sacred is manifested, especially through the sacred word of God (Saleh, 2010), which when orally recited and/or listened to and/or read implicate a regular perceptual bodily practice, through which their religious ways of being in the world are enacted. However, many of these Islamic objects of home décor are also cherished objects gifted to my older interlocutors by their loved ones. Whereas some of these objects correspond to souvenirs brought from the holy sites of Islam, and hence hold the power of bringing them closer to the aura of the place of origin (Lury, 1997), some also carry the *soul* of their respective donors (Mauss, 2002), as well as collective memories of the past, most of which move along with their migration trajectory from Mozambique to Portugal. In this sense these objects hold values and meanings that are clearly associated with the way they have reached the owner's possession and with what they trigger in their beholders. Therefore, they are often wrapped in feelings and emotions for loved ones and/or for pasts collectively lived and remembered beyond Islamic faith and tradition. For these reasons, most of these Islamic objects of home décor have actually become biographical and evocative objects; objects that tell people's stories and enable affective remembrance (Hoskins, 1998; Turkle, 2007) apart from the Islamic purposes they (might) hold.

It is precisely these affective and mnemonic meanings attributed to these Islamic home décor objects that have also endowed them with a certain inalienable value, which does not, nevertheless, correspond to the same dynamic highlighted in Weiner's (1985) research on the Trobriand Islands, since the latter focuses upon how given objects embody the ancestors' wisdom and sacred power. Instead, in the case of my interlocutors, the power and value of the gifts and of souvenirs is that of carrying fragments of feelings, affects, friendship and familial collective memories. They do so mostly among the owners/recipients of the gift, who are also the heads of the household, and rarely among youngsters, who are dependents within the social economy of the household.

These items also constitute objects of socialization for some, especially the youngsters, thus adding to the meanings and values that these Islamic/religious objects accrue. This certainly has repercussions for the way in which the

participants' senses of Muslim-ness will be produced. In fact, this not only feeds into the argument that all forms of Muslim-ness are local appropriations of Islam, but also adds to the argument that my interlocutors' Muslim-ness cannot be understood outside of the framework of the history of Portuguese colonialism, as it is deeply locally and contextually expressed and experienced. This can be observed through noticing the way religious objects dressing my interlocutors' "front rooms" trigger in them affective biographical memories, and in acknowledging the ways in which they also tell their stories of migration from a colonial to a postcolonial time-space context, where narratives of loss and socio-economic difficulties place them within the context of the recent history of Portuguese colonialism and its postcolonial critique. Moreover, this can also be observed when noting the inter-racial and inter-ethnic relations within the scope of the Lisbon Muslim Community today, with 'Portuguese Muslims of Indian origins' on top and those of 'Mixed-Mozambican' background below in the hierarchy that structures this community. While some of these processes could not be ethnographically discussed within this thesis, due to lack of space and potential diversion from its more focused purpose of increasing the understanding of memories of belongings, the phenomenological approach undertaken here brings to light how engagement with ethnic Indian objects and object-related practices in the field, for instance, tends to reproduce the ethnic and racial differences and hierarchies to those previously shaping the Muslim community in colonial Mozambique (Zamparoni, 2000), and the colonial structure as a whole (Matos, 2006; Marques, 2001).

Privileging the cooking and eating of Indian food, the leading elite of the Lisbon Muslim Community endorse an Indian cultural and ethnic expression of Muslim-ness among all other community members. Here, an almost unified and totalizing form of Indian-ness is also reinforced, attempting to subtract the ethnic differences that are bounded to the families' different origins in South Asia. The question that arises here is whether such cooking and eating practices might entail a certain continuity of internal forms of colonialism in a postcolonial setting and cultural and religious context of dwelling. Certainly this is clearly an "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm, 2003), as these power hierarchies also privilege a suitable past for those in power today. Given this perspective I would argue that colonialism has not ceased to exist despite its official end. The difference is that

now it tends to continue unconsciously by means of the material, sensory and bodily shapes addressed within this thesis.

However, while the racial and ethnic hierarchies indicated above reveal the extent to which being Indian constitutes a source of privilege over being Mozambican and African within the context of the Lisbon Muslim Community, when it comes to presenting and performing a public religious identity outside of the spatial and symbolic limits of the community such an internal hierarchy does not always hold value for my interlocutors. Having progressively internalized the perspective of the dominant *other*, the Imperial white European view, over different generations and across a narrative of migration from colonial Mozambique to the post-metropole, Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins do not embrace or materialize objective connections to collective senses of Indian-ness and Mozambican-ness. These are mostly perceived as non-Western and not sufficiently progressive, calling upon an Orientalist (Said, 2003) apprehension of the world. Therefore, representing themselves through material and visual items that suggest a subordinated sense of identity is the same as assuming a subaltern position in the face of a postcolonial European Portuguese identity, which has been partly desired and incorporated ever since colonial times.

It is for this reason that most do not feel nostalgic about any *home* left behind, as it was never a singular one. And yet, despite the fact that my older interlocutors needed/ chose to leave their home in Mozambique behind, they have also always carried home with them via migration, by means of a memory of the senses, of bodily practices and of affects implicated in their relationship with the sensory objects discussed throughout this thesis, which has allowed them to continuously enact practices and “structures of feeling” (Williams, 1977). Where identity tends to refuse, belonging manifests itself through the body, and via the sensory and affective practices produced by means of subject-object relationships incorporated habitually.

But looking closely at how the participants (dis)connect both consciously and unconsciously with/from Mozambique, while a great number of them claim not to feel connected to this country their affective, sensorial and material domestic environments and memories actually say otherwise. This contradiction is firstly due to the fact that Mozambique holds different meanings, times and even

locations for different interlocutors and generations, despite its geographical territory. For instance, despite having been born and/or brought up in this country, parents in the field do not feel bounded to a post-independence Mozambique, as the Mozambique they have known ceased to exist long ago. The parents have therefore chosen to move on and to fully embrace the sense of Portuguese-ness that they have both consciously and unconsciously internalized during colonial times and over the course of their migration to the former *metropole*. Mozambique has therefore become something of the past, and it is conceptualised as a time rather than a place. However, this is not just any past. Their Mozambique is clearly the one Vasco da Gama crossed on the way to India in the age of Empires, and it speaks Portuguese. It is a Portuguese Mozambique. In this sense, many of the older participants, who were born in Mozambique and migrated to Portugal in their youth or adulthood, seem to have migrated to a familiar unknown country that stood as the heart of the empire; one that they have learnt about through school books if not through the media, as I argue elsewhere (Pereira, 2013). Portugal has thus also become their home, indeed in some sense it always has been.

But this Portugal of theirs, back in the Portuguese overseas territory of Mozambique, used to provide them with a considerably different landscape, a different smell, a different taste and generally different multi-sensory experiences, which have become inscribed in their bodies; and these are not all Portuguese, but are also Mozambican in an East African and hybridised sense of the word. Therefore, things such as foodstuffs, ingredients, dishes and food-related practices first tasted and experimented with in that overseas Mozambican Portugal are still regularly retrieved so as to bring a sense of comfort, of ease, and even a certain sense of home and familiarity, so as to remind oneself that home is both there and here, and is ultimately within oneself. Among these things are the Mozambican peanut and cashew, Mozambican prawns and fruits. Dishes such as the peanut and the coconut curry are other examples of the culinary knowledge and taste that most of the older participants have learnt how to cook (Seremetakis, 1994; Sutton, 2001), and which their bodies also know, not simply because they recall the taste and the smell of entire structures of remembrance (Proust, 2002), but because many of them, especially the older participants, have incorporated its “sequence of gestures” (Giard, 1998a), together with family members and even colonial

servants. As previously inscribed and incorporated practices – sensory, affective and social habit-memories that taste and feel like colonial Mozambique – are then reproduced, bringing home to the here and now a Mozambique that remains therefore present and available, and has actually never been lost.

