

## Portugal's First Post-Colonials: Citizenship, Identity, and the Repatriation of Goans<sup>1</sup>

Caroline B. Brettell  
*Southern Methodist University*

ON DECEMBER 18, 1961, after years of diplomatic exchanges between Portugal and India, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of an independent India, ordered his military forces to enter Goa to “liberate” the Goan people from 450 years of Portuguese colonial rule. In Lisbon, in the days leading up to this action, Dr. António de Oliveria Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal since 1932, sat in the Palace of São Bento glued to the telephone and the telegraph. A faithful domestic servant is said to have reported later that it was a troublesome time that she would never forget. “I prayed various *terços* for everything to go as he wanted. Only a day later did we learn of the treason (*traição*). He was livid. He did not want to believe it. He refused to eat. He shut himself in his room for a long time. He did not even want a little tea (*ném o chazinbo tomava*). It was one of the greatest sorrows (*desgostos*) of his life.”<sup>2</sup> To Salazar, the actions of Nehru constituted an “invasion” by a country that simply wanted to substitute one colonial power for another.

Salazar knew that if Portuguese India was lost the rest of Portugal’s colonies (or overseas provinces) would soon follow and that this would mean that the stature and international relevance of Portugal in the world would fall away. Portugal’s national identity was rooted in the expanse of overseas territories that made up its “empire.” The Portuguese nation was deterritorialized, but united by the sea. As Armando Gonçalves Pereira described it in his *Personal Deposition on the Case of Goa*, “the sea plays the role ... of the blood vessels of the human body; it guarantees the circula-

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<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Licínio Moreira, *De Goa a Lisboa: Diário de um prisioneiro de guerra* (Leiria: Jorlis, 2002), 29. Moreira was a Goan who had been imprisoned. It is certainly not clear whether this story is apocryphal or genuine, but I use it because it could well reflect Salazar’s sentiments at the time. Salazar’s foreign minister Alberto Franco Nogueira offers a portrait of a man who was fixated on Goa. Alberto Franco Nogueira, *Um político confessa-se (Diário 1960-1968)* (Lisboa: Livraria Editora Civilização, 1986).

tion of the blood and the life of the whole organism.”<sup>3</sup> The metaphor is appropriate to the idea of a Portuguese body politic that encompassed the populations of overseas territories and that encouraged the circulation of bodies within this deterritorialized colonial/national space.

However, the identity of a new India was invested in a process of re-territorialization that included the elimination of all foreign presence from the subcontinent. When he declined to liberate Goa in the immediate aftermath of British Independence, Nehru, a student and adherent of Gandhi’s pacifism, is reported to have referred to it as an embarrassing pimple on the face of Mother India, but over time the pimple did not go away and became increasingly irritating.<sup>4</sup> For both countries, in other words, Goa represented a vital piece of nationhood and much of the discourse of the period focused on the definition of nation. The Goan people, many of whom were caught in the middle of extended moral, spiritual, diplomatic, and legal debates that drew international attention, found their identity and national emplacement being defined by others.

Soon after December of 1961, several thousand Goans departed their homeland and were welcomed in continental Portugal. Diplomatic relations between India and Portugal ceased. In 1975, after the so-called “Carnation Revolution” that toppled almost fifty years of fascism, Portugal recognized the annexation of Goa, Damão (Daman), and Diu and reopened diplomatic relations with India. At that time the Old State of Portuguese India (*o Antigo Estado da Índia*) was given a special status under the Portuguese Nationality Law—those born there who declared their intention to retain their Portuguese nationality were entitled to do so; they can still make this declaration today. By contrast, the citizens of other ex-Portuguese colonies (largely in Africa) were given a limited time period to decide if they wanted to remain Portuguese citizens or adopt the nationality of newly independent countries. The special treatment extended to those whose origins were in the former Indian colonies was rooted in Portugal’s view that Indian citizenship had been imposed on them. This liberal and unparalleled policy for Goans with respect to Portuguese nationality has resulted in a rather interesting new migratory phenomenon, for which the

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<sup>3</sup> Armando Gonçalves Pereira, *My Personal Deposition in the Case of Goa*, Pamphlet (1953), 30 (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal: S.C. 15497//10<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> Salman Rushdie makes reference to this remark in his novel *Midnight’s Children*. Salman Rushdie, *Midnight’s Children* (London: Jonathan Cape Limited, 1980), 351. See also the anonymous article, “End of Panch Shila,” *Time Magazine*, Dec. 15, 1961 (<http://205.188.238.109/time/printout/0,8816,827071,00.html>, consulted May 23, 2007).

stakes have been raised since Portugal is now a member of the European Community. In recent years many Goans have reclaimed their Portuguese nationality so that they can migrate to continental Europe. Indeed Portuguese nationality is available to any individual who can prove s/he was born in or has/had a parent or grandparent born in Portuguese India prior to 1961. While the rest of Europe has pressured Portugal to change the nationality law, it remains in effect and most recently there have been reports of fraud and abuse with regard to Portuguese passports.<sup>5</sup> In February of 2004 a news story reported a huge billboard offering Portuguese passports along a highway running from the airport to the center of Panjim/Panaji, the capital city of Goa. The sign read: "Worried about your future and wish to keep your family's options open? Take advantage of the benefits of Portuguese nationality, which is available to all people from Goa."<sup>6</sup> Eight months earlier, the Portuguese consul in Goa observed: "It's a business, as if Portuguese citizenship is for sale."<sup>7</sup>

In this article, which draws on both archival research and field interviews, I explore the debates about nation, citizenship, and identity and their implications for the "repatriation" of Goan people to Portugal in the years following 1961, as well as their remigration to other parts of the Portuguese colonial world and subsequent return to the metropole after 1974. While focused on the Portuguese/Goan case, the discussion here is certainly germane to broader considerations of race, citizenship, and identity in the context of colonialism and post-colonialism<sup>8</sup> and of post-

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<sup>5</sup> As mentioned, Portugal's position is that those born in the Indian colonies before the Indian annexation had Indian citizenship imposed on them and gave them the option, through the 1975 Nationality Law, the right to retain/reclaim Portuguese citizenship. Clearly, the idea of a deterritorialized nation that extends beyond the borders of continental Portugal is also embedded in this law. This expansive idea of borders is not compatible with the idea of Europe as defined by the European community. This difference of opinion, as well as the possibilities for fraud, are at the root of the tension between Portugal and the rest of Europe.

<sup>6</sup> Goanet, at <http://goanet.org>, Feb. 14, 2004.

<sup>7</sup> James Brooke, "Goa Offers Indians a Door to Europe," *International Herald Tribune*, June 9, 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 1996); Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991); Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1992): 6-23; Prema Kurien, *Kaleidoscopic Ethnicity: International Migration and the Reconstruction of Community Identities in India* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002); Sandhya Shukla, "Locations for South Asian Diaspora," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (2001): 551-72; Paul A. Silverstein, *Algeria in France: Transpolitics, Race, and Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,

colonial migrants in European metropolises.<sup>9</sup> Bhabha has emphasized the complex and hybrid identities that are the result of the colonial experience as well as the ambivalence that sometimes characterizes the relationship with former colonial masters.<sup>10</sup> The Goans who have resettled in the Portuguese metropole have carried with them a hybrid indo-lusitanian heritage that is important to the construction of identity and a sense of belonging.

I begin with an historical overview. I then turn to a discussion of Goans in the metropole, drawing on the biographies of five individuals to illustrate not only the different phases of arrival as well as the different labels that were applied, by extension, to the bodies that circulated in colonial and post-colonial space, but also the diverse ways in which Goans in Lisbon define themselves as Goan, Portuguese, and Indian. This is followed by a discussion of the key institution, the *Casa de Goa*, for the preservation of Goan culture and identity in the Portuguese metropole.

