

CARIM INDIA – DEVELOPING A KNOWLEDGE BASE FOR POLICYMAKING ON INDIA-EU MIGRATION

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From Goans to Gujaratis: A study of the Indian Community in Portugal

Inês Lourenço

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A study of the Indian Community in Portugal

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CARIM-India – Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration

This project is co-financed by the European Union and carried out by the EUI in partnership with the Indian Council of Overseas Employment, (ICOE), the Indian Institute of Management Bangalore Association, (IIMB), and Maastricht University (Faculty of Law).

The proposed action is aimed at consolidating a constructive dialogue between the EU and India on migration covering all migration-related aspects. The objectives of the proposed action are aimed at:

- Assembling high-level Indian-EU expertise in major disciplines that deal with migration (demography, economics, law, sociology and politics) with a view to building up migration studies in India. This is an inherently international exercise in which experts will use standardised concepts and instruments that allow for aggregation and comparison. These experts will belong to all major disciplines that deal with migration, ranging from demography to law and from economics to sociology and political science.
- Providing the Government of India as well as the European Union, its Member States, the academia and civil society, with:
 1. Reliable, updated and comparative information on migration
 2. In-depth analyses on India-EU highly-skilled and circular migration, but also on low-skilled and irregular migration.
- Making research serve action by connecting experts with both policy-makers and the wider public through respectively policy-oriented research, training courses, and outreach programmes.

These three objectives will be pursued with a view to developing a knowledge base addressed to policy-makers and migration stakeholders in both the EU and India.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: <http://www.india-eu-migration.eu/>

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Abstract

This text examines the population of Indian origin in Portugal, which comes mainly from three Indian states: Gujarat, Goa and Punjab. This population settled in Portugal in different waves, and correspondingly cultural institutions and various places of worship were built, associated with different religious traditions. This analysis relies on ethnographic reports, scientific publications, statistical data, and a mass media review. Thus, it provides historical information, demographic and socio-economic profiles, levels of integration and data on the legal framework of the Indian population living in Portugal.

Introduction

The population of Indian origin residing in Portugal is divided into three distinct regional groups. The majority comes from Gujarat and includes Hindus and Muslims; Christians are mainly from Goa – at least ultimately – and Sikhs come from Punjab. The diversity of languages spoken by the different groups (Gujarati, Punjabi and Hindi together with Portuguese and English) shows that pluralism exists not only in Portugal as a whole, but also within Indian groups.

The difficulty in finding statistical information on minority religious groups in Portuguese society reveals an underinvestment both at the institutional and scientific level, and a predominance of qualitative studies, focusing on community subgroups. As regards the most recent migration flows, particularly the Sikh community, there is little information on this population group¹.

Before migrating to Portugal, Portuguese Gujarati families (Hindus, Muslims and Ismailis) lived mostly in Mozambique, though this migration from India occurred in different waves (between the early twentieth century and after the Second World War). However, historically, these migration flows were preceded by another older and broader movement. Over the centuries, regular migrations took place from South Asia to East Africa given maritime traffic in the Indian Ocean (Pearson, 1976, 2001). Portuguese colonialism had a specific influence on the families residing in Diu (Gujarat, India) that chose to migrate to Mozambique. Indians also emigrated from Goa to Mozambique and Portugal, but Goan families were mainly Catholic (Souza, 2000) and their migratory projects were different from those coming from Diu. Further, Diu is geographically and culturally wedged into the state of Gujarat, so migrations from this region are more likely to have also originated from other Gujarati cities, such as Porbandar and Rajkot.

Map 1. State of Gujarat, India



¹ Sociological and anthropological approaches to Portuguese religious phenomena can be divided into two types, scientifically speaking. The first combines researches around the country and popular Catholic religious practice, in which we can point to the works of João de Pina-Cabral (1989); Augusto Santos Silva (1994); and José Machado Pais (1994). The second type brings together more recent researches focusing on case studies on minority religious groups in Portugal. In this context we note: Ruuth and Rodrigues (1999); Rodrigues and Santos (2000); Tiesler (2000); Sarró and Mélice (2010); Saraiva (2007); and Bastos and Bastos (2001); Lourenço (2010); Lourenço and Cachado (2012); Mapril (2009); Blanes (2008).

The most recent Indian community in Portugal is the Sikh community, who began to establish itself in the 1990s and 2000s. The choice of Portugal as a destination country was due to changes in the law on immigration policies, in which the regularization of legal status was possible through the acquisition of residence permits (*autorização de residência*).

History of migration to Portugal and regional and religious breakdown

Hindus

According to the *High Level Committee Report on the Indian Diaspora* (Singhvi et al., 2001), approximately 33,000 Hindus live in Portugal, distributed between Porto, Coimbra and Greater Lisbon². Most Portuguese Hindus are from Gujarat and participated in the key Hindu-Gujarati migration, from India to East Africa. Therefore, they mirror other European Hindu-Gujarati settlers, especially in the UK, where the Gujarati community is bigger and studied from different points of view³.

Most Hindu families are originally from the Northwestern Indian State of Gujarat, and participated in the key Hindu-Gujarati migration, from India to East Africa. Some of these Gujarati families came from Diu, which as well as Goa and Daman were under Portuguese colonial rule until 1961. Most of the families from Diu that migrated to East Africa chose to settle in Mozambique, another Portuguese colony that gained independence in 1975. The majority of Hindu-Gujarati families residing in Portugal migrated from Mozambique to the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) in the early 1980s following on from the civil war taking place in Mozambique (Bastos and Bastos, 2001).

The third wave of migration was towards the UK and began in the late 1990s. All academic approaches to Portuguese Hindu-Gujaratis acknowledge this fact, entailing fieldwork in several British urban settings where Hindu-Gujarati migrants from Portugal tend to settle (Bastos, 2005; Cachado, 2008; Dias 2009; Lourenço, 2007). Locations such as Southall and Wembley in London, and Leicester dominate though other centres such as Manchester, Reading, and Birmingham also deserve mention. Portuguese Hindus in the UK circulate only within the same urban settings and among Hindu-Gujarati diaspora networks through their lives. This third wave of migration impels us to deal not only with transnationality but also with mobility – social mobility, spatial mobility, and housing mobility⁴ (Lourenço and Cachado, 2012: 6).

² These figures cover both PIO's (People of Indian Origin) e NRI's (Non residente Indians).

³ For Gujaratis in the UK see Vertovec (2000); Rutten and Patel (2003); Knott (2000).

⁴ The Hindu communities residing in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) have been studied from various angles. Susana Bastos was the first author to draw attention to Hindus in the Portuguese context and her work is indispensable for those who wish to understand Hindu families in Portugal (Bastos, 1990, 2005; Bastos and Bastos, 2001). One of the greatest contributions by Bastos is the acknowledgment of the ambivalence involved in identity and sense of belonging amongst Hindu-Gujaratis concerning their host society. This aspect opened a post-colonial debate, since relations with Portuguese society has some links with what happened during Portuguese colonial rule.⁴ Malheiros, in turn, was the first geographer who drew attention to migration flows from South Asia to Lisbon: where they live, where they came from and what motives led to migration are some of the aspects analyzed (Malheiros, 1996). The author begins with a numerical account. In 1991 Indians from Mozambique represented three percent of all migration groups in Portugal, as against 0.5 percent of Indians and 0.3 percent of Pakistanis (Malheiros, 1996). The author also flagged up the main difficulties that researchers who plan to study South Asian communities in Portugal would encounter. Many South Asians in Portugal have Portuguese identity (Malheiros, 1996), therefore making it difficult to know for certain the number of individuals that compose these populations. But in the Portuguese census, Hinduism is not classified (Malheiros, 1996), appearing under the category of "other religions." Therefore, statistically, it is difficult to distinguish Hindus from other Mozambican migrants. There is also a third difficulty in finding a global number regarding Hindu-Gujaratis in Portugal, due to a high level of mobility: an unaccounted number of Hindu-Gujaratis in the diaspora live in more than one country in a single calendar year (Lourenço, 2009).

Ismailis

Indian Ismailis and Sunni Muslims share the same migratory background as Hindus. The Ismailis increased their migratory route in the second half of the nineteenth century, a period corresponding to the large Indian emigration cycle. Along with other groups that left West India, then settled on the East African coast where Vania⁵ and Lohana (both castes of merchants) as well as Indian Muslims had established businesses. So the Koja Ismailis (name of caste of Sind traders converts to Shia Islam) mostly came from Gujarat and deepened their trade activity and, like other groups of Indian origin, became local entrepreneurs (Malheiros, 2000: 381).

Ismailis were established elsewhere: beyond East Africa, they are settled in European countries that had colonies in Africa. This was the case in Portugal, and the United Kingdom. In the second great wave of Indian migration, which happened after the Second World War Ismailis relocated towards the metropolis, where the young took up university studies. Subsequently, the process of decolonization spurred the departure towards Europe but also to North America and Canada (*Idem, ibidem*).

Muslims

Sunni Muslim Indians, also originating from Gujarat, likewise left Mozambique for Portugal. Sunni Muslims Indians were the first Gujarati group to settle in Portugal. They were young and single students that reached the metropolis in the 1950s, belonging to families of Indian origin that had not known each other previously in Mozambique. These early immigrants are now the leaders of the Islamic Community of Lisbon committees and several of these pioneers hold important professional positions in the political and cultural life in Portugal (Tiesler, 2000: 126).

Catholic Goans

Goans are one of the minority communities with the longest tradition of residence in Portugal, since from the eighteenth century interpreters, artisans and students from Goa settled in Portugal (Xavier, 2000: 7). In addition, historical colonial relations, and the adoption of Western habits by Goans facilitated their establishment and integration in Portugal. Most are Catholic but there are also Goan Hindus⁶. However, only the Catholic majority will be discussed here.

