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This research dissertation is submitted for the MSc in Global Migration at University College London

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

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I am extremely grateful and dedicate this project to all my family who enthusiastically participated and supported me in the realisation of this project. I would like to begin by thanking my mother Fátima for her invaluable encouragement and generous help from contacting participants to helping me with the organisation of data collection. I would also like to thank my father Anil who gave his time to participate and help me with the organisation of the data collection as well with the financial support of this project. I am very grateful to Beto, Harsh, Indu, Krupa, Kumud, Olimpia, Rupa, São, Sudhir, Tarun, Teresa and Vasco for their time and participation in the gatherings and most importantly for having openly and enthusiastically shared their personal stories and experiences with me, their trust and participation in this project meant a lot to me. I would also like to thank, my mother Fátima, Teresa, São, Kumud and Rupa for the wonderful dinners organised for the gatherings and the warm welcome they gave me in Portugal. I am very grateful to my aunt São, who kindly gave away her photographs, and my grand-aunt Teresa for lending me her novels and books on Portuguese decolonisation. I am also grateful to Ana Bandeira’s help in University of Coimbra’s archives, her provision of information on decolonisation, Portuguese archival sources,

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

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

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

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

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

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To explore the intertwinement of citizenship with communities’ experience of “return”

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

To examine how migrant communities’ interact and appropriate material belongings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

history, education and citizenship that were challenged and negated as the empires dissolved (Kaplan1993, Castles and Davidson2000).” For Ugandan Asians, work for the British government such as government job roles, military positions, embodied a loyal colonial relationship between African Asians and the former metropolis. It illustrates Erel(2009:195)’s statement that “*citizenship as a lived experience is constructed”*. Their migration involved a negotiation of imperial loyalties with the empire and attachments to both Africa and India that need to be further explored. Linking back to proofs of paternal ancestry as a condition for British citizenship, ius sanguinis played an important role in defining who belonged and did not belong to the UK-and-Colonies and perpetuated a fixed sense of belonging by dictating national belonging according to ancestry (Kaplan1993, Castles and Davidson2000). This highlights the conflict between the constructiveness of imperial loyalties developed by the Ugandan Asian communities and the metropolises’ essentialised and racialised conception of national belonging, also seen in Algerian’s statuses of second-class citizens (Reed-Danahay and Brettell2008, Blunt2005). The sentiment of national belonging or even pride once expressed by Algerians when fighting for the French empire was not recognised and was further negated through forms

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

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

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The concept of imagined communities is useful in order to grasp how Portuguese-Angolan community coped with integrating in society from which they were alienated, yet were tied by blood or imperial loyalties as for Indo-Mozambicans (Anderson1991). Imagined communities encompass a simultaneous inclusion and exclusion as they classify people according to imagined boundaries and cultural affiliations (Malkki1995,Gruffudd2009). Caught in a paradox of being Portuguese and yet being foreigners in their fatherland, the “Othering” of both communities reflects a clash of their in-betweeness with the Portuguese community’s sedentary view on

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

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

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

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

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

The exploration of geographies of home beyond the fixed boundaries of the nation therefore provides an invaluable gate to understanding constructions and contestations of sense of belonging beyond a bounded identity and sense of belonging to a singular place (Ahmed et al.2000). Exploring home spaces as both materialised and imagined provides an opportunity to understand not only multiple places of attachment but allow us to grasp more distant and imagined attachments to homeland that connect memories of the past in the present (Blunt2005,Fortier2000). Material belongings play a crucial role in this. Walsh(2006)’s research on British expatriates for instance, brings out how particular objects enact affective or sensory memories and allow people to perpetuate imagined relationships in time and space throughout migration (Hill2007, Walsh2006). Blunt(2005) particularly focuses on nostalgia to explore how a

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The qualitative methodological framework focuses on daily and past narratives of the Indo-Mozambican and Portuguese-Angolan communities during their uprooting and settlement in Portugal to address the project's objectives of: exploring the role of citizenship in constructions of sense of belonging, examining the construction and challenge of loyalties to the former

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Although all members in gatherings felt concerned and showed much interest in sharing their

