

Remembering with and through ‘media objects’ among Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican Origins: a family case study*

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Abstract

Studies about Diaspora and the Media have seen a significant growth in the past two decades, contributing to an extensive range of literature on Displacement, Community, and Transnational Connections, endorsed by the production and consumption of diverse media products and technologies, made available at a large scale. However, these discussions have not exhausted the debate about the mnemonic potentialities of media products – and of other objects – among the diasporic subjects, as part of localized political engagements and identity positions.

How are diasporic groups re-producing and re-apprehending collective memories through the way of the body and things, both material and immaterial? How are these processes sensory mediated and defined? To what extent does the use of media products play a unique role in these diasporic mnemonic processes, enacting imagined pasts and futures? Aiming to answer these and other questions, I undertook a 12 months’ “sensuous and tasteful ethnography” (Stoller 1989) among two different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, currently based in Lisbon.

Focusing on both the idea of ‘sensorial memories’ and of ‘collective memories’ can be re-produced through the way of the body and through bodily *habits* (Connerton 1989, Stoller 1997b, Stoller 1997a); materialized through different categories of practices and things (Slyomovics 1998 ; Basu 2004 ; Wright 2004); and sensory re-produced and re-apprehended (Stoller 1989 ; Gosden and Knowles 2001 ; Edwards, Gosden et al. 2006) in postcoloniality, I have been keen on observing how these processes take place among different generations of 11 family units, members of the diasporic group mentioned above.

In this paper, I will be presenting one family case study from the overall empirical data collected throughout the sensory ethnographic

fieldwork, giving particular attention to the media products used and referred to as significant in my interlocutors’ past and present daily routines. Different audiovisual ethnic and mainstream media products are to be mentioned as relevant examples of mnemonic material/ immaterial things, through which, two generations of these Portuguese Muslims re-produce and challenge diasporic belongings, re-defining their positions in a postcolonial spatial and temporal context. These processes are clearly determined by class, gender, ethnicity, race and power differences, besides the political and historical rationales and the family/personal life stories, which led to their migration and settlement in Portugal. Additionally, an understanding of the relevance of the materiality/ immateriality in the continuity/ change of collective memories among these subjects cannot also disregard their minority condition within the Portuguese society, and the reproduction of negative images of Muslims and Islam in Western societies, especially after 9/11.

Keywords: Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican Origins; Collective Memory; Media Objects; Household Ethnography.

Introdução

THIS paper aims to contribute to the discussion of the role of the media uses in enacting collective colonial memories among Portuguese Sunni Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins in Postcolonial Portugal. This contribution is part of a wider ongoing PhD research, intended to understand processes of transmission, re-production, re-apprehension of collective colonial memories through the way of the body and through things of diverse nature, among two different generations of Portuguese Sunni Muslims, members of the Lisbon Islamic Community, with both Indian and Mozambican origins. For this matter, I undertook a 12 months of “Sensuous and Tasteful Ethnography” (Stoller 1989), having also been focused on how the senses constitute both an epistemological and research tool, as well as, a mediator between the subject, objects and the memories in analysis.

Apart from issues of theoretical framework and methodology, which I will be exploring further on in this paper, I shall start by introducing and identifying the subjects and participants in this research, through geographical, socio-economic and historical contexts of a transnational

migration, in order to explain and justify the use of such a long and apparently essentializing label – “Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins” – and to provide arguments in favour of this project.

I am, in fact, labelling here my interlocutors by their religious and national affiliations. However, the use of this label is, first of all, meant to emphasize the multiple identity components they embody, and that a reflection of their memories would necessarily entail. This strategy of identification does not necessarily imply exclusive forms of attachment to any strict definitions of *Portuguese-ness*, *Muslim-ness*, *Indian-ness*, or *Mozambican-ness*, but instead an understanding of their collective migration trajectory from South-Asia to Mozambique, and thereafter to Portugal, where members of these community are currently settled. This label is also, thus, intended, to highlight both a common temporal and spatial trajectory in the construction of this diasporic community, that shows, in its own turn, several parallels with other communities and groups that migrated from the same region in South-Asia to different points of the globe, under either similar or differentiated social, economic and political circumstances (Clarke et al. 1990b).

Initiating this triangular migration journey in the early 1900’s, a significant number of Indian Sunni Muslims left different areas of the South Asian Subcontinent (mainly the Gujarat and Punjab), seeking for better work and living conditions in Mozambique, which was at the time under the Portuguese colonial rule. Although a significant number of South-Asians entered in different South Eastern-African territories from the 1850’s to the beginning of the XX century as “indentured labourers”, for being recruited to work for very low wages in European colonial dominions (Leite 1996, Malheiros 1996a, Clarke et al. 1990a) it is acknowledged that the majority of those who settled in Mozambique migrated as traders, showing a freer status than the former. In fact, the majority of the Indian Muslim populations that migrated to Mozambique in the beginning of the 1900’s followed previously established trade routes and ports, settlements of families and communities of South Asian origins and particularly of Indian Muslim affiliation. The north coastal cities and regions of Mozambique, namely *Ilha de Moçambique* and *Quelimane*; the centre of the country, particularly in *Inhambane*; and the old capital of *Lourenço Marques* were some of the

destination points of these populations, reinforcing long lasting connections across the Indian Ocean. Mozambique became, therefore, these migrants' permanent home, from colonial to postcolonial times, constituting also the place of birth, the place of upbringing and of identity positioning of their children.

Researches, which focused on the socio-political official system shaping life in colonial Mozambique, from the end of the XIX century to the beginning of the XX, point out the relatively higher social and symbolic status attributed to populations of Indian and Pakistani origins, comparatively to other non-indigenous populations living in that African country, but that would not be perceived as equal to Portuguese settlers (Marques 2001, Zamparoni 2000, Matos 2006). Although the Portuguese colonial system was – similarly to other colonial regimes – based on racialized and unequal power relationships, much still remains unexplored regarding the 'actual lived experience' in colonial Mozambique – as well as in other Lusophone¹ areas in Africa (Madeira 2006). Testimonies on these lived experiences, particularly of informal and subjective inter-racial and inter-social relationships produced between populations of different origins and beliefs living in colonial Mozambique, could actually contribute significantly to the understanding of the circumstances that shaped this particular colonial context, and of the circumstances that actually led Indian and Mozambican Muslims to the former *metropole* after the independence of Mozambique in 1975. In fact, these populations have clearly joined the half million people that constituted the "Portuguese 'diasporas of decolonization'"² in their migratory trajectory to Portugal in the late 70's (Smith 2003, Pires 2003,

¹The concept of "Lusophony" has seen a growing discussion in the last 30 years both in the Portuguese-speaking academia and society, being subsidiary of the Portuguese Postcolonialism. It refers, in a broad sense, to the Portuguese-speaking universe, across the world.