The first wave of immigration to Portugal began in the second half of the nineteenth century and lasted about 100 years. It was composed of intellectuals belonging to the Goan elite who migrated to study at the Portuguese universities in Lisbon and Coimbra. There they acquired their degrees and became clerics, doctors, engineers, lawyers, magistrates, teachers, journalists, officials in the army and navy, in the bureaucracy in Portugal or in its colonies, and occupied high positions (Rajan *et al*, 2009: 31).

After the Indian annexation of Goa in 1961, many Goans opted for Portuguese nationality and departed to Portugal, but most migrated to Mozambique and Angola, where they occupied administrative infrastructures. Given the characteristics of this group (high levels of education, religious and cultural proximity) the presence of Goans in the colonial administration in Africa, particularly in Mozambique, grew (Malheiros, 2000: 384). The political changes in East Africa in the 1960s and 1970s unleashed a new wave of migration where Portugal emerged as a preferential destination.

⁵ Known in Mozambique as *Banians*.

⁶ According to the 2001 Census of India Hindus form the majority (65.7 %) of the total population of Goa, followed by Christians (26.6 %). Muslims constitute the Goa's third religious group (6.8 %).
[http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_data_finder/C_Series/Population_by_religious_communities.htm]

Sikhs

The Sikh community is the latest group of Indian origin to settle in Portugal. Originating from Punjab, this community has not yet been studied by social scientists and even though there is no official record of this population the religious institutions representative of the Sikh community in Portugal say that there are 5,000 to 7,000 Sikhs today living in Portugal (Bastos and Correia, 2005: 180). The first group moved to Portugal after 1990, and intensified its migration in 1996, when the construction of Expo 98 (1998 Lisbon World Exposition) in Lisbon began, where many of these individuals worked. According to Correia and Bastos most belong to the Sikh Jat caste, the economically and religiously most prestigious social group in Punjab and there is also another group, coming from other regions of India like Jammu and Kashmir, Haryana (*Idem: ibidem*). A third and smaller group comes from other nuclei of the Sikh diaspora (UK, USA).

The information collected from the Rajput's study (2012) also mentions a second wave, which occurred after 2000, following the changes in immigration legislation and the introduction of the new legal regime of residence permits provided by Decree-Law no. 4/2001, 10 January. As mentioned above, the decree states that, if duly justified, foreign nationals who do not hold proper visas may be allowed to stay. For this reason, many Punjabis migrated to Portugal to regularize their legal status (Rajput, 2012: 57).

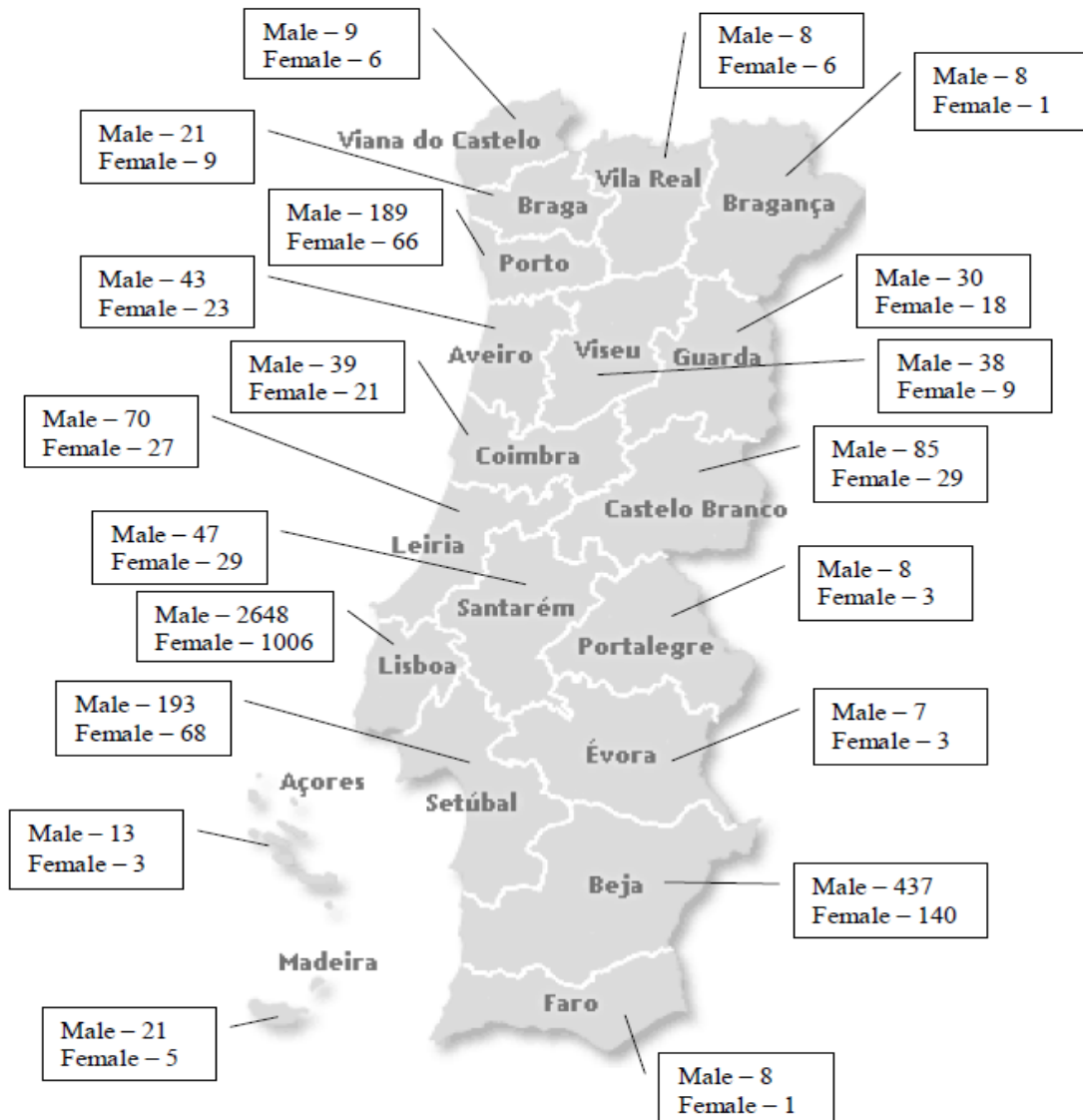
Demographic characteristics

In Portugal data on the Indian origin population are very scarce. Data from the National Statistics Institute (INE) only concerns foreign populations (Indian nationality or India as place of birth). If we consider that the vast majority of the Indian community has Portuguese nationality and that they were not born in India, these figures do not help us to identify this population. On the other hand, the Portuguese Census Survey does not include Hinduism in religious options. If a Hindu person wants to respond about his or her religiosity, he or she has to put a cross on "Other non-Christian religion". The only available official data are those that will be analyzed below.

The presence of Indians in Portugal is diverse in its composition and in its duration. According to the *High Level Committee Report on the Indian Diaspora* (Singhvi *et al.*, 2001) they constitute 0.7% of the Portuguese population. They are, 70,000 (65,000 PIO's and 5,000 NRI's) and are divided according to their socio-religious specificities. Thus, there are Hindus (33,000), Muslims (Sunnis) (12,000), Ismailis (5,000), Sikhs (8,000) and Goans (mainly Catholics) (15,000); roughly speaking, Catholics from Goa arrived right through the twentieth century, while Hindus and Muslims came in the early 1980s; Sikhs and some Hindus and Muslims arrived in the late 1990s.

Spatial distribution within the country by region

Figure 1. Distribution of citizens with Indian nationality in Portugal by district and gender



Source: Author's elaboration on SEF (Portuguese Aliens and Borders Service) data, 2011.

Table 1. Percentage of Indian nationals in relation to total foreign nationals by district and gender

		Total	Male	Female
Portugal	Foreign nationals	436822	219137	217685
	Indians	5384	3914	1470
	% of Indians	1.23%	1.79%	0.68%

		Total	Male	Female			Total	Male	Female
Aveiro	Foreign nationals	13716	6865	6851	Lisboa	Foreign nationals	188259	92901	95358
	Indians	66	43	23		Indians	3654	2648	1006
	% of Indians	0.48%	0.63%	0.34%		% of Indians	1.94%	2.85%	1.05%
Beja	Foreign nationals	6966	3928	3038	Portalegre	Foreign nationals	3078	1554	1524
	Indians	4	2	2		Indians	11	8	3
	% of Indians	0.06%	0.05%	0.07%		% of Indians	0.36%	0.51%	0.20%
Braga	Foreign nationals	10174	5080	5094	Porto	Foreign nationals	24824	12360	12464
	Indians	30	21	9		Indians	255	189	66
	% of Indians	0.29%	0.41%	0.18%		% of Indians	1.03%	1.53%	0.53%
Bragança	Foreign nationals	2264	1158	1106	Santarém	Foreign nationals	14322	7402	6920
	Indians	9	8	1		Indians	76	47	29
	% of Indians	0.40%	0.69%	0.09%		% of Indians	0.53%	0.63%	0.42%
Castelo Branco	Foreign nationals	3101	1608	1493	Setúbal	Foreign nationals	45158	21957	23201
	Indians	114	85	29		Indians	261	193	68
	% of Indians	3.68%	5.29%	1.94%		% of Indians	0.58%	0.88%	0.29%
Coimbra	Foreign nationals	12516	6299	6217	Viana do Castelo	Foreign nationals	3444	1794	1650
	Indians	60	39	21		Indians	15	9	6
	% of Indians	0.48%	0.62%	0.34%		% of Indians	0.44%	0.50%	0.36%
Évora	Foreign nationals	4077	2094	1983	Vila Real	Foreign nationals	2268	1092	1176
	Indians	10	7	3		Indians	8	6	2
	% of Indians	0.25%	0.33%	0.15%		% of Indians	0.35%	0.55%	0.17%
Faro	Foreign nationals	68953	35412	33541	Viseu	Foreign nationals	4987	2693	2294
	Indians	577	437	140		Indians	47	38	9
	% of Indians	0.84%	1.23%	0.42%		% of Indians	0.94%	1.41%	0.39%
Guarda	Foreign nationals	1819	943	876	Açores	Foreign nationals	3402	1882	1520
	Indians	48	30	18		Indians	16	13	3
	% of Indians	2.64%	3.18%	2.05%		% of Indians	0.47%	0.69%	0.20%
Leiria	Foreign nationals	16720	8612	8108	Madeira	Foreign nationals	6774	3503	3271
	Indians	97	70	27		Indians	26	21	5
	% of Indians	0.58%	0.81%	0.33%		% of Indians	0.38%	0.60%	0.15%

Once again, the data presented above relate only to the population with Indian nationality. Nevertheless, we can see that, like the PIO's, they are concentrated in the Lisbon district, where the capital is located. The qualitative analysis, however, provides more information on the distribution of Indians in Portuguese territory.