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Anil: I

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

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

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

> "Jessica: But did you really want to have Portuguese nationality?
>
> Kumud: Yes I wanted it...
>
> Jessica: why...?
>
> Kumud: Because I wanted it...you know, I've

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Kumud's inability to obtain Portuguese citizenship also

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

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

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

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

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

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

> "JESSICA: So you feel differentiated through nationality because you had been categorised as Portuguese of second class or...
>
> TARUN: differentiation was a question of ethnicity because we were Portuguese of "Ultramar"[see glossary] and stopped being Portuguese when we came to the metropolis!...so we had to ask for the obtention of the nationality AGAIN! It was unfair in international rights, international law. But, the Portuguese democratic dictatorship was like that, we had to request the nationality, and then for example I asked for it and managed to get it, my brothers they did th

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

"SSICA : "
everything to save the children, the family etc...."

The process of uprooting started with growing insecurity in Africa for both communities. Among many stories of growing fear, political instability, experiences of being threatened of death, assassinations, war, and deteriorating living conditions in their homes in Angola and Mozambique, São

es) [see figures4,5,6,7] [34] which transported thousands of *retornados* in conditions that she describes by referring to World War II refugees. She clearly recalls the anxiety of travelling under the MPLA's machine guns pointing at them on the deck.

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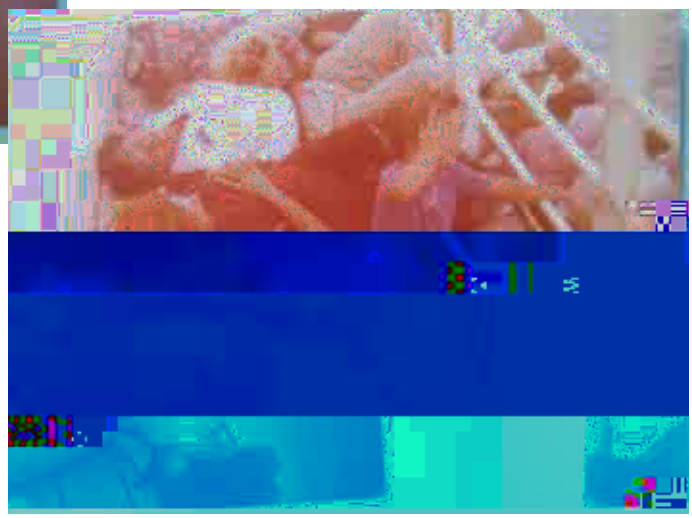

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Facing a conflictive or “forced choice” of leaving home, illustrates shared mixed feelings of belonging in regard to what he indirectly refers as a racialised uprooting:

> VASCO: “I had to come! Revolted! Because all my life that was in that country, I left it, why? For being white?” [.

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

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

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

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

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

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

> "Vasco: [...] (imitating a policeman speaking to him) "oh are you a *retornado?"* retornado no! we were Portuguese. Why *retornados?* It was like was

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

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

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While colonial whites felt a deep conflict for not having their direct social, cultural and political ties re-recognised, the younger generation of Portuguese-Angolans, contested and played with the homogenous label of *retornado* for instance by repeatedly referring to themselves as refugees instead of returnees to other people. São for example, recalls a time she was sitting in a train listening and hypocritically taking part in a conversation around her where people insulted and talked badly of *retornados*, until she revealed her origins with a sarcastic attitude, and left the

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

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

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

> Fátima: "That's F)Tj 0 Taxgs(s)4(3)-5os 3 F0.0093 Tc 3.187.948d (:)T3( ) Tc 1.5 0 358d (:)T 0.0002