²According to Andrea Smith, the designation of 'Diasporas of Decolonization' applies to the diverse populations that migrated from their birth and affective home places, located in various European ex-colonies, right after decolonization processes. Smith argues that the great majority of these populations were actually displaced from their home places for different reasons, having been though silenced and made invisible in their trajectories, stories and belongings. It is in this sense that Smith claims the need to give visibility and recognition to these populations while seeking for an in-depth understanding of their various past and present contexts of living, as well as their circumstances of migration and integration in the new host European postcolo-

Malheiros 1996b). Consequently in 1992, the number of Indian Muslims in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area represented 29,01% of the 26 200 people of Indian origins³ living in that region of the country (Malheiros 1996b). Although they were a numeric minority comparing with the overall number of people of Indian origins living in Portugal in the same period, and with the number of Muslim populations currently living in Portugal⁴, Sunni Muslims of Indian origins from Mozambique have as-

nial societies. SMITH, A. L. (2003). 'Introduction: Europe's Invisible Migrants', *Europe's Invisible Migrants*. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, pp. 9-31.

³The available literature about the "Portuguese diasporas of colonization" refers to the South-Asian Muslim populations from Mozambique as being Indian. See MALHEIROS, J. M. (1996a). 'A Diáspora Indiana', *Imigrantes na região de Lisboa: os anos de mudança. Imigração e processo de integração das comunidades de origem indiana.*, Edições Colibri, Lisboa, LEITE, J. P. (1996). 'Diáspora Indiana em Moçambique', *IV Congresso Luso-Afro-Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, pp. 67-108. However, people of Pakistani origins from Mozambique have also integrated this migratory group, having their cultural and ethnic specificities become somehow marginal and not given full attention, due to the small number of Pakistani Muslims within this migratory wave. Furthermore, since the majority of the South-Asian migrations to East-Africa in the beginning of the XX century preceded the partition between India and Pakistan, the emotional, social and political links with Pakistan did not show to be as strong as those with India. With this, I not arguing that all South Asian populations would identify exclusively with India, but pointing that very few recognized themselves as Pakistani, being their identity discourses much more variable and dependent on local and particular circumstances, still mostly related to an imagined Indian belonging. A better understating of this identity position can be understood throughout the paper.

⁴Although there are no reliable statistics concerning Muslims in Portugal, the available literature suggests that from the around 40 000 Muslims that can currently be counted in Portugal, between 40% and 45% are of Guinean origin, 35% migrated from Mozambique, holding an Indian background, and the remaining 20%/ 25% correspond to contemporary waves of other African, Sub-Saharan, Pakistani, Bangladeshi migration to the Portuguese territory. All these populations present a long history of migration and of colonization, depending on their particular trajectories and on the geopolitical contexts, where they are coming from, and that certainly shape their current diasporic experiences. COELHO, A. P. (2005) *Muçulmanos em Portugal. Onde fica Meca quando se olha de Lisboa?*, Público, Lisbon, TIESLER, N. C. (2000). 'Muçulmanos na Margem: Nova Presença Islâmica em Portugal', *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, Vol. 34, pp. 117-144, TIESLER, N. C. (2005). 'Novidades no Terreno: muçulmanos na Europa e o caso Português', *Análise Social*, Vol. XXXIX (173), pp. 827-849.

sumed a ruling position in the highest Islamic representation in Portugal - the Lisbon Islamic Community (CIL) – since its foundation in 1968⁵.

My interest in understanding these people's mnemonic processes, particularly through the way of the body and the use of things is not, thus, merely connected to their religious affiliations to Islam, which has been showing a growing interest both within the Western academia and the civil societies, specially after 9/11 (EUMC 2005, Koningsveld 2002, Rabassa et al. 2004, Tiesler 2005). Instead, my interest is based on the fact that this population's arrival to Portugal is entangled with the Portuguese history of colonization and decolonization, which has been considerably neglected, silenced and marginalized both within the Portuguese academia and civil society (Matos 2010, Tiesler 2000), similarly to what has happened to the great majority of the 'diasporas of decolonization' in Europe (Smith 2003). Moreover, the constant claims for recognition of these populations multiple layers of belonging and identity positions, as observed in my MA thesis (Valdigem 2005), has reinforced the need to explore the roots and the constant reviews of such identity positioning. The ways through which their collective memories have been conveyed, reproduced, re-interpreted and re-apprehended across different generations, through habitual practices and through the use of things, including media products appear, thus, to have major relevance. Not only it contributes to an in-depth understanding of the Portuguese colonial and postcolonial contexts, in ways that the regular discourses cannot easily uncover, but also provides visibility to the unknown diversity of the postcolonial Portuguese society. Moreover, while highlighting the mnemonic potentialities of diverse (im)material

⁵The CIL was founded in 1968 by a group of Indian Muslim youngsters from Mozambique that were at the time in Lisbon to pursue their high education. They felt the need to have a community/association and a place where to gather to do their weekly prayers in congregation. Although the community was founded few years before the big waves of migration of Indian Mozambican Muslims, and thereafter the larger group of Muslims in Portugal – the Guineans – it was created and sustained partly based on the effort of these Muslims who had deep connections with Mozambique, being up until today still run by the same elite group. For more details on the establishment of the community see also VAKIL, A. (2004). 'Do Outro ao Diverso. Islão e Muçulmanos em Portugal: história, discursos, identidades', *Revista Lusófona de Ciência das Religiões*, Vol. III, pp. 283-312, TIESLER, N. C. (2000). 'Muçulmanos na Margem: Nova Presença Islâmica em Portugal', *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, Vol. 34, pp. 117-144, LISBOA, C. I. D.

things produced and used by this group, I also aim to contribute to a broader discussion about Collective Memory and the Postcolonial, proposing a complementary theoretical and methodological approach that explores the way through which memory and objects are brought into play when discussing the senses of belonging of different generations of postcolonial subjects, and how these processes are sensory defined. However, media products are only an objects among many others identified as significant in this analysis, being also strongly related to the sensory and mnemonic perception of things. More detailed reflection of this theoretical framework follows.

1 Framing a Research Project

It is within the foundational ground briefly described above that several questions have arisen in the scope of my PhD research. How are different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins re-producing and re-apprehending collective memories through the way of the body and a wide range of material and immaterial things? How are these processes sensory defined? What is the status of media contents and products within these processes? All these questions follow fundamental assumptions, from which I will be here discussing succinctly the idea of *Collective Colonial Memories*, and the extent to which these assume *material* and *immaterial* forms, to be re-produced, re-apprehended and used through the senses.

Following Paul Connerton's conceptualization of *Social Memory* (Connerton 1989), I am assuming that Portuguese Sunni Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins tend to sustain themselves by reproducing past social *habits*, which are bodily performed and ritualized through repetitive practices. These collective repetitive performances suggest the continuity of the social order across generations, which is simultaneously ethnic, cultural, religious and political, admitting yet a certain degree of change and transformation throughout time. As Connerton points out, recollection moments can only take place with reference to elements of the past. Therefore, change cannot take fully place in any kind of practice and ritualized ceremony meant to yearn for a new order of things.

