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DEVELOPING EVIDENCE BASED MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONS IN INDIA-EU MIGRATION AND PARTNERSHIP (DEMO: INDIA-EU MAP)

Portugal Country Report Content Analysis Media Reports on the Indian Community in the EU

Noelle Richardson

DEMO-India Research Report 2015/10



EUI is Partner Institution of ICM
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DEMO-India
Developing Evidence based Management and Operations in
India-EU Migration and Partnership

Research Report
Thematic Report
DEMO-India RR 2015/10

Portugal Country Report
Content Analysis Media Reports on the Indian Community in the EU

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DEMO-India – Developing Evidence based Management and Operations in India-EU Migration and Partnership (DEMO: India-EU MaP)

The Demo: India-EU MaP project, co-funded by the European Commission, is a continuation of the Carim India project (www.india-eu-migration.eu) and it examines the multiple facets of Indian migration to the EU. Its overall aim is to improve migration management between India and the EU, strengthen EU-India relations, and produce in-depth empirical knowledge about the different migration streams and pathways of Indian nationals in the EU. Its specific goals include providing:

1. Evidence based research for more informed policy making and state intervention.
2. Improved source country capacity in managing migration.
3. Raising awareness among potential migrants of the risks of irregular migration.
4. Collaboration with civil society groups.
5. Empirical research and analysis of Indian communities across the EU, and their impact.

The project is led by the Indian Centre for Migration in Delhi with the partnership of the Migration Policy Centre, RSCAS, EUI.

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Abstract

This paper seeks to outline and assess the media portrayal of Indian nationals and People of Indian Origin (PIOs) in Portugal. The press material analyzed, which consists of press reports and published news articles, are derived from six national newspapers and the national news agency, the press sections of the biggest public broadcasting organization and a major radio station. In keeping with what is reflected in this material, there is a distinct emphasis on media reports focusing primarily on business ties and investment opportunities between India and Portugal, crimes committed by Indian nationals or PIOs, Indian cultural influences and events, as well as integration initiatives for Indian immigrants, particularly those of a linguistic nature. There are also brief sections regarding the labour market insertion of Indian nationals or PIOs, religion and education. Furthermore, given Portugal's historical ties with Goa and its colonial link, there is a special focus on the Goan community resident in Portugal, the enduring 'Luso-Goan' link and the Portuguese influence on Goan culture and vice versa.

Key words: Portugal, India, Business, Investment, Goa, Integration

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1. General overview

Press articles reporting either on Indian nationals or People of Indian Origin (PIO) residing in Portugal as European citizens are scarce. They, also, tend to be quite brief, containing little detailed information on Indian nationals or PIOs, who are typically part of a larger concern. As such, though the Indian community is repeatedly highlighted in articles reporting on immigrants in Portugal, there is little elaboration of the internal characteristics of the Indian community or its socio-cultural and religious dynamics. Furthermore, there are very few profiles of specific individuals of Indian origin or PIOs. Nevertheless, articles that do focus on newly-settled Indian nationals, or in cases where Indian nationals or PIOs form part of a wider article on immigration, their article tends to be positive. Integration and efforts to integrate are highlighted and these resident Indians are not cast as a wholly alien community or an unwelcome presence. However, distinctions are still made, especially on the basis of colour and race.

Due to Portugal's colonial legacy in Goa, an Indian state situated on the west coast of India, there is a distinct emphasis on the enduring Luso-Goan connection: particularly Goa as a Lusophone community. In addition, there is a special focus on the Goan community residing in Portugal and many reports discuss the efforts on the part of Goan Indian nationals to apply for Portuguese nationality. Moreover, the Portuguese influence on Goan culture and the syncretism of the two cultures is a prevalent theme, especially in musical and cultural matters.

In conclusion, whilst Indian nationals or PIOs from Goa or those who emigrated from the former Portuguese colony of Mozambique during the process of decolonization are well established, those from other regions in India are a relatively new presence in Portugal. Thus, press articles on wider Indian cultural or religious aspects, for example, tend to have a descriptive and explanatory tone: they focus on the novel elements of 'Hindu' culture. In sum, many of the articles reflect a narrow and vague view of what constitutes Indian culture, religion and social mores.

2. Education

There appear to be no press articles reporting on the subject of Indian higher education student exchanges, Portuguese student visa policies for Indian students or Indian student associations in Portugal. Regarding the experience of Indian students at the primary and secondary school level, only one article mentions that their Indian origins may be a point of difference. It highlights the efforts on the part of school authorities to promote diversity and overcome the obstacle that some students may face due to skin colour. However, Indian students are not singled out as a specific ethnic minority.

An article in *Telefonia Sem Fios* (TSF), "*Skin Colour*" Pencils? What is your and my colour?, reports on a "partnership between the artistic materials shop Koralleistory and Uniafro, a teachers qualification course that teaches African culture and History in the Brazilian network of public schools, a course promoted by the foundation for the Political Promotion of Racial Equality in Schools' a venture that generated a lot of interest in Portugal".¹

The article illustrates that "the pencils were created for children to have in their reach colours adequate for representing the colour of their skin and that of their friends and family" and that it forms part of a "pedagogical material kit" with which "teachers work with questions related to identity and race relations in the classroom".

¹ TSF, 11.2.2015: Lápis "cor da pele"? Que cor, da minha ou da tua? ["Skin Colour" Pencils? What is the colour of yours and mine?].

Figure 1. An example of the pencil book with 12 skin tones

Source: http://www.tsf.pt/PaginaInicial/Vida/Interior.aspx?content_id=4393090

In Portugal, the venture has “sparked the interest of at least one school”, with the head teacher a school in Lisbon explaining to *TSF* that the school “intended on acquiring some boxes to use in the classrooms” stating that:

“It is a subject that we speak about in our classes, the children wanted to represent themselves, their friends or family, and there are no appropriate colours. We are a school, with nearly 60 years of life, with students from Nepal, India, China, Angola and Brazil, and we try to transmit the idea of diversity has enriching. Having this tool, however small it may seem, can help a child in the environment of a classroom feel more integrated, and open their horizons far beyond the page”.

3. Business and investment

Articles focusing on business and investment in Portugal on the part of Indian nationals or PIOs and the economic link between India and Portugal form the bulk of media reporting. Indeed, of all the sectors, culture, education or otherwise, Indian nationals and PIOs feature most frequently and saliently in press coverage regarding business. The economic crisis in Portugal has led to increased attempts on the part of both government and private businesses to attract foreign investment and there is an increasing awareness of the profitability of opportunities emerging from Asian markets in particular. Whilst the reporting remains quite brief and descriptive, in comparison to the detailed coverage of Chinese commercial activity in the country, they are nevertheless still highlighted as an important business community.

In short, there is a visible attempt in the press to underscore the positive contribution of Indian investment in Portugal on the part of private Indian businessmen, investors and multinational companies. Concomitantly, there is an obvious attempt in the media to ‘sell’ and highlight Portugal as an attractive country in which to invest and do business. In this vein, the quotes drawn from Indian entrepreneurs or businessmen involved in business in Portugal are almost always positive and laudatory. In addition, this trend is reflected in the widespread press coverage of the Portuguese government’s attempts to attract or, in the words of one newspaper, ‘seduce’ Indian investors into forming Indo-Portuguese business partnerships. For example, the widespread and sustained press reporting of the then President of Portugal, Cavaco Silva’s trip in 2007 to New Delhi to boost economic ties between the two countries is indicative of this. In contrast, detailed reporting of the Indian side or of Indian business actors, such as individual profiles, exposés of Indian multinationals or the state of the Indian domestic economy for example, are absent.

The concerted efforts on the part of the Portuguese government to attract foreign investment directly into the country is exemplified by the introduction of the Gold Visa program, a residence scheme instituted in 2012, which grants a European Residence Permit Card to foreign investors.² It allows foreign entrepreneurs to reside in Portugal for one year, is renewable for successive periods of two years and after six years can lead to permanent residence or Portuguese citizenship. The visa is granted if the applicant complies with one of three conditions: the creation of at least ten local job positions; the purchase of property in the value of at least half a million euros; or the transfer of at least one million euros to the country.³ The Gold Visa program has received widespread coverage in the Portuguese media. For example, the news outlet *Rádio e Televisão de Portugal* [Radio and Television of Portugal] (RTP) briefly reported in January of last year, in an article titled *Gold Visas to more than 500 foreign investors*, that the program has yielded “more than 27 million euros just in the last 23 days, an average of more than a million per day” and highlights how “at the top of the list of investors of those most looking for this special authorization of residence in Portugal are the Chinese and the Indians”.⁴ There is no specific indication or further elaboration as to how many Indians applied, the nature of their investments or what the status of their applications were: this shows again, how press coverage of India is rather limited.

The only article that goes beyond a brief descriptive commentary is from the newspaper *Expresso*, which ran an article captioned *Paulo Portas delivers the first gold visa* reporting on the then minister of Foreign Affairs, Paulo Portas issuing, in New Delhi, “the first gold visa to a foreign investor, the Indian Muthu Nesanimaram”.⁵ However, there is no further information on who Muthu Nesanimaram is and, in keeping with the trend of noting what the impact of foreign investment would mean for Portugal, there are only two quotes from Nesanimaram both which are used to bolster Portugal. First, he first confirms that “he has projects with an investment of 50 million euros in Portugal: he already has three hotels in Albufeira and intends on entering the wine business”. Second, he explains that he “is already responsible for 800 job posts and admits he can create another 600”. Furthermore, in an attempt to stress that Portugal is an attractive business destination beyond the attractions offered by the program, i.e. that it provides for the possibility of European residency and citizenship, according to *Expresso*, the “Indian businessman in declarations to Portuguese journalists ‘did not indicate that the gold visa was one of the decisive factors for investment in (our) country’. He referred instead to ‘security, friendly people and [Portuguese] culture’.”