#### *The Development and Demise of Portuguese India*

Goa was the symbolic jewel in Portugal's "crown." While small by comparison with the African colonies, and lacking in the natural resources of the latter, Goa was accorded special privilege and served, as historian Charles Boxer has noted, as the administrative and ecclesiastical headquarters of the Portuguese Estado da India.<sup>11</sup> The *Estado da India* took root in 1510 when Afonso de Albuquerque attacked Goa with the purpose of liberating her from Muslim domination. Albuquerque urged interracial marriages, something that has been emphasized across the centuries as evidence of Portugal's racial tolerance by comparison with other colonial powers. Gaitonde has observed that Albuquerque's letter to the Portuguese

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2004); Paul A. Silverstein, "Immigrant Racialization and the New Savage Slot: Race, Migration, and Immigration in the New Europe," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005): 363-84; Ann L. Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth Century Colonial Cultures," *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989): 634-60.

<sup>9</sup> David Beriss, *Black Skins, French Voices: Caribbean Ethnicity and Activism in Urban France* (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 2004); Riva Kastoryano, *Negotiating Identities: States and Immigration in France and Germany*, trans. Barbara Harshav (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Andrea L. Smith, ed., *Europe's Invisible Migrants* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003); Pnina Werbner, *Imagined Diasporas among Manchester Muslims* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2002).

<sup>10</sup> Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>11</sup> Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (London: Hutchison, 1969).

king noting that 450 men had decided to take Moorish women and settle in Goa is the only evidence of his policy of assimilation “and the so-called special traits of the Goan population.”<sup>12</sup> The well-known Portuguese historian Oliveira Marques refers to marriages with upper caste Hindu women.<sup>13</sup> However, most scholars have concluded that the mix of populations was in fact quite limited, more myth than fact, but a myth that sustained powerful claims-making about Portuguese India, the Portuguese deterritorialized nation, and Portugal as colonizer.

Whatever the truth about racial tolerance, it was certainly not accompanied by religious tolerance. The Portuguese were determined to eliminate Hinduism and Buddhism, beginning with the mass destruction of Hindu temples and culminating in the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa in 1536.<sup>14</sup> Laws favoring new converts to Christianity were enacted. Even as late as 1907 Hindus were banned from teaching in Portuguese primary schools because they were not adherents of the state religion.<sup>15</sup> Although significant in numbers, the Hindus of Goa faced serious discrimination.

Throughout the period from the mid-sixteenth to the early twentieth century, numerous conflicts and revolts took place as local populations challenged Portuguese domination and struggled for freedom. In the late eighteenth century, a group of Goan-born Catholic priests in Goa led a rebellion to overthrow Portuguese rule—an indication that anti-Portuguese sentiment was certainly not confined to the Hindu population. Even some influential Goans living in Lisbon involved themselves in this early liberation effort. In the nineteenth century, as new taxes were imposed, Goans began to use the press and governmental institutions, including the Portuguese Parliament, to make their case for independence. Some of the most

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<sup>12</sup> P. D. Gaitonde, *The Liberation of Goa: A Participant's View of History* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1987), 2.

<sup>13</sup> A. H. Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).

<sup>14</sup> During the Inquisition of 1567 all Hindu ceremonies were banned, temples destroyed, and Hindus converted. Those who refused were imprisoned to await the *auto da fé* trial and those condemned were burnt alive. Estimates are that over 200 years 16,000 trials took place and thousands were killed. In 1812 the Inquisition was finally dissolved but certainly the Portuguese were successful in converting significant segments of the population.

<sup>15</sup> Aureliano Fernandes, “Political Transition in Post-Colonial Societies: Goa in Perspective,” *Lusotopie*, 2000: 341-58; Gaitonde, *Liberation of Goa*.

violent confrontations, involving both Hindus and Christians, occurred toward the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

In the context of the Portuguese Empire, Goa had a rather distinct history in relation to the Portuguese State. Under the government of the Marques de Pombal and in a decree signed by King José I, Portuguese Indians (from Goa, Damão, and Diu, the latter two small areas in Gujarat which are now union territories) were granted equal status under the law with Metropolitan Portuguese. Pombal, who eventually abolished the Inquisition of Goa, decreed that Christian natives, no matter what their race and color, should be given preference to metropolitan Portuguese for public offices and even land ownership.<sup>17</sup> This was a unique approach to colonials, albeit one that was inclusive based on race but exclusive based on religion. No other colonial power gave the same privilege to the inhabitants of its colonies. In the post-Pombaline period, some of this progress was reined in—the Inquisition returned in a more moderate form, and the position of viceroy (which Pombal had replaced with that of governor) was revived.

When Portugal became a Republic in 1910 the new Constitution of 1911 gave Portuguese Indians (but not the Africans) the same rights and status as Portuguese citizens.<sup>18</sup> The new Portuguese Republic suggested to Goans

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<sup>16</sup> See Gaitonde, *Liberation of Goa*, for a more complete discussion of this period. Gaitonde was an activist in the efforts to remove Portuguese rule from Goa. He was a Goan surgeon who eventually was deported to Portugal and imprisoned at the infamous Peniche. Despite this background, he has written an account of the “liberation” that is clear, balanced, and that draws on a broad range of sources.

<sup>17</sup> Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 476.

<sup>18</sup> Africans were categorized as “non-civilized.” Only when they had learned Portuguese and become Christians were they considered to be assimilated and granted the rights of a Portuguese citizen. Goans were considered “civilized” and assimilated. Andrea Smith has observed that “while race was not ostensibly the primary criterion [to distinguish the non-assimilated from Portuguese citizens], ... few African or ‘mixed-origin’ people received a certificate of *assimilado* status.” Andrea L. Smith, “Introduction: Europe’s Invisible Migrants,” in Andrea L. Smith, ed., *Europe’s Invisible Migrants* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 9-32.

In Angola in 1956, only approximately 30,000 people of African origins received this status out of a total population of more than 4.3 million. The Portuguese clearly constructed colonial peoples quite distinctly. Portuguese historian Oliveira Marques refers to “special statuses” for the natives, according to their stage of evolution. In 1961, these special statuses were eliminated “and all the inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea became full Portuguese citizens. The *assimilado* condition disappeared, and African populations were given more control over the governance of their lives.” This was part of Salazar’s attempt to replace the idea of Portugal as a colonial power with the idea of a far-flung and deterritorialized nation linked by the sea (Oliveira Marques,

that autonomy and the end of religious discrimination was within reach. During this period of liberalization, Goan Hindus founded new schools, organizations, and media; relationships between Christians and Hindus softened. Gaitonde points out that “enlightened Christians, particularly the young generation at the time, recognised the ties of race, civilisation and blood which bind Goa to the rest of India.”<sup>19</sup> Many people in Goa followed the news of what was happening in British India, and paid close attention to the teachings of Gandhi. They enjoyed their new democratic freedoms.

However, in 1926 the Portuguese Republic fell. After a period of chaos, Salazar was installed as Minister of Finance and the tightening of reins began. The Colonial Act of May 1930, promulgated by Salazar, was an example of this rein tightening. This Act “confirmed the existence of an historical and essential role to possess, civilize and colonize the overseas territories.”<sup>20</sup> It was part of a clear imperialist vision on Salazar’s part and, as Smith so effectively argues, it changed thinking about the colonies.<sup>21</sup> Salazar recreated a Portuguese Colonial Empire administered from the center with Governor-Generals who answered to Lisbon. The Colonial Act also prescribed that Portuguese was to be the exclusive language of instruction throughout the colonies.