The ambivalence of felt and remembered belonging to a Mozambican Portugal – or to a Portuguese Mozambique – is also echoed in the dyad of the refusal and embrace of colonial values and hierarchies, objectified in the home through home décor objects. While some aspects of this analysis were left out of this thesis due to lack of space and insofar as it would extend the discussion beyond its purposes, much of the discussion presented regarding the way objects of home décor potentially associated with Mozambique play a role in participants' senses of belonging suggest that values underlying the choice to exhibit or not (or even to have them) match the cultural, social and aesthetic system of colonial elite values as explored by Rosales (2007). These entail processes of colonial mimicry, which my interlocutors were subject to, in addition to other processes that raise questions regarding how the embrace/refusal of these objects reflect aspirations of class produced during the colonial context of dwelling, which opens up new directions of research that articulate material culture and colonialism among multi-ethnic and multi-religious postcolonial groups.

As for the youngsters, the fact that they do not feel connected to Mozambique – which if, for them, simply an African country – cannot be easily reconciled with the Portuguese identity position and belonging which they embrace. However, they all enjoy sensory connections enabled by foodstuffs and food-related practices, and many have even incorporated not only the tastes of the Mozambican food regularly cooked and eaten in the Portuguese home, but have also learnt to identify the *true* and *authentic* flavour of things Mozambican, such as the taste of Mozambican *Coca-Cola*. To a certain extent, some of these experiences perceived as authentic result from their parents' affective mediation of a world that is still partly deliberately cherished, especially among those who also claim a Mozambican identity, and who seemed to have constructed an *armchair nostalgia* (Appadurai, 1998), or a nostalgia for the never-lived. But generally speaking, the Mozambique of the youngsters is not the same as that of their parents', since they lack many of the lived experiences of the latter, and therefore can only refer to it insofar as it constitutes a place for holidays and is

where family members live. Therefore it is never a point of return, since Mozambique was never home for them. What is home is the taste of it, which they have grown up with, and which lies within themselves, in their memories of the senses experienced alongside affective relations. What the material discussed in this thesis shows then is that these affective memories of the senses cannot simply be named after the ethno-national label that uproots home from a geographic space, insofar as home lies ultimately in their heart. It is warmth and family.

Similarly, the place called India that integrates their family narratives of migration, and that is often at the heart of claimed ethnic identity positions, constitutes rather a sign of difference and of racialization, which many are not happy to embrace in relation to outside society. This is because for many it contradicts their desire and feelings of Portuguese-ness, which they would rather embrace outside of the family household and their community of peers. Perhaps this can explain the almost inexistent visible and material evidence of connection to this cultural universe in their homes. After all, even among those who were born and brought up in colonial Mozambique as “Indian Muslims”, signs of progressive de-ethnicization are already recalled when referring to how a wide range of consumption of media and food shaped their lives in that former colony (Pereira, 2013).

But apart from these points it is also important to note that Indian-ness is not something that needs to be located or materialized, since it is believed to lie instead within oneself, somehow similarly to the case of forms of Mozambican-ness carried by my interlocutors. However, the difference between the latter and the former is that Indian-ness is considered by my interlocutors to be a set of traditions which most embody and continuously enact not because it is rooted in a “lived experience of locality” (Brah, 1996) which they feel particularly emotional or nostalgic about – since the majority has actually never been to India – but because it composes a familial and collective narrative and practices of identity and belonging, which they were socialized into from an early age, and which they believe to be at centre of the origins of their family culture. These processes of socialization have not yet been facilitated by objects of home décor, but instead by other categories of sensory objects, which still hold a common potential to allow my interlocutors to invent and reproduce an imagined Indian community, whether they wish to embrace it or not. From home cooked Indian food, which most

consider authentic and have continuously learnt the taste of, to Indian media, and in particular Hindi films, which are believed to convey glimpses of Indian tradition – all constitute sensory Indian objects which most have always lived with, either in colonial Mozambique or in postcolonial Portugal, and which have come together in the making of a habitus (Bourdieu, 1990), through which senses of Indian-ness have clearly become embodied, surely beyond its geographic place. India, or to be more precise Indian-ness, has thus become encapsulated within mobile objects which one engages with regularly, and which allow for forms of Indian-ness to be constantly re-enacted through the body, the senses and the affects entailed in acts of eating, cooking, listening, and watching things *Indian*. For this reason India gained the ability to be *on the move*; it has gained the status of a “floating signifier” (Hall, 1996b), a sign without a referent in the geographic territory where it could have come from. What I have also realized with regard to food is that Indian foods and/or culinary practices currently being re-produced in contemporary Portugal result from the transformations and challenges posed by colonialism back in Mozambique to traditionally perceived South Asian gender roles, which led to new mechanisms of transmission of culinary knowledge. Instead of resulting from the traditional female apprenticeship, where women would pass down practical culinary knowledge to younger women, almost as a ritual of passage into womanhood (Mayat, 1988), much of Indian culinary knowledge today demonstrated by my mature female interlocutors is instead the result of both a memory of the senses, tastes and flavors of home, and of inscribed forms of knowledge retrieved in South African Indian cookbooks which still constitute the most significant reference for *authentic* Indian food, especially for the older participants, who have learnt about Indian food in that part of the world.

However, this does not mean that the younger generations will be literally reproducing the same practices. Instead, what they perceive as *authentic* Indian food is the food they grew up eating at home or within the context of the Lisbon Muslim Community, which has literally nothing to do with India. Therefore, if the question is whether they will be continuing to consume it in future that will be dependent on how they will be engaging with their perceived Indian-ness. Insofar as their family provided them with tasteful repertoires of an invented Indian-ness, it is likely that they will equate family/household food with Indian food (just as it is family ties that animate a sense of Mozambican-ness).

However, if affective and sensory yearnings are likely to take place when it comes to Indian food both cooked and eaten by different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins these are even more evident and complex when engagements with Indian media are at stake. Having been socialized with Indian audiovisuals, parents and youngsters in the field tend to demonstrate quite different positions regarding these media. While parents tend to admit to finding gratification these media, the youngsters tend to refuse to admit enjoying them. Clearly this difference between the parents' and the youngsters' engagement lies in the fact that the former appear to be partly nostalgically and unconsciously re-enacting cheerful sensory and bodily memories of cinema outings in the capital of Mozambique from colonial through to postcolonial times. These engagements with Indian media, and in particular with Indian film, back in those days, seem to be attached to ritualized multisensory social practices, where the watching of the film itself was often a pretext for the social gathering and happy days spent around it. Both affective and sensory habits resulting from these practices have become imprinted in their bodies, which seem to still return as affective and bodily engagements with the ultimate object of relation – the Indian audio-visual – regardless of the medium and of the platform used. The youngsters tend to accept engagement with these practices, but not out of choice, as they are dependents in the household, and since these constitute a family practice, which they do not always wish to miss for the sake of not losing out on time with their parents (especially with their mothers, who are also more keen to engage with this content). If they are given the choice, the youngsters claim not to engage with these Indian media contents, since they are also attached to an Indian-ness they have embodied though would rather not claim.

It is this multiplicity of values and tastes which, together with their already donned *white masks* (Fanon, 2008), intensified throughout their lives in Portugal as a result of their peers and progenitors' considerable transmission of white European values, accentuates their ambivalent position and feelings towards these Indian media, which can be better solved if they opt for a mocking stance towards it. Ultimately, being Portuguese with an Indian and Mozambican background requires one to carefully assess and manage the impressions of who they can or ought to be when maintaining a European citizenship and identity. Belonging is then something one chooses to play with, though it also manifests itself through

unconscious bodily and sensory objectifications that cannot always be denied or chosen. The playful acts of belonging can hardly be concealed behind the veil of a desired management of the impressions one wishes to produce in any particular social situation, or behind the relaxed backstage behaviour (Goffman, 1990), as they clearly reveal the extent to which my interlocutors' subject-object relationships shed light on their colonially-implicated subject positions in postcoloniality.