Consequently, and taking into consideration the particular time-spa-

ce frame that has shaped the triangular migration trajectory of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins to Lisbon area, the colonial times both experienced and imagined in India and Mozambique show to be highly significant when analyzing these people's "habit collective memories" and its implications on the current identity positions. In fact, following some of the significant anti-colonial authors (Fanon 1967, Fanon 1986 - 2008, Memmi 1974-2003), those who have experienced and lived in colonial time-space contexts tend to interiorize and embody asymmetrical representations and habits of themselves and the others, reproducing subsequently unequal power relations, particularly based on differentiated racial, ethnic, social and political perceptions. Regardless of the 'actual lived experience', which might have conducted to particular moments of resistance and empowerment, I aim, thus, to understand the extent to which the colonial past has actually defined my interviewees' identities in terms of racial, ethnic and social perceptions, and how power relationships established in the past continue being produced in similar ways in current times and spaces of living. Furthermore, I am equally focused on how recollections of this colonial past are constantly being reviewed and imagined in present circumstances, both by those who experienced it and those who, although did not have a direct experience of those times, tend to bodily reproduce it. For that matter, I am also taking into account the most significant debates within the field of Diaspora, giving particular importance to the family household and other potentially relevant kinship relations as a fundamental stage and unit, where the negotiation and dialogue between the past and the present can be observed (Ashcroft et al. 1995-2006, Brah 1996-2003, Breckenridge and Appadurai Fall 1989, Clifford 1994, hooks 1990).

Adding to this discussion, I am also highlighting researches focused on both diasporic and displaced populations, for providing a valuable account on the material and immaterial nature of memory acts, as well as on their political dimensions. From more embodied forms of reproducing, reinventing and imagining collective pasts in present times (Stoller 1997a, Basu 2004) to more material/tangible, and sometimes immaterial/intangible ways of remembering (Slyomovics 1998, Wright 2004), several empirical studies have been exploring, in different ways, the entanglement between memory, the (im)material and the political.

However, not all of them undertake a phenomenology of the senses applied to both (im)material memories, being also underexplored the sensorial approach to media products and contents, as well as their mnemonic potential and implications among the diasporic.

As Edwards, Gosden and Phillips (2006) outline, “the senses form a bridge between the inwardness of the individual consciousness and the material and social worlds in which he or she exists”. Therefore, without the senses no one is able to perceive, to use, to attribute meaning to the external things nor to remember past contexts either experienced or mediated through others. The senses are, thus, fundamental for the apprehension of things and for remembering, operating in a holistic manner, according to the qualities of the objects being perceived and used (Merleau-Ponty 2004-2008). It is with regard to this sensory operation that all objects acquire an equal status and potential, regardless of their nature, features and qualities, constituting therefore “sensory objects”. Simultaneously, it is also based on this equal sensory potential that “sensory objects” can constitute a stimulus of memory of past events, occurrences, places, people or a general life context to which those objects seem to be related to in people’s minds. Although not referring to ‘sensory objects’, but to other external entities, such as groups that we are part of, Halbwachs argues that most of our recollections are deeply spurred by others, by their recollections, being ultimately externally suggested (Halbwachs 1992). It is, therefore, through the external object that the individual’s mnemonic connections and associations, with either lived or simply conveyed occurrences, are stirred. Furthermore, Serematakis dissertates on the way “the senses are entangled with history, memory, forgetfulness, narrative and silence” pointing how things, which are sensory perceived, enable these complex knots and knits (Serematakis 1994). These processes seem also to be determined by affects and emotions, as well as by the work of imagination, for both those with a direct lived experience and those who actually need to rely on ‘mnemonic and sensory objects’, as well as on and their significant persons’ recollections to reconstruct and imagine a “collective” un-lived pasts, and futures. Both David MacDougall (1998) and Arjun Appadurai (1998b) refer to these issues, when mentioning the mnemonic potential of media products and contents for both those who recall past events through the media, and those who imagine and

build a nostalgia for the un-lived past (and sometimes for the still not passed present) through media representations, which they are exposed to. It is also in this sense that sensory media contents and products, similarly to other objects, have the potential to promote the commonality of experience (of the past experience) and to sustain a social memory both through repetitive sensory perception and use. They enable also the continuous endorsement of 'imagined worlds', which refer to "multiple worlds that are constituted by the historical situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe", predominantly those in Diaspora (Appadurai 1998b).

Taking into account this briefly described frame analysis, I have been aiming to understand how *collective colonial memories* are bodily produced, re-produced, conveyed and apprehended among two different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins, and how these processes are also sensory mediated through both the sensory re-production, re-apprehension and usage of diverse (im)material things, objects, including media products, made available at a global scale. The methodology undertaken throughout this research is what I will be presenting in the following section.

2 Methodologies

In search for answers to the questions that arose throughout the research process, I have undertaken three main methodological approaches: a) a "*Sensuous and Tasteful Ethnography*" following Paul Stoller's proposal; b) a *Biographical and Consumption Research* among members of 11 Families, whom I have been in close contact with, and finally c) a *Photographic Exercise* requested from members of 4 families that showed a larger availability to collaborate in the research.

2.1 Undertaking a "Sensuous and Tasteful Ethnography"

By giving relevance to my own senses in the ethnographic fieldwork, as a means of understanding and experiencing the meanings being produced in the field, I have undertaken a 12 months' "Sensuous and Tasteful Ethnography" (Stoller 1989), among Portuguese Muslims of Indian

and Mozambican origins. By diving and immersing into the field, embodying repetitive practices, grasping sensory objects/things of diverse kinds available in the field, I have used my own senses as a main epistemological tool, aiming to understand the extent to which meanings are produced and memories reproduced/contested through smell, sight, sound, taste, as well as, emotions. This approach required me to adopt a “Sensual Openness” in order to understand and describe what “things look or smell in the land of others” (Stoller 1989). My goal has been to produce “a narrative that savors the world of the Other” (Stoller 1989), giving a vivid, sensible and lively account of the meanings produced across times and spaces, between members of the same community, families, between different generations, between interconnected subjects.

I initiated my ethnographic fieldwork in the *Ramadan* of 2007 in the Lisbon Central Mosque, where the Lisbon Islamic Community is based. After 4 months of immersing myself in ceremonies and events of public nature – mostly religious and social – I started the fieldwork in more private spaces and environments, such as family households. I was given access to 7 households out of the 11 family units I was in contact with.

2.2 Doing Household Ethnography, Biographical and Consumption Research with 11 family units

Once “inside of the family”, I continued undertaking a “sensuous and tasteful ethnography”, being able to understand the place of diverse objects in the everyday life of the household, and among different generations of each family unit. Objects, such as those displayed at home, for both decorative and functional reasons; food of mostly Indian and Mozambican inspiration and influence; and finally ethnic (Indian and Arabic) and Portuguese mainstream media products/ contents, showed to be the most significant sensorial and mnemonic things used by my interlocutors. Not only I managed to collect these data through observation, and a limited degree of participation in the field, but also through in-depth interviews applied to two different generations of Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins (in the majority of the cases they corresponded to one parent and one child only, due

to some resilience showed by my interlocutors to collaborate in the research). Each interview script focused on the personal and family life stories and trajectories from the South-Asian subcontinent to Portugal, (re)constructed memories of colonial times in Mozambique, either lived and reconstructed, according to the generation in study, and a description of the current life-style, routines, with emphasis on personal and social habits, within which consumption practices.