Goans lost many of the rights they had enjoyed under the First Republic and became second-class citizens. In Goa there were objections to this Act and the freedom movement gained new momentum. Luis Menezes de Bragança, the founder and publisher of an important newspaper in Goa, *O Heraldo*, labeled the Colonial Act an affront to the rights of Goans,

which brands us with the stigma of subjection as the essential quality of our collective organism. It is the Act which has destroyed the political unity the Republican Constitution of 1911 had consecrated—a Constitution which organized the Portuguese Nation into a United States, placing the continent and the colonies on a footing of political equality and has established the humiliating duality of a metropolis ruling and commanding, and its colonies, forming themselves under the name of Empire, in a subordinate unit, ruled and subjugated ... After destroying that unit, it has implanted the all

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*History of Portugal*, 227).

<sup>19</sup> Gaitonde, *Liberation of Goa*, 16.

<sup>20</sup> Maria Inês Macias de Melo Magalhães, “Goa: Uma introdução,” in *O Caso de Goa: 40 anos depois (1961-2000) recordando a história*, Actas da Conferência, Núcleo de Estudos de Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (2003), 34.

<sup>21</sup> Alan K. Smith, “António Salazar and the Reversal of Portuguese Colonial Policy,” *Journal of African History* 15 (4) (1974): 653-67.

absorbing administrative centralization towards which we are marching at long strides, and which, after all, is nothing but a system of irresponsibility placing the destinies of a country in the hands of an overseer called governor.<sup>22</sup>

This Act gave new impetus to the nationalist movement for freedom from foreign rule. It encoded the tensions between colonial identity and national identity, between subject and citizen, between economic exploitation and economic development. One of the key leaders of the movement, and the founder of the Goa Congress Committee, Tristão Bragança da Cunha, suggested that the Colonial Act established “two different meanings for the nation and admitted two kinds of citizens, the possessors and the possessed.”<sup>23</sup>

In the ensuing years, the population of Goa declined as people emigrated to other parts of India, Asia, and to Africa. The freedom fighters, many of them now located in the diaspora, struggled on. In 1944 the Goa Congress Committee in Bombay published Tristão B. da Cunha’s treatise on the “Denationalisation of the Goans.”<sup>24</sup> This book attacked the lusitanisation policy of the Portuguese Empire, a policy aimed at undermining Goan culture and traditions. Denationalization, in Cunha’s view, had to do with the elimination of a Hindu identity, manifested in particular in prohibitions on wearing the *dboti* (the traditional loin cloth) and the *cholli* (the traditional woman’s tight-fitting blouse), using native languages (including publishing books in Konkani), using rice without salt, and calling any Christian individual by a Hindu name. It also included the continued use of the Church as an instrument of imperialist politics. Cunha’s assessment was blunt. The Portuguese, he suggested, have, through their policies, “reduced Goan society to a grotesque caricature of the West and deprived it of the qualities of originality and invention which are essential for real progress.” He labeled it a form of “mental slavery.”<sup>25</sup> Along similar lines, Siqueira has recently pointed out that the Portuguese, by contrast with the British and

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<sup>22</sup> Quoted in J. B. Pinto, *Goan Emigration* (Goa, 1963), 231. See also Luis Menezes Bragança, *Meet Menezes Bragança: Selected Articles* (Bombay, 1963).

<sup>23</sup> Tristão Bragança da Cunha, *Goa’s Freedom Struggle* (Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961), 15.

<sup>24</sup> Goa Congress Committee, *Denationalisation of the Goans* (Bombay: Padma Publications Ltd., 1944).

<sup>25</sup> Cunha, *Goa’s Freedom Struggle*, 92, 95.

other Western colonial nations, attempted to “occidentalize” rather than “orientalize” India.<sup>26</sup>

Cunha’s book, together with another criticizing the devaluation of British Indian currency in Goa, were banned in British India under the Defense of India Act.<sup>27</sup> The anti-colonial/pro-Goan independence activities came to a head in 1946 when Indian nationalist Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia spoke in Margão, Goa at the invitation of Julião Menezes. Menezes and Lohia were arrested, as were many others after mass protests. Gaitonde observes that this event “had a terrible impact on the Goan mind, and a regular campaign for civil liberties followed. Men, women and students participated in a *satyagraha*, defying those laws which restricted the basic freedoms of citizens, such as holding meetings.”<sup>28</sup> The Portuguese response was continued arrests and repression, something that provoked Nehru to speak out on the Goan cause. “For us Goa is as much a part of India as any other part, and freedom of India inevitably includes the freedom of the people of Goa. Goa cannot be separated; freedom there becomes part of our own struggle.”<sup>29</sup> The deportation and imprisonment (in the infamous prison at Peniche in continental Portugal) of key leaders who, because they had been educated in British India, were constructed as foreigners, succeeded in containing the freedom movement in Goa, at least temporarily. Meanwhile British India received its independence and high on Nehru’s agenda was the peaceful elimination of all foreign presence on the Indian subcontinent.

The 1950 Goan census enumerated 517 Europeans who were mostly Portuguese officials, 336 Eurasians, 258 Africans, 226 of mixed background, and 88 others. The rest were labeled native-born Goans. Those in secondary Portuguese schools numbered 686; in secondary English schools, 11,914; in secondary Marathi schools 719; and in secondary Gujarati schools, 1,504. Hindus numbered 307,127; Catholics, 230,984, and Muslims 9,066. Goa, in other words, was more Hindu than Christian, although not by much. Despite the emphasis placed on Portuguese language education in the Colonial Act, only a small proportion of the population could actually speak and write Portuguese, and more than 80 percent of the population

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<sup>26</sup> Alito Siqueira, “Post Colonial Portugal, Postcolonial Goa: A Note on Portuguese Identity and its Renaissance in Goa and India,” *Lusotopie*, 2002/2: 211, 211-3.

<sup>27</sup> This decision was later repealed.

<sup>28</sup> Gaitonde, *Liberation of Goa*, 29.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in Gaitonde, *Liberation of Goa*, 31.

was illiterate.<sup>30</sup> It is no wonder that the debate between Salazar and Nehru over the Goan case was so heated and why the international community was so confused.

*Colony or Overseas Province?: Nation-Building/Nation-Sustaining and the Construction of Goan Identity*

In the immediate aftermath of the formation of the Indian Union, Salazar held on to the imperial perspective. He elucidated his position in a speech to the Portuguese National Assembly on November 25, 1947. At that time he claimed that “if geographically Goa is India, socially, religiously, culturally Goa is Europe. If Westerners, Indo-Portuguese, and Indians live there, politically there are only Portuguese citizens; that is, indistinguishable members of a civilized community with many centuries of existence and who belong not only where they were born, but also in the metropole and in the entire empire.”<sup>31</sup> These remarks of Salazar are illuminating. First, they underscore Portugal’s deterritorialized national identity while simultaneously undermining one of Nehru’s major claims for nationhood—geographical integrity. Second, they privilege the role of the State in extending citizenship and hence defining both identity and belonging. But political belonging is complemented by cultural, social, and religious belonging—and here Salazar chose to simply overlook the 60 percent of the Goan population that was not “European” religiously, socially, and culturally. Third, they emphasize the diasporic nature of belonging—something characteristic of Goans who found themselves situated in many parts of the Lusitanian world. Theoretically, of course, the Goan case draws attention precisely to how postcoloniality “problematizes the relationship between space and culture.”<sup>32</sup>

In February of 1950 Nehru approached Portugal to open a dialogue about Portuguese withdrawal from the Indian subcontinent. Salazar refused to negotiate. As Nehru’s position crystallized, and as the world became less tolerant of colonial empires, Salazar changed his tactic and reframed the discourse. Partly in response to the efforts of an energetic Member of Parliament in Lisbon who was of Goan background, he repealed the

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<sup>30</sup> Carlos Alexandre de Morais, *A queda da Índia portuguesa: Crónica da invasão e do cativo* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1995), 369 (1st ed. 1980).

<sup>31</sup> Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros (abbreviated in the text as MNE), *Vinte anos de defesa do Estado Português da Índia*, 4 vols. (Lisbon, 1947-67), 3: 16.