Since the early 1980s Hindus in Portugal have settled in residential areas with specific patterns of access to housing. Those who went to live in informal settlements went to the Quinta da Holandesa and Quinta da Vitória neighbourhoods. Both are located in very central areas of Lisbon. In the mid 1990s, the Quinta da Holandesa dwellers resettled in the Armador located in Marvila, Vale de Chelas, where thousands of people who resided in several of Lisbon's so-called shanty towns resettled. The Quinta da Vitória neighbourhood, at Portela⁷, near the international airport, was inhabited not only by Hindu households (more than 200), but also by families from a rural Portuguese background and from former Portuguese African colonies (Cape Verde, Angola, San Tomé, Guinea), totalizing around 250 households. Hindus formed the majority of the population (47%). Over the years, relations between Hindus and other populations in the neighbourhood were peaceful, and Hindus were known locally for "not upsetting anybody"⁸. Nevertheless, as we shall see later, religious practices produced several types of response from their neighbours. This settlement was undergoing a resettlement process as well, and 30 Hindu families were resettled nearby on a housing estate called Alfredo Bensaúde. After that, many families withdrew from the resettlement process and migrated to the UK. Other families are still waiting (2012) for a housing solution. Families from these neighbourhoods are mostly from the mason and carpenter castes⁹.

Hundreds of Hindu-Gujarati families also settled at Santo António dos Cavaleiros. At that time this was a new suburban area in Northeast Lisbon inhabited by a diverse population, from different countries and with several cultural and religious, as well as different migratory, backgrounds. Their neighbours came not only from former Portuguese African colonies, but also through other migratory routes, from southern Asian countries in the late 1990s (as well as Hindus, there are Muslims, Sikhs and Christians from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh).¹⁰ There were also East Europeans and Brazilians, among other small groups of different national backgrounds. In Santo António, Hindu families are mostly from the Lohana caste, but some are from mason castes as well. Here, as at Quinta da Vitória, the relationship between different migrant and religious backgrounds is mostly peaceful. This mirrors Susana and José Bastos' outcomes concerning religious diversity in Portugal, where the authors acknowledged that Hindus are among the groups that arouse least discrimination in integrating (Bastos and Bastos org. 2006: 76). In addition, the Hindu-Gujarati residential clusters in Greater Lisbon influenced the location of places of worship.

The Ismailis are scattered through the Greater Lisbon Area but they are mainly concentrated in Amora region, on the Southern bank of the Tagus River area. Indian Muslims reside mainly in Lisbon and its suburbs. Their work places are concentrated, similarly to Hindus and Ismailis, in specific areas of downtown Lisbon, their presence being visible in Lisbon, as in other European cities (Tiesler, 120). Goans have experienced no territorial reunification (Malheiros, p. 393) and Punjabis Indians - Sikh - are concentrated in Lisbon and its outskirts (in suburban areas such as Odivelas, Amadora or Almada)¹¹.

⁷ Hindus living in Quinta da Vitória are known by other Hindus as "Hindus of Portela".

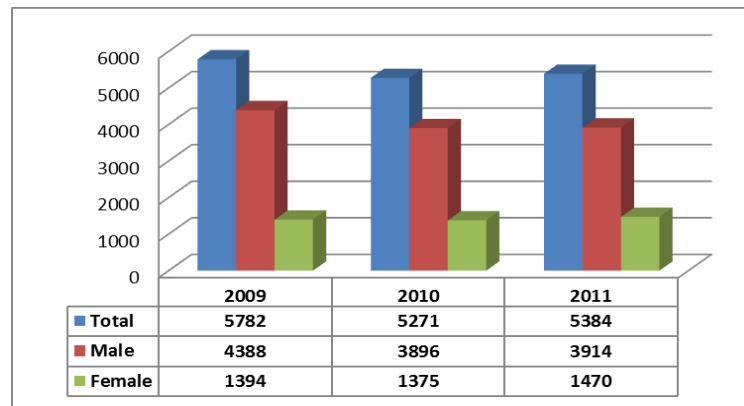
⁸ Literally translated from the Quinta da Vitória's dwellers' words.

⁹ The caste system in Portugal will be explored later in this chapter.

¹⁰ As well as Hindus, some Muslims and Catholics from South Asia also came in the early 1980s from Mozambique. For Muslims in Portugal, see Mapril, 2009. Mapril also researched Bangladeshi migration in the late 1990s and early 2000s (2010).

¹¹ According to Bastos (2009), Ismailis do not share the same identity standards as Sunnis and, indeed, Hindus, as regards their place of origin in India and their related cultural heritage. Moreover, Bastos, Costa and Bartéu's analysis (2006) of the debates in religious identity among young Sunnis and Ismailis in Portugal highlights the mutual accusation and differentiation processes that each group addresses to the other and to their respective practice of the Muslim religion.

Figure 2. Population increase over time (2009 - 2011)



Source: Author’s elaboration on SEF (Portuguese Aliens and Borders Service) data, 2009, 2010, 2011.

The presented data only reflect the evolution of people with Indian nationality in Portugal. This population – a minority compared to the large group of Indian origin, with Portuguese nationality – displays a slight fluctuation compared to 2009 as well as a minor reduction. Men dominate numerically.

Age profile

As previously stated, the existing data on Indian population in Portugal are scarce. The 2001 Census is the source with the most data on Indians’ age profiles. This census will therefore be presented on resident population by nationality and place of birth. Thereafter, this analysis has to leave aside all those who have Portuguese nationality and those who are born outside India, whether in Africa or in Portugal.

Figure 3. Resident population according to age group by Indian nationality and sex

Age group	Males	Females
0 – 4	-7	11
5 – 9	-11	8
10 – 14	-12	10
15 – 19	-30	14
20 – 24	-139	44
25 – 29	-251	63
30 – 34	-201	71
35 – 39	-140	63
40 – 44	-129	45
45 – 49	-55	36
50 – 54	-28	18
55 – 59	-30	22
60 – 64	-13	26
65 – 69	-11	19
70 – 74	-5	14
75 – 79	-6	16
80 – 84	-2	13
>85	-3	5
Total	-1073	498

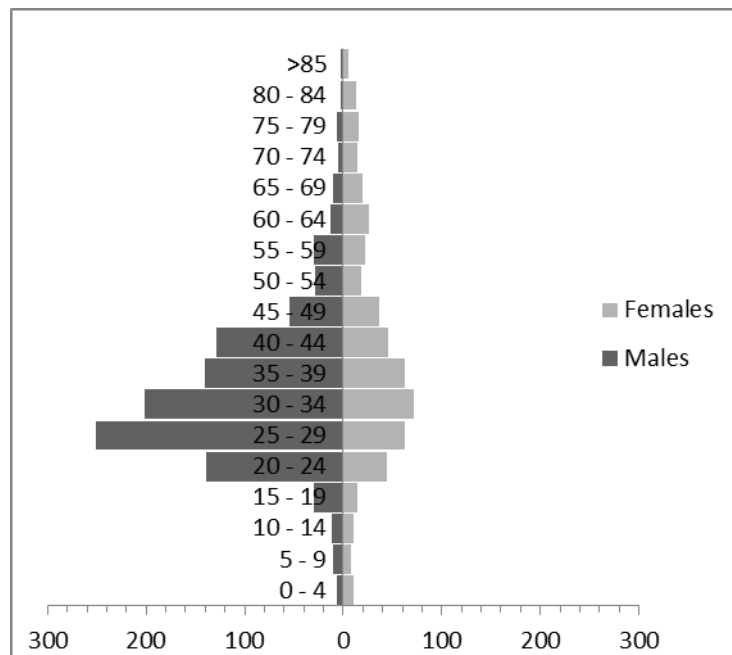


Figure 4. Resident population according to age group by country of birth (India) and sex

Age group	Males	Females
0 – 4	-4	10
5 – 9	-8	12
10 – 14	-22	19
15 – 19	-56	34
20 – 24	-184	80
25 – 29	-298	113
30 – 34	-288	158
35 – 39	-297	193
40 – 44	-435	354
45 – 49	-347	323
50 – 54	-317	312
55 – 59	-322	307
60 – 64	-303	358
65 – 69	-268	258
70 – 74	-183	193
75 – 79	-123	160
80 – 84	-64	121
>85	-51	64
Total	-3570	3069