2.3 The “Photographic Exercise”

The third methodological moment corresponded to what I called “Photographic Exercise”. In this exercise I requested previously interviewed persons, members of 4 distinct family units that showed larger availability to collaborate in the research, to select and take pictures of objects and things that they would associate to past people, places, events and habits, and that would be significant to them; objects and things brought from Mozambique, India or other countries and that they would identify as important; CDs/ DVDs/ that they would enjoy seeing and listening to; and objects and things that would remind them of their past and future projects.

It is important to note that media products and contents were very rarely pointed as significant objects to be included in the photographic exercise, for not being considered tangible objects, graspable by the photographic lens, and also for being in many cases measured as present objects, rather than connected to a relevant past. These findings had, nevertheless, some variances to be explored further on in this paper.

3 Mapping Families and Households

During the fieldwork, I had the opportunity to establish contact with 11 families of Portuguese Sunni Muslims of Indian and Mozambican Origins that showed a wide-range of profiles, in spite of the collective migration and the similar family life trajectories. The diversity of profiles could be observed throughout the ethnographic fieldwork, in the several contexts of observation and participation, being some of the significant differentiation variables briefly suggested in the table of characterization of the interviewees showed in Figure 1.

Beyond the generational approach sought throughout the research and through the contact of at least a member of two generations within the same nuclear family household / kinship domestic sphere – mostly parents and children – I observed the importance of other variables of analysis of both individuals and family/kinship households profiles, which stress differences among community members and enable the identification of nuances in both the individual and collective trajectories of the subjects. However, I will not be able to explore of them in this paper, looking simply at the articulation between Gender effect; Date and Place of Birth; Date and Place of Migration; Education and Occupation and Ethnicity and Race Perceptions, for a brief outline of my interviewees' profiles.

Looking firstly at the older generation, within which the group of parents can be found, it is important to mention that the majority of these interviewees were female – 9 out of 11 – partly due to my own gender identity, as a young woman doing ethnographic fieldwork, and aiming to understand family stories and memories of past life experiences. All these parents were actually born outside of Portugal, mostly in the capital of Mozambique (*Lourenço Marques*), while it was still under the colonial rule. They were born between 1949-1968, being between 41 – 60 years old in September 2008. In what regards the periods of immigration in Portugal, these parents departed from Mozambique in two big waves, mainly between 1976-1980 and between 1981-1989, for both ideological and socio-economic reasons respectively, having mostly picked Portugal as a first choice.

In what concerns the parents' education profile, most of them did not pursue Higher Education degrees. Furthermore, it is also important to note that this was limited in colonial Mozambique, especially in terms of areas of study and access⁶. Additionally, I could also observe a tendency among these interviewees to support and continue their fa-

⁶The first High Education institute established in Mozambique was in 1962, becoming "Lourenço Marques University" in 1968, currently "Eduardo Mondlane University". Not all disciplines were taught in that Institute in the 60's, being also the majority of the students at the time white Portuguese. Only after the independence black African students started having fully access to Education. See MÁRIO, M., FRY, P., LEVEY, L. and CHILUNDO, A. (2003) *Higher Education in Mozambique*, James Currey and Imprensa & Livraria Universitária Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Oxford and Maputo.

mily private business from colonial to postcolonial times, option that dismissed many of them from furthering their studies and from adopting a more individual professional path. These aspects explain why the majority of my older interviewees, parents in the household, have sought a business activity after their arrival to Portugal, and those who actually took degrees and sought a career outside their family businesses are very few.

Taking a closer look at the children/ youngsters' interviewees' profiles, the equal number of male and female subjects shows my balanced access to both the feminine and masculine youth spheres, as well as, a higher male youth availability to collaborate in the research (6 young female and 6 young male interviewees). These youngsters were between 20 and 32 years old while I was doing my fieldwork, having been born between 1977 and 1989, mostly in Portugal, after their parents had decided to leave Mozambique. They have also, unlike the majority of their parents, pursue higher education degrees, yearning for highly skilled occupations/job, differently from the previous generation.

The last aspect to be pointed out regarding my interviewees' profile refers to the category of "Race and Ethnicity Perception". Being either perceived as "Indian" or "Mixed Mozambican", my interlocutors showed to engage and integrate a complex picture of racial and ethnic divisions, which would sometimes unfold into segregation practices within the same Islamic Community based in the Lisbon Central Mosque. These differentiation practices and discourses showed to reinforce and to continue previous colonial power relations, highlighted in some Lusophone anti-colonial and postcolonial literature (Matos 2006, Marques 2001, Zamparoni 2000). Similarly to what has been mentioned regarding the colonial context in Mozambique, I could understand throughout my fieldwork that Indian Muslims from Mozambique tend to be perceived and to occupy a higher position within the CIL, comparatively with Mixed Mozambican⁷ and other Black populations, who most of the time are marginalized and excluded from the leadership and from the informal events organized by the elite members of the community.

⁷By Mixed Mozambican Muslims I mean people who are perceived as not purely Indians, being in the majority of the cases descendants of both Indian and Black Mozambicans, or both Indian and white Portuguese.

Although my goal in this paper is not particularly of exploring the ethnic and racial reproductive mnemonic practices and discourses among any of the family households, whom I have established contact with, and that agreed to collaborate in my research, a reflection of the transmission of collective memories through the use of media products and contents cannot also exclude the implications of the ethnic and racial perceptions among its users. Randomly taking a “pure” Indian Family Case Study as an example of nuclear family unit, composed by parents and children, I explore and discuss the processes of reproduction, re-apprehension and use of collective memories through the use of the media, in the person of *Hoor*, a mother in a household, and *Hanifo*, her oldest son. Aspects related to an assumed *Indianness* shall certainly be discussed through the juxtaposed lens of media uses and memory, where the intergenerational process is fundamental. A very brief socio-graphic description of this family household follows.

4 *Hoor’s and Hanifo’s Household*

Hoor was in her early 40’s when I met her in 2008. Being married for more than 20 years, and the mother of two boys – *Hanifo*, in his early 20’s, and *Zaki*, in his early 10’s – *Hoor* showed to accumulate several responsibilities inside her nuclear family household. Her husband, who I did not have the chance to meet or to talk with, was not at home most of the time, for having decided to take a job in Angola.

By trying to play both the role of the mother and the father, *Hoor* showed me some of her doubts and anxieties in her sons’ upbringing. She would regularly recall her husband’s rules and authority within the household as a way of strengthening her own power towards her children, as well as to reinforce the perception of the male authority at home.

When I met her, *Hoor* had actually completed the 9th grade, working part-time in her brother’s Real Estate Agency. She seemed happy with the flexibility that this work position has given her, being able to pursue her interrupted studies and to take care of the household. She would always insist on telling me her long lasting work experience in small shops and businesses from early age, emphasizing her gender, ethnic and religious identity position. Her gender struggles seemed to

be highly important for her, to the extent that she would be always explaining me her decision to continue her studies, aiming to be perceived as an emancipated and independent woman, comparatively to other women, members of the Lisbon Islamic Community.