5.1. ON COLONIAL IMPLICATED SUBJECTS

Despite my endeavouring to see beyond the political framework that often shapes debates around questions of identity and belonging, and to seek often unstated emotional and sensory memories of belonging, I conclude from this research that the weight of the colonial rule of the past inevitably shapes the conscious and unconscious feelings, sensory and bodily forms of relating to the collective ethno-national and religious grounds of belonging under analysis. It is true that not all have gone through the same lived experiences, and not all have lived through colonial rule, as the immediate thought of *being implicated in colonialism* underlines. Nevertheless, the material culture approach undertaken in this PhD research suggests that a colonial order has been passed on across generations through sensory and bodily mediations which are often unconscious and wrapped in affective experiences that obscure a critical consideration of the power hierarchy framing thoughts and ways of doing things. This means that continuous re-enactments of colonial power hierarchies, which are tied to an ordering of peoples and cultures according to race, has been implied and embedded in the way these subjects relate to ethno-national categories of belonging, in particular through material and sensory engagement with things associated with them. These have thus not only been inscribed in the internalized social and cultural representations of peoples, which are undoubtedly defined by the same logic of *us vs* subordinated *other*, but also crucially in the way particular sensory and affective experiences have become imprinted in these subjects' bodily memories, with inevitable impacts on how the following generations both interpret and appropriate them.

Moreover, while I have observed an often uncommitted relationship with the colonial past and even the postcolonial present when aspects of sensory and affective experience are recalled, the fact that they are uncommitted or apparently unrelated does not release the recalling subjects from direct implication in the colonial structure, nor does it mean that they are exempted from political interference. The truth of the matter is that the weight of the colonial past cannot be forgotten. Therefore, the different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins constitute what I call Lusophone *colonially implicated subjects*; subjects implicated in the Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique.

One could yet question whether or not we are all *colonial implicated subjects* regardless of whether we have gone through a lived experience of colonialism, and of having had a colonial order of things passed on to us by those who have had direct experience of it. After all, most of us living in a former colonizing/colonized territory and context are (post)colonial subjects, and all those living after and with new forms of colonialism in other parts of the world are also inevitably children of such a political order, despite the different nuances that such societies and systems might present. This thus has implications for the way in which individuals conceive of, represent, claim, practice and perform their (post)colonial identities and belongings.

The case of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins is certainly not exclusive. However, what the discussion presented so far proposes is the need to continue thinking the boundaries between the categories of the colonial and postcolonial, in order to better understand and explain the experiences of those who have lived through colonialism and passed on its structural elements to the following generations. Would it be more accurate to designate these subjects' experiences as "Post-Imperial" or to designate them as "Imperial implicated subjects"? But to what extent would these labels truly express the unfolding processes of collective memories of belonging here discussed, as well as a reflection about the repercussions of the colonial ideology for current ways of being in the world? With respect to these research participants, as well as others with similar life stories, experiences and/or migration trajectories (and who are not necessarily ethnically and religiously marked, such as the white former colonizers), one thing is certain, they are the primary recipients and agents of the weight of the colonial past, hence making them very interesting research

groups for the study of the implications of the colonial past in subjects' identities and belongings in the present.

In the particular case of these research participants, considerations regarding the extent to which there is the opportunity for redemptive practices and memories can and should also be interrogated. The question to be asked refers thus to the extent to which any of the material and sensory engagements with things discussed within this thesis, and others of similar relevance, constitute means through which these subjects might still attempt to redeem themselves from any implication in colonialism. This is not what I found in carrying out this particular fieldwork, but could there also have been room to explore such a topic? Can we consider the occurrence of such processes despite the claims and desire for a perceived *superior* and more *progressive* position of European-ness and Portuguese-ness? Additionally, can we consider the possibility of any practices of redemption despite the fact that many of the both conscious and unconscious subject-object relationships discussed so far reproduce the colonial order of things?

The questions presented above constitute just a few future research directions aimed at further exploring these and other subjects' postcolonial identities and affective, sensory and bodily senses of belonging. Some of these other questions imply a more focused look at the subject-object relationships explored within the thesis, as well as others that I could not explore without going far beyond its scope. They are nevertheless significant insofar as they have the potential to unveil these subjects' complex and deeply held positionalities, as well as their affective, bodily and sensory forms of belonging in postcoloniality. However, they are left here as suggestions for further research.

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7. Appendices

APPENDIX 1 - INTERVIEW TEMPLATE - PARENTS

Hi! As you know, I am a PhD student at Goldsmiths College, University of London, and I am doing a research project about the LIC/LMC and especially about the people with Indian-Mozambican background and their current relationships with their homelands and family collective memories. This interview template is meant to discuss the eventual connection there is still with Mozambique and India. Moreover, I intend also to explore how Islam plays a relevant role in your and your family's daily-lives. Furthermore, this overall conversation will be focused on memories (including those you've been told), and narratives of the daily life, and on the different sorts of things, objects, products and media contents that you and you family use, and eventually that you happened to use in the past. Therefore, I will ask you to go back to your past, review histories of the past, and to talk as well about some relevant things that you consider of relevance in your daily life, and that might enable you to feel connected to what you identify as being your belongings.

This interview template has 2 main parts – one for the past, the other one for the present. Each of them will be applied, for practical reasons, in 2 different moments, or more if needed. I hope I can count on you in this research!

This interview will only be used for research purposes and your data will be under academic confidentiality.

PART I

CONSTRUCTING THE PAST

A. PAST HOMELANDS; PERSONAL AND FAMILY TRAJECTORY; NARRATIVES OF COLONIAL TIMES AND RECONSTRUCTED MEMORIES OF TIMES AND PLACES; MEMORY NARRATIVES THROUGH THINGS AND MEDIA PRODUCTS

Place of Birth/ Place of socialization in youth and adulthood

Countries and cities

Parents' birth place

Parents activities, work and occupation

Childhood; Adolescence; Adulthood, and follow the person's trajectory regarding place

Description and Perception of the Times and Places

Family

Social life

Free time activities

Memories of places and times

Travelling and networks

Religious communities at the birthplace/ Mozambique

Religious and social life around the mosque/ Islamic community

Religious Community in Mozambique?

Activities

Who would go with? Who would you meet there? (Relatives? Friends?)

Have you ever felt discriminated while living there, in Mozambique? Why?
Have you ever mentioned that to anyone? Who?
How was to be an Indian Muslim at the time in Mozambique?

Liberation and Independency Times in Mozambique

Place

Events in Memory

Did your life and your relatives' lives change with the liberation of Mozambique?
Did you tell your children anything regarding that?

DECOLONIZATION – “DISPLACEMENT, IMAGINING HOMELANDS”

Was there a particular moment or event that made you decide to leave Mozambique? In what year was it?

Place/ country after Mozambique? Why?

When and why did you decide to come to Portugal? In what year? Who did you come with?

Memories Journey to Portugal

Perception of Portugal at arrival

Life in Portugal at arrival

Obstacles and facilities

Discrimination

Do your children know about these issues? Did you find the need to explain them all these occurrences? What do they say about it?

THINGS FROM THE PAST AT HOME

Pictures

Things and Objects

Thoughts and feelings

Do your children know about them? Did you show them to your children? Did you mention any story, past event related to those things?

If those things would get lost, what would you feel about it? Would it be a loss or damage?

Audio

The languages from the past

Who to speak those languages with

Speaking Portuguese?

Any other dialects and languages (such as Mozambican dialects; Indian dialects? English, etc)?

Do you still use those languages in your daily life?

Sayings from India/ Pakistan/ from Mozambique or even Islamic based your parents/ grand-parents used to tell you?

Media from the past

What sort of media products/ programmes do you remember to use in the places you lived in? India and Mozambique

- Radio

In the family; Childhood and Youth

What channel? When? Why? What for?

Do you still remember any song that might be popular before and/or after the revolution, and that you used to listen to in Mozambique? Can you sing it?

Have you ever talked about that with friends? With whom? And with your children? Do they know about those contents? Have you taught them?

What would you feel about those contents; programmes?

- Music

At home, in the family; Childhood and Youth

Sorts of music

Origin and channels of circulation of that music

Places of use

Discussing music within the family?

Vision and tact...

- Newspaper / newsmagazine

Discussing any issue within the family?

- TV

First time TV? When was it? What programme? Where did you watched? Who watched it?

Discussing TV within the family?

Has TV changed anything in your daily life? And in your family's daily life?

Did your parents or grand-parents use to consume any kind of media that at that time you considered old-fashionable or out of context? Why?