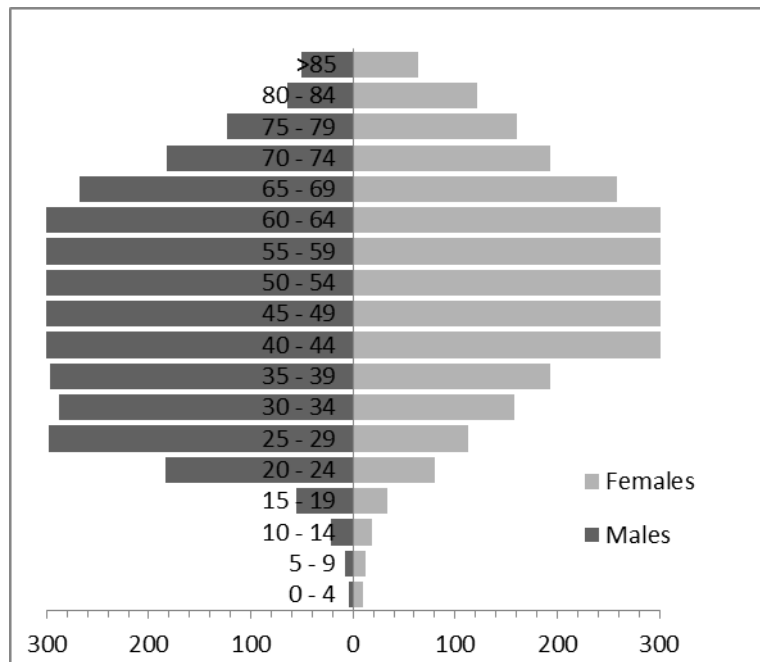
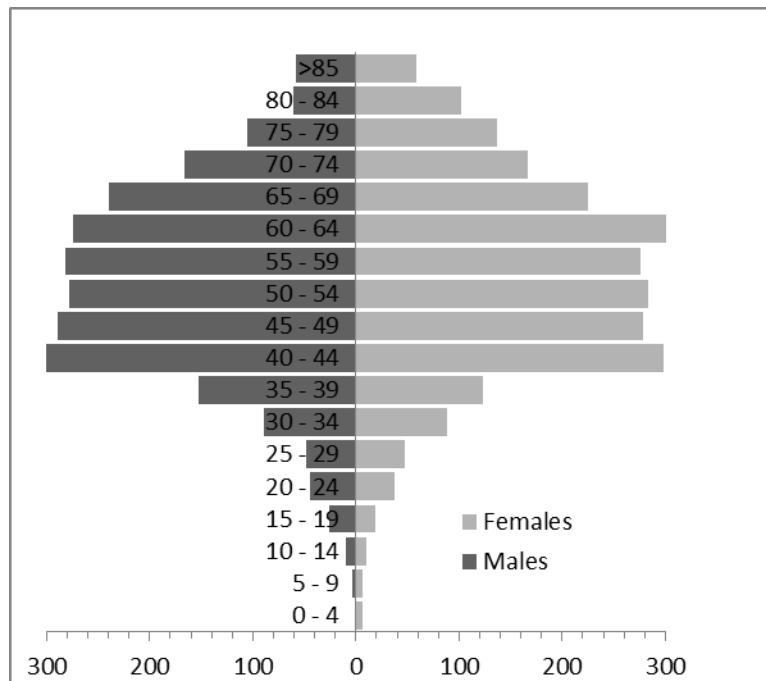


Figure 5. Portuguese resident population born abroad according to age group, by Country of origin (India) and sex

Age group	Male	Female
0 – 4	-1	6
5 – 9	-3	6
10 – 14	-10	10
15 – 19	-26	19
20 – 24	-45	38
25 – 29	-48	48
30 – 34	-89	88
35 – 39	-153	123
40 – 44	-301	298
45 – 49	-289	279
50 – 54	-278	283
55 – 59	-282	276
60 – 64	-274	316
65 – 69	-240	225
70 – 74	-166	167
75 – 79	-105	137
80 – 84	-61	102
>85	-58	58
Total	-2429	2479



Source: Author’s elaboration on Portuguese Census, 2001

The above data show that Indian nationals resident in Portugal are mostly male and aged between 25 and 29 years old. Indian-born residents in Portugal come from different age groups and there are equal numbers of men and women. It is only among children that there are fewer Indian-born residents. Finally, Portuguese citizens born in India are mostly between 40 and 65 years, and the number of men and women is relatively proportional.

Family structure and marriage patterns

In the long mobility processes of Indian populations, kinship ties play a fundamental role, in which reciprocity among family members is a source for the establishment of Hindu communities in the diaspora (Ballard, 1994). The creation of chains of mutual help enables the reconstruction of family Indian life, functioning as a foundation of community and social cohesion (Cohen, 1997).

Hinduism being a religion that is not centered on public worship transforms the domestic and the family space into a privileged site where religious practices take place (Coward, 2000). The temple is, despite its symbolic role, used for irregular visits and for important festivities in the Hindu calendar. The domestic space remains as a spatial configuration central to religious practice and religious transmission: the daily cult, rites of passage, and devotional reunions (Knott, 1987). In this context, the family, particularly women, assume the responsibility for continuity in religious traditions.¹²

The importance of family (*kutumb*, in Gujarati, the mother tongue of the state of Gujarat) as an element of unity over the mobility and establishment process of these populations is undeniable. The kind of housing, as well as the new lifestyles, that inevitably oblige the adoption of different modes of family organization, has led the nuclear-family pattern to prevail.

Overall, it is clear that most Gujaratis reside according to the nuclear family pattern. Nevertheless, even though they do not share the same co-habiting space, strong links among extended family members are kept up on a daily basis. In the Hindu case, the family household is usually constituted of parents, sons and single daughters, and sometimes by one or other family member in which quotidian relations are expanded to and through the extended family. To exemplify, it is quite usual to encounter a couple, their children and paternal grandparents or a couple, their children and a single uncle (father's brother) in the same household.

The residential mobility of these Indians must not be forgotten in the sense that it is quite common for families to temporarily welcome visiting family members from abroad. Despite the dominance of the nuclear family. This is a model that nevertheless combines characteristics of the traditional extended family such as the sharing of food and economy, yet there is no effective co-habitation. In other words, the extended family model is maintained even though additional family members do not live in the family unit. In this sense, a common adaptation strategy for housing is the purchase of contiguous floors, vertically or horizontally, so that members of the same extended family are spatially close.

There are restrictions in the contexts of origin among Gujarati families, an extreme example is the covering of women's faces in the presence of a male family member particularly the father-in-law (the *purdah* practice, a term that literally means veil or curtain). In Portugal there are no rigid norms regulating relations within the family.

However, besides "respect for elders," other conditioning factors were observed, though this varies from family to family, according to the degree of conservatism. Thus, if women assert that they usually have a distant relationship with their father-in-law, but a close one with their mother-in-law,

¹² Similarly, regarding the education processes of children and youth, we noticed that central topics are related to the philosophy, history and mythology of Hinduism, incorporating the fact that parents' and grandparents' involvement in these activities is also relevant (Kurien, 1998).

this relationship is one of obedience.¹³ The women that cohabit with their mother-in-law are responsible for domestic chores and cooking under her supervision¹⁴. On the other hand, while proximity between kin of the same sex is common, this does not occur among men and women, in relation to sisters and brothers in law. A woman's contact with her husband's brothers or a man's contact with his brother's wife has no comparison with relationships established with kin of the same sex, following the classical logic of avoidance.

Factors such as age and gender, as we have highlighted, condition kin relations, and if the traditional forms that draw a line in regard to the content of these relations begins to fade, new codes develop within the structure of the Hindu family. Innovative practices emerge that enable a balance regarding the multiplicity of transnational references (Purkayastha, 2005). It would be risky to affirm that this occurs and that it is transversal to the whole community. But, on the basis of ethnographic studies carried out to date, one can assert that it is the general pattern. Some families differentiate themselves by obeying and following more traditional kin patterns, particularly through marriages and control over women (Lourenço and Cachado, 2012: 12).

Based on ethnographic accounts, the analysis of family transformation models, through approaching gender negotiations shows that these dynamics have a clear influence on the way families reorganize themselves around the inevitable changes that occur in the diaspora.

Arising from this situation, which brings today very different cultural references converge, there are changes in family patterns and there have been deep-seated changes in Hindu marriages in recent years that are reflected in two ways: the declining significance of caste endogamy in marriages between Hindu spouses; and the increase in "mixed" marriages, either with members of other communities of Indian origin (especially Muslims) or with non-Indians. This is a major challenge to caste or community endogamy, since intermarriage is not encouraged by Indian communities in Portugal.

If, for older Indians, the establishment of social relations outside their community is restricted, this is much wider among youngsters since, having been born in Portugal, they establish early friendship and companionship ties at school, work or university. And if, previously, inter-ethnic marriages were scarce, now they are becoming more frequent. In the case of marriages between Hindus and non-Hindus or non-Indians there are Hindu men who marry women outside their community, but not the opposite, i.e. Hindu women rarely marry non-Hindu or non-Indian men¹⁵. In the cases of less conservative families who do not restrict their children to marriage within the caste (in the Hindu case), they always try to keep them within the religious community or, at least, within the same ethnic or regional group.

Among Hindus there is the tendency to standardize rituals of marriage. While preserving certain traditions attached to each caste, we are witnessing a process of standardization, facilitated by the same priest who presides at its celebration. Hindu marriage in Portugal allows us to understand the transformation of kinship patterns, associated with adjustments to Portuguese society. In Hindu mobility, kinship relations play a key role, the reciprocal family being a pillar of the establishment of Hindu communities in the diaspora (Ballard, 1994: 5). The creation of mutual aid chains allows the reconstruction of Hindu family life, functioning as a source of social and community cohesion (Cohen, 1997: 63).

¹³ There are some cases in which women mention not using certain kinds of clothes in the presence of their father-in-law, because it would be seen as lacking respect. A 35-year-old woman stated: "they don't agree and I must respect it. When I'm not with them I wear jeans and clothes like yours, I even wear a bathing suit when I go to the beach, but by my parents-in-law, I choose Indian clothes."

¹⁴ For many women this mandatory aspect is felt as pressuring, sometimes culminating in family ruptures.

¹⁵ In the very rare cases in which Hindu women have married non-Hindu or non-Indian men, they were socially excluded from the community.

Socio-economic profile

According to the *High Level Committee Report on the Indian Diaspora* (Singhvi et al., 2001) most Indians in Portugal are in retail or the wholesale business and some serve as skilled or unskilled workers (148). In addition, many Indians also occupy white collar jobs. While some wield considerable social and economic power, others are economically disadvantaged, even depending on Portuguese state protection. Recently cases of illegal immigration from India through other European countries also increased, these immigrants working as unskilled or semi-skilled labour.