Hoor was born in 1968 in the capital of Mozambique, the old *Lourenço Marques*, unlike her parents, who migrated from India at a very early age. Similarly to many other members of the same trade caste group – *Memon* – *Hoor's* parents built the family future upon a small store they had in the centre of that Mozambican city. “We used to sell clothes and gifts and things like that...and perfumes...because in Mozambique it was just like that. You would have a shop and would sell a bit of everything” said *Hoor*, while recalling her childhood in Mozambique. Having grown up within this environment, together with her 4 siblings, *Hoor* would help her parents in the shop or in the household management, when she was not at school.

After Mozambique's independence, *Hoor* was removed from school by her parents, who feared Frelimo's recruitment of children for communist countries. She had only completed primary school at the time, having only undertaken small broidery courses, and dedicated herself to the household and the family business after this period.

With the devastating socio-economic crisis that cleared all goods from the markets, and with the aggravation of the political instability that promoted a constant feeling of fear, *Hoor's* parents felt the need to seek better life conditions, and followed their Indian-Muslim peers' decision of migrating to Portugal. *Hoor* was 15 years when her family settled in Lisbon area in 1983. Three years later she decided to marry a member of the same religious and ethnic group – a *Memon* – with a similar migratory trajectory to her own.

Although being in Portugal for more than 15 years, and having completed more years of life in Portugal than in Mozambique, this African country seemed to remain as an affective home-place for *Hoor*. This could be observed in many ways, being also particularly sensory defined, as pointed in her recollection of arrival to that African country: “. . . because it's my homeland, where I was born. . . .When I arrive there, when I get of the plane, the first thing thatI can't stop crying. It seems that I arrived to a place that is mine, that means something to me. I just need to feel that air, that smell. . . .and I start crying.“.

Hoor's oldest son, *Hanifo*, was already born in Portugal in 1988, and turned 20 years old in September 2008. At the time of my fieldwork, *Hanifo* was undertaking a BA degree in Economics, moving between *Odivelas*, a suburbia city where he lives with his family, and Lisbon, where he was studying and spending a significant part of his social time. Assuming himself as a "Lisboner", *Hanifo* showed how much he enjoyed the 'Lisbon life-style as a single young student. "How would you describe the 'Lisbon life-style'?", I asked him. 'Lisbon Life-style.....Lisbon life-style is to wake up, take the metro to the university, is being in that....that's it, in a more , more....open environment, I don't know! Then, is to go to Bairro Alto at night, for instance...is.....at least I feel that Lisbon is wider... there are more openings...".

Hanifo's description of his own use of the city of Lisbon was also very much established by comparison with his experience in Mozambique, where he has been few times for family reasons, not having found there, though, the range of possibilities and activities he claimed to be able to do in Lisbon. This clear sense of empowerment promoted by being in Lisbon, seemed to be one of the most important things for *Hanifo*, who also showed to feel a clear attraction for developing countries in Europe and in the Middle East. Seeking a successful and fulfilling professional and personal life, and a reflective awareness of the political and economic world circumstances, *Hanifo* showed to engage with ideological debates about the unequal power relations between the geo-political categories such as the East and the West.

Feeling connected to India, *Hanifo* mentioned that his cultural roots were in that South-Asian country. However, he also said he could not follow "all those Indian traditions" since he is first and foremost a Muslim. Believing that Culture shall not be confused with Religion, *Hanifo* showed a quite autonomous subject position comparing with his mother. Nevertheless, some of these generational, ethnic and religious challenges are better understood through an analysis of their Media Sensory Memories.

4.1 *Hoor's* Media Sensorial Memories: remembering with and through media objects

Media uses emerge in a quite scattered way in *Hoor's* narrative, yet constituting relevant temporal and spatial markers of her childhood and youth, as well as of her family memories, from colonial and postcolonial time-space contexts.

While recollecting her life events and the significant moments of her childhood in colonial Mozambique, *Hoor* mentioned her weekend habits and practices of going to the cinema – “the matinee” – with around 10 female friends, with whom she would also have, right after the cinema, a nice snack in “Scala” or “Continental” cafés in the old *Lourenço Marques*. This practice seemed to be part of *Hoor's* weekly routines and social life habits, as well as part of the uses of the urban space, still alive in this woman's memories. Most of the girls participating in this weekly activity would be children of members of the local Indian Muslim community, with the exception of some Hindu friends that once in a while would join the group. *Hoor's* father would encourage this practice, by taking her and the girls to the cinema, and then home, after a long afternoon of peer socialization.

Hoor's recollections of her youth in the old *Lourenço Marques*, remain, therefore, connected to repetitive social habits of consumption of Indian movies, which have strongly promoted the construction of an imagined collective Indian identity, reinforced by the images in display in the movies, as well as by the act of going in group to the cinema, regardless of the various purposes involved in that practice. Through this repetitive social and family practice of media consumption, an imagined *Indianness* would be sustained and reconstructed across time and space, blurring the boundaries between the past and the present, between here and there. Furthermore, these social and cultural practices seemed to be associated with happiness and fulfilling moments for *Hoor*, not mentioning any kind of limitations imposed by the colonial rule in her own and her friends' practices. This absence of detail on potentially negative memories can be understood and read in many different ways, reinforcing, nevertheless, the argument of the higher status attributed to populations of Indian origins in colonial Mozambique, comparatively to others, as well as, the idea that many of these populations of Indian

origins would be either relatively autonomous in their lifestyle, keeping up with their own individual and collective choices and practices, being alternatively “assimilated colonial subjects”, for adopting manners and positions of the “colonizer” (Memmi 1974-2003, Bhabha 1994). These arguments require, though, further discussion that cannot take place in this small paper.

Still referring to her weekend routines, and to the media uses present in the family life already after the independence of Mozambique, *Hoor* also described her Saturday nights at home from 1979 onwards, when the first TV and VSH players were introduced in the country. The family practice of watching an Indian film would make them change the whole living room layout, in order to simulate a cinema room and gather relatives and friends around the TV. *Hoor* also pointed out that everyone would acknowledge the new Indian movies releases, therefore, they would easily order them from relatives and friends with neat connections to India.

It is interesting to note that *Hoor* referred to the fact that copies of these films would be easily available, showing the extent to which the Indian media contents and products became extensively and intensively used and exchanged throughout the Indian Ocean, from colonial to postcolonial times. Through them, an imagined *Indianness* would be promoted and reinforced, being yet shaped by several Mozambican colonial and postcolonial ingredients. Some of these ingredients could certainly be observed at the level of the relatively high status attributed to the populations of Indian origins in this African country, from colonial to postcolonial times, where *Hoor* is a single element. Being part of her daily life and routines, Indian media products and contents were also deeply connected to her “Mozambican way of life”, through which she could actually apprehend imagined memories of a collective Indian world, both visual and sonic⁸.

In fact, contrary to her life experience in Mozambique, *Hoor's* recollection of the migration and settlement in Portugal stressed the lack of Indian media products and contents. This fact, in addition to the aus-

⁸Both Indian movies and music would be displayed in Hindi, the Indian language – Hindi –, which would preserve a sense of a global sonic ethnic identity, even when the users were not acquainted with it at home, for speaking other Indian dialects, according to the caste and the region of origin in that south-Asian sub-continent.

tere lifestyle that she and her family members faced at the arrival, had provoked in her and her siblings a deep anguish, feeling of displacement and loss, as well as a sense of unfamiliarity with the new host society – Portugal.