Do you keep any copy/ record of any of those media products? What for? Why?

HEMCOMING JOURNEYS AND MATERIALIZATION OF THE IMAGINARY HOMELANDS; CURRENT DIASPORIC AND POSTCOLONIAL CONNECTIONS TO MOZAMBIQUE/ INDIA/ ISLAM

Returning to Mozambique? When?

Frequency in trips to Mozambique

Places and Activities in Mozambique

People met

Perceptions of the country

Relatives in Mozambique and/or in India?

Would you like to live there now? Why?

Homecoming journeys in Islam/ any other abstract homelands. The case of the LIC/ LMC

Trips with the LIC/LMC?

Places

Trip to Mozambique?

PART II

CONSTRUCTING THE PRESENT

B. PERSONAL PROFILE AND DAILY LIFE

Daily Life

Description

Activity/ occupation

(if working) Describe a day at work

Describe your relationship with people at Work. - Things about Islam? About being a Muslim? About the LIC/LMC? Do they show interest for it? What do they want to know?

Leisure time

Description

Places

Peoples

Activities

What activities would you like to do, even if you don't find time to do it?

Who would you like to join or to be with and you feel you can't?

Relationship with the FAMILY

People in the household - children, parents, ages, activities, civil status

People out of the household – children, parents, ages, activities, places, civil status

Wife/ husband activity/ occupation (ex, if considered)

Description of the relationship and daily life

Places at home – activities; and family members; household members

What's the part of your house where you spend more time?

What's for you the relevance of the Family in people's lives?

Travel

Travel destinations – choices and preferences

Dream travel destinations

Places to live

If you could choose to live in any other place/ country, where would you like to live in? Portugal? Other country?

Would you consider going back to Mozambique to live? Would you instead consider living in any other place?

India?

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND BELONGINGS/ ISSUES OF RACE/ RELIGION (POLITICS OF RECOGNITION AND DIASPORA) (WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE LMC – EXPLORE THAT ISSUE)

Social Networks

Friends

People met more often

Where did you meet those you consider your friends? (are they mainly Portuguese, Mozambican, Indian, Muslims...)

Places to meet; living (areas, cities, countries)

Activities together, not together

Topics of interest/ conversation

Ways to be in touch – means of communication

The ones living abroad, how do you keep in touch with those friends? Through what means of communication do you use? What do you talk about? What are your main common issues?

Are most of your friends Muslims? Do you talk with them about Islam? And about Mozambique and India? What do they say about it?

The LIC and the LMC

Friends at the LIC/ LMC

Place and Times – first and current times

Frequency

Activities together, not together

Common interests and topics of conversation (religion, family)

What's the importance of the LIC/ LMC in your life?

Why do you want to belong and to the LIC/LMC?

How do you think you can contribute for the LIC/LMC?

What's the relevance of the LIC/ LMC in your family life?

Can you imagine your life and your family's life without the LIC/LMC?

From Parents to Children

Motivating Children to participate in the LIC? Why? Easy? Difficult?

Activities

Frequency – LIC, LMC, mosque

Do you talk about the LIC/LMC within the family on a regular basis?

Do they try to meet people from within the LIC/LMC?

Children's friends and connections

Children's perception of family history, India, Mozambique, Islam

Children's ideal place to live

Islam – Religious connections/ Centrality of the Mosque in people's lives

Frequency going to the Mosque

People to go with or to meet there

Frequency of meeting people

Islam in the person's daily life

Do you feel you are always able to practice your faith in your daily life? How? Do you feel any difficulty in practicing your faith and religion in your daily life in Portugal? What is that?

Mozambican and Indian Gatherings outside from the LIC/LMC

People in the gatherings

Places and times to meet

Frequency of the gatherings

Activities

Topics of conversation - Common interests

Ways to be in touch – means of communication

What do these gatherings mean to you?

Discriminated in Portugal? Describe

Shared the experience?

How is it to be a Muslim in current times here in Portugal?

C. THINGS AT HOME; SENSORY OBJECTS; CURRENT MATERIAL AND SENSORY CONNECTIONS TO INDIA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ISLAM

Objects at home – use the word things, as it wider regarding the common sense definition

Most important objects

Description

Do you have at home, in whatever place in your house, anything that make you feel connected to India somehow? And to Mozambique? And to Islam? Where did they come from?

Things that remind of India/ Mozambique/Islam in daily life

Things from India/ Mozambique/ Islamic countries

Description of decoration, things at home

In what ways is India/Mozambique/Islam present in your daily life?

Particularly about Islam

Islamic things at home

What, where, what for

People who are connected to those objects, things

Thoughts about those things; conversation around those objects

Food at home

Main dishes cooked

Names of the dishes

People who like those dishes

People who cook those dishes

History of the Recipes

Origin of the ingredients; access to those ingredients

Did you teach your children those recipes? Where they interested to learn?

Olfactory, taste, tact and speech...(?) – Commodities...

Things coming from Africa, India, or other places/ countries eg. capolanas, batiques, abayas, other fabrics, food and other things

Importance

Use

Access to those things – market, family, travel

How do you get them? Do you buy them online, through friends and family? Do you travel to get them? How does it work?

Speech

Languages spoken at home

Frequency of use

People to talk to

D. MEDIA CONSUMPTION AND APPREHENDED THROUGH THE SENSES IN CURRENT TIMES

What is the place of media in your daily life? How much pleasure do you take from the use and consumption of media?

TV

Channels

Programmes

Satellite or Cable TV

Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated/ frequency

People (family, friends)

Own TV – what contents?

India/ Indians; Mozambique or Mozambicans; Islam or Muslims on TV – what images? What do they focus on? What do you think about those programmes, the way they are done, the contents?

Arab/ Islamic/ Indian TV Channels (if not mentioned before)

Do you see any Arab/ Islamic or India Channel on TV? What channels are those?

Zee TV – “targeted to the Asian families living in Europe”

Programmes

Do you understand what is being said there?

Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated

People (family, friends)

How do you find those programmes comparing to the Portuguese ones? And comparing with the foreign channels available on cable/ satellite? What do you think about those programmes?

Who do you watch those channels/ programmes with? Do your children fancy them?

What do they say about them?

Al-Jazeera and other Arabic and/or Islamic Channels

Programmes

Do you understand what is being said there?

Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated/ frequency

People who to watch with

Comments

What do you think about those programmes?

How do you find those programmes comparing to the Portuguese ones?

And comparing with the foreign channels available on cable/ satellite?

Radio

Channels

Programmes

Satellite or Cable TV

Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated/ frequency

People (family, friends)

Own radio, what contents

India/ Indians ; Mozambique or Mozambicans; Islam or Muslims on the Radio?

What do they focus on?

Comments

What do you think about those programmes?

Would you like to listen to something different than it is offered?

Orbital Radio Channel/ programme "Swagatam" targeted to population of Indian-Mozambican origins

Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated/ frequency

Place

Usage - What do you look in that programme? What attract you to that programme?

Do your children fancy it? What do they say about it?

Music

Sorts of music

CD/ Radio?

Places

People

Time/ circumstances/ frequency

Access to that music

What do you think about / remember/ feel when you listen to those sorts of music?

Arabic/ Indian/ Mozambican/ African Music

Sorts of music - genres

Album names

Number of albums

Time/ circumstances/ frequency

Access to that music

Where have you got that music/ CDs from? Have you bought them? Where? Did friends and relatives give them to you? Where from?

Where have you primarily get to know that sort of music? What context?

How and when did you get to know that music? Did any friends/ relatives show them to you?

Written Press

Newspapers, Magazines

What, Why do you read it?

Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated/ frequency

People (family, friends)

Usage - What do you look for in those newspapers/ Magazines?

Internet

Websites

Usage

What do you usually look for in the internet? What websites do you search for usually?

Eg.

Information about Islam/ Mozambique? India/ Pakistan? ; to be in touch with relatives abroad? Frequency of contact; buy things online? What things?

Other media and cultural industries

Playstation and Videogames

Places

People (family at home, friends)

Time/ circumstances/ frequency

Games

Films

What films? Sorts of movies? Last one?

Places

People

Access

Indian Movies

What films? Sorts of movies?