<sup>32</sup> Gupta and Ferguson, “Beyond ‘Culture,’” 8.

Colonial Act and the Portuguese Constitution was amended to eliminate all references to “colonies.” Salazar began to promote to the world an image of Portugal not as a great colonial power but as a multiracial and multicontinental nation composed of mainland Portugal and its “overseas territories” (*o ultramar*)—a return to the nomenclature of the past and to the idea of residents of these territories, including the African territories, as *fully assimilated* citizens, as organic parts of the national “body.”<sup>33</sup>

Many writers of the period found in Goa the epitome of “Lusotropicalism,” a term coined by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) to describe the *mestiço* society that the supposedly non-racist inclusiveness of Portuguese colonialism had spawned. Indeed, Freyre was sent on a tour of the Portuguese colonies by the Salazar regime in 1951 and 1952, and it is out of this trip that the concept of lusotropicalism emerged. As Cristiana Bastos astutely observes, lusotropicalism “proved convenient for the conservative and increasingly isolated imperial regime of Salazar.”<sup>34</sup> It was, she suggests, the backbone of a transcontinental Portuguese identity. Madureira concurs with this assessment, suggesting that the idea of a hybrid tropical civilization acquired “a wide currency in Portuguese colonialist discourses, particularly in the decades of anti-colonialist struggle.”<sup>35</sup>

The representation of Goa as a tropical integration success story was perhaps best articulated in the Statement made to the United Nations on 6 December 1956 by the Portuguese representative:

A society has been formed with a sense of oneness and unity in the same moral climate which has made of Goa a true expression of Portugal in the East ... The people in their minds, in their institutions, in their way of life, and in the spiritual atmosphere in which they live, feel and act like Portuguese. They have Portugal in their hearts and are proud of the independence which they have within the Portuguese nation.<sup>36</sup>

The Portuguese representative went on to accuse India of wanting Portugal to treat Goa like a colony so that it could be handed over as if Goans

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<sup>33</sup> Luis Madureira, “Tropical Sex Fantasies and the Ambassador’s Other Death: The Difference in Portuguese Colonialism,” *Cultural Critique* 28 (1994): 149-73.

<sup>34</sup> Cristiana Bastos, “Race, Medicine and the Late Portuguese Empire: The Role of Goan Colonial Physicians,” *Institute of Germanic & Romance Studies* 5 (1) (2005): 24, 23-37.

<sup>35</sup> Madureira, “Tropical Sex,” 159.

<sup>36</sup> MNE, 3: 283.

“were chattels and not human beings.”<sup>37</sup> Eventually India would itself be accused of imperialism.

In 1953, giving up hope of any diplomatic negotiation, Nehru closed the Indian Legation in Lisbon. Soon afterwards his army took over the small Portuguese colonies of Dadra and Nagra.<sup>38</sup> Salazar began to build up his armed forces in Goa. Although he knew that ultimately Goa was militarily indefensible, he held tenaciously to his position, placing all his bets on Nehru’s pacifist philosophy. In an international public relations effort, Portugal’s position (as formulated by Salazar) was disseminated throughout the world, culminating in an essay published in the distinguished journal *Foreign Affairs* in April of 1956. In this article Salazar made several key points which clearly reveal how he constructed Goa in relation to Portugal.<sup>39</sup> The crux of his argument was that Goa was not a colony, that Portugal was not a colonial power, and that the people of Goa considered themselves to be Portuguese.<sup>40</sup> Curiously, but perhaps not surprisingly, Salazar totally ignored the material honestly and objectively presented to him by the well-known geographer Orlando Ribeiro, who had just carried out a five-month on-the-ground study of Portuguese India. In this study, which has only recently been published in Portugal, Ribeiro noted that the Portuguese language was in fact neither widely known nor spoken in Goa, that an indifference to Portugal was pervasive, and that Hindu culture was widespread.<sup>41</sup> Goa in his view was not the Rome of the East, but a unique society characterized by a real coexistence of East and West, Christian and Hindu.<sup>42</sup>

What was the position of Goans themselves? They were in some sense divided by religion. Goan Christians, the most westernized segment, did not necessarily want to be part of India and were looking for their own

<sup>37</sup> MNE, 3: 284.

<sup>38</sup> For a more detailed account of this period, see Gaitonde, *Liberation of Goa*.

<sup>39</sup> António de Oliveira Salazar, “Goa and the Indian Union: The Portuguese View,” *Foreign Affairs* 34 (1956): 418-31.

<sup>40</sup> This argument was in fact more directly developed in a 1954 speech. See António de Oliveira Salazar, *The Case of Goa—Salazar’s Speech to the National Assembly* (Lisbon: Secretariado Nacional da Informação, 1954).

<sup>41</sup> Orlando Ribeiro, *Goa em 1956: Relatório ao governo* (republication, Lisbon: Comissão para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999).

<sup>42</sup> Ribeiro’s conclusions were not what Salazar wanted to hear but they were probably accurate. It is no wonder that the report was suppressed at the time.

autonomy independent of both nations. Indeed, it is particularly significant that while Goa celebrates a Liberation Day on December 18th each year to mark the collapse of Portuguese rule, an equally if not more important holiday is Freedom Day celebrated to commemorate the *satyagraha* protests of the summer of 1946. But, as historian J. M. Richards has noted:

It was not to be expected that India, after achieving independence and also, through the integration of the former princely states, achieving the administrative unification of the peninsula for the first time in history (though sharing the subcontinent with Pakistan), would be content with anything less than the whole; or would be prepared to tolerate any compromise with her new found unity in the shape of an independent enclave, however small and however harmless to her interests, let alone an enclave ruled by a foreign power.<sup>43</sup>

Goan Hindus, many have suggested, supported unification with India. Goans in the metropole, including those who were members of the Portuguese Parliament, were dismayed by Salazar's abject refusal to negotiate, viewing this as the best avenue to autonomy.<sup>44</sup> Goans elsewhere in the Diaspora were divided depending on their location—in Bombay they were working for freedom, but in the Portuguese African colonies, and arguably also in the British colonies, many stood with Portugal.<sup>45</sup>

The standstill culminated in the events of 18 December 1961. Was Goa liberated or invaded? For some Goans now living in Lisbon, it was an invasion because if it had been a liberation Goa would be independent. In their view, one external power was replaced by another. A Goan man who left in 1962 at the age of 20 because he "opposed the invasion and felt Portuguese" and who soon found himself serving with the Portuguese military in Africa summed it up this way: "The idea we had is that Portugal is Portugal. We did not perceive ourselves as colonized. We were the *Estado da India*. I went to Africa as a Portuguese citizen although I was the only Goan in my company." It is this double identity—Portuguese citizen/Goan national—that those who left Goa for the metropole both before and after

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<sup>43</sup> J. M. Richards, *Goa* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1982), 76.

<sup>44</sup> Morais, *A queda da India portuguesa*.

<sup>45</sup> An interesting document representing a solid anti-Indian Union stance of diasporic Goans is the proceedings of a Conference of the People of Goa, Damão, and Diu that took place at the Palais D'Orsay in Paris from 3 to 5 December 1963 (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, S.C. 2433IV).

1961 carried with them and that defines their sense of belonging in Portugal and being in the world to this day.

*Refugees, Repatriates, Retornados?: Biographies of Displacement, Identity, and Belonging among Metropole Goans*<sup>46</sup>

An exact count of the total number of people of Indian origin (but not necessarily birth) living in Portugal is difficult to determine but the majority are Goans. Goans in Portugal are thought to be the largest Goan community in the world living outside Goa. They have entered Portugal prior to 1961 and immediately after 1961 directly from Goa; from Mozambique and other African colonies after 1974; and during the 1990s as part of a liberal immigration policy that, as indicated above, extends citizenship to inhabitants of the former Portuguese India who can demonstrate that they, their parents, or their grandparents were born there prior to 1961.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> All interviews that are quoted in this article were conducted with Goans residing in Lisbon in June and July 2005. All names are pseudonyms.