Cat – What did you feel back then? What was the first impact after the arrival?

Hoor – Very bad, very bad. . . . I used to cry a lot, I used to cry all the time. And then, we used to have there. . . .we used to get the radio signalwe used to have an antenna that was from South Africa and that used to play Indian music throughout the day, and it used to be a great company. Here nothing! I didn’t have a thing! I would cry, and cry, and then there was a day that my father told my mother “She is crying so much. . . .” – and we almost didn’t have any money to buy food – but he got me an audio recorder. A small one.

Cat – What kind of audio recorder, those cassette players?

Hoor – An audio cassette player, so that I could listen to music and would stop crying. . .

Cat – But have you got cassettes afterwards?

Hoor – I had brought cassettes from Mozambique!

Interestingly, while recollecting her life in Mozambique and describing her arrival to Portugal, *Hoor* did not actually refer voluntarily to any other sorts and types of media contents/ products, apart from the Indian ones. Other media uses were in fact simply mentioned by my input and questions, showing the extent to which they were either absent or simply placed at a more irrelevant and unconscious level of her past. Media contents and products, other than the Indian ones, showed to be, in fact, “objects of the present” and daily life things, with no relation to any significant past, and with no potential to stimulate recollections of *Hoor’s* worthy pasts.

Referring to the “media objects of the present”, *Hoor* mentioned that she regularly listens to both Portuguese and Brazilian music, mainly on the radio, in spite of her clear preference of Indian music, particularly that of Bollywood films, which she currently tends to listen to online

more regularly. Additionally, *Hoor* mentioned her daily habit of watching TV in the beginning of the evening, pointing the TV News and the Brazilian soap operas broadcasted in the Portuguese mainstream television as the most relevant TV programmes for her. Beside all this general media consumption, she also confirmed to continuously watch Indian films that she regularly rents from a local video rental shop, whenever she cannot actually get movies from relatives and friends who download from the Internet. In what regard Indian films consumption, *Hoor* actually showed to clearly reproduce the same media consumption practice that has been significant in her childhood and youth in both colonial and postcolonial Mozambique. However, the new circumstances of media production, distribution and reception have also led to new social and personal rituals of consumption and to new organized temporalities of usage (Appadurai 1998a).

A part from these media preferences and uses, other mainstream and western media products and contents have also been referred to significant in *Hoor's* daily life, for enabling her to better integrate into the society she has been living in. In fact, several mainstream TV contents have been followed as a relevant compass of her's and her family's religious identity. Taking the TV general contents as an external in-pup and stimulus of our conversation, *Hoor* actually showed the extent to which they guide her own and her family's reflection of how to be a Muslim in a non-Islamic country, where recurrent negatives images of Islam and Muslims are displayed. Furthermore, taking media contents as an external social stimulus, *Hoor* also recollected recent family events related with her own and her children's religious identity, which they are constantly required to explain and review, particularly after 9/11. General TV contents remained for her, hence, a reminder of her and her family's muslimness, as well as a fundamental source of information and a guiding tool for her religious subject's positions and performances.

Hoor – on TV as well. . . . isn't it? And with this problem that there was with the attacks, people talk more and more. Few days ago my son. . . . the teacher of. . . . the discipline of. . . . - he told me, but I can't remember right now – she asked him to explain what Islam is and how people are supposed to go to the Mosque.

Cat – This was at school?

Hoor – Yes, at school. He went (...)... he took the djubo⁹; he took the hat, plus the pictures we took in Saudi Arabia – he took all this to school, got dressed and explained. His teacher loved it! She really liked it! (...) and then he told me “Mother, today I’m taking the djubo on” ; “So why are you putting in on?”; “But Mother, wasn’t it you who told me that we shall not be ashamed of it?”; I told him: “You are right my son, I’m not ashamed! And if people want to laugh, they can do it! They just show they are ignorant!”

The recollection of this dialogue with her youngest child, suggests a previous personal reflection and a family discussion regarding the degree of acceptance and respect they feel to have as Muslims in Portugal. An attempt not to be noticed and identified as different in the Portuguese Society, by becoming less visible, is slightly suggested in *Hoor’s* dialogue, particularly in what refers to her son’s decision to take the *djubo* to school. This interview excerpt shows the inside struggle of this family identity positions and performances, which are in constant review and reformulation, being also shaped by subjective experiences and individual choices, as well as, by the western negative media representations of Muslims and Islam.

4.1.1 *Hoor’s* “Sonic pictures” and memories of recent pasts

Looking now at *Hoor’s* selection of things for the photographic exercise, apart from several decorative objects placed in her living room, through which she deeply connects to positive recent past experiences either lived or mediated by relatives; to significant family relatives who actually offered her those objects when going in special journeys; and to God and Islam in general, by mnemonic association¹⁰, *Hoor* also chose to show me some of her “media things”, which she highlighted

⁹*Hoor* refers to the long tunic, usually know as *Djellabia* in the Islamic World, as *Djubo*.

¹⁰*Hoor* showed me an “Azan Clock”, meant to display the times of the prayers, which her parents brought from their pilgrimage to Mecca. This object constitutes first and foremost an external mnemonic stimulus of her parents’ care and the love they share, having even gained a higher symbolic importance after her father’s death.

based on the neat relation with particularly relevant moments of her life trajectory.

Having pointed the Sound Device that she keeps in her living room, as well as multiple audio CDS and cassettes of Indian music, mainly from *Bollywood* movies, *Hoor* actually explained how these things are pretty much related to her difficult but new life beginning in her current home-place. Being the Sound Device a gift from her brother, as well as, one of the first house furniture, it is associated to *Hoor's* new and hopeful, but difficult and austere life start in her new family household. *Hoor* could not actually afford many of the furniture, nor even a Sound device to listen to her Indian music cassettes and the CDs, for what she showed to be deeply sad. Therefore, her brother decided to offer her this equipment so that she could listen to the music releases of the 80's. Although connected to a significant recent past, *Hoor* no longer uses this sound device on a regular basis, finding the Internet the best media source and place to listen to Indian music.



1. Sound Device in *Hoor's* Living Room

Only at a second level, the “Azan Clock” assumed a connection to Islam and to God for *Hoor*, reminding her of the prayers and duties as a Muslim. *Hoor* used the clock to explain me of Islam and to tell me stories of the *Qur'an*. While establishing all these associations, the Azan Clock became a mediator between *Hoor*, Islam and me, showing the extent to which some things can actually enact the sense of omnipresence of the divine.

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2. *Hoor’s* Indian Music audiocassettes and CDS

The second “media thing” she highlighted corresponds to Indian music CDs and cassettes that she keeps stored in her living room furniture. She actually mentioned that I was pushing her to go back to her past, and that she would not wish to go too much backwards, recollecting very difficult times and hardship around her 20’s. However, she continued looking for Indian music cassettes and CDs inside her furniture, showing me only those related to new film releases of the 80’s and

¹¹*Hoor* showed me an “Azan Clock”, meant to display the times of the prayers, which her parents brought from their pilgrimage to Mecca. This object constitutes first and foremost an external mnemonic stimulus of her parents’ care and the love they share, having even gained a higher symbolic importance after her father’s death. Only at a second level, the “Azan Clock” assumed a connection to Islam and to God for *Hoor*, reminding her of the prayers and duties as a Muslim. *Hoor* used the clock to explain me of Islam and to tell me stories of the *Qur’an*. While establishing all these associations, the Azan Clock became a mediator between *Hoor*, Islam and me, showing the extent to which some things can actually enact the sense of omnipresence of the divine.