Recent films

Place

People

Usage - What do you look in those movies?

DVDS

Do you have any DVDS of Indian movies at home? Where did you get those movies from?

And movies about Islam and Muslims have you ever seen them? Which ones? Where? Do you have any DVDS of Indian movies at home? Where did you get those movies from?

Books

What books? Sorts of books

Recent literature

Usage

Do you somehow usually try to read books about India/ Indians/ about Mozambique and about Africa/ about Islam/ Arabic countries/ Pakistan?

Recently consumed and political alliances in Diaspora through the media

Last news and media events about India/ Mozambique/ Islam – Indians/ Mozambicans/ Muslims

Do you look for news focused on Muslims/ Indian/ Mozambican people?

Are you concerned about other Muslims in the world? Who and Where? Or this is nothing that you are specifically concerned with?

What do you know about the (Indian) Muslims living in Mozambique? How do you get those news from? Do you know people there?

What were the most recent media topics that most interested you recently? What was the media through which you've known/ consumed that?

Cell Phone

Usage for friends and family outside Portugal

Place

Frequency

People

Ask for Products/ things

Image – reception and delivery

Do you also use the cell phone to send or receive image messages of things that are not available everywhere (here or in the country of the sender)?

Do you usually send or receive description of those things? If yes, do you remember the last time you've sent or received those messages?

Relationship with media professionals

APPENDIX 2 - INTERVIEW TEMPLATE - YOUNGSTERS

Hi! As you know, I am a PhD student at Goldsmiths College, University of London, and I am doing a research project about the LIC/LMC and especially about the people with Indian-Mozambican background and their current relationships with their homelands and family collective memories. This interview template is meant to discuss the eventual connection there is still with Mozambique and India. Moreover, I intend also to explore how Islam plays a relevant role in your and your family's daily-lives. Furthermore, this overall conversation will be focused on memories (including those you've been told), and narratives of the daily life, and on the different sorts of things, objects, products and media contents that you and you family use, and eventually that you happened to use in the past. Therefore, I will ask you to go back to your past, review histories of the past, and to talk as well about some relevant things that you consider of relevance in your daily life, and that might enable you to feel connected to what you identify as being your belongings.

This interview template has 2 main parts – one for the past, the other one for the present. Each of them will be applied, for practical reasons, in 2 different moments. I hope I can count with your collaboration in this research!

This interview will only be used for research purposes and your data will be under academic confidentiality.

PART I

CONSTRUCTING THE PRESENT

A. PERSONAL PROFILE AND DAILY LIFE

Place of birth

Occupation

Description of daily life (School, Family, Work, Free time...)

Description of their relationship with people at Work/ School/ College. Topics of conversation; is Islam part of your conversation?

Do they ask you things about being Islam, about you being a Muslim, and about the LIC/LMC? Do they show interest for it? What do they want to know?

Description of free time; activities, places to go; people to meet

Friends? People from School/ College/ Work/ Community/ others?

Relationship with the FAMILY

Household - People you live with

Number of brother and sisters at home and outside home; civil status

Description of life at home; family life

Using space and places at home

What's the part of your house where you spend more time? What do you usually do there? Are you alone or in your family company most of the time? Where are the rest of your family members?

Meaning and importance of the Family

Members of the family in and outside home (connections means of communication; topics of conversation)

B. SOCIAL NETWORKS AND BELONGINGS/ ISSUES OF RACE/ RELIGION
(POLITICS OF RECOGNITION AND DIASPORA)
(WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE LIC/LMC – EXPLORE THAT ISSUE)

Social Networks

Friends - Who are they? Met first? Places where they live? Places of gathering?

Frequency of gatherings

Activities together

Topics of conversation

Means of connection/ communication

(If non-muslims - Do you talk with them about Islam? And about Mozambique and India? What do they say about it?)

The LIC/LMC

Friends at the LIC/LMC? Circumstances of the first time they met (place, time, through whom?)

Frequency of gatherings; place where to meet

Activities together

Topics of conversation

What's the importance of the LIC/LMC in your life? And in the family life?

Do your parents try to motivate you to participate in the LIC/LMC? What do they tell you? What do you feel about it?

Why do you want to belong and to the LIC/LMC?

Your contributions to the LIC/LMC

Can you imagine your life without the LIC/LMC? And beyond the mosque and the LIC/LMC?

Images and Places of Childhood/ Youth

Countries where the person lived

Travel destinations; reasons to visit those countries

Living abroad? Living in Portugal?

Is there anything in your daily life that is related to India? And to Mozambique? and to Islam? What? And how much do you feel it shapes your daily life?

To what extent does India/Mozambique/Islam shaping your daily life?

Do you usually use some Indian/ Mozambican/ Islamic saying or words in your daily life?

C. THINGS AT HOME; SENSORY OBJECTS; CURRENT MATERIAL AND SENSORY CONNECTIONS TO INDIA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ISLAM

Objects at home – use the word things, as it wider regarding the common sense definition

Description of the things at home/ most important things at home/ how did you get them

Do you have at home, in whatever place in your house, anything that make you feel connected to India somehow? And to Mozambique? And to Islam?

Do you have at your place things that came from Mozambican/ Indian/ Pakistani (whatever thing)? Where do you have them? What's the importance you give to those objects/ things?

What does remind you of India/ Mozambique and of Islam in your daily life? What in your daily life might have a connection to Mozambique; India; Islam?

To what extend does India/Mozambique/Islam shaping your daily life?

Particularly about Islam

Islamic objects/ things at home (what, where, what do you think when you see/ touch/listen to them...)

People who use them the most/ those who don't use/ like them

Thoughts/ practices around those objects/ things

Food at home

Main dishes cooked at home? Can you tell the names, ingredients and the origin of the dishes? Who cooks those dishes?

Where do you get those recipes from?

Do you cook yourself those recipes? Did your learn them?

Whenever you'd live on your own will you be willing to try those recipes? Will need to ask your family for those recipes? How will you do to get the recipes?

Olfactory, taste, tact and speech... (?) – Commodities...

More things coming from Africa, India, or other places/ countries, (capolanas, abayas, salwar kameez, others, food and other things...)

Origin of those things

Speech

Languages spoken at home/ when, with who/

D. QUESTIONS ON THE MEDIA CONSUMPTION AND APPREHENDED THROUGH THE SENSES

Free time activities
Activities

Place of media in the persons life/ time dedicated/ pleasure

TV

Do you usually watch TV?
Channels/ programmes/ TV Genres/ formats/ Satellite or Cable TV/
When do you usually watch TV? At what time/ circumstances? With whom?
Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated/ frequency
People (family, friends)
Own TV – what contents?
India/ Indians; Mozambique or Mozambicans; Islam or Muslims on TV – what images? What do they focus on? What do you think about those programmes, the way they are done, the contents?

Arab/ Islamic/ Indian TV Channels (if not mentioned before)

Do you see any Arab/ Islamic or India Channel on TV? What channels are those?

Zee TV – “targeted to the Asian families living in Europe”

Programmes
Do you understand what is being said there?
Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated
People (family, friends)

How do you find those programmes comparing to the Portuguese ones? And comparing with the foreign channels available on cable/ satellite?

Al-Jazeera and other Arabic and/or Islamic Channels

Programmes
Do you understand what is being said there?
Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated
People (family, friends)
What do you look for in that channel/ programmes?

How do you find those programmes comparing to the Portuguese ones? And comparing with the foreign channels available on cable/ satellite?

Radio

Channels
Programmes
Satellite or Cable TV
Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated/ frequency
People (family, friends)

Own radio, what contents

India/ Indians ; Mozambique or Mozambicans; Islam or Muslims on the Radio?
What do they focus on?

Comments

What do you think about those programmes?

Would you like to listen to something different than it is offered?

Orbital Radio Channel/ programme “Swagatam” targeted to India-Mozambican Muslims/ Indians

Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated/ frequency

Place

Usage - What do you look in that programme? What attract you to that programme?

What do you look in that programme? What attract you to that programme?

Do your parents enjoy listening to that programme?

What do they say about it?

Music

Sorts of music

CD/ Radio?