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

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

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

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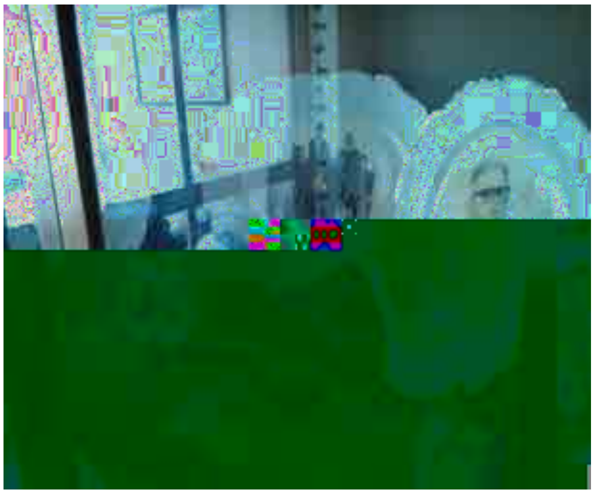
Both the image and materiality of photographs appeared to help Fátima imaginarily reconstruct a forcibly uprooted connection with Angola and more profoundly an almost “stolen” sense of self. Her reminiscence links images of landscapes with her sense of belonging. While identifying family members, family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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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Having immigrated to Brussels a decade after her arrival to Portugal, Fátima confesses having her belongings spread everywhere out of her reach; abandoned in Africa, somewhere in Portugal and in Brussels. It helps explain her almost spontaneous urge to root her belonging through her

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

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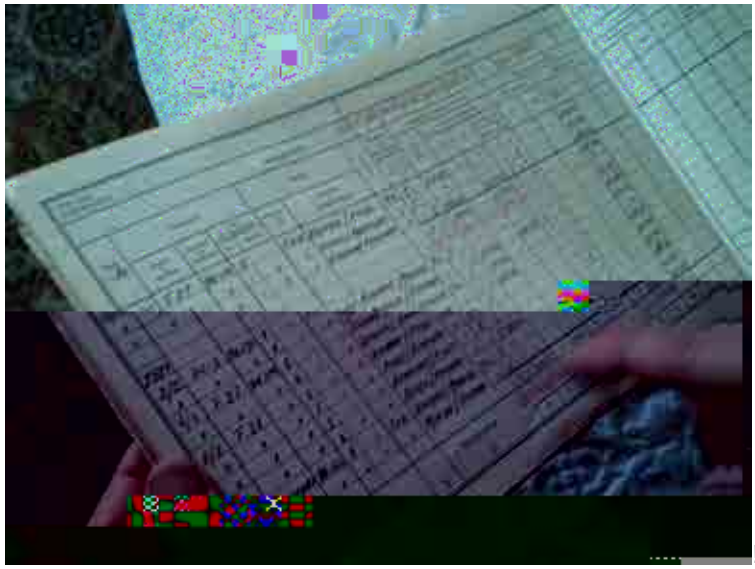

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São's different interaction with objects reveals another way of handling her sense of belonging. Her decision to give away most photographs and albums to Fátima during the gathering and the swift handling of the photographs compared to Fátima's careful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

distancing from Angola and Mozambique, saying that “heartbreak is to be forgotten”[56]. Beto’s promised opportunity of return to Angola for work in 2000, was not kept by his boss, reinforcing a false hope of return which affected his distanced view of returning to Africa[57]. Despite emphasising how cut off he is from Mozambique by referring to Mozambique as a foreign land as a way of overcoming the past, Sudhir’s memories of his unaccomplished aviation studies [see figure20]and dream of becoming a pilot have implicitly transformed into the wish of passing on his passion for aviation to his son who now wishes to study aviation. Memories of uprooting here are not directly expressed as a personal loss but have rather transformed into a sort of hope of perpetuation that transcends generations. Instead of claiming a connection with his former motherland, he often refers to his involvement in current weekly activities organised by the Indian Pt e(0ro-91(by)( )-9s61(by)(u0)-9romisedgests-9romia61(by)(as61(by))-13(r7eptepg)-100om

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This research project has sought to shed light on reconstructions and negotiations of Portuguese-Angolan and Indo-Mozambican communities' sense of belonging in relation to a once repressed and then revalorised wider Portuguese empire. By engaging with the concept of citizenship throughout Chapter five, this study has found that participants spoke of citizenship with a greater sense of a right of national belonging. While the two communities shared a common in-betweeness and "tragic" powerlessness to claim back or re-anchor their sense of belonging to an