<sup>47</sup> During the 1990s Portugal, long a country of emigration, became a country of immigration. Caroline B. Brettell, *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Caroline B. Brettell, *Anthropology and Migration: Essays on Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity* (Walnut Creek, Cal.: Altamira Press, 2003). The proportion of foreign residents in Portugal has risen from 5.5/1000 inhabitants in 1981 to 33.8/1000 inhabitants in 2001. Maria Lucinda Fonseca, Jorge Malheiros, Alina Esteves and Maria José Caldeira, *Immigrants in Lisbon: Routes of Integration* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Geográficos, Universidade de Lisboa, 2002). Many of these immigrants are people from the former African colonies and the Cape Verde Islands (about 82,277 in the Lisbon metropolitan area according to the 2001 Portuguese Census). There are also increasing numbers of Eastern Europeans and people from the former Soviet Republics (particularly Ukrainians), as well as Asians entering the country. For research on immigrants in Portugal, see José Gabriel Pereira Bastos and Susan Pereira Bastos, *Portugal Multicultural* (Lisbon: Fim de Século Edições, 1999); Fonseca et al., *Immigrants in Lisbon*; Ana Paula Beja Horta, *Contested Citizenship: Immigration Politics and Grassroots Migrants' Organizations in Post-Colonial Portugal* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 2004); Jorge Macaísta Malheiros, *Imigrantes na região de Lisboa: os anos da mudança: imigração e processo de integração das comunidades de origem indiana* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 1996); Jorge Macaísta Malheiros and Francisco Vala, "Immigration and City Change: The Lisbon Metropolis at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30 (6) (2004): 1065-86; João Peixoto, "Strong Market, Weak State: The Case of Recent Foreign Immigration in Portugal," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28 (3) (2002): 483-97; and Carlota Solé, "Portugal and Spain: From Exporters to Importers of Labour," in Robin Cohen, ed., *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 316-41.

In 1991 a Portuguese consulate was opened in Goa to facilitate this movement.

Individuals born in the Indian subcontinent have been in the Portuguese metropole since the late fifteenth century. Vasco da Gama is reported to have brought four Hindu fishermen and one Muslim, all of them inhabitants of Calcutta, to Lisbon in 1498.<sup>48</sup> They returned to India with the fleet of Pedro Alves Cabral in 1500. Across the centuries Goan Christians took to the seas; others traveled to the metropole for medical, legal, and theological education. By the latter nineteenth century there was a regular Goan Member of Parliament.

The volume of emigration from Goa increased in the late nineteenth century, stimulated not only by the Anglo-Portuguese treaty but also by economic stagnation in Goa itself. This migration was predominantly Catholic. Many Goans went to British India, especially to the cities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Karachi, where they found work on ships and in service occupations such as cooks, butlers, waiters, tailors, and nannies. An estimate made in 1954 suggested that about 180,000 Goans were away from their homes. Despite being viewed as highly assimilable within British India, Goans in Bombay maintained their identity in the context of clubs and associations (known as *kudds*) based on village and caste ties. This emigration was encouraged by Portugal because the remittances were invaluable to the financial stability of Goa. Portugal, in other words, was following a policy in Goa similar to the policy it pursued in the mainland, viewing emigration as a safety valve for excess population and as a way to ignore internal development.<sup>49</sup> In this period Goans also migrated to the British and Portuguese colonies in Africa to occupy positions as clerks and low level administrators.<sup>50</sup> There was also an important Goan missionary presence in Mozambique. In Africa they forged a diasporic Portuguese identity. In the twentieth century, particularly in the period just prior to the annexation of Goa, elite Goans came to Lisbon for education and many

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<sup>48</sup> Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Os primeiros goeses em Portugal," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, vol. 31, separata (1936).

<sup>49</sup> Brettell, *Men Who Migrate*, 97; Brettell, *Anthropology and Migration*, 3, 14.

<sup>50</sup> Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes, "Death Notices and Dispersal: International Migration among Catholic Goans," in Jeremy Eades, ed., *Migrants, Workers, and the Social Order* (London: Tavistock, 1987), 82-98; Jorge Macaísta Malheiros, "Circulação migratória e estratégias de inserção local das comunidades católica goesa e ismaelita: uma inter-pretação a partir de Lisboa," *Lusotopie*, 2000: 377-98.

of them stayed. This is the story of Edgar Fernandes (all names used are pseudonyms).

Edgar Fernandes arrived in Lisbon in 1958, “as a Portuguese, as a citizen.” In other words, he did not then and does not now view himself as an immigrant or a repatriate. He came to study and currently holds an academic position. He commented that other than medical education or a pharmacy degree it was virtually impossible to pursue any advanced degree in Goa. He had some post-graduate education from an Indian university and from an agricultural college but he decided it was better to pursue his interests in Lisbon. His initial plan was to return to Goa after completing his studies, but he was offered a position in the Portuguese government and was sent to Cape Verde and Timor as part of a technical team. He returned to Portugal on 7 December 1961 and, within two weeks, Portugal had lost Goa. Although he still had family in Goa—a father, a brother, and two sisters—returning at that time was difficult. He remained in Lisbon. At one point he did travel back, but “you had to have the support of both sides and the Portuguese secret police (the PIDE) was careful about issuing the passports.”

Sr. Fernandes has little contact with the broader Goan community in Lisbon although he is aware of the *Casa de Goa* and its restaurant. He married a Portuguese woman, his children were born in Portugal, and they have married other Portuguese. But, he said, “I never forget that I am Goan; it is implicit, it is embedded. I was born there.” Although he observed that: “All you need to do is look at me to know I am different,” he went on to say that Goans “are Catholics and this is a Catholic country. It is easy for us to dilute ourselves. You have to make an effort to remain Goan here.”

Sr. Fernandes’s family is global. He has cousins in Canada, England, and the United States. He said he had no regrets coming to the metropole. “I came as a citizen with no distinction and no difficulty.” What is interesting here is the way that Sr. Fernandes represents his cultural, racial, legal, and national identities. Race and nationality make him different, but religion and citizenship define his sense of belonging and have accorded him a place in the metropole.

If Edgar Fernandes represent the first phase of twentieth-century Goan presence in the metropole, Isabel Quadros represents the second—the “repatriates” who came in the period immediately after the annexation of Goa. At the time, the Portuguese government used the term “refugee” to

describe those who fled to Karachi. Indeed it was probably in Salazar's best interests to invoke this term because it substantiated his claim that what had happened in Goa was an invasion rather than a liberation, a war that created displaced persons. It also explains his efforts to provide Goans who had fled safe harbor. The first group of "refugees" waited in Karachi until May of 1962 when three ships, the *Vera Cruz*, the *Patria*, and the *Mozambique*, arrived from Portugal. They were welcomed in Lisbon by the Commission for Reception and Settlement. Isabel also passed through Karachi, although not until five months later.

After the Indian army entered Goa, Isabel and her *fiancée* decided to remain despite the fact that his entire family had left for Portugal. Isabel recalled that at the time of the "invasion" the Indian government was the enemy for many people: "at least that is what we were told. ... But families were divided on the issue," she commented, noting that she had two uncles who were against the Portuguese and involved in the freedom movements. "Those who left were against India, at least in the beginning. But those who stayed became disappointed with the progress under India as well. There was no development. Outsiders came in and took over, poor people flooded into the country. Things started to deteriorate." Isabel's comments here are important because they demonstrate the range of opinions even within a single family and hence the conflicted identities with which people were struggling.