Places

People

Time/ circumstances/ frequency

Access to that music

When have you first listened to those sorts of music?

What do you think about / remember/ feel when you listen to those sorts of music?

Arabic/ Indian Music

Sorts of music - genres

Album names

Number of albums

Time/ circumstances/ frequency

Access to that music

Where have you got that music/ CDs from? Have you bought them? Where? Did friends and relatives given them to you? Where from?

Where have you primarily get to know that sort of music? What context?

How and when did you get to know that music? Did any friends/ relatives shown them to you?

Written Press

Newspapers, Magazines

What, Why do you read it?

Time/ circumstances/ time dedicated/ frequency

People (family, friends)

Usage - What do you look for in those newspapers/ Magazines?

Internet

Websites

Usage

What do you usually look for in the Internet? What websites do you search for usually?

Eg.

Information about Islam/ Mozambique? India/ Pakistan? ; to be in touch with relatives abroad? Frequency of contact; buy things online? What things?

Other media and cultural industries

Playstation and Videogames

Places

People (family at home, friends)

Time/ circumstances/ frequency

Games

Films

What films? Sorts of movies? Last one?

Places

People

Access

Indian Movies

What films? Sorts of movies?

Recent films

Place

People

Usage - What do you look in those movies?

DVDS

Do you have any DVDS of Indian movies at home? Where did you get those movies from?

And movies about Islam and Muslims have you ever seen them? Which ones? Where? Do you have any DVDS of Indian movies at home? Where did you get those movies from?

Books

What books? Sorts of books

Recent literature

Usage

Do you somehow usually try to read books about India/ Indians/ about Mozambique and about Africa/ about Islam/ Arabic countries/ Pakistan?

Recently consumed and political alliances in Diaspora through the media

Last news and media events about India/ Mozambique/ Islam – Indians/ Mozambicans/ Muslims

Do you look for news focused on Muslims/ Indian/ Mozambican people?

Are you concerned about other Muslims in the world? Who and Where? Or this is nothing that you are specifically concerned with?

What do you know about the (Indian) Muslims living in Mozambique? How do you get those news from? Do you know people there?

What were the most recent media topics that most interested you recently? What was the media through which you've known/ consumed that?

Cell Phone

Usage for friends and family outside Portugal

Place

Frequency

People

Ask for Products/ things

Image – reception and delivery

Do you also use the cell phone to send or receive image messages of things that are not available everywhere (here or in the country of the sender)?

Do you usually send or receive description of those things? If yes, do you remember the last time you've sent or received those messages?

Relationship with media professionals

PART II

RE-CONSTRUCTING THE PAST

E. MEMORIES AND FAMILY TRAJECTORY/ NARRATIVES OF COLONIAL TIMES, RECONSTRUCTED MEMORIES OF TIMES AND PLACES

Parents place/ city/ country of birth

Grandparents place/ city/ country of birth

Family history (since your grand-parents)? What do you know about it? Who told you this story?

Decision to migrate to Mozambique/ why Mozambique/ year

Life of your family in Mozambique

- Cities where the family have lived in / places

- Mother/ Father

- Parents occupation

- Free time

Stories from your parents Childhood, Youth (family leisure activities in Mozambique/ social activities/ Places to gather (eg. Community, Classmates; people from cafés, supermarket, people from outside of the family, etc) Parents' and Family's Relationship with people outside those communities/

Family decision of leaving Mozambique (What year?) Parents decision to migrate to Portugal (What year?)

Other place after Mozambique, and before Portugal? Which one and why?

What do you have to say about this family trajectory? How do you feel whenever you remember/hear/talk about that? What it feels like?

Things from the past at home

Pictures

Pictures of those times

What scenarios, histories, occurrences? Who were portrayed there?

Things and Objects

Family objects/ things of those times (India/ Mozambique/ Islam)?

Descriptions/ place at home/ Uses and Thoughts/ Parents relationships with those things

If they would get lost, would you feel it as a loss?

What in your daily life remind you of Mozambique? And of India? And of Islam?
What in your daily live might have a connection to Mozambique? To India? To Islam?

Media Culture of the past

Music/ sayings taught by your parents, family, that came form their life back in Mozambique? Something that happened to came from India/ Mozambique/ or to be Arabic and be somehow related to Islam? Can you tell/sing it for me?

Do you know any saying/ song regarding ideological revolutions both in India/ Mozambique that your grand-parents, parents might have taught you?

Community, Religious belonging and Networks in Colonial Times

Islamic Community like the LIC in the parents' youth, in Mozambique (cities where they have lived)

Stories and narratives

Activities

People gatherings around mosque/ Islamic community

Do your parents still get along with people they were friends with in their childhood and youth? Do you know them?

Postcolonial times - Homecoming journeys and materialization of the imaginary homelands; current diaspora connections regarding Mozambique/ India/ Islam

Homecoming trips to India/ Mozambique/ Mecca and Media - places where have been; people met and with whom they went; thoughts

Relatives back in Mozambique and India/ means of communication

Who are your parents' friends and connections

Mozambique/ India/ Pakistan/ Islamic Countries in Parents topics of conversation?

The LIC/LMC

Importance of the LIC/LMC? Why do you want to belong and to the LIC/LMC?

Contribute for the LIC/LMC

Do you imagine your life without the LIC/LMC? (What doesn't mean without the Mosque)

Frequency of participation in the life of the Lisbon Central Mosque? In what occasions?

Trips organized by the LIC? Have you ever participated in those trips?

Travel destinations

Living abroad? Where ?

Meeting people within the LIC/LMC (in and outside the mosque and with what purpose – work, leisure)? Who are they? Do you usually meet these people also outside the mosque/ in family gatherings? How often?

APPENDIX 3 – TABLE OF CHARACTERIZATION OF THE INTERVIEWEES

| | Sex | Year of Birth | Ethnic and Racial Perceptions | Civil Status | Number of Children | Country of birth | City of birth | Parent's Country of birth | Year of Migration to Portugal | Education | Occupation |
|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--|---|
| Parent | 1 Female | 1955 | Mixed Mozambican | Married | 3 | Mozambique | Lourenço Marques/ Maputo | Mozambique | 1976 | 9th Grade | Housekeeper |
| | 2 Female | 1963 | Mixed Mozambican | Married | 2 | Mozambique | Lourenço Marques/ Maputo | Mozambique | 1978 | MA degree | Secondary School Teacher |
| | 3 Female | 1962 | Indian | Married | 2 | Pakistan | Karachi | Several | 1989 | 9th Grade | Family Business Manager |
| | 4 Female | 1950 | Indian | Married | 2 | Mozambique | Beira | India | 1981 | 4th grade | Family Business Manager |
| | 5 Female | 1968 | Indian | Married | 2 | Mozambique | Lourenço Marques/ Maputo | Several | 1983 | 9th Grade | Family Business Employee |
| | 6 Female | 1968 | Mixed Mozambican | Married | 3 | Mozambique | Nampula | Several | 1976 | 9th Grade | Unemployed |
| | 7 Female | 1954 | Indian | Separated/ Divorced | 2 | Mozambique | Lourenço Marques/ Maputo | India | 1978 | BA degree | Consultant at International Car Company |
| | 8 Female | 1961 | Mixed Mozambican | Married | 3 | Mozambique | Ilha de Moçambique | Mozambique | 1976 | 12th Grade | Family Business Manager |
| | 9 Female | 1967 | Indian | Separated/ Divorced | 2 | Mozambique | Lourenço Marques/ Maputo | Several | 1980 | 4th grade | Family Business Manager |
| | 10 Male | 1957 | Mixed Mozambican | Married | 2 | Mozambique | Ilha de Moçambique | Mozambique | 1983 | 9th Grade | Unemployed |
| | 11 Male | 1949 | Indian | Married | 2 | Mozambique | Lourenço Marques/ Maputo | Several | 1975 | BA degree | Bank Employee |
| Total | N | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Position within the household | 1 Female | 1981 | Mixed Mozambican | Single | 0 | Mozambique | Porto Amélia/ Pombal | Mozambique | 1983 | MA degree | Student |
| | 2 Female | 1989 | Mixed Mozambican | Single | 0 | Portugal | Lisboa | Mozambique | NA | 12th Grade | Student |
| | 3 Female | 1988 | Mixed Mozambican | Single | 0 | Portugal | Lisboa | Mozambique | NA | BA degree | Working Student |
| | 4 Female | 1989 | Indian | Single | 0 | Portugal | Lisboa | Mozambique | NA | BA degree | Student |
| | 5 Female | 1986 | Mixed Mozambican | Single | 0 | Portugal | Lisboa | Mozambique | NA | BA degree | Working Student |
| | 6 Male | 1988 | Indian | Single | 0 | Portugal | Lisboa | Mozambique | NA | BA degree | Student |
| | 7 Male | 1977 | Mixed Mozambican | Single | 0 | Portugal | Lisboa | Mozambique | NA | 12th Grade | Security Staff |
| 8 Male | 1986 | Indian | Single | 0 | Mozambique | Lourenço Marques/ Maputo | Mozambique | 1989 | BA degree | Project Manager Telecommunications Company | |
| 9 Male | 1984 | Mixed Mozambican | Single | 0 | Portugal | Lisboa | Mozambique | NA | BA degree | Civil Engineering | |
| 10 Male | 1982 | Indian | Single | 0 | Portugal | Lisboa | Mozambique | NA | BA degree | Marketer | |
| Total | N | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 2 | 10 | 10 |
| Grand-Child | 1 Male | 1986 | Indian | Single | 0 | Portugal | Lisboa | Mozambique | NA | BA degree | Collaborator in a call-center |
| Son/ Daughter in Law | 1 Female | 1978 | Mixed Mozambican | Married | 0 | Portugal | Lisboa | Several | NA | BA degree | Social Worker |
| Total | N | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | N | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 13 | 23 | 23 |