90's. These Indian music Cassettes and CDs remained for *Hoor* objects of a not far away past, of a past already placed in Portugal, which she would, nevertheless, relate to her childhood and youth in Mozambique. *Hoor* bought these audiocassettes in one of the Lisbon ethnic markets – *Martim Moniz* – where she used to go very regularly to get “Indian things” during the most austere periods of her life in Portugal. Today she only goes there whenever she feels like something she cannot find in the mainstream markets/ supermarkets. The audio CDs were bought in the UK, when she went for her brother's wedding.

4.2 *Hanifo's Media Stuff: from sensorial mediated memories to present media uses*

Looking closely at *Hanifo's* in-depth interview, it is clear that media are placed in a present tense, referring to current uses and consumption practices, related to his daily life routine, rather than to a significant past or memories of times already gone.

Having being exposed throughout his life to his parents' media choices and tastes, particularly those of Indian media contents and products, *Hanifo* did not always feel he has many options but to use these things in his family companionship. This media exposure would not always, though, have a positive meaning to him, since it would be very much associated with his *Indianness*, which he would not always like to display as a Portuguese youngster. Referring to his own Indian music consumption habits, *Hanifo* mentioned how he has been progressively getting acquainted with this sort of music, even though at an early age he would rather deny it. While denying the use and consumption of Indian music, *Hanifo* would be also denying his *Indianness*, and with this better integrating the Portuguese society, by becoming invisible in his living place.

H – Indian Music, yes I do listen to it...in the beginning I had that mania of...I don't know... of...”I'm white, I'm from Portugal, thus I don't like it”.

Cat – Pardon, what kind of mania?

H – “I'm from Portugal so I'm not going to listen to Indian music...It's...the youngsters, they have this mania.

Cat – But how. . . . Do you think this is a mania?

H – It's a mania that many have, many youngsters from here; they have that mania that they don't listen to Indian music. . . .

Cat – How does it work? Explain me further. . .

H – Because Indian music is. . . . is. . . . probably a shame to listen to, I don't know. . . . When we are young. . . . we used to think like this. . . . "To Listen to Indian Music is for our parents; we don't listen. . . . we listen to rock from here. . . . I don't know."

Hanifo's childhood relation with Indian music, hence with his own *Indianness*, did not seem to be exclusively his, being actually shared with his peers of similar origins. Pointing his peers attitude and denial of Indian music consumption, *Hanifo* actually showed how most of the youngsters of Indian origins born in Portugal struggle to become Portuguese, and to integrate in the Portuguese society. He also slightly suggested the racial contours associated to some of these identity struggles, but did not want to further his thoughts and feelings on this matter. It became though clear the extent to which the cultural practices, and particularly media consumption, or its own refusal, are used as an integration strategy and a way of becoming invisible within the Portuguese society among this minority group, particularly the younger generations.

Still, in what regard *Hanifo's* Indian media exposure and uses, he mentioned he started learning to enjoy Indian music throughout time, being currently the one in the family who actually gets new Indian music releases for his parents, burning CDs with downloads from the Internet. Being part of this family cultural consumption, *Hanifo* showed not only to take his parents' requests, in terms of music, but also to pick songs that he finds particularly enjoyable. Having said this, *Hanifo* does not, however, show to really enjoy Indian media stuff, preferring other types of media contents and products, being simply the actual intermediary between the new media contents and products and the older generation. Moreover, his engagement with Indian media stuff seems rather to be connected to his family atmosphere and to the care for his parents, being these particular media merely a good excuse to spend and share

time with them. Therefore, one can argue that *Hanifo*'s consumption of Indian media objects is emotionally bounded to the family, reinforcing the argument of affective reproduction of memory habits, which are also sensory mediated and defined. Regarding the single Portuguese Radio Program broadcasting Indian Music – *Swagatan* – *Hanifo* provided the following insights:

H – Swagatan; No I don't listen to it. . . I am forced to listen to it on Sunday mornings because of my mother. . . but I don't listen to it.

Cat – But why, don't you like it?

H – I Listen because she puts it louder, and makes me to listen to it. . . . makes me listen. . .

Cat – But is it an effort for you?

H – No, its not an effort. . . No, it's not. . . I listen, but it's not. . .

Cat – How do you see the radio program?

H – Well, I don't like it. . . I'm not a fan of Indian Music. I listen, or I like some songs, but I'm not. . . . it's not something that I like a lot.

Regarding his consumption of Indian movies he mentioned:

(. . .) . . . but sometimes I watch them also to seat with my mother and watch a film with her. . . . There are good films, but generally speaking they are not very good; I don't like indian movies.

Apart from the Indian Media objects, *Hanifo* also mentioned that he regularly consumes and uses many different media contents and products available on the mainstream TV (both terrestrial and cable ones), as well as, on the Radio channels, when not on the Internet – his main media source.

Showing a high interest in world politics, particularly in what regards the geo-political unequal power relations, between the East and

the West, *Hanifo* showed to rely on different media sources and contents to order shape his own opinions about representations of Muslims and Islam. Arguing that Western and Mainstream media professionals lack of research skills to actually know and tell the “Truth”, *Hanifo* showed very little confidence and trust in “generalist” western media¹², even though he relies on them to form his opinion and knowledge of the world. Additionally, he demonstrated to use alternative media in order to get further perspectives of the world politics, and to construct a better and informed opinion.

Hanifo’s social and political media interests constitute a clear evidence of his diasporic leaning towards the Islamic and the Arab world, which in his mother’s case was not equally heavy. Telling from *Hanifo*’s media uses, the religious identity position showed a higher relevance rather than his ethnic identity and belongings, deeply valued in *Hoor*’s case. This can be understood from a generational perspective in the sense that life experiences seem to determine the subjects’ time frame of reference and the potential past events to be recollected.

Still within the scope of *Hanifo*’s wide media uses and his particular attention the Arab and Islamic World, he mentioned to be a punctual user of mediated recitations of the Qur’an, which he either keeps in audio-CDs or randomly finds on the YouTube. The criteria for selection and usage of these items remained associated to the aesthetics of the Arabic words, which he grew up with and highly appreciates. Although being unable to understand the meaning of the words, attributing to them simply the status of “beautiful voices”, *Hanifo* said he would listen to those recitations whenever he would feel spiritual, and in order to relax and to find wellbeing.

H – Sometimes I listen to it...I have a CD from a Sheikh from Mecca that has a beautiful voice, because we see that by the voice, by the people’s voice, we listen to it.....because there are people that have beautiful voices and it’s a

¹²I am here using the concept of “generalist” media in the sense that Daniel Dayan uses, meaning that it refers to the media contents whose messages are conceived for the mainstream and majority in one society. DAYAN, D. (1998). ‘Particularist Media and Diaporic Communications’, in LIEBES T and CURRAN J (eds.), *Media, Ritual and Identity*. Routledge, London and New York.

pleasure to listen to it, and even on the internet; I also watch it on the YouTube, mainly.....