The main occupation of Hindus is commerce. Many Hindus are professionals in various sectors of Portuguese society: services, education, medicine and engineering. Others work in construction. But trade remains dominant. It is an activity that takes on different offices with fixed and itinerant trades: appliances, food, clothing, watches, perfumes, stationery, jewelry, household items, restaurants and mini markets. Despite the abandonment of traditional caste activities among the majority of Hindus, some still preserve these specializations. Thus, among cobbler, mason and tailor castes, some individuals retain their traditional activity: cobblers usually have their own establishments and masons work in construction. Tailors, work primarily for Indian customers, making traditional costumes, but this is not generally the only activity of the household. Some members of the Brahmins caste (priests) and barbers particularly officiate in ritual moments.

With regard to standards of education among the young, there has been intensification in secondary and tertiary education. Education is the area where contact with members of the surrounding society is most striking (cf. Knott, 1986: 49). This is considered by some families to be a risk to the preservation of Hindu identity among the young, the young's exposure to Western values sometimes being seen as a threat to their integrity, particularly for girls¹⁶.

We cannot define a standard level of education among the community under study. It ranges from early withdrawal from school, compulsory schooling, or higher education, the last, increasingly, is the choice of many young people.

The professional specialization of Ismailis is also trade. Their passage through Africa, particularly Mozambique, endowed them – as well as other people of Indian origin – with an entrepreneurial spirit. According to Malheiros (2000) Portuguese Ismaili assert themselves socially and economically, through strategies of social and economic advancement. If the young invest in school and university training, the elderly invest in a good performance in the private sector, particularly in trade. Thus, 80% of Ismaili devoted to activities that extend traditional specialization in trade and hospitality. Additionally, they also engage in new activities such as services to companies. Ismaili's commercial activity in Portugal includes a niche of specialization in furniture selling (Malheiros 392). With regard to contact with other nuclei of diaspora, Ismaili are well organized as well as they have structures that promote group cohesion.

The Sunni Muslims of Indian origin constitute the largest Muslim group in Portugal. Some were traders and were well established in Mozambique, others occupied other labor sectors. Thus, they such easily found a way to overcome obstacles in Portugal. Therefore, they are a middle class (at the level of skills and qualifications), working in traditional activities and tertiary sector (commerce and banking). Concentrated in the Greater Lisbon area and suburbs, their way of life is visible in Lisbon, much as in other European cities (Tiesler, 2000: 120).

Goan Catholics are considered an Indo-Portuguese group who tend to integrate into Portuguese society (Malheiros, 2000: 386). This is helped by a shared Catholic religion, a shared language, Portuguese, and the history of activity in public service that characterizes much of this population.

¹⁶ This is the main reason behind the early abandonment of education for many girls, particularly among more conservative families or castes.

Thus, there is a great approximation of Goans to the dominant group, these factors contributing to mitigate the practice of autonomous identity strategies (*Idem, ibidem*).

Goans are well educated and the number of individuals with higher education in this group, is higher than other Indian groups (Hindus and Muslims) and also than the Portuguese population in general. Thus, Catholic Goans in Portugal tend to be in the liberal professionals (teachers, doctors, lawyers). Two factors contributed to this success: a strategy of investment in education and also the fact that these individuals belonged to local elites in Goa. Regarding the exchange with other nuclei of the Goan diaspora, the circulation of information amongst informal family networks is a key factor in the cohesion of identity, since Goans have no formal networks of contacts (like Ismailis, for example), allowing them to anchor a global network (*Idem*: 396).

Another feature of this community is the dilution of Konkani and the domain of Portuguese language. Since Goans also share with a religious affiliation with the Portuguese (Catholicism), music (sung in Konkani) is the only means of communication in Konkani, and this has become part of Goan identity and a unifying medium.

Although well positioned in socio-economic terms, Goans can be divided into two distinct groups: those who are descendants of Goan elite and who have no connection to traditional Goan identity; and, others, not as well socially positioned, coming from former Portuguese colonies in Africa. Although integrated into mainstream society, they preserve, along with social invisibility, niche resistance, for example, endogenous weddings.

Finally, compared to other minority groups of Indian origin the Sikh community is newly established in Portugal and faces great obstacles to integration. The lack of fluency in Portuguese, the difficulty of integrating into the labor market, and cultural differences make interaction with the pre-existing society difficult (Rajput, 2012). Most Sikh men work in construction, the largest flow coinciding with the construction of Expo 98 (1998 Lisbon World Exposition). Sikh women tend not to be fluent in Portuguese, being limited to working as cleaners or staying at home, having migrated to Portugal under the law of family reunification (Rajput, 2012 and Bastos and Correia, 2005). Some own restaurants that introduced Punjabi cuisine into Portugal, others are traders, particularly in the telecommunications sector, particularly in the sale and shipment of mobile phones. According to Rajput, some Punjabis also work in agriculture.

Level of linguistic integration

Gujaratis (Hindus, Muslims and Ismailis) retain their traditional language, Gujarati, although the second and third generations have difficulty speaking and reading fluently in Gujarati. To address this gap among young Indians religious institutions opened Gujarati schools so that the traditional language of their parents and grandparents persist. Among earlier generations, particularly among women, the Gujarati language is privileged, Portuguese being relegated to a secondary role. Ismailis preserve Gujarati and Urdu. As in the previous case, the youngsters are proficient in Portuguese. There is the habit of switching between different languages during the same conversation and often English slips in as well.

Goans favor Portuguese against Konkani. Xavier refers to the existence of typically Indo-Portuguese expressions, with Konkani relegated to the most typical expressions. Regarding the transmission of Konkani, music plays a key role. This is the only vehicle of maintenance for Konkani, especially among the younger generations (Sardo, 2010: 63).

In the case of Sikh community, non fluency in Portuguese is an obstacle to integration¹⁷. Rajput's study shows that this group has Punjabi as the dominant language. These language limitations complicate social integration and employment, particularly for women, who end up confined to the home and family domains, and have no access to the labor market.

¹⁷ Although there are free Portuguese language classes for foreign nationals in public schools, ignorance of this fact or lack of availability leads to the lack of fluency in Portuguese among the Punjabi community.

Gender and migration

Except among Goans, Indian women migrate via family reunification. The system of marriages between Portuguese and Indian spouses is very common among communities of Indian origin in Portugal, as a strategy for obtaining Portuguese citizenship. On the other hand, demand for brides within the ethnic group, is a recurring phenomenon, since thereby they are considered to perpetuate the cultural transmission group. If, on the one hand, women in the Indian diaspora are considered the cultural and religious transmitters of his group, on the other, it is through diaspora that they achieve major transformations in their own statutes. The case of Hindu women is emblematic of this process. This data rests upon my anthropological research on the Gujarati Hindu Diaspora in Portugal, particularly on the key role played by women in the construction of gender and religious identities, therefore contributing to the cultural reproduction of their community.

Hindu women in Portugal are ascribed a new status through religion, as the perpetuators of what is perceived as traditional knowledge, seen as the depositories of traditional wisdom through the spiritual and ritual experience that they have acquired over the years.

The construction of female Hindu identities in the diaspora is a complex process, resulting from cultural inclusion and exclusion and from the confrontation of tradition with modernity. Women can be considered the embodiment of tradition and memory that their own group requires for cultural consolidation or, on the other hand, the expression of autonomy as regards patriarchal authority. In this sense, the female body is one of the most significant vehicles of identity, encoded through behaviour, clothing and accessories. Gender identity transformation processes, transposed to the context of the diaspora, takes on new expression and are implemented through truly innovative positive status changes.

Among young women female bodily practices express different attitudes towards the patriarchal structure, the adoption of western dress codes is seen as the main symbol of independence and modernity. Analyzing this phenomenon leads us to perceive the female body as an instrument of power, whose reliance on traditional identity features (such as the *sari* or the red mark on the forehead) or on western elements of outward appearance (the use of trousers) become a powerful means of identification (Lourenço, 2010: 6).

In the case of Muslim women, according to Abranches, their invisibility has characterized the role of migrant women in these processes. Women who migrate to join their husbands via family reunification are not the only ones. Instead, perspectives on these migration should be supplemented by socio-cultural negotiations undertaken by these women and thus by the exchanges inherent to the processes of symbolic (re) construction in the immigration context (Abranches, 2004: 110). In this context, the individual choices of women mitigate the more traditional familial ways of life.

Caste and migration

Caste characterize all the various communities of Indian origin. But with the exception of the Hindus (and brief references on Sikhs and Goans), there is a lack of information on this phenomena among other groups. Let us concentrate now on Hindus where the system – despite its reinvention – structurally reproduces itself

As several authors stated diaspora does not inhibit the transplantation of the caste system; somehow both their maintenance and regeneration are possible (see Ktott, 1986, Vertovec, 2000). In the case under study, we can say that belonging to a particular caste is essential as a means for individual and group identity. In addition, caste identity is revitalized through endogamous marriages and the maintenance of links with home as well as the creation of caste associations. Thus, different castes, though transported to a new society form a new social system in as much as they are relational units.

It is the flexibility of this hierarchical system that allows the adaptation to local realities, resulting in processes of social mobility and the creation of new networks of interaction among groups that do not

establish for themselves the type of contact that they develop in the diaspora. The competition between castes and the statutory creation of social mobility also allows vitality in caste identities and the adaptation of a system that exhibits its flexibility. The diaspora allows the dilution of social memory.

The Shiva Temple Association has proposed the realization of a census but it is awaiting an agreement on the parameters to be applied. The younger part of the association is against the holding of a caste-based census. They argued against this classification and propose a more homogeneous characterization of the group. My ethnographic observation suggests that the community is divided into thirteen castes. Two of these are numerically dominant: Lohana¹⁸ and Vanja¹⁹. Apart from the three minority castes, consisting of only a few families (Brahmin, Dobhi and Valand), the remaining castes are evenly distributed throughout the district.