9. Limited to first 500 cases

APPENDIX 4 - PERSPECTIVES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Apart from the questions and aspects indicated in the conclusions, some other matters remained outside of this thesis for either requiring further research or lack of space. For instance, my interlocutors' engagement with other perceived to be Islamic objects, such as clothes and media. Clearly the prevalence of the objects of home décor with an Islamic stamp in display demanded a dedicated focused attention and exploration when tackling aspects of material and sensory forms of mediation of collective memories of belonging within these subjects' private realm. It not only showed contours of immediate accessibility in the field, due to its visible character, but it also allowed thus for a smoother start up of the reflection around aspects of epistemology and method that articulate material culture and belonging, where the empire of the visual could and needed to be questioned. However, all through my fieldwork, practices related to Islamic clothing, such as the use of the veil and of the *burquo*⁶⁰, showed also a crucial importance in the management of gender identities and impressions among community members, which could have been further explored using the same research purposes and others that could eventually go somehow beyond this PhD. It is then worth asking how have these clothes been playing a significant role in enabling a connection to an Islamic world among Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins? What are the meanings and values attributed to these garments and how are they chosen, picked to be worn in community settings and contexts? What constraints and considerations are at stake when wearing the veil and the *burquo*? Aspects of public and private womanhood and femininity as felt and perceived by these women and their male others within the context of the community are also worth exploring in relation to both collective gendered memories, where the covered and uncovered body constitutes the core object of collective remembrance, and of the making of a *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990). Additionally, the importance of Islamic clothing in the construction of gender identities, especially of womanhood among girls both through primary and secondary socialization, from colonial Mozambique to postcolonial Portugal, finds relevance and pertinence in a research where processes of gender continuity

⁶⁰ This was the word used in the field to refer to the long black tunic used by women of different ages, class or positionality, during religious and social events inside of the mosque.

and change, which involves the ‘problem of what to wear’ (Tarlo, 1996) are at stake. With such approaches a reflection about the limits of the visible Muslim body both consciously and unconsciously, both from a theoretical and epistemological point of view, can also be facilitated, in addition to a discussion around the politics and the intersected feelings of belonging among different generations of Portuguese Muslim women of Indian and Mozambican origins in postcolonial Portugal. Such approaches allow for a discussion against the Orientalized views of Islamic clothing that often assume the veil/ hijab as merely oppressive tools towards women, in civil society and in accounts where women and their voices are often left outside and unheard. They also allow for a comparative analysis of Emma Tarlo’s (2007) approach to the “problem what to wear” with regard to the visible Muslim women in the UK, where the hijab carries the stamp of Islamic visibility and of public recognition in a trans-cultural city, rather than that of oppression. In this sense, a more focused understanding of the contexts and reasoning for its use and/ lack of use in different settings shall also be ethnographically if not also biographically explored as to gain an in-depth understanding of the extent to which the veil and other Islamic clothes are and have been for the participants attached to signs of visibility or of invisibility, along with their challenges of being, acting and becoming Portuguese in a postcolonial time-space context of dwelling.

Such discussion would also benefit from an approach that endeavours to understand how the veil and other so-called Islamic garments are used together with an embodied Islamic practice produced through particular perceptual and bodily skills, involving not only the differentiated uses of spaces but also the Islamic soundscapes, which accompany one’s everyday Islamic practice. In this sense, the other questions to be asked refer to how the use of the veil is tied to a body gesture that responds to the call for prayer (*Adhan*) and how is it also habitually defined in movements dictated by previously incorporated *techniques of the body* (Mauss, 1992). In short, how are these practices and subject-object relations thus defined by a habitual bodily memory? These questions find particular relevance when noting that one of the most curious and notable practices observed in the field entailed the female body gesture of covering the head in response to the *Adhan*, every time it could be heard in the space of the Lisbon Central Mosque, even when priority was given to other activities apart

from praying, as well as whenever different spaces of the mosques would be crossed, especially those usually ascribed to men hence requiring a higher management of the female body impressions. A phenomenological approach undertaken all through this PhD would also be particularly useful here, in addition to an analysis of the social interactions and performances following Goffman's frame analysis, both within and outside of the community of peers and family household, which could also provide insights onto the political, moral, cultural, gendered devices and habitual character of these devices.

Furthermore, regarding the importance of the recorded Islamic prayers, recitations and call for prayers that most of my interlocutors, regardless of age and gender, tend to engage with in different private contexts and times of their day, several questions still need to be asked. Firstly, what are the platforms and devices mostly used and in what contexts? In several occasions I could experience the reproduction of particular prayers during car journeys. Forgotten cassettes in the car radio, which were in fractions of seconds switched off when in my presence often disclosed on-going practices that were not to be continued in the "front stage". Would these be hidden audio practices or would they simply not be appropriate for the social situation I participated in. Whatever reason, such practices clearly deserve a focused attention, especially when thinking of Islam in relation to material culture and the sensory in both the private and public spheres. In this thesis I have discussed how the reproduction of the *Qur'anic* words exhibited in the home plays a fundamental role in the sacralization of space and of the subject, recipients of those sacred words of God. But are there other uses associated to these audio/listening practices? What are the audio recordings selected and what is their importance in these subjects' everyday life? Furthermore, what are the origins and the contents of such recordings? Are they given, shared by family members, and/or purchased randomly for private use only? What are the criteria and rationale behind their selection and acquisition? My interlocutors' Arabic illiteracy raises also substantial interrogations despite the acknowledgement that the *Qur'anic* word carries the word of God, hence its value. However, many also claimed the beauty of the sounds when they were to choose to listen to some *Adhans* online. What other uses, meanings, values and appropriations of these soundscapes are there? Moreover, considering the audio files digitally circulating among my interlocutors, other questions ought to be

asked regarding the means that take them to their owners. How do they get to be owned by these subjects? How, when and where else do these subjects also engage with any Islamic recordings, and what is their importance in their senses of belonging? While these might appear to be random questions, the fact that these audio-contents are played in a western postcolonial country such as Portugal is worthy of further interrogation, since many of them might not be easily available for their users and the latter might not always find need to manage well their identities in public settings, where these soundscapes do not enter most of the cases. The role of these soundscapes in shaping a private and public identity constitutes thus a significant topic for research, in contrast with the regular public Islamic soundscapes produced in Islamic countries, such as Egypt where the Islamic soundscapes are described as being part of the Cairo's landscape (Hirschkind, 2006). Clearly Portugal, and in particular Lisbon, cannot be compared to Cairo, when considering the importance of the sounds of Islam in compelling its citizens into particular practices and even civic engagements, as it is the case of the latter, and the fact that the former is still marked by the public and collective sounds of the bells, just as other Catholic European cities and villages (Corbain, 1998), beyond others to be identified and explored, and which has gained the attention of artists researchers and enthusiasts (Wenders, 1994; Moutinho, 06/06/2013). But precisely for that reason, one should not dismiss the significance of private listening practices of relatively private Islamic audio and soundscapes shaping these subjects' sensorium, affects and sensibilities, nor should one neglect the political economy behind it.