The importance of attracting Indian business interests to Portugal is such that the then President of Portugal, Cavaco Silva’s visit to New Delhi in 2007 to promote Portugal’s economic interests, received intense press attention, with some public broadcasters such as RTP (*Rádio e Televisão de Portugal*, Radio and Television of Portugal), offering detailed day-by-day reporting. Journalists reported Cavaco Silva’s attempts to attract Indian investment and to strengthen economic ties between the two countries in great detail. The President was joined by a Portuguese delegation, which consisted of more than 60 business tourism heads, to evaluate opportunities for mutual investment between the two countries. As an attempt to harmonise relations between India and Portugal, an interesting (and potentially inflammatory) article published by RTP, reported on how the President tried to mitigate the historical legacy of Portuguese colonialism in India.⁶ The President of the Republic Aníbal Cavaco

² For the Gold Visa program website and more information see:

http://www.sef.pt/portal/V10/EN/asp/apoiocliente/detalheApoio.aspx?fromIndex=0&id_Linha=6269
[Accessed 12 February 2015] and <http://goldenresidencepermit.com> [Accessed 12 February 2015].

³ *Expresso*, 5.3.2013: Portas entrega primeiro visto *gold* [Portas delivers he first gold visa].

⁴ rtp.pt, 27.1.2014: Vistos Gold para mais de 500 investidores estrangeiros [Gold Visas to more than 500 foreign investors].

⁵ *Expresso*, 5.3.2013: Portas entrega primeiro visto *gold* [Portas delivers he first gold visa].

⁶ rtp.pt, 13.1.2007: Cavaco pede a empresários para não ficarem reféns da História [Cavaco asks businessmen not to stay hostage to History].

Silva, advised Portuguese and Indian businessmen “not to stay ‘hostages’ to history, at the opening of an economic conference in Goa” stressing that “that history leaves a legacy of affinities behind it” as “the cultural characteristics of Goa show so clearly”. Despite highlighting the fact that Goa, Daman and Diu experienced 450 years of Portuguese rule, there is no evidence that the newspaper found the statement problematic or if they were even aware that it could be considered as such. Moreover, the newspaper does not report, either in the said article or otherwise, on any reactions from the Indian side. Instead, it chooses to highlight the statements made by Cavaco Silva and his proposals that “what is important is that we make out of this historical legacy an active common good, instrumental for the relationship of the future” asking “that the businessmen of both countries take advantage of these opportunities” as “there are no basic reasons which impede a promising future at the level of strengthening business ties and economic relations”.

In a similar vein, RTP published *Portugal presented as “country of opportunities”* just one day after the previous report, and described in even more detail the attempts of the former President to attract Indian investment during his visit and highlighted his invitation to “dozens of Indian businessmen to invest ‘in the country of opportunities’”.⁷ It only looked at the Indian perspective briefly, noting that “the compliment was made by the minister of State and Foreign Affairs in India, Anand Sharma”. The bulk of the article is dedicated to reporting on the President’s comments and “admiration and respect” for India’s economic growth and the fact that it is a “powerful emerging power, on par with China”. However, once again, the reporting is very much done from Portuguese perspective with Portugal as “a country of opportunities” in a bid to lure Indian investment to the “Portugal of the twenty-first Century” an “entrepreneurial country, confident in itself”.

Similarly, an earlier article by RTP, Cavaco invites investment in the “Portugal of the Twenty-First Century”. Portugal is presented as a gateway into the Euro Zone in a similar manner to the advantages proposed by the Gold Visa program.⁸ It is noted that the President, explained to then President Abul Kalam and Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, that “the Portugal of the 21st century” is “a country of the European Union which belongs to the Euro Zone”, that it is “safe, with an open economy that offers excellent possibilities for investment”. This idea was further reiterated after “the signing of a deal between the Champalimaud Foundation, led by Leonor Belezza, and the Prasad Eye Institute, to create the fourth biggest ophthalmological research centre in the world” where the President signalled that he “noted ‘sympathy’ from the part of Indian leaders, also interested in Portugal as ‘a platform for EU penetration’ and also that it formed a ‘bridge’ with Africa”.⁹ Presumably, he was referring to the former Portuguese colonies and Lusophone countries: Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe and Equatorial Guinea.¹⁰

These reports are coupled with glowing assessments of India’s economic growth. The newspaper, *Correio de Manhã*, for example, reports on the President’s statements complimenting “India’s spirit of innovation” adding that “it did [the President] well to breathe the spirit of innovation of this city”.¹¹ Though once again giving a Portuguese take on Indian economic growth, it does demonstrate a positive Portuguese experience of doing business in India. It emphasised that the President was

⁷ rtp.pt, 12.1.2007: Portugal apresentado como “país de oportunidades” [Portugal presented as “country of opportunities”].

⁸ rtp.pt, 11.1.2007: Cavaco convida ao investimento no “Portugal do século XXI” [Cavaco invites investment in “Portugal of the 21st Century”].

⁹ The Champalimaud Centre For the Unknown located in Lisbon is a scientific research and diagnostic centre that specializes in biomedical research.

¹⁰ In 1996, the Lusophone African countries above alongside Portugal and Brazil formed the CPLP (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* – Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries), which as of 2002 also includes East Timor. See <http://www.cplp.org/> [Accessed 15 January 2015].

¹¹ *Correio de Manhã*, 16.1.2007: Cavaco destaca espírito de inovação da Índia [Cavaco celebrates Indian spirit of innovation].

“enchanted by the spirit of innovation in the city of Bangalore after visiting three Indian companies linked to the areas of informatics, biotechnology, and the technologies of information”. Furthermore, Silva is quoted as being “amazed with the Indians ‘forming in a short space of time companies with a global projection’” and that this “should be an example for Portugal”. The article is the only one to mention an internship program between India and Portugal in which it was agreed that “50 young Portuguese computer studies graduates will be allowed to undertake internships in companies in Bangalore”. Interestingly, the President stressed that “the Portuguese are capable of doing a lot and well” but “what they need is to be mobilized” and that “globalization, these contacts of our youngsters, of our workers with other countries and foreign companies, this will change attitudes in Portugal” he affirmed.

Following from this, an article in *Público*, *Indians and Chinese interested in Sines*, also demonstrates the two prevalent themes in the business reporting: the idea of Portugal as an attractive business destination; and the notion that Indo-Portuguese business ties are a balanced and mutually-beneficial enterprise.¹² It reports on the proposal of Tata Sons in investing 56 million euros in Sines for a factory to produce car parts. According to the article, the Tata delegation after meeting with the Prime-Minister, José Sócrates and the minister of the economy Manuel Pinho, “decided to locate to Portugal, in the sequence of the visit of the President of the Republic, Cavaco Silva” to India. The head of Tata is quoted as saying that there was “maximum receptivity” to the project in the area and the president of the municipal council of Sines, was also quoted as saying that this demonstrated that Portugal has “these negotiations with foreign investors”, as well as “the capacity to attract these projects of creating industrial partnerships for Portugal”.

Further efforts to attract Indian investment was reported by *Expresso*, where Portugal was “presented” to “a group of 14 Indian businessmen potentially interested in ‘entering’ Europe as a way of advancing the image of their products”.¹³ The article states that this “initiative promoted by the Commercial Association of Lisbon, promoting sectors of real estate to pharmaceutical industry, to hospitality” and was aimed at improving the knowledge of the “best locations of the capital and the potential of Portugal as a business partner”. In addition, *Expresso* reports that this initiative was included in the fourth edition of the Indo-Portuguese Week of Culture “where the message given by the speakers was clear: Portugal is an excellent port of entry for Europe and for all of the countries where Portuguese is the official language”, presumably directing the message to the Lusophone community in Goa in particular.

3.1 Chinese over Indian emphasis

Many of the press articles reporting on outside investment in Portugal lump ‘Indians’ and ‘Chinese’ together in the category of ‘foreign’ investors. However, the space and attention given to Chinese investment and business actors is much more generous and analytical than that attributed to Indians. Indeed, the contrast between the importance given to Chinese businesses and the relative lack of interest in Indian businesses is one of the most striking features of Portuguese press reporting on foreign investment in the country. In view of the comprehensive reporting of Portugal’s interest in India, one would expect that the Indian business community would also deserve similar attention. However, this does not appear to be the case.

For example, the *Correio de Manhã*, in its long article *Business from China*, focuses primarily on Chinese investment but notes that the Indian business community has been active in Portugal and that

¹² *Público*, 19.5.2007: Indianos e chineses interessados em Sines [Indians and Chinese interested in Sines]. Sines is a city in the South of Portugal.

¹³ *Expresso*, 12.10.2012: Portugal “apresentado” a empresários indianos interessados em investir [Portugal “presented” to Indian businessmen interested in investing].

there has been interest from private Indian investors also.¹⁴ The majority of the article is dedicated to the impact of Chinese investment, their business interests and practices, as well as the hopes and excitement that are hinged on Chinese interest in Portugal. According to the article, the Indian community is the fourth largest community with the largest numbers for the visa program. But this community does not receive the same amount of analysis or elaboration as the Chinese, Brazilian or Angolan communities in the article regarding, for example: their choice of property; the motivations behind purchases; or the reactions to Chinese investment in the country. The only reference to India is “an Indian millionaire received the first visa” and a short biography of Nesamani Maran Muthu is the only profile of Indian business interests featured in the article.