Although there are castes among Muslim people of Indian origin (Abranches, 2004; Malheiros, 1996) there are no published studies on the castes among these populations.

Regarding Sikhs, the few references to their presence in Portugal does not provide deep ethnographic accounts. Correia and Bastos (2006: 66) report the existence of *Jat* and *Labana* castes. Both are involved in the conflict over the succession in the possession of the Sikh religious sites – *gurudwara* – in Lisbon. In this case, both groups claim legitimacy for the possession of this place, exchanging mutual accusations based on their social – caste – differentiation.

Goans keep alive their caste memory, despite the dilution of its meaning among younger generations (Malheiros). Still, the connection to different castes and their socio-economic status prevails as an element of identity.

Conversion to Christianity in Goa introduced major changes in the caste system. First, it has lost its religious and ritual meaning which led to the disappearance of food taboos and laws against polluting contacts as in Hinduism. Thus, as regards converted Goans, caste attributes are present only at the level of endogamy and of social status. Furthermore, according to Sardo, the system underwent simplification, regrouping into three castes: Brahmins, Sudras and Chardós (Sardo, 2004: 82).

Various researchers relate the difficulty in addressing caste among Goan Catholics this being a sensitive issue. But they also assert the importance of caste in establishing and maintaining social relationships, especially in marriage, whether in Goa or in the diaspora. (Sardo, 2004: 88). Furthermore, the centrality of caste as an identity trait and as a structuring element of experiences, sociability, insertions and placements needs to be taken into account (Rosales, 2007: 209). Thus, the socio-economic distinction based on caste is also the basis of the consolidation for an influential Brahmin Goan Catholic elite (Xavier, 2000: 8)

Ties with india

Technological development has provided more frequent contact between country of origin and country of destination. It triggered a contact logic that allowed the strengthening of transnational networks of communication that before were developed only with difficulty. The privileged spaces of interaction of the various communities of Indian origin – shops, places of public and domestic worship – allows the observation of the constant movement dynamics of Indians toward various destinations, specially

¹⁸ The Lohanas are a subcaste of traditional traders and merchants from the Saurashtra peninsular of Gujarat (Michaelson, 1987: 33). The Lohana were originally soldiers and state figures that lost their power as they were devoting themselves to trade (Enthoven, 1990 [1920]: 383) becoming capitalists, merchants and traders, taking advantage of the trade routes with the East African coast and the Persian Gulf (Lachaier, 1999: 238).

¹⁹ The traditional occupation of Vanja was weaving, belonging the Vanja of Diu to the Shudra varna. Please note that in other places of India weaver caste is considered to be untouchable. With the production of industrial fabrics, the Vanja of Diu adopted sewing as their occupation. The majority of Portuguese Vanja originate from Diu and have a long history of immigration to Mozambique.

India. Airlines allow migrants to overcome the barrier of distance and it is easier to see families who leave, relatives arriving, young men returning with their new wives, or young women returning with their new family. Telephone contacts enable the exchange of information between relatives, and even the long-distance performance of religious rituals. The exchange of orders and correspondence, videos and even existing contacts via the internet – especially among the young – allows good contact among members who share a common identity. The internet is an important vehicle for connection to India and its cultural and religious traditions. Forums and websites play a decisive role in the processes of identity reproduction among some groups. For Hindus community discussion forums and websites are often visited, especially the following: Fórum Inovação Juventude Comunidade Hindu de Portugal (Youth Innovation Forum – Hindu Community of Portugal) [<http://www.inov-chp.org/>]; Website of the Hindu Community of Portugal [<http://www.comunidadehindu.org/>] and the website of the Hindu Association of Porto [<http://hindu-porto.ning.com>]. Goans have also organized themselves through cyber platforms, the privileged vehicle of identity consolidation of this group. We highlight the following websites: <http://www.supergoa.com> and <http://www.goanet.org/>.

For most Indians, the connection with India is very important as a point of identity. For Hindus India is seen as a sacred ground, a place of purity more important than anywhere else in the world. Religion is the greatest trait of Hindu identity migrants, and it is deeply connected to their home country, its soil and deified rivers. For this reason, India is the place chosen for the realization of important religious ceremonies. This privileged location, its “purity” means that it is here that rituals are most effective.

For other groups India is a repository of ancestral culture, which integrates a multiple identity, in which their belonging is constructed through the articulation of multiple strands associated with genealogical origin and to past (colonial) and present (post-colonial) Portuguese heritage. The maintenance of deep contact networks between the country of establishment and the society of origin is characteristic of transnational processes (Basch, Shiller and Blanc 1995: 684). Contact networks are based on family, political, religious and multistranded social relations. As such, these networks of permanent exchange between different countries contribute to the consolidation of ties with the country of origin. Marriages are included in this system of transnational exchanges, contributing to the consolidation of group identity. In Portugal, the marriage exchange system operates not only between India and Portugal, but also with communities established in other countries: e.g. Mozambique and the United Kingdom.

The maintenance of endogenous marriage among Hindus living in Portugal and their contexts of origin and Hindu communities established in other countries perpetuates a logic of transnational belonging that contributes to a multiple identity, which reflects an overlap of national and cultural references from Portugal and India.

Legal Framework

Migration policy history – legislation, regularizations, family reunification

Portugal was long a country of emigration but in recent decades it became a country of immigration. Emigration decreased during the 1970s, and the independence of the former African colonies resulted in the arrival of returnees, asylum seekers and migrants (Oliveira, 2008: 1). The construction boom and the opening the labor market attracted new and varied migration flows that set off a new and complex population context. In the last three decades migration legislation changed. The 1970s marked the turning point, and it was after the revolution of April 1974 that the country’s democratization and decolonization led to an increase of the foreign population in Portugal, thickened by the return of expat Portuguese citizens in the former Portuguese African colonies (Peixoto, 2009: 11).

According to Peixoto in 1980 Africans led the foreign population in Portugal (immigration for labor purposes was mainly represented by Cape Verdeans and refugees predominated among Angolans and Mozambicans). Then came Europeans (dominated by the Spanish), and finally by individuals from the Americas (mainly Brazilians). The same scene remained in the following decade and it was only in the late 1990s that large changes occurred: together with previous migration flows, new population movements poured into Portugal, above all Eastern European (Ukrainian, Moldavian, Romanian and Russian) (*Idem*: 14).

In the 2000s, the Portuguese economic crisis brought about stabilization or even a reduction in immigration flows. Individuals of Indian origin were not included in the official data on migration flows. In some cases only Asian migrants, particularly the Chinese, are noted, and the information on Indian migrants does not exist. This relates to the fact that much of this population has Portuguese nationality and, therefore, is not considered foreign. Thus they are not included in the data analyzed by SEF (Aliens and Borders Service). As was mentioned before, Indian immigrants arrived in Portugal as a result of the decolonization process, which triggered the immigration of Indians who had settled in Mozambique and Angola, one time Portuguese colonies in Africa. The fact that they have Portuguese nationality means that they are not considered as foreign nationals; hence they are not included in the statistics on the foreign population residing in Portugal.

Given its recent history as an immigrant-receiving country, Portugal created several immigration laws, the first in 1981 (Decree-Law n° 264-B/81, 3 September). In this period the immigration law focused on the regulation of flows, overseen by the SEF (Aliens and Borders Service). The new migration law was passed in 1993 (Law n°59/93, 3 March), after a wave of regularization, in 1992-93 (Law-Decree n°212/92, 12 October), integrating the tens of thousands of immigrants estimated to be living irregularly in Portugal since the mid-1980s (Peixoto, 2009: 35). The second wave of extraordinary regularization occurred in 1996 (Law n°17/96, 24 May). It integrated immigrants who had not been regularized in the previous wave, and those who had settled illegally in the meantime. In 1998 a new immigration law was created (Law-Decree n°244/98, 8 August) which reduced the period of residence for the issuance of a permanent resident visa from ten to twenty years. In addition this law referred to family reunification as a “right” for the first time (Pires, 2003: 165).

In 2001 demand for labour in Portugal was so great, aggravating the establishment of illegal immigrants, that the left-wing government introduced a change in immigration policy and created a “stay permit” (Law-Decree n°4/2001, 10 January) allowing that besides the “residence permit”, immigrants “had also the possibility to ask for the new permit, which was, in effect, a temporary work stay visa granted in Portugal, based on the possession of a work contract. In fact, this mechanism corresponded to a third extraordinary regularization process of immigrants in irregular situations based on employment”. (Peixoto, 2009: 37). This law also established for the first time, a quota system for immigrants’ recruitment. This forced the immigrants to apply for a work visa in their country of origin, at the Portuguese consulate there. Thus this system spares them from adjustment periods and, at the same time, it helps combat illegal immigration.

In 2003, due to a change of government after the 2002 elections, further amendments to the immigration policies were introduced in the Portuguese legislative framework (Decree-Law n° 34/2003, 25 February). This law ended with “stay permits” for new arrivals and requests and maintained a quota system similar to that used by previous immigration law. According to Peixoto this quota system for labor recruitment continued to fail in combating irregular immigration (*Idem*: 38).

In 2003 and 2004 new settlement periods started up, concerning particularly Brazilian immigrants, as a result of the bilateral agreement between Portugal and Brazil, signed 11 July 2003. This bilateral agreement together with the Regulatory-Decree n°6/2004 of 26 April, article 71, which permitted the regularisation of immigrants already active in the labour market, regularized more than 80,000 illegal immigrants, of which 1589 were Indian (Baganha 2005: 37). Finally, further regularization was introduced by the immigration law of 2007 (Law n°23/2007, 4 July and Regulatory-Decree n° 84/2007,

5 November). There were also other important changes such as a mandatory application for one of the several types of visas in Portuguese embassies and consulates, in order to stay legally in Portugal: “the new law posits two types of medium- to long-term stay visas. These include the temporary visa (issued for an initial period of three months, renewable) and the residence visa (issued for a period of up to four months for purposes of applying for a residence permit). The study visa and the various working visas established in previous laws were replaced and are included in the new categories of residence visas above” (*Idem*: 42). According to this new Portuguese law immigrants holding a residence permit also have the right to family reunification.