Isabel heard that many people were going to Brazil, and she had a relative there who found jobs for her and her husband. They decided to become part of this new diasporic dispersal of Goans. "Although I disliked the changes in Goa, it was the sense of adventure," she said, that stimulated her departure. They traveled from Goa to Bombay to Karachi. "We arrived there in the October of 1962, ten months after the invasion, and were put up in a four-star hotel by the government." In March of 1963 planes were sent, and they were flown to Lisbon. Until their departure the Portuguese government continued to pay for their accommodations, food, and clothes, and they were also given spending money. She acknowledged that they were treated like refugees and taken care of in two or three hotels.

In Lisbon, the Portuguese government provided them with a place to stay, but it was not as luxurious as their lodgings in Karachi. "Families were split up with the ladies in one place and the men in another. As more and more people came space became tighter." When Isabel had her

first child, the government moved them to another place and found her husband a job which was not particularly to his liking. They applied for their tickets to Brazil but friends and relatives there urged them not to come because life had turned worse. At the time, the Portuguese government was also resettling Goan refugees in the African overseas territories. Isabel's husband was offered a job in Guinea-Bissau, but as the papers were being prepared troubles started there, and they decided they were not going to re-emigrate to another trouble spot. Her husband's ex-boss from Goa was in Lisbon, and he told them about a vacancy in São Tomé. They left for São Tomé with the same spirit of adventure she said.

In São Tomé, Isabel worked for a travel agency. She commented that Goans in São Tomé had a special status (by which she meant that they were treated differently by the Portuguese colonial establishment because they were not native Africans), and she felt some resentment from the local population. But they remained. Although it was hard to get a visa, they were able to return to Goa to visit in 1968. They were disappointed with what they saw. "There were lots of outsiders, poorer people, things had changed. Goa was prosperous by comparison with the rest of India at the time of invasion. It has improved now but it was not so good then." On more recent trips she has seen improvements in electricity, roads, water "but the government is still corrupt."

Isabel and her husband were in São Tomé for fourteen years, her husband working in airport communications. "It was a nice and easy life there, it was warm and you could afford servants." They had bought a house in 1973 with the idea to settle permanently. The children had been sent to Portugal for education. They had retained a house in Lisbon that was rented. But then the coup came in 1974, and in 1975 São Tomé became independent. All the native-born metropolitan Portuguese left immediately, but the local São Tomé government and the Portuguese government asked Isabel and her husband to stay to facilitate the transition. Isabel observed that because they were of Goan origin they were more able to stay. Although Portuguese citizens, they were not the colonizers but rather had an identity, at least to outsiders, as people in-between. "We were not considered like the white people. They recognized that my husband had a different way of dealing with Africans." These comments are telling for what they say about the liminality of the Goans who went to the African overseas territories. They were employed by the colonizers, but they were

not white and their origins were in another former Portuguese colony. But nor were they black and native to the area.

Isabel arrived back in Lisbon in April of 1978; her husband had departed late in 1977. In the late 1970s it was harder to find employment but her husband did eventually secure a position, and she found work with Angolan airlines. Both are retired now. Their closest friends in Lisbon are other Goans from São Tomé. In Isabel's view most Goans in the Metropole have been well absorbed into Portuguese society, and they recognize that their lives have been much better, despite the disruptions, than if they had remained in Goa. Isabel identifies herself as "a Portuguese born in Goa. Our culture is different, our way of thinking is different, our education was different." Isabel's secondary education was in English and when she left Goa her Portuguese was minimal, but it improved once she got to Lisbon. But she said that the lack of fluency in Portuguese did not mean she felt anything other than Portuguese. "We were born Portuguese. This was what was in our minds. I felt Portuguese because I was born Portuguese. I could not suddenly say I was Indian. But the family that remained behind is Indian." Isabel's comments indicate how powerful the concept of nationality is in defining identity and belonging. She adhered to the idea of being Portuguese whether living in Goa, in Lisbon, or in the African overseas territories. The Portuguese language was not, for her, a defining factor although once in Lisbon her language skills clearly improved. But it is Goan culture and upbringing (the word "education" was used by Isabel to refer not only to her English language schooling but also to how she was raised) that make her Goan and hence different from the Portuguese of Portugal.

As mentioned above, in the period between 1962 and 1974 many Goans who had been repatriated found themselves in one or another of the African overseas territories, sent there by a Portuguese government that still viewed them as well-suited to serve in the administrative bureaucracy of the *Ultramar*. They were neither white nor black, neither colonized or colonizers, and hence Portuguese citizens who could negotiate and adapt to the complexities of overseas assignment. Most of Isabel's husband's family went to Angola and, like them, returned to the metropole in 1975 as part of the *retornado* movement. With them came yet another group of Goans, those whose families had been in Angola, and particularly in

Mozambique, prior to 1961 or for several generations.<sup>51</sup> Francisco Noronha and Maria Mascarenhas are two such individuals.

After completing his primary education, Francisco Noronha entered the seminary at Rachol in Goa and was later sent to a seminary in Sri Lanka. His intention was to become a priest but eventually he decided that this was not the path he wanted to follow, and he returned to Goa for his final year of secondary school and then left for a university education in Bombay where he studied sociology. He returned to Goa in 1955, and then in 1957 he went to Angola where he worked for Shell Oil in their human resources department. At that time there were few other Goans working in Angola, and those who were there were in government service. He married two years later, and his new bride joined him in Angola. Their two children were born in Luanda. He saw the population of Goans in Angola increased “a thousand-fold” after 1961, again particularly in government posts.

Sr. Noronha recalled the colonial wars as something that was initially in the interior. “We did not feel the impact in Luanda. But once the revolution occurred in Portugal, we knew there would be independence soon.” That came in Angola in November of 1975. At first he considered remaining in Angola, but as the country became more dangerous it became apparent he had to leave. He arrived in Portugal at the end of 1976, although his children had been in Goa with his wife’s mother since the middle of 1975. For those in government service the transition was easy—they would have employment opportunities. Those working for private companies, like him, had to start all over. Fortunately he had relatives in Lisbon—a brother and a sister, both of whom had left Goa before he did, had lived in Mozambique and Angola respectively, but had left the *Ultramar* for the Metropole in 1975.

Sr. Noronha and his wife first rented a flat in Cascais and then bought an apartment in 1977. He began to work in the personnel department for two companies on a temporary basis, and then between 1981 and 1998 he was employed by a consulting firm in the area of human resource development and was sent on various missions to the former overseas territories—Angola, Mozambique, and Guinee-Bissau. “Portugal gained from

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<sup>51</sup> According to Ana-Rita Ferreira, the population of Mozambique that was considered Portuguese in the second half of the eighteenth century was largely Goan. Ana-Rita Ferreira, *Moçambique e os naturais da Índia portuguesa* (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1985).

the experience and work ethic of those who came back from the overseas colonies,” Sr. Noronha observed, and then went on to question the label of *retornado* that was applied to him at the time. “How could they call me that? I was never from here. This is not my place of origin. I would have been a *retornado* if I had gone back to Goa.” He then continued by saying that he is first and foremost a Goan but that he also has always felt Portuguese and his children are Portuguese. “This is my identity, no one can take my identity. I have a love for both. Goa is different from the rest of India; even the Hindus there are different.” Sr. Noronha’s sense of belonging derives from a life of cumulated experiences within the deterritorialized Portuguese world. He is a Goan by birth and culture, but a Portuguese citizen.

Like Sr. Fernandes and Sra. Quadros, Sr. Noronha’s family is also dispersed throughout the world. One brother remained in Goa, living in the family house; another brother, who is single, is still in Angola, having emigrated there in 1964. He has a brother who went to Bombay in 1961 and another who went to Delhi. In addition to a brother who lives in Cascais, Portugal (who lived in Mozambique from 1950 to 1976, working for the Portuguese government) he also has a sister in Elvas, Portugal. She and her husband, who was a government servant in Angola, moved to Portugal in 1975. Finally there is a sister who lives in the United States.