3.2 Bollywood comes to Portugal

An unexpected Indo-Portuguese business venture was reported by *Expresso*, *Bollywood invests 150,000 euros in Portugal*, which highlights the perceived economic benefits predicted for Portugal from the filming of a Bollywood movie *Balupu*, which will use Portugal as one of its backdrops.¹⁵ There has been a concerted effort by the Portuguese government, especially Tourism Portugal, to attract Bollywood production agencies and establish a partnership between Portuguese and India-based film production companies. There is also an interest in attracting “thousands of Indian tourists” whom, might visit Portugal after having seen the film. Once again, the emphasis is mainly on highlighting the profitability of this enterprise for Portugal.

It reports that “during a week, the creation of two Indian videos will leave 150,000 euros in the country” and how “two of the biggest stars in Bollywood, will bring the image of the main destinations of Portugal to an audience of millions of spectators and potential tourists”. It highlights how the film is the “first result of contact established by Tourism Portugal and one of the principal producers of Indian cinema in an entrepreneurial mission realized last year in India”. It stresses how the film will attract “a private investment of 150,000 euros (from a global budget of 6.4 million) and the direct local effect of a week’s stay for around 40 Indian professionals, generating, just for hotels, around 200 sleepers”. The overwhelming emphasis on the commercial productivity of the venture, as opposed to the potential of exposing a Portuguese audience to Bollywood, for example, is summed up by a quote from the secretary of State for Tourism. He hopes the enterprise will lead to a “diversification of Portuguese markets” and raise “the visibility of Portugal alongside millions of new tourists” to affirm the country “as a destination for international cinema productions”.

Similarly, an article published five months later in the separate business supplement of the newspaper *Expresso*, *Caderno de Economia [Economic Notebook]*, captioned *and if Arjun, Imraan and Kabir came here?* in which the numerous economic benefits of a Bollywood and Portugal collaboration are reiterated.¹⁶ The use of first names to identify these actors is interesting, implying that its readership would already be familiar with these actors, which would almost definitely not be the case. Rather, presumably the assumption is that the foreign sounding nature of the names would be attention grabbing enough to use in the headline. As in the previous article, the intersection between the business interests of film companies such as Picture Portugal and the ensuing benefits for the tourism industry are key, as “all win with the chance of bringing Bollywood filming to Portugal”. The venture is also part of a four page report by the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* in the Arts section titled *Bollywood comes to film in Portugal* reporting that “the production of an Indian film in Portugal is seen as an excellent way to promote the country in India, a market where people have more and more

¹⁴ *Correio de Manhã*, 21.7.2013: Negócios da China [Business of China].

¹⁵ *Expresso*, 15.4.2013: Bollywood investe 150 mil euros em Portugal [Bollywood invests 150,000 euros in Portugal].

¹⁶ *Expresso*, 16.9.2013: E se Arjun, Imraan e Kabir viessem ca? [And if Arjun, Imraan and Kabir came here?].

the power to purchase and the will to travel”. Despite the article featuring in the arts section, there is no explanation of what Bollywood is or of the content of the film.

The idea of tapping into the large Indian tourist market by attracting a Bollywood audience was also reported by the *Correio de Manhã*.¹⁷ According to the article written in 2012, “the annual profits related to tourism should surpass 8 billion euros in 2013” with “two thirds of tourist movement in Portugal coming from the external market” thus stressing the need “to work on the divulging and promoting Portugal, as almost 20 million Indians travelled overseas and we need to take advantage of that”. Similarly, an article in *i*, reports that the “Secretary of Culture wants Bollywood in Portugal”.¹⁸ The content is similar to the article above stressing the desire of the Secretary of Culture that the government “wants to create platforms for employment so that we can also take advantage of the production of Indian cinematography that is today the biggest in the world”. However, beyond the oft-stated economic benefits, it is not clear how this would actually contribute to Portugal’s cultural scene. The article is the only one reporting on this venture to provide an explanation to a Portuguese audience of what Bollywood is, explaining that “Bollywood, the informal name given to the Indian cinematography industry (with its origins in Bombay, today Mumbai), is considered to be the biggest in the world and works in various genres and languages, including ‘Hinglish’ a mixture between English and Hindi, spoken in India”.

3.3 Indian investment and entrepreneurship in Portugal

To reiterate, Indian investment and entrepreneurship in Portugal receive positive reviews in the media. However, only *Expresso*, gives an in-depth analysis of Indians investing in Portugal. In an article, *Entrepreneurship*, we learn that “businessmen from the Indian diaspora will open the first delegation in Portugal-Abdool Vakil”. In this article, too, it is reported that the future president of the first delegation of ‘The Indus Entrepreneurs’ (TiE) Portugal, Abdool Vakil, an international organization funded by businessmen from the Indian diaspora to stimulate entrepreneurship, will be launched in July, 2012 in Lisbon.¹⁹ According to the TiE website, the group founded in 1992 in Silicon Valley is a global network bringing together a “group of successful entrepreneurs, corporate executives, and senior professionals with roots in the Indus region” with “61 chapters in 18 countries”.²⁰ The article quotes Vakil, who explained “we will have in Portugal, for the first time, a group of members from the Indian diaspora, from the Indus region, who formed a non-profit denominated TiE – ‘The Indus Entrepreneurs’”. TiE alongside the municipal council of Lisbon and Startup Lisbon will “organise the TiE Lisbon Entrepreneur Boot Camp” to be followed by the “the official launching of TiE Portugal”. The article is followed by a report *Entrepreneurship: Businessmen of the Indian diaspora satisfied with business opportunities in Portugal*.²¹ It quotes Ashok Rao, the president of TiE emphasizing that Portugal “had exceeded all the expectations” and affirmed that he “did not see any differences between the Portuguese business spirit and that of the Silicon Valley in the United States”.

¹⁷ *Correio de Manhã*, 2.11.2012: Turismo deverá render oito mil milhões de euros [Tourism should render eight thousand million euros].

¹⁸ *i*, 3.3.2013: Secretario estado da cultura quer Bollywood em Portugal [Secretary of State for Culture wants Bollywood in Portugal].

¹⁹ *Expresso*, 17.7.2012: Empreendedorismo: Empresários da diáspora indiana vão abrir 1.ª delegação em Portugal - Abdool Vakil [Entrepreneurship: Businessmen from the Indian diaspora will open the first delegation in Portugal- Abdool Vakil].

²⁰ For the TiE website see: tie.org [Accessed 15 January 2015].

²¹ *Expresso*, 23.7.2015: Empreendedorismo: Empresários da diáspora indiana satisfeitos com oportunidades de negócio em Portugal [Entrepreneurship: Businessmen of the Indian diaspora satisfied with business opportunities in Portugal].

4. Crime

Indian nationals or PIO's are only mentioned in articles reporting on terrorism and international crime networks. Articles citing crimes committed by Indian nationals or PIO's domestically are almost non-existent.

As part of an article in the *Correio de Manhã*, reporting on terrorists hiding in Portugal, “two Indians” were identified as part of a group of terrorists that were hiding in Portugal but arrested in Barcelona as part of a group of fourteen radical Islamists, consisting of “12 Pakistanis and two Indians”.²² According to the article, the Service of Information and Security and the Judiciary “were warned of a real and intended threat on European soil- and more concretely in in Spain, France or England”. The article states that for this reason “they stayed alert – and, in relation to Portugal, were being investigated by the Spanish to see if those suspects entered into contact with the terrorist cell through tapped mobile phone lines, or if those Pakistanis and Indians passed through our country before being apprehended at dawn on Saturday in Barcelona”. The article goes on to give an overview of the ensuing investigation in Spain and Portugal and the various authorities involved such as the Service for Foreigners and Borders in order to uncover “all the connected elements of Islamic fundamentalism”.

The highest profile article regarding a crime committed by an Indian national centres on the arrest of Abu Salem in Portugal in 2002. After being convicted for his role in the 1993 Mumbai serial blasts and as the central suspect in more than 50 criminal cases including murder, he was arrested by Interpol in Lisbon and after assurances by the Indian government that he would not face the death penalty, he was cleared for extradition by the Portuguese authorities to face charges in India in 2005. An article in the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* reports on the “intention of Abu Salem of taking action against the Portuguese state after a violation of the extradition agreement”.²³ According to the newspaper, the process was started by Abu Salem “with the defendants as the Portuguese State represented by the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs”. The violation of the extradition treaty was based, as cited in the article by Abu Salem’s Portuguese lawyer Manuel Luis Ferreira, on the fact that he cannot be extradited to countries “with the application of life imprisonment or the death penalty” and because in India “he is being judged in lawsuits that are found outside the extradition agreement and are lawsuits for which Abu Salem cannot be judged”. The focus is mainly on the legality of the decision of the Portuguese authorities in allowing for extradition. In a later article published by the same newspaper it notes how after his extradition to India, it was “made clear, that having already been threatened in diverse prisons and fearing for his life, Abu Salem awaits a request for repatriation to Portugal”. The latest article concerning Salem in the *Diário de Notícias* notes that he has been sentenced to life in prison.²⁴

Correio de Manhã and *Expresso* and the public television, radio and news broadcaster RTP, reported on the arrest of a Portuguese woman and five men of “Hindu origin” who were detained in Spain as part of a network that had organized at least 80 marriages of convenience in Portugal.²⁵ It should be noted that only *Expresso* and RTP allude to the supposed religious and ‘Hindu’ identity of

²² *Correio de Manhã*, 22.1.2008: Agenda terrorista aponta Portugal [Terrorist agenda points to Portugal].

²³ *Diário de Notícias*, Alegado terrorista indiano intent acção contra o Estado português [Alleged Indian terrorist intends on action against the Portuguese State].

²⁴ *Diário de Notícias*, 25.2.2015: Tribunal da Índia condena Abu Salem a prisão perpétua [Court of India condemns Abu Salem to life in prison].