Additionally, this thesis could have also benefited from a systematic analysis of the significance, role and meanings attributed by the participants to other objects dressing their homes had I have been able to extend it in length. In particular, how do other items merely described throughout the chapters – such as the porcelains and crochet tablecloth – be taken as signs of a postcolonial position and sense of Portuguese, namely of Imperial Portuguese-ness? Their display is suggestive of an objectified European/ Portuguese aesthetics, just like that encountered by Rosales (2007) among the Mozambican colonial elite. Surely, these are material culture items worth of further exploration, especially because they allow for a cross-ethnic and cross-religious comparative research of the domestic colonial aesthetics and systems of values. While aware of their existence

and significance, when undertaking this research, and writing about its findings, choices needed to be made as for what constitutes affective and multisensory objects of belonging among the participants. In an attempt to contradict the empire of the visual and to finally reveal the significance of other multisensory objects in the production of their collective senses of belongings, I have prioritized food and media over other yet significant objects.

Moreover, just like these other objects of home décor needed to be left out of the thesis, other items were also left out of the research from the very start, not only because they did not often gain the conscious recognition of my interlocutors' embrace, but also because there was a limit of how much this research could explore. One of these objects correspond to Indian clothing and its role in the making of my interlocutors' belongings. Just like in the case of Islamic garments worn in the field, much could still be explored in regards to Indian clothing, insofar as this is too often connected to "the problem of what to wear" (Tarlo, 1996) in different settings, contexts, and in a time line. In particular, several of my fieldwork experiences put in evidence the fact that Indian clothing is mostly wore by women at the mosque or in any special ceremony that is shared by the so-called Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, and not necessarily tied to a representation of Islam. However, what clothes are these? How do the participants get to acquire them? Why is it only the women those who dress Indian, in contrast to their male counterparts, who would mostly wear western style suits? How have these clothing practices been defined by a colonial memory of belonging?, especially produced in colonial Mozambique? A few researches on Indian clothing both in India and outside of it (Tarlo, 1996; Oonk, 2011) are quite suggestive of how colonialism has had an impact on clothing habits, as well as on the construction of Indian-ness through clothing.

Apart from these and other matters that did not find room in the scope of this thesis, other research objects have inevitably emerged along with the findings discussed throughout. Note, for instance, that most of my older interlocutors refer to how they have been shaped by a colonial Portuguese schooling system that often neglected the history of, the social and cultural and even natural life in Mozambique. This is clearly mentioned to justify their considerable mediated knowledge of Portugal, and their senses of Portuguese-ness acquired prior to migration. While this deserves further research, I would argue that the tuning in of

radio stations broadcasting in Portuguese language equally facilitated these processes. Therefore, I would also argue the need to investigate the role of the media, in particular of the local radio stations in colonial Mozambique, in facilitating the construction of a Portuguese-ness among these subjects. It is clear that most of these parents have regularly listened to the *Radio Clube de Moçambique* when they were still based in that former colony, and that this radio station endorsed the construction of a sense of Portuguese-ness through its promotional soundscapes (Pereira, 2013). However, more needs to be researched regarding the role played by this and other radio stations tuned in from colonial Mozambique in conveying and constructing an imperial sense of Portuguese-ness among these (and other) subjects, which can perhaps also better explain current postcolonial identity positions. Therefore, the questions to be asked are: what radio stations broadcasting in Portuguese did these subjects tune in? What do they remember about/from this radio? Do they remember the contexts of listening or the contents themselves? Which are the most significant contents recalled? What contents did they broadcast and how did they play a role in the construction of an imperial sense of Portuguese-ness? How are these imaginaries still being redefined through a lived experience of locality in Portugal? A research project that articulates an oral history analysis of the memories of lived experience in colonial Mozambique with an archival research of the significant radio stations and contents broadcasting in Portuguese language, apart from the *Radio Clube de Moçambique*, would be particularly insightful with this regard. Not only it could shed some light into the place and identity positions embraced by these subjects today and back then, but also on how colonial life was perceived and made from their point of view with and through the radio. Furthermore, such research questions should also be applied to other groups such as the white Portuguese settlers and other assimilated populations, for comparative purposes, insofar as these are all Lusophone colonial implicated subjects, regardless of their former and present symbolic power status both in colonial Mozambique and postcolonial Portugal.

In addition to these research themes, I would also argue the relevance and even need to apply the same research framework of this PhD to other groups with a similar trajectory of migration, namely the Portuguese Hindus, Ismailis and Shias of Indian and Mozambican origins, as well as the so called Portuguese white

retornados, who integrated what Andrea Smith (2003) designates as *diasporas of decolonization* for comparative purposes. To what extent do they embrace and/or refuse similar and/or different notions of Portuguese-ness and/or Mozambican-ness and/or Indian-ness? What is the impact of the religious and racial differences in both their conscious and unconscious ways of relating and connecting to these collective ethno-national grounds? How can they be understood along with affective, sensory and bodily memories and mediations of memories of locality and in intergenerational processes? Their common Portuguese citizenship would *a priori* suggest that all those who migrated from Mozambique to Portugal after that country's independence would share similar notions, feelings and connections to these universes. But is that really the case? How have they also been shaped by migration? Moreover, despite the generally holistic construction of collective senses of Indian-ness by my interlocutors, which both subtracts and unifies Indian ethnic differences into a single Indian-hood, many also attribute a more loyal maintenance of Indian traditions and culture to the Hindu counterparts based in Portugal and equally migrated from Mozambique, in an attempt to both refuse an ethnic identity and to prioritize their Muslim position. But how do the Portuguese Hindus perceive their own senses of Indian-ness in comparison to other Hindus, and to other non-Hindu populations from Mozambique for instance? Furthermore, how have they been reproducing these ideas of Indian-ness through material, sensory and bodily practices and things? To what extent do they actually share similar habit-memories and social-memories with my interlocutors, and what have been the particular and circumstances defining this group's forms of Indian-ness?

In these cases, not only a memory approach would be particularly useful and insightful in explaining how the past is brought into the present, but it would also provide a critical understanding of how different temporalities are constructed in the present and how they are also intertwined with postcolonial positions and affective, sensory and bodily forms of belonging. Furthermore, a more dedicated focus on these subjects' bodily engagements with particular sensory objects such as food, for instance, which have only been partly tackled in this thesis, could also provide a more insightful and detailed account of how processes of change and continuity in particular practices and body techniques have been enabled in ways that interfere and influence current perceptions of

Indian-ness. Therefore, and partly inspired by Zuleikha Mayat's (1988) oral history and ethnographic project of collecting all the Indian delights being prepared and cooked by South African women of South Asian origins during the 70's, I would also see a considerable relevance in exploring both what Indian recipes do Portuguese women with an Indian and Mozambican background and who hold different South Asian ethnic origins and faiths prepare and cook today on a regular basis; how and what has been the source of their apprenticeship in those particular dishes?; what are the *techniques of the body* (Mauss, 1992) and *sequence of gestures* applied and implied in *doing-cooking* (Giard, 1998c)?; to what extent has this culinary knowledge also been object of intergenerational processes of transmission in postcolonial Portugal? A research of these topics would not only allow for a clearer understanding of bodily techniques applied in the apprenticeship and/or gained along with learning how to cook Indian *by the book*, but it would also allow for a further discussion of the processes of both continuity and change of gender roles among these subjects, in a way that intersects ethnic, cultural, racial and religious social locations defining one's identity and belongings, and which this thesis has just started tackling.