While Sr. Noronha was born in Goa, Maria Mascarenhas was born in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique to a Mozambique-born mother and a Goan-born father who arrived in Goa in 1911 at the age of seventeen to study and work. He lived with an uncle and aunt. She recalled various organizations in Mozambique that were “home” to those of Goan origin—a Sports Club, an Indo-Portuguese Association (for people of more modest means), and the Instituto Goano for older people. The language they all spoke was Portuguese, not Konkani—her mother knew a little Konkani. Her father was a typesetter for the National Press. They lived well in Mozambique but after independence the situation became less agreeable. Food was scarce and there was no security. Her mother and her brother, who was a public servant, left for Lisbon in 1976. She sent her daughter, who was born in 1972, with them. Maria, who had been employed in the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, and her husband left in 1977, after she completed her two-year post-independence contract with the bank. The other impetus for departure was that her husband became very ill with cancer

and could not get proper treatment in Mozambique. He died in Lisbon in 1981.

Maria said that she had difficulty adapting to life in Lisbon. She thought that the adjustment was harder for people from Mozambique than it was for those who came from Angola. "Mozambique was more closely linked to South Africa; it was more developed; it was more open. Angola was more linked to Portugal and Portugal was more closed." She also said that her own identity was problematic for the Portuguese government because she was born in Mozambique and her father—her one connection to Goa—was already dead. "Soares was telling us we were not Portuguese but we felt Portuguese. Eventually he changed his mind and decided we were Portuguese citizens." Embedded in this observation of Sra. Mascarenhas is not only the differential way that Portugal treated, and continues to treat, Goa and its former African colonies, but also the distinction that was drawn between nationality and citizenship.

Life was difficult after her husband's death, but her brother, who had a job in finance with the government, and her mother, lived with her, and the Bank gave her a position which she retired from in November of 2000. Like Sr. Noronha she did not consider herself a *retornado*: "I was from there and I never took an *escudo* from the government." Another word used at the time, and one that she found more acceptable to describe herself, was *desalojados* (the dislodged who lost the only "home" they knew). She misses Mozambique, and in 2003 made a trip back with her daughter. The country was not the same, she said, but it was also not as bad as she had expected. But she decided she was glad she left because she heard stories of the lack of security and the poor treatment of "white people"—with whom, in this context, she racially identified. Only after living in Portugal for some time did Sra. Mascarenhas make a trip to Goa and just prior to my interview with her she had exhibited her photographs from both trips. Sra. Mascarenhas has adopted a Goan identity since coming to Lisbon. Unlike Sr. Fernandes she has deliberately sought out and is active in the *Casa de Goa* and writes articles for the magazine *Voz de Oriente*, which is published in Lisbon but distributed in Paris, London, and Goa. The magazine contains all kinds of information about Goa.

In contrast to Sra. Quadros, Sra. Mascarenhas's deeper roots in a Portuguese Colony/Overseas Territory made her racially white and more identified with the colonial infrastructure. Further, she had to struggle to find

her place in the metropole—she never had the status of Goan refugee. Rather she was dislodged from the only home she knew prior to 1974—Mozambique. And yet, she has found a new home among those with whom she shares ancestry through her father's heritage.

A final group of Goans have come to continental Portugal much more recently under the continued policy of citizenship extension mentioned above. Others have managed to enter the country illegally and to work towards legalization. Manohar Rane, a shop owner in Lisbon, fits into this category of recent arrivals.

Sr. Rane was born near Panjim and grew up in Goa, although his parents originally came from Gujarat. In 1994, when he was 24 years old he went to Mozambique where a couple of uncles were living. He began to work for one of these uncles. One day in late 1998, as he was closing the shop, he was brutally attacked by some Mozambiquans. He ended up in the hospital. His father wanted him to return to India but instead he decided to go to Lisbon where one of his aunts was living. He arrived in March of 1999, and in October of that same year he opened a shop in Amadora. He opened a second shop near the Campo Grande in 2004. He called his brother directly from Goa to help him run the first shop while he took over the second. In Lisbon he met his wife who was born in Mozambique but who had come with her family to Lisbon in the mid-1970s and is a Portuguese citizen. He is an Indian citizen and said "I am Indian until the day I die." But he is also considering becoming a Portuguese citizen. It is significant that Manohar did not identify himself as Goan, first because his parents were originally from Gujarat, secondly because he grew up in a Goa that was already part of India, and thirdly because he is Hindu and a member of the Hindu Temple in Lisbon which is located in the northern sector of the city near the Talheiras subway station. Those who attend this temple are largely Indians from Mozambique he said.

When I asked Manohar about problems that he or others like him face living in Portugal, he mentioned that having the proper legal documents is the biggest hurdle. He talked about the problems that he had bringing his brother and maintaining his brother's legal status. His brother has left his family in Goa and it is difficult for him to return until he gets his work permit. The second problem he noted is discrimination, particularly at the other store where he feels they are looked down upon because they do not speak Portuguese that well. But despite these hurdles, he has no intention

of returning to Goa and some day may even sponsor his parents to come to Portugal to live with him.

What is most interesting about Manohar's narrative was how different it is from the others presented here. He is definitely Hindu and Indian, not Catholic and Goan. His integration has not been smooth despite marrying a Portuguese citizen, but one of Hindu background from Mozambique. While both he and Sra. Mascarenhas share the experience of Mozambique, they are of different generations and with different connections to Goa and this has implications for how they identify themselves and their community in Lisbon. While none of those of Goan origin who came prior to 1975 mentioned any form of discrimination (and certainly there was discrimination at the time directed toward other *retornados* from Africa), it was and remains an issue for Manohar.

The five cases presented here illustrate the diverse migratory and diasporic experiences among Goans now residing in the Portuguese metropole as well as the complex ways in which race, language, religion, and culture shape identity and the sense of belonging in both colonial and post-colonial space. Four of the five individuals are old enough to have lived in Portuguese Goa and their identities are either fully Portuguese or both Goan and Portuguese. The fifth has no indo-lusitanian heritage—he is fully an Indian and a Hindu—not a Goan although he was born there. Sr. Fernandes, the individual who arrived in Lisbon prior to the loss of the *Estado da Índia* is the most distanced from his Goan heritage, commenting that Goans in Lisbon “have to make an effort” to be Goan. It is through the *Casa de Goa* that many, although by no means all, make this effort.

*The Casa de Goa: Recovering a Lost Identity/Developing a Diasporic Identity*

I have never been to Portugal, nor to the *Casa de Goa* in Lisbon. But I can well transport myself there in my imagination. I have lived outside Goa for many years and known from my own experience that outside Goa you see Goa better. You feel Goa better, you know Goa better. ... A Goan carries Goa with him and wherever he goes he creates a small Goa around him. I think that *Casa de Goa* is another Goa outside Goa, with everything that is Goan: Goan food, Goan customs, Goan tongue, Goan Dance, Goan Music, Goan Songs (ManoharRan SarDessai).<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> ManoharRau SarDessai, “A Visit to the Casa de Goa in Lisbon,” in *Imagination, Boletim da Casa de Goa* II (7) (Jan-Mar. 2005): 10, 10-11.