²⁵ *Correio de Manhã*, 1.2.2012: Seis ilegais detidos em operação [Six illegals detained in operation]; *Expresso*, Espanha: Uma portuguesa entre detidos em operação contra rede de casamentos de conveniência [Spain: A Portuguese woman amongst those detined in an operation against a network of convenience marriages]; *rtp.pt*, 3.3.2009: Uma portuguesa entre detidos em operação contra rede de casamentos de conveniência [A Portuguese woman among those detained in an operation against the network of convenience marriages].

the individuals in question. It reports that after the marriage “achieving this status, they solicit the regrouping of families, the majority from India” and that the network was detected “after an accumulation of requests for marriage between Indians and Portuguese” was noticed “in the same civil registry of a city close to Porto”. The articles report that the network “took new clients whom they charged 12,000 euros, of which between 1,500 and 5,000 euros were paid to the European citizen who took part in the fraud”.

The *Correio de Manhã* did not stipulate the alleged ‘Hindu’ origin of the those arrested but specifies that one of the suspects was caught when he came to Portugal “to take a Portuguese citizen to Germany, with the objective of obtaining a residency title for the ‘husband’, an Indian citizen to whom she would get married beforehand in Portugal”. The article report that these simulated marriages occurred “in Portugal, Spain, France, Belgium, Holland and Germany with Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi citizens who were found in an illegal or precarious situation in the country” and that the “network would arrange for women in economically down-trodden zones to marry individuals in an illegal situation”. Of those arrested in the fourteen-month long investigation, two were Indian citizens. In a similar vein, an article in *Correio de Manhã*,²⁶ reports on the discovery by the Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras [Foreigners and Borders Service] (SEF) May of 2005 of “the trace of a network of passport forgeries that, from Lisbon, supplied false identities to Asiatics residing in England”. According to the article, the investigation the ‘Quibir Operation’ led to the arrest of “11 suspects: five Portuguese, one Angolan, one Mozambican, one Congolese, two Indians and one Pakistani” with “many in the Portuguese authorities suspecting that ‘many of the falsified passports in our country were being used by terrorist cells in Europe’” according to a Public Ministry source. No further details were given on who the Indian citizens were or if they were set to be deported to India.

The only domestic crime report was an article in the *Correio de Manhã*, “fighting between Indian businesses in Tavira” to report on a fight between more than a dozen Indian business owners in the southern town of Tavira in the Algarve.²⁷ According to *Correio de Manhã* “the origin of the misunderstanding” was due to a “power struggle between two groups that have competing shops and restaurants”. According to a source reporting to the newspaper, “they all want to capture clients, some practice lower prices and others arrive at the door of a neighbouring restaurant and tell tourists that that one is no good and that theirs is the good one”. An alternative source, Hardip Singh, “claimed that he did not practice low prices” and “guaranteed that he just wanted peace and to do business”. Whilst rather melodramatic, the report is relatively neutral and non-judgemental.

5. Labour market

Articles on the labour market insertion and or PIOs are written primarily from the viewpoint of Indian nationals as belonging to the wider immigrant community or are focused on their role in relatively low-level sectors of employment such as construction and commerce. In addition, there appears to be little to no reporting on specific labour profiles focused on Indian nationals or PIOs or evidence of them working in higher level employment such as healthcare or technology. Nevertheless, the ‘diversification’ that immigrants offer to the Portuguese market is repeatedly highlighted and underlined as a positive contribution to the country.

The only press article that alludes whilst not actually specifying the labour profiles of Indian workers in Portugal was a report in the *Correio de Manhã*.²⁸ In an article reporting on the doubling of foreigners in Portugal in 2009, “Brazilians (223) were the biggest highly qualified group of foreigners

²⁶ *Correio de Manhã*, 14.7.2005: Descoberta pista de Lisboa [Discovery of a pista of Lisbon].

²⁷ *Correio de Manhã*, 20.6.2011: Pancadaria entre comércio indiano em Tavira [Fight between Indian businesses in Tavira].

²⁸ *Correio de Manhã*, 23.2.2009: Dobro dos estrangeiros [Double the foreigners].

entering Portugal in 2008, followed by Chinese (39), Indians (34) and North-Americans (24)". According to the article, the biggest profession represented was that of teachers, but there were also "doctors and researchers, amongst others". It does not specify which categories highly-qualified Indians work in.

6. Culture

There appears to be a generally positive reception to and enthusiastic reporting of Indian cultural influences and events, especially in the area of music. The influence of Goan musical styles is widely referenced, especially when blended with Portuguese elements. To judge from the articles the introduction of Indian music and dance is still a relatively new phenomenon: such reporting is relatively recent. In addition, these performances are praised for diversifying and enhancing Portugal's cultural scene and as a means of signalling that its cultural repertoire is becoming increasingly more cosmopolitan. Thus, the very novelty of these Indian cultural forms in Portugal are noteworthy subjects in themselves. These cultural ties will, according to the articles, also have a political impact on enhancing the relations between the two countries and maintaining the Lusitanian influence in Goan culture.

For example, the newspaper *Diário de Notícias*²⁹ ran an article in December 2013 reporting on a forthcoming concert of a trio called 'PortuGoesas' – a word play on Portuguese and the Portuguese word for Goans, Goesas – at the Museum of the Orient in Lisbon. The concert consisted of Goan music, and the aim of the trio, according to their press release is "the passion to maintain the continuity of familiar musical tradition, that makes us relive and reinterpret this musical style, increasingly enriched by the search for authors and works spread by the Goan diaspora around the world". The PortuGoesas "play *mandó*, *dekni* and *dulpod*"; the *mandó* is a musical form that evolved in the twentieth century among Goan Catholics in Goa, the *dekni* is a semi-classical form of dance evolved in Goa accompanied by music and the *dulpod* is a folk song with themes drawn from everyday life. The article notes that the trio "propose an original 'voice' for one of the original and lesser known song books of the Lusophone community". The influence of Goan musical styles in Portugal is also noted by an article in *Expresso*, which reported positively on the performance of the Indian fado singer Sónia Shirsat and the noted Portuguese guitarist Antonio Chainho for his new album *LisGoa*.³⁰

The Luso-Goan connection was also visible in the participation of Goan museologists in a conference in Lisbon. An article published by RTP³¹ reports on the gathering of museology specialists from the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, CPLP) in September of 2011 at the Sixth Encounter of Museums and Communities of the CPLP at the Museum of the Orient in Lisbon. The specialists were drawn from "all continents and the countries of the CPLP and also the Lusophone communities in Macau and Goa".

The positive reception in Portugal to Indian music and Indian musicians is also illustrated by an article in the newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, *Songs and dances from North India in Portugal*, which cites the "intense atmosphere" created by the "devotional songs, the mystic tradition of Sufism and the

²⁹ *Diário de Notícias*, 6.12.2013: Trio PortuGoesas no Museu do Oriente [Trio PortuGoesas at the Museum of the Orient].

³⁰ *Expresso*, 25.6.2009: Música: Recital de António Chaínho na Guarda com Rão Kyao e a fadista indiana Sónia Shirsat [Music: Recital of António Chaínho in the Guarda with Rão Kyao and the Indian fado singer Sónia Shirsat].

³¹ rtp.pt, 26.9.2011: Especialistas da CPLP reunidos a partir de hoje, em Lisboa, para debater museologia [Specialists of CPLP reunite as of today, in Lisbon, to debate museology].

everyday intensity of human affections”.³² It praises the “concentration and effort necessary, demanding a mental and physical state close to a trance of the person who carries it out” and reported that “the previous night’s performance at the Museum of the Orient in Lisbon, was evidence of an exceptional performance”. Importantly, the article illustrates that the performance was also the result partly of a promotion by the Indian embassy in Portugal and “enhances the bilateral relations between the two countries, concentrating on culture and the dissemination of little known aspects of Indian popular culture”.

The only article that reports specifically on Indian cinema or Bollywood is found in the *Expresso* article *Sandokan, a hero of other times*.³³ The article reports on the enormous fascination that *Sandokan*, which starred the Indian actor Kabir Bedi, stirred up in Europe during the 1970s. Kabir Bedi starred “in the Italian series that had a big international success. Portugal included”. So popular was the series that when Kabir Bedi “disembarked in various European countries, the actor was used to having an authentic legion of fans waiting for him, forcing him to be given a police escort.”. The article features a lengthy description of the show, as well as a complete biography of Bedi and his life after the show.

In addition, the *Diário de Notícias* notes the rising popularity of yoga in Portugal. Whilst yoga is still a relatively new phenomenon in the country it has gained much popularity in a short space of time. According to the article, Cascais, an affluent town located on the coast about 40 minutes from the capital Lisbon, was chosen to hold World Yoga Day, “an international incentive that has its origin in the Portuguese Confederation of Yoga, celebrated for the first time in 2002”. The announcement of “the president of the Portuguese Confederation of Yoga, Jorge Veiga e Castro, or as he prefers to be known, Jagat Guru Amrta Súryánanda Mahá Rája”. According to “the great master” the aim is “not just of spreading this discipline, that brings together physical, spiritual or mental aspects, the World Yoga Day has also the objective of being able to live ‘24 hours without conflict, without violence in the world’”. According to the article, “yoga in Portugal has, at present, thousands of followers and there exists 37 centres active in the country”.