Current policy framework and access to citizenship

The integration of immigrants is the aim of the Portuguese government. The creation of the High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI), formerly the High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME), played a central role in the integration of migrants in Portugal and in the promotion of intercultural dialogue. There is the right to health care for legal immigrants but also for those in irregular situations. There is also housing support and protection against illegal labor/exploitation. These are all the concrete result of changing immigration policies, policies that promote integration.

With regard to access to citizenship the nationality law underwent several changes post 1959: in 1975, 1981, 1994 and finally in 2006. The last date (Decree-Law No. 2/2006, 17 April) had the most significant impact on the lives of immigrants. The new 2006 law allows immediate nationality acquisition for “third-generation immigrants”. Individuals born in Portugal to parents who had been born in what was then Portuguese territory. It is also easier for “second-generation” immigrants to obtain Portuguese nationality. Only one of the parents has had to have resided legally in Portugal for five years. The length of mandatory residence in Portugal for foreign residents applying for nationality was reduced from ten to six years. This was so for all immigrants, and not just for nationals of Portuguese-speaking countries. The new citizenship law is, however, more demanding regarding Portuguese language skills, compelling candidates to pass official Portuguese language tests every two months (*Idem*: 49).

Media perception of the Indian community

According to Ferin *et al* (2008: 103) migrant crime dominates the news in Portugal. Other aspects including economic, social, political, cultural realities, not to mention lifestyles is less reported upon (*Idem*: 105). The immigrants and ethnic minorities most frequently mentioned are Brazilians and Roma. News about Chinese and Indian immigrants, in both the press and on television, concentrates on new migration flows in Portugal (*Idem*: 110).

My research on Indian news in the Portuguese media shows that the news on the various communities of Indian origin publicizes the characteristics of populations that are socially invisible. News on the Hindu community reflects on religious celebrations, community festivities and their places of worship. The visit of a Hindu group to the shrine of Fatima was reported by SIC television. This caused controversy among some French fundamentalist groups that were furious with the Catholics responsible for the sanctuary for allowing a Hindu priest to recite a mantra there. However, despite the isolated international controversial, the report emphasized inclusion between the two religions rather than exclusions.

Religious movements associated with Hinduism, such as the Swaminarayan movement, have also been in the news. This is true both as far as its presence in Portugal is concerned. But it is also true in terms of temple building in Lisbon, which was delayed due to problems with the municipality.

The commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the spiritual leadership of Prince Karim Aga Khan in the Portuguese media also reflected on the Ismaili presence in Portugal. There was also an announcement over an agreement between the Ismaili community and the Portuguese government (*Diário de Notícias*, 18/06/2009).

Following an attack on a Sikh temple in the United States 12 August 2012, several news items on the Sikh community in Portugal were published. These described the way of life of this community and the basic teachings of Sikhism. The television also served as a means of clarification. It allowed Portuguese Sikhs to explain the position of their religious tradition upon violence. Another example: the sports newspaper *Record* (6/25/2004) covered the celebrations for the victorious Portuguese soccer team by a group of Sikhs on the streets of Lisbon.

In this cases, the media played a positive role, in contrast with the trend of negative news on other immigrant groups in Portugal: e.g. second generation immigrants from Africa, Brazilians or the Roma. Thus, I conclude that the media image of people of Indian origin in Portugal is generally positive. The characteristic invisibility of these populations makes any news on these communities informative.

The Portuguese daily TV program *Fé dos Homens* (Peoples' Faith) is a space dedicated to different religions recognized in Portugal. It includes the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance, the Orthodox Church, the Islamic Community of Lisbon, the Roman Catholic Church, the Hindu Community of Portugal, among others. Public television also displays the program *Nós* (Us) dedicated to informing civil society about the contribution of immigrants, in which the various communities and individuals of Indian origin living in Portugal have frequently figured.

Religious centers and cultural associations

Cultural associations and religious institutions play a key role in the cohesion of Indian communities in Portugal. Furthermore, they function as mediators within society. Since the establishment of these communities in Portugal the number of institutions has considerably increased.

Hindus are organized into temples, that are also cultural and recreational institutions that actively contribute to the group's identity. The Hindu temple in Lisbon that is best known by the general population is the Radha Krishna Mandir. Founded in 1998, it is located in Lumiar (north Lisbon), where many Hindu families from all over Greater Lisbon come to pray. It is a temple in the Vaishnava²⁰ tradition and this is where the *Comunidade Hindu de Portugal* (Hindu Community of Portugal) is located. The temple is attended primarily by people from the Lohana caste²¹, though every family goes to the *mandir* at some time, mainly on special occasions such as weddings and other major rituals in the Hindu calendar, e.g. Navratri. These rituals are celebrated in the huge *mandir* hall. The temple is visited by Portuguese nationals curious about the Hindu religion. It also promotes courses both for Hindus and non-Hindus in areas such as Indian classical dance and Gujarati and Hindi language skills. They have too an Indian vegetarian restaurant open to all²².

Another temple, the Shiva Mandir at Santo António dos Cavaleiros, has a similar history to that of other Hindu-Gujarati diaspora contexts in Europe. A clear parallel is the community in the United Kingdom, which has very strong links with the Portuguese diaspora. The *Associação de Solidariedade*

²⁰ Vaishnava refers to the devotion to Hindu deities related to Vishnu. By the same token, Shaiva is associated with Shiva deities, with particular emphasis on the Mother Goddess, Mahadevi. In the context of Hindu-Gujarati populations from Portela and Santo António dos Cavaleiros, known as Shaiva, we frequently find Vaishnava elements in religious practices (Lourenço, 2009).

²¹ Originating from the Saurashtra region, the Lohana is a caste of traders belonging to the *varna* Vaishya. A substantial part of the Hindu-Gujarati diaspora, the Lohana have a strong tradition of migration through Eastern Africa (Michaelson, 1987; Salvadori, 1989; Markovits, 2000; Oonk, 2007).

²² This was acknowledged as the best vegetarian restaurant in Lisbon by *Time Out Lisboa*, 14/03/2012.

Social Templo de Shiva (Shiva Temple Social Solidarity Association) was formed in 1984 and became a formal association in 1991; its goal was to build a temple for the local community. In 2001, after Swami Satyamitranand had blessed the land (*bhumipujan*), the building of a provisional pavilion began, pending the future construction of a temple with the traditional architectural features of the northern Indian temples. On that occasion, the Mayor of Loures attended the ceremonies and expressed his respect for the Hindu community of Santo António dos Cavaleiros. This was understood by the Hindu community to be an act of religious multiculturalism by the community's mayor. The provisional pavilion was inaugurated in summer 2004.

The third temple, Jai Ambé Mandir, is a place of worship situated in Quinta da Vitória. Jai Ambé Mandir was built soon after the arrival of Hindu-Gujarati migrants in Portugal in 1983. The Jai Ambé Mandir was the only temple in Greater Lisbon until 1998 and the opening of Radha Krishna Mandir. In the remaining areas which did not have a temple, communities would gather at devotees' houses. In fact, as every Hindu family's house has a domestic temple, Portuguese Hindu-Gujarati families always have somewhere to offer devotion to deities even if there is no community centre. Nevertheless, for ceremonies such as marriages, and particularly before the Radha Krishna temple was founded, the community gathered in either rented or lent halls. The biggest and cheapest halls are located at local Catholic churches, which is significant with regard to pluralism in practical terms. Though there is a lack of statistical information about religious pluralism, when Hindu temples were not yet built, relations developed between the dominant religion in Portugal and Hinduism.

There are also associations representative of several Hindu groups in Portugal: Associação Hindu do Porto (Oporto Hindu Association), Associação Cultural Hindu do Porto (Oporto Cultural Hindu Association), Associação Juventude Hindu de Portugal (Portugal Hindu Youth Association), Associação de Solidariedade Social Templo de Shiva (Shiva Temple Social Solidarity Association).

Religious movements associated with Hinduism also have institutions established in Portugal: the Swaminarayan movement, with a temple built in Lisbon and the Hare Krishna movement, whose facilities are located in Lisbon and Oporto.

The Sunni Muslims of Indian origin attend Portuguese mosques. The first mosque was built in 1982 in Laranjeiro, and it is called *Comunidade Islâmica do Sul do Tejo* (Islamic Community of South Tagus). A year later, the Aicha Siddika mosque appeared in Odivelas. In 1985 the large central mosque of Lisbon was inaugurated and, in 1991, the Coimbra mosque opened. According to Tiesler (128) there are more than ten mosques and provisional places of worship throughout the city of Lisbon and across the country. According to the same author there are three places of Islamic culture and education: Darul' Ulum Al Islamiyat of Palmela, Sunny Jamat Ahle Madressa do Laranjeiro and Darul' Ulum Kadria-Ashrafia de Odivelas. The newspaper *Al-Furqan* publishes on Islamic topics and the Portuguese Centre for Islamic Studies, in Lisbon, also promotes Islamic studies. Internet serves too as a privileged means of communication among youngsters, representing the Islamic Forum, a very important role in the discussion of issues of concern to young Portuguese Muslims.

The maintenance of Ismaili religious ritual practices and the recognition of a single spiritual leader (Imam Aga Khan IV) contributes to constant contact with multicore diaspora. It also gives a sense of belonging to a single community (Malheiros 386). The Ismaili Community Center of Aga Khan Portugal, opened in 1998, with human development projects. This is a meeting point and a benchmark for the entire community.

Sikh Religious institutions are, like the population itself, of recent date in Portugal. Thus, the first Gurudwara opened in 1998 in Pontinha (Lisbon). In 2007 the gurudwara of Oporto appeared and finally, in 2010, Sikh Sangat Sahib Gurudwara opened in Odivelas (a suburb of Lisbon).