While Goans are generally well integrated in the metropole, they have also built an institution that sustains their distinctiveness and, in the view of one informant, “brings back collective memory.” The idea for a *Casa de Goa* emerged in the 1980s to create a central place for a population residentially dispersed in the Lisbon metropolitan area, and diverse in their background and reasons for coming to the metropole. There was no impetus to create such an organization prior to this time because the number of Goans was small and, as a second informant observed, “we felt Portuguese.” The impetus came in the 1970s with African decolonization and the movement to (or back to) the metropole of Goans who had been living largely in Mozambique, but also in Angola, and São Tomé/Príncipe. A few leaders started to exercise pressure on the authorities to provide a place where they could gather.<sup>53</sup>

One of the founders, in an interview that appeared in the second issue of the *Boletim da Casa de Goa*, said that the *Casa* was a “cultural project for the defense of cultural identity of Goans, Damaneses and Diuenses.”<sup>54</sup> He went on to note that Indo-Portuguese culture is a fusion that is evident in the food, the literature, the songs, the dances, the architecture, the furniture, and the language. The current President acknowledged that some people of Goan origin or descent question the need for the *Casa* if Goans are as Portuguese as anyone else; but then he added that it exists to preserve traditions: “You can be integrated but distinct.”

Among the missions of the *Casa* is to sponsor literary evenings, festivals (Diwali, Christmas, Easter, Lord Ganesh, St. Francis) and contacts with institutions in Goa that can facilitate the exchange of intellectuals. It is a repository for the preservation of the Konkani language (the official language of Indian Goa), and books about Goa are housed in the small library which also carries issues of *Goa News*. The *Casa* also publishes a magazine—the *Boletim da Casa de Goa*. Young people have formed a musical group, and once a month there is a social gathering. The facility has a room for lectures, a tea room, a bar, an office, and a board room. Adjacent to the *Casa* is a restaurant that serves Goan food. The chef comes from Goa.

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<sup>53</sup> The role of such organizations in fostering ethnicity and maintaining cultural traditions among immigrant populations is of course widespread and widely studied. See the essays in Andrea Smith, *Europe's Invisible Migrants*, and the book by Beriss, *Black Skins*, for comparative examples among post-colonial populations.

<sup>54</sup> *Boletim da Casa de Goa* (June 1990): 7.

The members are generally from the middle and upper classes and well-educated. About 30 percent are retired and about 40 percent have positions in administration, the judiciary, the military, or politics. But included in the membership are also Portuguese people who are friends of Goa. At a gathering late on a Thursday afternoon in July of 2005, one such member stood up and declared “we are all Lusitanians.” At this gathering the speaker talked about how to make *samosas*, a popular Indian snack that in this context was identified by those gathered as Goan food. There was a rather animated discussion about what people use for fillings and how to make the dough, with everyone talking all at once. In this context, the *samosa* became an important marker of the hybrid indo-lusitanian heritage as well as a symbol of collective memory. There was also some discussion about collecting items for a food bank that might help less fortunate Goans now arriving in Portugal.

In late 2004 the *Casa de Goa* sponsored a contest for an anthem for their facility. The winning entry, composed by one member, is titled “*Casa de Goa is Our Home*.” The lyrics, written by another member, evoke the idea of displacement, home, and the preservation of a cultural identity outside of Goa. The opening refrain goes as follows:

Goans, Damanese and Diuese  
Took abode in Portugal  
They work and toil across the world  
But it's Goa that shines for them all  
*Casa de Goa* is our home  
Where members meet and roam,  
Let us uphold its banner high  
Its name let us glorify.<sup>55</sup>

An article in one of the early issues of the *Boletim da Casa de Goa*, addressed the question of why Goans left their homeland to come to Portugal.<sup>56</sup> The author suggested that in Portugal they were familiar with the language and customs. The suggestion here, confirmed by the President of the *Casa de Goa*, is that in Portugal they did not feel like, and were not treated as immigrants as they might feel or be treated in other countries,

<sup>55</sup> This anthem can be found at <http://www.goacom.com/casa-de-go>. It is also discussed in the *Boletim da Casa de Goa* II Série, 15 (Oct./Dec. 2004): 16–17.

<sup>56</sup> *Boletim da Casa de Goa* (June 1990): 5.

such as Canada or the United Kingdom. The President, himself a retired member of the Portuguese Parliament (representing the CDS party), went on to observe that the status of Goans in the metropole was high and that, in comparison with Goans in London, those in Lisbon have more visibility not only because the broader Indian-origin community is not as large as in England but also because they are fully recognized as citizens. He pointed to the fact that Goans had been able to lobby for both the land and the building that houses the *Casa de Goa* and compared this with the fact that the government had only provided Hindu Indians with the land for their temple but not the building itself. Goans, in other words, have received special treatment, perhaps because the majority of them are Catholics, because they have never been considered “immigrants” or “foreigners”, and because the *Casa* itself is symbolic of the new way in which the Portuguese government constructs its colonial past.

#### *Conclusion*

Mariko Tamanoi has argued that the “japaneseness” of Japanese repatriates from northeast China since 1946 “has been contested in the postcolonial era not only by the Japanese State and mainstream society, but also by the repatriates themselves.”<sup>57</sup> The “Portugueseness” of Goans who have moved to the Portuguese metropole as students, refugees, repatriates, *retornados*, dislodged people, or immigrants since 1950 and in at least four waves is not so apparently contested, either by the migrants themselves or by the Portuguese, despite the fact that Goa itself was a hotly contested “colonial space” that pitted the nation-sustaining Salazar against the nation-building Nehru. As Magalhães has observed, the absence of any serious reservations about the right of Goans to “belong” is based on the idea that what these individuals did was simply to move from one part of Portugal to another.

This migration had the particularity of being dictated by markedly cultural reasons, because the Portuguese language and Catholic religion were the principal identity references for the majority of Goan catholic migrants resident in Lisbon.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Mariko Asano Tamanoi, “Between Colonial Racism and Global Capitalism: Japanese Repatriates from Northeast China since 1946,” *American Ethnologist* 30 (4) (2003): 527, 527-38.

<sup>58</sup> Magalhães, “Goa: uma introdução,” 25.

Several informants, even if they had quite different migratory experiences, reinforced this viewpoint, emphasizing that they do not think of themselves as an ethnic minority and that from the point of arrival in the metropole, no matter whether it was before 1961, after 1961, or after 1975, they have been treated as full Portuguese citizens. The single exception may be those who have come more recently as part of the shift that Portugal is experiencing from “country of emigration” to “country of immigration.” Many of these individuals are Hindus and hence distinct from earlier Goan arrivals. And yet, these more recent arrivals, whether they come from Goa directly or via Mozambique as in the case of Manohar, still fall into a category different from the immigrants from Eastern Europe or other parts of Asia who are now entering Portugal.

What Goans in the metropole are attempting to forge as a distinctive identity through the institution of the *Casa de Goa* is also occurring in Goa itself. In an interview that appeared in the *New York Times* on 2 June, 2003, Maria Lourdes Figueiredo de Albuquerque, sitting in her family’s seventeenth-century manor house, insightfully observed: “Fifteen years ago, what was Portuguese was considered colonial—now it is considered identity.”<sup>59</sup> It is a Goan identity, distinct from that of India. If this is the case then Goans in the Diaspora, including those in the Portuguese metropole, have something in common with Goans in their homeland, or at least a segment of them. But there are also differences, for at some level, undoubtedly, Goans in the subcontinent are also Indians. The current President of the *Casa de Goa* described this difference by saying that when he visits Goa (he still has family there) he feels “western and cosmopolitan. They are Indian, they are well-integrated with India.”

However, what they all share, he went on to observe, is a common identity as Goans, his rooted in his past, theirs in their present. Although he drew the conclusion based on research on South Africa, John L. Comaroff’s observations that colonialism, rather than being monolithic, created an “intricate web of relations” that was full of contradictions, applies equally to the Portuguese case and to its imperial jewel, Goa.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Maria Lourdes Figueiredo de Albuquerque, “India and Portugal Synthesized: Goa,” *New York Times*, June 2, 2003.

<sup>60</sup> John L. Comaroff, “Images of Empire, Contests of Conscience: Models of Colonial Domination in South Africa,” *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989): 662, 661-85.