A selective portrayal and superficial understanding of ‘Indian’ culture and Hinduism, is evident in an article in the *Correio de Manhã*, reporting on an Indian-themed soap opera to be aired in Portugal.³⁴ Soap operas or ‘telenovelas’ as they are known have a huge audience in Portugal and are very popular. The soap opera *Fascínios* (fascinations) has “the big cast, beautiful images, big soundtrack and the diverse fascinations that exist in India and Lisbon”. According to the writer of the soap opera, “this story is just soul” and “addresses mystical and esoteric themes, such as karma and reincarnation”. He adds that the title *Fascinations* is “perfectly adequate; as the soap opera explores the fascination for money, for the Orient and for the unknown”. He also writes that:

“we have Indian characters and we used some typical terms in Hindi, that won’t be subtitled. The most common is ‘namaste’, used as a greeting instead of our ‘good morning’ or ‘good afternoon’. In fact the term ‘namaste’ goes further than just a simple greeting, as it is understood by Indians as a way of saluting the divine in the other”.

Interestingly, the ‘Indian’ characters in the soap opera are actually played by white Portuguese actors. For example the central female role is played by a Portuguese actress Mariana Monteiro, who plays a character called Nalini Rajgar; her father is played by the Portuguese actor Rogério Samora, who plays a character with the odd Indian name of ‘Raul’ who is the son of ‘Óscar’ and ‘Kali’ but adopts the name ‘Yash Rajgar’. According to the storyline of the soap opera, both “father and daughter were raised in India and the culture of that country influenced them for a long time, even when they

³² *Diário de Notícias*, 12.6.2014: Cantos e danças do Norte da Índia em Portugal [Songs and dances from north India in Portugal].

³³ *Expresso*, 22.9.2006: Sandokan, um herói de outros tempos [Sandokan, a hero of other times].

³⁴ *Correio de Manhã*, 20.11.2007: Fascínio pela Índia [Fascinated by India].

returned to Portugal”. The daughter soon realises that her and her Portuguese love interest “had crossed each other in various lives” though “not always as lovers”. The author explains the relevance of this storyline and attempts to explain the philosophy of karma: “the past lives are the karma (the Law of Karma attributes each action with a reaction) of their present lives” and he “believes that the world is becoming more and more mystic and esoteric” as “people question more and more themes such as reincarnation”. This essentialist depiction of India as being a ‘mystical’ and ‘spiritual’ country underscores an Orientalist fascination with the country as exotic and otherworldly.

7. Gender

There are very few articles focusing on the specific experiences of individual Indian men or women residing in Portugal. Press reports on the Indian community or on PIOs rarely look beyond the community and thus it was difficult to conduct a gendered analysis of Indians in Portugal. Other than the articles describing the arrest of Indian men running marriages of convenience, there are almost no reports that differentiate or refer specifically to Indian men or Indian women. In addition, no articles report or highlight a difference in the treatment of Indian nationals or PIOs either inside their own communities or by the general population.

Nevertheless, the *Diário de Notícias* did run an article in 2009 with the title *More Pakistanis and Indians are marrying with Portuguese women*.³⁵ The article begins by stating that “there are fewer and fewer marriages in the country, but marriages with Indians have quadrupled and marriages with Pakistanis have doubled”. The writer states that “in the overwhelming majority of cases, the bride was Portuguese”. Citing figures from the National Institute of Statistics, it states that “the elevated number of immigrants originating from Asia that marry with Portuguese women” is contrary to the overall trend of fewer marriages occurring in the country. In addition, the report seeks the opinion of the head of the Muslim community in Lisbon, sheikh Munir who states that “the majority of Indians and Pakistanis who live in Portugal are men and it is natural that they meet Portuguese women and want to marry them”. In regards to men representing most Indian immigrants in Portugal, the article illustrates that only 30% or 5,519 of the Indian community are women. It also notes that “they continue to be little represented in the official immigration statistics”. Regarding the legality of these unions, it asks Munir if he thinks there “is a chance that some of these marriages could be fictitious, or white marriages, according to the law” but apparently the “sheikh preferred not to comment”. The report then concludes by stating that “the immigrants with origin in these countries [i.e. Pakistan and India] say that they ignore their compatriots if they marry with Portuguese women”. It is unclear if this is the view of the paper or of sheikh Munir.

António Costa is a politician, who is partly of Goan origin, who has garnered a great deal of press interest. Almost all of the articles concerning Costa are based on his Indian descent and, in some cases, the colour of his skin. Newspaper and press reports consistently refer to his ‘Indian origins’ and the fame he has enjoyed in India due to this widespread popularity and political victories. Whilst Costa’s Indian origins are quite distant, the press attention over a non-Caucasian politician and how this is used to discuss issues of racism are indicative of prevailing attitudes in Portugal towards this issue.

Costa is a very well known public figure; he is serving his third term as the mayor of Lisbon having been elected in 2007 and he has been head of the Socialist Party since September 2014. He was also a Member of the European Parliament before resigning in March 2005 to take up the position of Minister of State and Internal Administration in the government of José Sócrates: he, then, announced his plan to run for Mayor of Lisbon in May 2007.

³⁵ *Diário de Notícias*, 13.8.2009: Mais paquistaneses e indianos casam-se com portuguesas [More Pakistanis and Indians marry with Portuguese women].

An article published by RTP, *Victory of the “Gandhi of Lisbon” echoes in India*,³⁶ the victory of António Costa after the primaries, was premised on how “many believe he will be the next prime minister, a fact that has not gone unnoticed in Goa”. Costa earned the moniker “Gandhi of Lisbon” due to his supposed frugal lifestyle and his Indian roots. The article claims that “in the ex Portuguese colony, there are some who want the ‘Gandhi of Lisbon’ to be the next President of the Government of Portugal”. There is specific attention given to António Costa’s Indian origins, which the article states “are known to the public in general” and whose Goan roots come from his father the writer Orlando da Costa. The article draws attention to other news services that account for Costa’s victory, particularly Indian media, which ‘multiplied’ the news of his success, where newspapers such as the *Indian Express*, *The Times of India* and *Outlook India* reported on the victory of ‘Babush’ the affectionate name given to António Costa, which means ‘boy’. It then shifts its focus to the Goan community in Portugal: “the Goans are showing their political presence in Portugal”, for example, by organising an Indo-Portuguese Culture Week: they “remain cautious” but celebratory.

In a similar vein, the *Diário de Notícias*, with the headline *Victory of Costa, “the Gandhi of Lisbon”, reaches India*, also refers to the report in the *Hindustan Times* and other Indian newspapers.³⁷ It concludes how the *Hindustan Times* was not the only publication to make reference to Costa’s victory and cites *The Times of India* and *The Indian Express* who also make reference to Costa’s Goan origins. It ends with a quote from an interview with the politician who “said he would like it if Lisbon were ‘the centre of business in the Atlantic for India’”. The article that most explicitly refers to Costa as a person of Indian origin is a report in *Expresso*: “Costa with an Indian flavour”.³⁸ Its content is similar to those above, affirming that if “the victory of António Costa was celebrated with excitement in Lisbon” then “the echoes of the result crossed borders and arrived even in India (where Costa has his origins)”. It reports that he was described “on the first page of *The Sunday Times* ‘with very flattering words’” and that the newspaper “even mentioned that the Portuguese politician of Goan origin “could one day become prime minister of Portugal””.

However, the RTP article is also quick to note that there is a divide within the community between those who place emphasis on the importance of his Goan or Indian roots, and those who do not. It illustrates that although “the Indian organs for communication showed themselves to be effusive in their celebration of Costa’s victory, there are also those who asked for calm in the celebrations”. For Wilfred Mesquita, the commissioner with the dossier of non-resident Indians, the mere election of Costa is no motive to celebrate, unless the next leader recognises his origins. “If he identifies himself as Portuguese, then what reason do we have to celebrate?” questioned Mesquita. This tension amongst Portuguese Goans raises questions of identity and nationality: for example, to what extent does being Goan and Portuguese necessitate relinquishing one’s Indian identity? As it appears in other articles, the idea of being Portuguese seems to overrides all other identities.

References to Costa’s Indian origins also extend to discussions regarding Costa’s skin colour and the fact that he is not white. This form of press coverage and the almost bizarre scrutiny of his physical features does not appear to have been extended to white politicians whose attributes do not warrant a similar analysis. This is best illustrated in an article in the newspaper *Público*: *António Costa: a politician beyond skin colour*.³⁹ This article deals with the discussions surrounding António Costa and

³⁶ rtp.pt, 6.10.2014: Vitória do “Gandhi de Lisboa” ecoa na Índia [Victory of the “Gandhi of Lisbon” echoes in India].

³⁷ *Diário de Notícias*, 2.10.2014: Vitória de Costa, “o Gandhi de Lisboa”, chega à Índia [*Victory of Costa, “the Gandhi of Lisbon”, reaches India*]; *Hindustan Times* original article available on: <http://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/indian-origin-costa-is-portugal-s-next-pm-candidate/article1-1269787.aspx> [Accessed 11 February 2015].

³⁸ *Expresso*, 9.11.2013: Costa com sabor indiano [Costa with an Indian flavour].

³⁹ *Público*, 24.11.2014: António Costa, político para além da cor da pele [António Costa, a politician beyond skin colour].

touches upon the issue of racism and attitudes towards Indian or Indian-origin, specifically Goan minorities in Portugal. As such, the ‘ethnic’ and partially Indian origins of António Costa, are the first point of departure for the article, which centres on the shade of Costa’s skin, and what his partly non-European origins could mean for racism.

The article leads with the opening: “Will the election of the new leader of PS and the candidate for prime minister be a victory against racism?” with “specialists saying no” as “he is a descendant of Goan Brahman Catholics” and “the Portuguese in India”. The main body then recounts at length António Costa’s own personal history, and the attention his skin colour drew whilst he was younger. It starts with a story of how Costa’s mother became worried that her son, António, would also be “a victim of racism” after a man at António Costa’s school referred to Costa as “the black”. She decided to talk to him, asking him what they called him at school and whether he had been referred to by any other name. According to the article, after his mother referred to him being called “the black”, Costa responded to his mother by asking “Oh mother, have you looked at me? Have you seen my colour? I really am black”. It then explains Costa’s family history, illustrating how he was the “son of a Portuguese from the metropolis, a white woman, and a Goan from Margão, India: António Costa, therefore, inherited phenotypic characteristics from his father, or rather, the colour of his skin is brown, as befits the people of India”.