As already mentioned, Goan Catholics are characterized by social invisibility. Sharing the same dominant religion in Portugal, they have no need to build distinctive places of worship, participating in the religious life of the local parishes. The Church of Nossa Senhora do Perpétuo Socorro (Our Lady

of Perpetual Help) in Linda-a-Velha, in the outskirts of Lisbon, is, however, favored by the Goan community. They have a particular devotion for this saint.

The fragmentary nature of the Goan associative spirit (Xavier, 2000: 8) is reflected in the existence of six associations linked to Goa, Daman and Diu for a population of about 11,000 Goans. These are of a cultural and traditional nature, organizing cultural and recreational activities. These include musical performances and gatherings. Social (castes) and territorial (belonging to Goa, Daman and Diu) divisions as well as the immediate provenance (Mozambique) foster the division of this population and their belonging into various associations. Thus, the various associations are distinguished from each other by the membership of certain castes and their socio-economic status. These range from the influential Brahmin Catholic Goan elite all the way down to the *descendentes*²³ (*Idem, ibidem*)

These are some of the relevant associations: Associação Cultural de Amigos de Goa Damão e Diu (Cultural Association of Goa, Daman and Diu's Friends), in Coimbra; Associação Recreativa e Cultural Indo-Portuguesa (Recreational and Cultural Indo-Portuguese Association), in Odivelas; Surá - Movimento Cultural e Ecológico de Goa (Sura – Cultural and Ecological Movement of Goa), in Oeiras; Casa de Goa (Goa House), in Lisbon; Associação Fraternidade Damão-Diu e Simpatizantes (Daman-Diu and Supporters Fraternity Association, in Lisbon).

Socio-cultural integration of the Indian population

Most people of Indian origin are concentrated in the Lisbon area. As in other European cities, the lifestyles of these Indians are visible. Hindus, Muslims, Ismailis and Sikhs are concentrated in specific localities both for work and for residence.

Despite the weight of the Catholic tradition in Portugal, the recent showing of diversity in the religious sphere has been influential. It has largely been driven by new migratory flows and has influenced the process of creating different world views and new symbolic universes (Vilaça, 2003).

The Religious Liberty Law (2001) allowed the new minority religious communities to open up the religious field and to challenge monolithic Catholicism. However, despite increasing religious pluralization in Portuguese society, Catholicism remains dominant. The Church's reaction to the Religious Liberty Law showed their desire to remain dominant in Portugal. But, the Catholic Church has recently shown a more open attitude towards Portuguese society and to the diverse religious groups that go to make it up (Vilaça, 2006: 158).

We suggested above that Catholic institutions faced with an increasing number of diverse religions – in many cases driven by immigration – has become more interested in dialogue. Certainly, there are more inter-faith events. Dialogue and interaction with non-Christian religious groups has become common.

Portuguese attitudes towards Indians do not usually consist of racist attitudes: there is rather much curiosity. For example, in the case of the construction of mosques, Tiesler refers to relaxed attitudes on the part of the inhabitants of areas near places of worship and in the residential areas of these populations (Tiesler, 2000: 127).

The visibility that these groups assume in the places where they live is found in various factors: public festivities, the presence of religious institutions, not to mention the exuberance of women's clothing. However, the relations of elderly Indians (except Goans) with people from outside their ethnic group is superficial in most cases. The contacts occur in simple day-to-day activities such as shopping, on public transport, in the trades or in other jobs.

²³ Those who descended from a marriage between a Portuguese father and a Goan mother.

The fact that many Indians belonging to the first generation, particularly women (Hindu and Muslim), have no proficiency in Portuguese limits contact with those outside their community. Their days are spent with other Indians in stores, at religious places or at home. Their activities are reduced to spaces where the dominant language is Gujarati. Portuguese remains a secondary language, used only for basic contact with non-Gujaratis. A desire to shut out the surrounding community reflects a process of resistance to excessive westernization and hence to the disappearance of the traditional elements that they struggle to preserve.

This phenomenon is very complex and should be subject to careful analysis that does not produce generalizations. Certainly, any analysis ought to tease out the ambitions and feelings that lie behind the strategies of perpetuation of traditional patterns. Ambiguity and instability are characteristic of transnational identities, according to Clifford (1994: 311). For this author, group identity is not fixed or definite, but rather a concept that, like transnational processes in general, is in constant motion and change. I thus intend to pay special attention to the complexity of different types of relations between the community and outside society²⁴.

This analysis should take into account different perspectives: those of the young, as opposed to the elderly, and men as well as women. Starting with the second group of oppositions, the norm of traditional Indian relationships constrain women to the domestic sphere and to other women. Therefore, contacts with men outside the family should be casual and superficial. Men, meanwhile, have greater freedom, but their contacts are preferably kept with other men. In both cases there is a predominance of contacts within the community. But everyday activities involve the establishment of social networks between Indians and non-Indians, particularly intensive in professional and neighbourhood relations. Among the elderly, there are few contacts outside their community. Among youngsters this is much wider since, being born in Portugal, they establish ties of friendship and companionship at school and then at work or at the university. And if, previously, inter-community marriages were scarce, now they are becoming more frequent.

The diaspora experience leads, however, to adjustments and to the transformation of cultural and religious norms which become more stringent given the inevitability of contact with the “outside”. In the case of Hindus, for instance, this phenomenon is particularly noticeable in two areas: in trade and in the cultural and religious activities of the temple. In the first case, the constant and daily contact with customers is essential for business success and some of these create close relations. However, customer’s lifestyles may contain “polluting” elements in religious terms. In the case of public activities that take place in the temple, these often involve individuals from outside the community, whose visits are, however, received with enthusiasm, despite fears about their presence in some quarters. These fears are sometimes noted by interlocutors, concerned with the possibility of meeting menstruating women, when their presence at the temple would be prohibited.

Apart from the risk of contamination by contact, general sociability also entails other risks that concern the elderly: the younger generations’ future. Western values are sometimes seen as an obstacle to the education of offspring according to traditional religious principles, with the danger of these picking up dangerous behavior patterns. It is for this reason that families invest in the education of their children centering this education on home and family, so that they can attain a balance between contact with the society roundabout and the principles of Hindu education.

Sociability in plural contexts means inclusions and exclusions between groups. In the field of mutual influences between Indians and the rest of the population, women are the protagonists. While older women retain traditional forms of dress, young women have adopted western-style clothes²⁵. On the

²⁴ Religious integration by Hindus in Portugal has not been studied; the main topics covered are their adaptation to cultural practices (Lourenço, 2003, 2009), housing (Bastos, 1990; Cachado, 2012), music (Roxo, 2010) and identity (Bastos and Bastos, 2001, 2005). Hinduism in relation to other religions has been approached sociologically, in terms of entrepreneurship (Marques, Oliveira and Dias, 2002) and education (Seabra, 2010).

²⁵ The term “to wear pants” became popular among Hindu women in Portugal, as a form of liberation from traditional conventions associated with Indian dress codes. Women who “wear pants” - among other Western accessories or

other hand, non-Indian neighboring women have started to frequent Indian clothing stores that have emerged in recent years: these shops sell garments and accessories that represent a fusion of eastern and western styles. This happens by virtue of a global fashion, including clothing, kitchen decor that is often called “ethnic”, and also from the daily contact with Indian forms of bodily expression.

The interaction of Sikhs with Portuguese society has been problematic mainly due to poor fluency in Portuguese among Sikhs. However, at Euro 2004, Sikhs euphorically celebrated the victory of the Portuguese team in the streets of Lisbon, after having made divine requests for the same (Bastos and Correia, 65).

In summary, the presence of Indian communities in urban and suburban areas is particularly visible through temples, mosques and gurudwaras; in public rituals, in trade and in women’s mobility, that have constructed the group’s image *vis-a-vis* other dwellers.

Goans do not consider any ethnic territorial reunification process relevant. The lack of business enclaves or specific buildings, so typical of other Indian communities, underlines the social invisibility of this group (Malheiros, 2000: 393). This phenomena is due to the fact that most of their culture is held in common with the Portuguese population. The tendency to dissolve in Portuguese society comes from the sharing of the same religion, Catholicism; activity in the civil service, and the same language. These factors bring Goans close to the population and attenuate the existence of autonomous identificatory strategies (Malheiros, 386). As such the level of integration is complete.

Conclusion

The tradition of Indian migration to Portugal is linked to this country’s colonial past. Relations with the provinces of India (Goa, Daman and Diu) colonized by Portugal and Africa – with particular focus on Mozambique and Angola, where these communities were established – favored the establishment of Indian communities of from the late 1970s.

Indian immigrants and their descendants are divided into five major groups that include four religions: Hinduism, Islam (and within this, Ismaili Islam), Christianity (Catholicism) and Sikhism. Mostly dedicated to trade, the Indian population has been able to find creative strategies that contribute to its commercial success. However, the economic crisis that Portugal is presently living, has led to the departure of many Indians to the UK, but also a return to Mozambique, carried out particularly by specialized professionals (engineers).

Despite the conservation of their traditional cultural heritages, different groups develop positive integration strategies, especially among the young. Progressive Portuguese immigration policies allow them to take advantage of various social supports, particularly in health, education and housing. The Panjabi group recently established in Portugal is the one that presents major integration difficulties due to the lack of fluency in Portuguese. Thus, Portuguese language training can act as a facilitator for integration into Portuguese society.

Indians have a positive image in Portuguese society, despite their social invisibility during the last decades. The increase in religious and cultural associations, as well as the activities performed by them (dance, food, music) help to attract the surrounding society and involve it in their cultural activities. There has been interreligious dialogue both between the different Indian communities, and between the these communities and the Portuguese Catholic Church. This has resulted in peaceful coexistence among communities of Indian origin and wider Portuguese society.

(Contd.) _____

garments - symbolize feminine modernity, contrary to those who remain subject to the conservative clothing rules imposed by their families.

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