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

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

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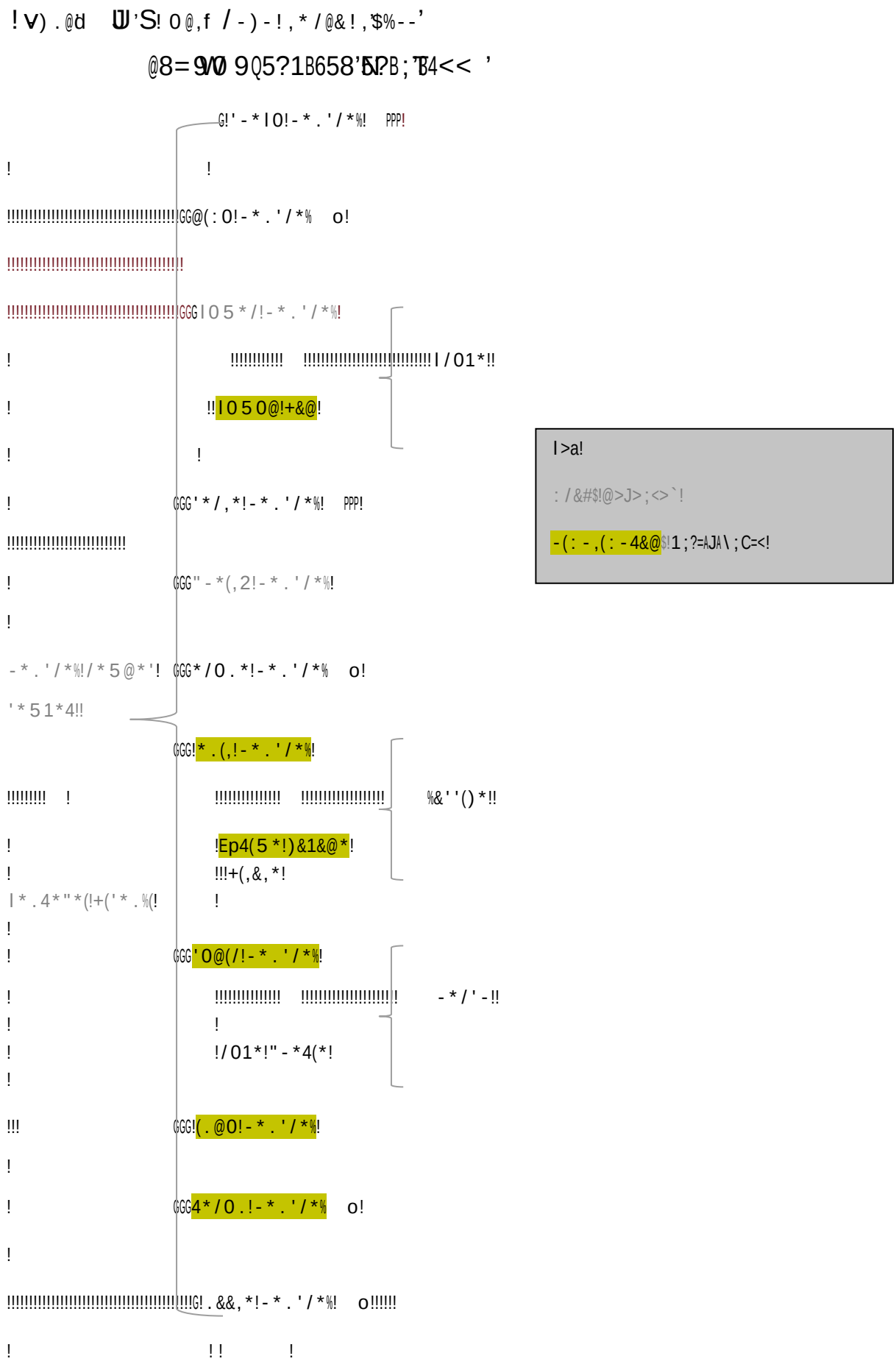
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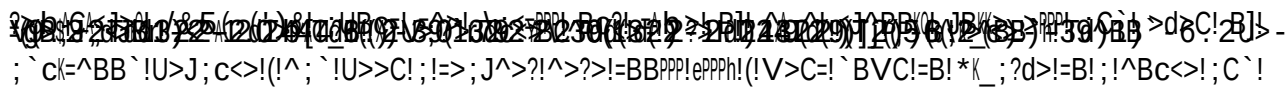

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