The article then illustrates Costa’s claim that his success as a candidate “has nothing to do with breaking down racism in Portuguese politics”. In addition, the article posits how “this position of Costa is confirmed to the newspaper by the Goan anthropologist Jason Keith Fernandes” who affirms that “the victory of António Costa does not mean there is no racism”. He goes on to explain, alluding to the status of Goans in Portugal, that “to understand racism we must analyse how the Goans are treated as lower classes, where people don’t have power, where they are not special” as the underlying fact proposed by the article being that “the son of a Goan elite being candidate to prime minister does not alter anything in relation to racism in politics, or society in general”. The difference between the self-identification and perception of the Goan elite who arrived in Portugal before 1961 and the waves of migrants who arrived after, especially from the African colonies, are important points to note and points to a division within the Goan community in Portugal.

The article enters into an interesting discussion regarding the complex question of Goan over Indian self-identification. Who is considered ‘Goan’? Who is considered ‘Indian’? And what differentiates the different waves of migration to Portugal? For example, one researcher explains that for the Portuguese only the Goan elite are considered ‘Goan’: all others are considered Indian and that “after all, even the Goans do not see themselves as Indians”. She explains that the “other Indians who came to Portugal after decolonization from Mozambique were considered ‘*monhés*’”, a derogatory label. Goans’ self-identify as Portuguese and not Indians is also supported by a professor of anthropology who stresses that “the Goans distinguish themselves from all Indians” and that “Goans were Portuguese, they were not Indian” and if racism is predicated by colour, “the Goan was not seen as having a strange condition from the difference of skin colour”.

Similarly, an article in *Expresso*⁴⁰, *The darkie of the IMF* highlights the discussions regarding racial labels, slurs and name-calling in Portugal and underscores the issue of the still visible but little discussed issue of racism that is still prevalent. The general tone of the article is to point out that “Portugal is a racist country” and that it “has a long history of racism” and a “long history of negating this racism” thus making the comments of public figure who used the term ‘darkie’ to describe another public figure all the more problematic. The discussion was spurred by the statements made by Arménio Carlos, a trade union leader, who in using the metaphor of the wise kings to refer to the troika, referred to Abebe Selassie, the Ethiopian representative of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as ‘the darkie’.

⁴⁰ *Expresso*, 30.1.2013: O escurinho do FMI [The ‘darkie’ of the IMF].

The discussion of racial labels and racial slurs includes consideration of how some defending Arménio Carlos, tried “a slier argument” by asking “well, isn’t he the darkest one? What is the problem?”. The article then counteracts by trying to outline the problem of normalising the habit of politicians of referring to their adversaries in this way. It asks whether it should then be normal to refer to António Costa as “the *monhé*’ (because, well he is of Indian origin, isn’t he?)”. Again we see a reference to the Portuguese racial slur ‘*monhé*’ a derogatory label used to denote people from the Indian subcontinent, in the context of speaking about someone with Indian origin. The word is still in use (even if the journalist himself is not using this label) to describe Costa. In contrast, an article in the *Diário de Notícias*, *Many Indians are Successful in Portugal*,⁴¹ notes that “Portugal, a country that was colonial and that affirms itself as tolerant, may have, for the first time, a prime minister who is ‘not white’”.

The only article reporting on marriages of, between or including Indian nationals or PIO is an article in the *Correio de Manhã*, *Recording Weddings in Portugal*.⁴² It reports on a Hindu wedding ceremony “that lasted four days, which occurred under the precepts of the Hindu tradition, at the Radha Krishna Mandir temple, in Lisbon” that with “more than one thousand guests watching the celebration” it “was the biggest Hindu wedding ever held in Portugal” at the temple, which was founded in 1998. According to the article the wedding, “obeying the principles and the values of Hindu culture, ended with a banquet”. It goes on to describe the various stages of the wedding and the rituals involved such as “the exchange of traditional sweets, instead of rings, and the oaths, all seven of which the bride has to make whilst touching a sacred stone”. It ends by stating that “the ritual of the members of the Hindu community of Lisbon, is a generic form” and that of its members “most come from Mozambique, having emigrated to Portugal above all during the period of decolonization in Africa”. It is not clear what is meant in the article by the term “generic form”. Oddly, it concludes with the statement: “despite the fact that most guests are of Portuguese nationality, they consider themselves to be, above all, Hindus and Indians”.

8. Integration initiatives

Press reports on integration initiatives in Portugal focus heavily on the granting of citizenship and or nationality to Goan Indian national citizens, and the status of the Goan community in Portugal. The prevalent view appears to be that immigrants are generally perceived to be ‘Portuguese’, though what this entails is never specified. There is much written about the affinity of Indian immigrants for the country, even if they choose to leave Portugal for other European countries, emphasising that they feel themselves to be Portuguese. An anti-immigrant stance, an antagonistic tone towards Indian nationals or PIOs residing in Portugal is not evident, and if expressed is widely and quickly repudiated. In short, there is a distinctive desire in the press coverage to underscore the positive aspects of immigration and integration and for an all-embracing ‘Portugueseness’.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that there are concerns on the part of many Portuguese that the influence of Portugal and Lusitanian culture is waning in Goa, thus the prevalence of articles underscoring the efforts of cultural bodies such as the *Fundação Oriente* (the Orient Foundation) or the *Instituto Camões* in promoting Portuguese culture and reaffirming Portugal’s presence and links to Goa. The *Fundação Oriente* has a delegation based in Goa and “its general aims are to develop and continue the historical and cultural ties linking Portugal and the Orient, specifically China”.⁴³

⁴¹ *Diário de Notícias*, http://www.dn.pt/inicio/portugal/interior.aspx?content_id=4173861, 11/10/2014.

⁴² *Correio de Manhã*, 6.9.2004: Casamento recorde em Portugal [Record wedding in Portugal].

⁴³ See their website for more details: http://www.foriente.pt/110/goals-and-activity.htm#.VTO_ZWSqqko [Accessed 11 February 2015].

In regards to newly-arrived Indian migrants, especially those looking for work, there is a specific emphasis on the part of local authorities in instituting Portuguese language classes with the aim of integrating this new labour force. Generally, the articles are positive, as suggested by the choice of quotes from individuals of these local authorities or those who run these schemes, who appear to be welcoming. Indian nationals, it is suggested, arrive as work immigrants in areas in Portugal, which are under sourced in terms of labour and suffering from outmigration and depopulation: they are filling this vacuum to the benefit of the local economy.

8.1 Goan applications for Portuguese nationality

The granting of Portuguese nationality to Goan Indian nationals is widely reported by press agencies in Portugal. The articles are predominantly run with headlines giving the number of the Goan citizens granted Portuguese nationality: three newspaper articles calculate what the average number would amount to per day; these figures vary according to each article. It is not clear if this is meant to be a scaremongering tactic as the actual content of the articles do not reflect this. Rather, the approach is descriptive with figures and facts and an explanation of how Goans apply for Portuguese nationality. In accordance with Portuguese law that allows for the concession of nationality to Indian citizens born in the ex-Portuguese Indian territories, the *Antigo Estado da India*, namely Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, before 18 December 1961 (the date of occupation by the Indian Union) and their direct descendents. Those born after that date must prove that their parents were born in the *Antigo Estado da India* before 18 December 1961.

For example, the weekly online and right-leaning newspaper *Sol*, ran a headline in December 2013 with the caption *Six Goans a Day gain Portuguese Nationality*.⁴⁴ Citing from the Indian based newspaper the *Hindustan Times*, it is quoted that “an average of six Goans surrender their Indian nationality daily to acquire Portuguese nationality, a total of 11,500 in the last five years, according to the Indian electoral commission”. It then goes on to cite how according to their statistics, obtained by the newspaper in November, “Portugal conceded nationality to more than 27,000 descendants of national citizens born in Goa, Daman and Diu since 2007, an average of more than 12 a day”. It explains, that they must surrender their Indian citizenship and therefore “they lose their right to vote in India”, *Sol* cites from the *Hindustan Times*. In addition, it highlights how consulate general, António Sabido de Costa, “admitted that the increase in requests is overburdening the functionaries of the consulate, that has five attending desks and receives 150 to 200 users daily”.

An article in the *Correio de Manhã*, however, offers a different figure.⁴⁵ This article claims that “33,000 Indians are Portuguese” with “2,200 Goans obtaining a Portuguese passport in 2013” and suggests that “the number of citizens with a Portuguese passport continues to rise”. It briefly illustrates “passport requests on the existence of Portuguese descendants” and concludes by stating that “the search for better job opportunities in Europe is the main motive for a change of nationality”. In addition, RTP reports on Goan application for nationality that, while the local press reports a race to Portuguese nationality as a gateway to the European labour market, numbers have remained “stable in the order of two hundred (requests) per month”.⁴⁶

Moreover, the newspaper *Expresso*⁴⁷ included a similar article on 25 April 2014. Likewise, the *Diário de Notícias* published an article on 2 June 2014⁴⁸. It reports that “ten descendants of native

⁴⁴ *Sol*, 27.12.2013 : Seis goeses ganham nacionalidade portuguesa por dia [Six Goans a day gain Portuguese nationality].

⁴⁵ *Correio de Manhã*, 14.10.2013: 33 mil Indianos sao Portugueses [33,000 Indians are Portuguese].