(...)

H – Yes, I listen on the internet; there are ...I know there people with beautiful voices. ...for instance there is a sheik from Kuwait that has a beautiful voice and sometimes this is the way to listen and relax a bit, because the Qur'an is a poem, but...and that's why it's a pleasure to listen to it also.....

Not only these media uses of recitations of the *Qur'an* reinforce *Hanifo's* diasporic connections to a global Islam, but they also present Islam with a sonic and visual dimension, for (an almost exclusive) sensory apprehension among those who actually do not understand Arabic. This is *Hanifo's* case, as well as of the majority of my interlocutors in the field, who actually used, practiced and felt Islam not only as a religion and faith, but also as a sensorial universe, shared through sounds and practices, deeply grounded in social habits, and habit memories (Connerton 1989).

4.2.1 *Hanifo's* “Media Objects”

In what refers to *Hanifo's* photographic exercise, it is very interesting to point out that the kitchen cupboard, where his cookies and fast groceries are stored, was one of the first “things” highlighted as major in his current life. Throughout the exercise the cupboard became actually the excuse to discuss his mother's cooking practices and household obligations, raising at this point several gender issues, which I will not be able to explore further in this paper. The second thing selected for the photographic exercise corresponds to the two football team scarves – one from Benfica and another from Saudi Arabia – that he keeps and exhibits on the top of his bedroom mirror. Trying to understand the rationales behind such teams choice, I questioned him. While recollecting the moment he bought the scarves, *Hanifo* mentioned “First of all I'm a Muslim; only after I am from Benfica”. Such scarves showed to be, therefore, deeply connected to his identity subject position, representing a visual display of his own identity both as muslim, at first, and as being

from the Portuguese football club Benfica. In this order he seemed to be telling me to be a Muslim and a Portuguese youngster. This material evidence of his positions did not show any contradiction to his media uses, showing, nevertheless, the extent to which different identity positions can be sensory defined and materialized according to private and subjective choices.



3. *Hanifo's* first Desktop computer



4. *Hanifo's* first Desktop computer

The last significant thing selected for the photographic exercise corresponds to his desktop placed in his bedroom. Recalling his 13teens and the times he worked throughout the summer (for around 2 months) in order to buy his first computer, *Hanifo* showed his pride in having

contributed for the purchase of the equipment. While narrating the biography of this object, *Hanifo* recollect some particular moments of his personal and family story of hardship. The desktop remained for him, thus, as evidence of hardship and of his hard work, more than of his regular new media use at the time of the fieldwork.

Final Remarks

Hoor and *Hanifo*'s family case study certainly cannot be taken as a general outcome of the broader research project I have been undertaking for my PhD. Not only it simply focuses on a small segment of what "sensory objects" can be – the "media objects" – and the impacts and roles they can assume in the collective and colonial mnemonic processes, but it also regards a particular family unit, perceived and represented as "Indian", which does not also represent the totality of Portuguese Muslim families that participated in my research. Being clearly divided by racial and ethnic perceptions such as "Pure Indians" vs "Mixed Mozambicans"; by different localities of origin and migration; by different timings of migration and arrival to Portugal; as well as, different educational experiences and opportunities, occupations, among other variables, my interviewees and interlocutors showed very diversified profiles beyond the common and collective stories of migration across South-Asia, Mozambique and Portugal. This diversity highlights the different collective and personal memories, as well as, the diverse subject positions observed among Portuguese Muslims of Indian and Mozambican origins. Moreover, it also stresses different power positions rooted in colonial Mozambique, which also imply different intergenerational processes of re-production and re-apprehension of both common and different embodied and sensorial memories.

Still, taking the particular family case study of *Hoor* and *Hanifo*'s (mother and son), who are perceived as "Indian Muslims", some remarks can be made regarding the sensory and mnemonic status of the media contents and products used across different times and spaces.

The empirical data showed the extent to which "media objects" did not always show to be relevant as mnemonic things and "sensorial memories" for both *Hoor* and *Hanifo*, who, instead, tended to look at them as "present items", comparatively with other things, not explored in this

paper. This predominantly present status of the media in these two interviewees' lives can be partly understood by the fact that media contents and products constitute a relatively recent thing with regard to a diasporic past. Furthermore, and related to this last point, the media has since its introduction in people lives become actually part of present daily routines. Yet, in this particular case study "media sensorial memories" could actually assume different shapes and refer to different time frames, according to the different media contents and products used, as well as, to each subject's life experience and story.

As observed in the explored case study, media contents and products only appear to be highly associated to mnemonic processes in the mother's case – *Hoor* – mostly due to her age, which has enabled her to experience the rise and dissemination of both ethnic and mainstream media contents and products in Mozambique. Certainly these processes have also been deeply shaped by her personal history of migration, in addition to her longer and more complex life experience.

In *Hoor's* particular case, the media constitute a strong temporal and spatial marker of her life story and narrative, not being only a simple mnemonic stimulus or identity reference. *Hoor's* childhood and youth recollections provide evidence of the extent to which "particularistic media" (Dayan 1998), such as Indian media contents and products, actually represent part of her rich and happy family/social life, both in colonial and postcolonial Mozambique. Indian films and music have been repeatedly and collectively used within the family and among friends, providing also evidence of how these particular items would promote the construction of a collective imagined *Indianness* in diaspora, which in *Hoor's* case - as well as many of my interlocutors - cannot be detached from the emotional ties to Mozambique. This way, media objects not only appeared to represent vehicles of stories, and supports of memories, but also proved to enable the construction of imaginaries in diaspora.

Other non-Indian media items were for both *Hoor* and *Hanifo* strongly related to their present lives, being associated to their daily routines of consumption and use.

Hanifo's did not actually refer to media as vehicles of memory or memory stimulus, having simply placed the media in his daily routines. In spite of the fact that he has been strongly exposed throughout his life

to Indian media stuff – being, therefore, affectively involved with these ethnic and cultural media imaginaries – *Hanifo* did not show a particular joy in using them. For him, Indian media stuff has rather been strongly associated to an ethnicized and racialized *Indianness*, which he would not always wish to display as a young Portuguese citizen. This aspect differs strongly from his mother's perception of Indian Media items and of her *Indianness*, showing the extent to which different identity positions can be identified among different generations within the same household and diaspora, being these processes deeply shaped by the different life trajectories, and the integration expectations and needs felt by each element.

Therefore, although in *Hoor's* and *Hanifo's* case study, the intergenerational processes of transmission and apprehension of collective bodily and sensory memories showed to be bounded by strong family emotional ties, these do not seem to be enough to promote continuity among different generations of the same family household and diasporic group. Personal life trajectories; the living context, where different face-to-face and mediated relations take constantly place, seem also to lead to different degrees of attachment to an either lived or imagined past and place, giving evidence of the irregular and unexpected mnemonic collective and individual processes among the diasporic.

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