⁴⁶ rtp.pt: 25.2.2013: Portugal concedeu nacionalidade a mais de 84 mil pessoas em 2012 [Portugal concedes nationality to more than 84,000 people in 2012].

⁴⁷ *Expresso*, 25.4.2014: Goa: Comunidade Portuguesa é sui generis [Portuguese Community is *sui generis*].

citizens of Goa, Daman and Diu obtained, on average Portuguese nationality, per day, during the last seven years according to official data supplied by the Institute of Registries and the Notary”. An article published by RTP the same 25 April 2014, *The Portuguese Community is “sui generis”*,⁴⁹ laments the waning influence of Portugal in the state of Goa. Moreover, it appears to question the motivations on the part of Goans in applying for Portuguese nationality as supposedly they feel little affinity to the country or display little aptitude for Lusitanian culture: these, it is implied, are the conditions for which nationality should be given. This article is the most negative in tone and the most critical in regards to the question of granting Portuguese nationality to Goans. Nevertheless, the article also claims Goans have a “veritable interest” in Portugal and thus there is cause for maintaining the link between the two countries.

This tone is reflected in a later article in RTP, *Motivations to learn Portuguese change with the times in Goa*, that reports on how the impetus to learn Portuguese in Goa has varied over time and how now, contemporary motivations are aimed at seeking “better opportunities inside or beyond borders”.⁵⁰ It emphasizes that a driving factor is that many Goans plan on applying for Portuguese nationality, “a motive for which it is considered ‘important’ to know the minimum [Portuguese]” and as one man interviewed for the article explains, “maybe it will help find a job”, especially in Brazil.

It is possible to trace, in these reports, concerns about Goan migration to Portugal: the use of certain words (e.g. ‘overburdening’); the choice to quote such high figures on a *per day* basis; and the questioning of why exactly Goan Indian nationals choose to opt for Portuguese nationality, i.e. to use Portugal as a gateway to Europe, or other Lusophone countries. There is the fear that Portuguese language schemes are a springboard to more economically advantageous destinations such as Brazil or Angola and not primarily a means to settle in Portugal.

Nevertheless, the evidence of a generally positive attitude towards immigration reported in the press articles is illustrated in an article in the *Correio de Manhã*, *Immigrants give face to a publicity campaign*.⁵¹ It highlights the aims of an “informative campaign about the advantages of a new law of Immigration presented, in Lisbon, by the Foreigners and Borders Service” for whom “immigrants of the most represented communities in Portugal will give real testimonies”. The publicity campaign under the theme ‘New Foreigners Law: Portugal better’ will be transmitted “in the press, television, radio, YouTube and leaflets” and “the campaign has as its principal target the main migrant flows to Portugal, designated as Brazilians, Africans, eastern Europeans, Chinese and Indians and intends on clarifying and sensitising the respective communities to the new advantages of the new immigration law”. As part of the new law “illegal foreign nationals can, as of Saturday, fill in a form online” or write to address “to try legalization”. The new immigration law went into effect 3 August 2007.

In a similar vein, the positive contributions of immigration are cited by RTP in an article captioned: *Immigrants make cities richer and more attractive*.⁵² The focus of this essay is the positive aspects of immigration and how “immigrants are a factor in the economic, cultural and political innovation in cities, and contribute to create, in Lisbon, new business opportunities that translate into offering ethnic choices that are bigger every time”. It emphasizes the Indian community in particular, as immigrants, have contributed positively to the Portuguese economy, citing, for example the positive contribution of

(Contd.) _____

⁴⁸ *Diário de Notícias*, 2.6.2014: Dez descendentes ganham por dia nacionalidade portuguesa [Ten descendants a day gain Portuguese nationality].

⁴⁹ rtp.pt, 25.4.2014: Comunidade portuguesa é “sui generis” [The Portuguese Community is “sui generis”].

⁵⁰ rtp.pt, 31.5.2014: Motivações para aprender português mudaram com os tempos [Motivations to learn Portuguese change with the times in Goa].

⁵¹ *Correio de Manhã*, 6.11.2007: Imigrantes dão cara por campanha publicitária [Immigrants give face to a publicity campaign].

⁵² rtp.pt, 27.4.2008: Imigrantes tornam as cidades mais ricas e atractivas [Immigrants make cities more rich and attractive].

“ethnic entrepreneurship in Portugal” due to the fact that “immigration in the public sphere is still associated with negative aspects and precariousness in housing, unfavourable socio-economic conditions or criminality” and so “it is worth changing this focus”. Consequently, the article singles out the Indian immigrant community citing that those “who have had a very positive economic insertion” are “nominally the Indians and the Chinese”. It does not go into detail as to why, nor does it mention the specific commercial activities or sectors of the economy in which Indian or Chinese immigrants are involved. The economic factor is further underscored by the fact that “a rejuvenation of the demographic pyramid” by immigration “injects young manpower into Portuguese society”.

8.2 Portuguese Language Schemes

Portuguese language learning schemes are viewed as an important way to integrate migrants and are to be found across the country.

An article in *Correio de Manhã* from 2007, *The future Portuguese*⁵³, analyses the *Língua Portuguesa*, the Portuguese Language program that aims to teach immigrants the Portuguese language in order to fulfil one of the prerequisites for the concession of Portuguese nationality. However, it is also considered to be an integral part of a wider integration program for immigrants. The program is vetted and supported by the government and exams are held at a number of centres around the country. Applicants are required to pay for an inscription fee and the cost of the exams themselves; the law states that a successful applicant for Portuguese nationality must acquire a level of A2 (initial certificate in Portuguese as a foreign language) or higher. According to the article, in 2007 more than 3500 immigrants were taught in over 71 schools all over the country.

The article quotes Helena Rodrigues, president of the executive council for one of the schools, the Marquesa de Alorna, an institution next door to a mosque in Lisbon where 118 of 168 students are immigrants. She states that “we have a lot of pleasure in opening the doors on Saturday and receiving whoever wants to be a Portuguese citizen”. According to the article, “of the 168 enrollees in Marques de Alorna, the biggest part come from Asia or Africa” and as there are “33 Indians” they form the most visible nationality represented. As part of the article, an Indian immigrant, “Imohammed Akmal, 37 years old, (India)” who “left India at 30 years old to look for a better life”. He is quoted as saying that “it is easier to have a job” if you speak the language and that “in Lisbon, the employers give preference to those who are Portuguese”. “I will go to a job interview and they tell me after the interview, that if there were Portuguese candidates they would choose them”. In short, for job purposes “with Portuguese nationality, it is much easier to handle issues with the banks and to find employment”.

In addition, there is an article in RTP, *Immigrants learn the Portuguese language and culture for better integration*⁵⁴. It reports on the initiative by the local municipality of Mogadouro, in the Trás-os-Montes region in the north-east of the country close to the border with Spain, with a population of less than 10,000 people, to teach Portuguese language and culture to a group of immigrants in order for them to integrate better. “A group of 14 Pakistani, Indian and Chinese immigrants rooted in the municipality of Mogadouro today start learning Portuguese, an initiative of the local Municipality, for better integration”. “For many years that the presence of immigrants of these nationalities is visible in this council of the district of Bragança” and according to the vice-president of the municipality, “the biggest barrier to integration is found at the linguistic and cultural level”, which led the “municipality to decide to progress with this initiative”. As part of the initiative, “the group will learn Portuguese language and culture in a course of 150 hours, in the framework of the Portugal Welcomes Programme for a professional social inclusion of immigrants”. The initiative is supported by a collaboration with

⁵³ *Correio de Manhã*, 15.4.2007: Os futuros portugueses [The future Portuguese].

⁵⁴ rtp.pt, 29.5.2007: Imigrantes aprendem língua e cultura portuguesa para melhor integração [Immigrants learn the Portuguese language and culture for better integration].

the ‘Institute of Work and Professional Training’, which, according to the vice-president of the municipality, will act as “the first step for a better insertion of these immigrants who chose the region in which to live and work”.

According to the article, the vice-president is supportive of immigration. He believes, that education projects will contribute to “people not leaving the region, which will help in some way, to reverse desertification” a phenomenon “suffered by Mogadouro and the rest of the interior regions”. The term ‘desertification’ refers to the depopulation of the region as the local population moves out. It is implied that “these and other immigrants have found work in a region where natives have left for other destinations in search of better life conditions and where unemployment is above the national average” a phenomenon which first started in 1960s when many *transmontanos* began to emigrate to other countries, most notably France. As such, these immigrants are said to have filled the void and to perform crucial task as “they do the work that locals do not want to do, above all in civil construction and public works, manual and heavy labour, for which there is no more manpower available in the region” according to the vice-president of the municipality of Mogadouro.

Similarly, an article written in 2010 in the *Correio de Manhã* illustrates the complete integration of, and positive reception towards, Indian immigrants in a Lisbon neighbourhood, whilst also highlighting the role of a local school in instituting a Portuguese language-learning program. It reports on the “four corners of the world living and cohabitating in the corridors of the Babylonian Shopping Centre in Amadora”, a neighbourhood on the outskirts of Lisbon: the article writers goes on to suggest that “miscellany pushes integration”. Concomitantly, Indian immigrants are, it is suggested, enthusiastic and complimentary of Portugal, quoting a man called “Paul Nihar, who came from India 6 years ago” who states that “here it is nice” as “almost everyone came from outside” “there are Africans, Brazilians, Chinese, Pakistanis – you see few Portuguese – but it is a big family” and an another Indian “Dilwar Chand” who “cannot hide his pride at opening a new shop”, a testament to him being able to fulfil “all his dreams and aspirations in Portugal”.

According to the article, the “Indian community constitutes the first wave of outsiders in the centre” and those who arrive “are mainly men and single” and “here, form families, within their ethnicity and forget plans to return”. It paints a picture of harmony between the different communities and cites the example of “Prem, also from India who is one of the most popular of the Indian shop owners in the centre” who “sells mobiles right beside the Croissant Dourado, one of the few shops of the (original) Babylon” and whose owner “‘Portuguesified’ his name” calling him “the ‘Primo’, Portuguese for cousin”. In addition, the article illustrates the attempts on the part of the local authorities to integrate new communities; the municipal council of Amadora is quoted as stressing “that we work with a series of institutions whose objectives are to improve the quality of life of everyone who live here” and that “the bet of the Council is on education, especially at the pre-school level and with the program New Opportunities”.

Two articles (RTP, *Many Luso-Indians resident in Portugal are emigrating to England*⁵⁵ and *Correio de Manhã, Emigration hits the Luso-Indians*) are not concerned specifically with integration initiatives. But they are useful in highlighting a ‘Luso-Indian’ community and touch upon the movements of Indian migrants to and from the country.⁵⁶ Like the previous articles they describe a well integrated Portuguese society, with *Correio de Manhã* illustrating that “Goans and Gujaratis who form the biggest group people of Indian origin residing in Portugal are well integrated in the country”.

Interestingly, research stresses that the Portuguese of Indian origin are “not considered an ‘ethnic minority’ but a ‘religious minority’”. However, RTP, in painting a picture of an exodus of people from the ‘Hindu community’ in Portugal who are leaving explains how “many Luso-Indians in Portugal are

⁵⁵ rtp.pt: 7.1.2007: Muitos luso-indianos residentes em Portugal estão a emigrar para Inglaterra [Many Luso-Indians resident in Portugal are emigrating to England].

⁵⁶ *Correio de Manhã*, 8.1.2007: Emigração atinge os luso-indianos [Emigration hits Luso-Indians].

beginning a new route of emigration and are heading towards England, but despite a change in country they continue to feel Portuguese”. According to the articles, though “there are no statistics on the number of people of Indian origin that live in Portugal, the majority have Portuguese nationality and the Hindu community is emptying due to the significant numbers exiting for England”. It is not clear why they choose to emphasise a ‘Hindu community’ or what they actually mean by a ‘Hindu community’. Nevertheless, both affirm that that “the Luso-Indians that are leaving the country feel Portuguese” and have “Portugal as their homeland” and that “in England, they identify themselves as Portuguese of Indian origin and have the objective of returning to Portugal some day”. Indeed, the idea that the Luso-Indian emigrants in question “feel Portuguese” is very strongly emphasised. For example, it is described that “many people when they receive their first pay check in England went to dinner in a Portuguese restaurant” and that “many Portuguese of Indian origin have Portuguese nationality and they do not know India”. According to the RTP article, the main reason for this out migration is due to the fact that “Luso-Indians worked in Portugal in civil construction, and with the arrival of immigrants from the East, the work started to dry up”.

In addition, though “there does not exist data, the Indian Embassy in Portugal estimates that there are around 60,000 people from India living in Portugal, including 7,000 with an Indian passport” and “according to the embassy, the majority are concentrated in Lisbon and Porto and are dedicated to commerce and civil construction”. Earlier migration and the profile of immigrants are also illustrated by this article according to which migration “grew in the nineties when immigrants drawn from the Indian province of Punjab began to arrive in Portugal, and they were essentially fixed in the region of Lisbon and the Algarve, where they work both in civil construction and commerce”. In addition, the history of Indian migration to Portugal is broken down into two waves: the first wave of immigrants originated during the Portuguese occupation in Goa, Daman and Diu during which it was mainly “elites which came to study in Portugal”. At present, “there are around 10,000 Goans living in Portugal” and the “second flux arrived in Portugal after the 25 April 1974, with the arrival of those originating from the Indian province of Gujarat who had established themselves in Mozambique”. It is only after this date that the presence of people of Indian origin is “clearly visible”. The article also summarises the religious profiles of “the Indian community in Portugal”, which “includes Hindus, Catholics, Muslims, Ismailis and Sikhs”.

In addition, an earlier article by RTP, *A journey through the many worlds that cross in these two kilometres and a half of Lisbon, Avenida Almirante Reis*⁵⁷ is to promote a television program that focuses on the Avenida Almirante Reis, a major road in Lisbon: “surely the most multicultural artery in the country”. It stresses how “at any hour of the day you meet here with Chinese, Africans, Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Brazilians, Eastern Europeans ... and even Portuguese”. It explains that the diversity “is not just ethnic, but also social” as the road is “poor and degraded, habituated by old people and immigrants and overshadowed by the stigma of ‘soup kitchens of the poor’”. The article states that the documentary *This is our road* seeks to ‘discover’ “what they think of the ‘Other’ – the ‘Other’ who live right by their side on the Avenida”.

An opinion piece published in the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* also comments on the demographic and racial profile of those living in a local neighbourhood in Lisbon. The author is relatively ignorant about the Indian immigrant community in her neighbourhood, but she nevertheless strikes a positive note. For example, she states that she “likes to pass by the Indian shops, they understanding and not understanding me with difficulty” and illustrates how “one is from Gujarat, the other from Punjab, a third from New Delhi, but this they only told me after I asked them if they came from Pakistan. But we stayed on good terms at the end of the conversation”. She concludes by stating

⁵⁷ RTP 2009: *Este é a nossa rua. Uma viagem pelos muitos mundos que se cruzam nestes dois quilómetros e meio de Lisboa, Avenida Almirante Reis* [*This is our street. A journey through the many worlds that cross in these two kilometres and a half of Lisbon, Avenida Almirante Reis*], available on: <http://www.rtp.pt/play/p240/esta-e-a-nossa-rua> [Accessed 2 February 2015].

that “all these people are of the Lisbon of the twenty-first century” and asks “does a city lose its identity when it opens its arms to those who come from outside”: to which she answers “it doesn’t lose, no, it has so much to gain”.

In a similar vein, there appears to be initiatives on the part of local anti-racism associations and groups representing immigrant interests and rights, which bring the local population into contact with diverse immigrant communities. According to an article in 2006 in the *Correio de Manhã*, *Party against Racism in Lisbon*⁵⁸, reporting on an anti-racism event, “Indians, Africans, Brazilians, Gypsies and Europeans will join together in Martim Moniz, in Lisbon, to celebrate ethnic and cultural diversity” with “more than 30 associations linked to immigration, anti-racism and the defence of human rights participating in the sixth edition of the Party of Diversity, an initiative organized by the Anti-Racism network”. Similarly, an article in the *Correio de Manhã*: “The SEF of Porto complicates our lives” reports on a demonstration “mainly by Maghrebians, Pakistanis and Indians” in a protest that “united about 50 people, from various Portuguese organizations and resident immigrants in Portugal” against the SEF in Porto.⁵⁹

Efforts to integrate and counteract racial stereotypes of Indian citizens residing in Portugal are also present in a controversy that ensued as a result of a series of derogatory comments made by the head of the Regional Government of Madeira. An article in RTP, *SOS Racism files a complaint against Jardim*, focuses on the backlash against the inflammatory comments made by Alberto João Jardim aimed at Indian, Chinese and ‘Eastern’ migrants to the region in 2005: these provoked widespread criticisms and generated a lot of press attention.⁶⁰ João Jardim stated that: “Portugal is subject to competition from countries outside of Europe, the Chinese are entering there, the Indians are entering there, and the countries of the East are causing competition for Portugal”. It was widely interpreted that these statements showed that he clearly “opposed the entry of Chinese and Indians immigrants to the archipelago”. The Association of Immigrants, for example, condemned Jardim’s “xenophobic” statements as reported in article by RTP.⁶¹ It quotes the *Liga dos Chineses* [League of the Chinese] in Portugal and the President of *Solidariedade Imigrante* [Immigrant Solidarity], but there does not appear to be any reports of condemnations from the Indian community or Indian associations such as SEVA.

9. Religion

There appears to be little to no reporting on the religious profiles of Indian nationals or PIOs resident in Portugal, or articles that specifically discuss Sikhism, Indian Islam, Indian Christianity or Hinduism. The only article that concerns a specific religious community and which mentions Indians as forming part of this community is an article in RTP, *Muslims in Portugal, one year of work, one book and many lives*.⁶² The idea, reports the article, that “Muslims are people with a ‘Koran in their hand and a fanatical look’ are completely false”. This is part of an event to promote the book *Muslims in Portugal* by the journalist Alexandra Prado Coelho. Although concerned with ‘Muslims’ in general, the author focuses on “Muslims who arrived in Portugal from the ex-colonies, after the 25 April 1974”

⁵⁸ *Correio de Manhã*, 16.6.2006: Festa contra o racismo em Lisboa [Party against racism in Lisbon].

⁵⁹ *Correio de Manhã*, 25.6.2006: O SEF do Porto complica-nos a vida [The SEF of Porto complicates our life].

⁶⁰ rtp.pt, 6.7.2005: SOS Racismo apresenta queixa contra Jardim [SOS Racism files a complaint against Jardim].

⁶¹ rtp.pt, 4.7.2005: Frente Anti-Racista apela ao respeito pela Constituição [Anti-Racist Front appeals for respect of the Constitution].

⁶² rtp.pt, 5.6.2005: “Muçulmanos em Portugal”, um ano de trabalho, um livro e muitas vidas [“Muslims in Portugal”, one year of work, one book and many lives].

but also those who came “from Bangladesh and Pakistan without any cultural or linguistic affinities”.⁶³ The idea of successful integration is once again at the forefront, as the report concludes that “the Muslim community is completely integrated in Portuguese society, even with different cultural traditions and linguistic differences”. The author gives an example of “Indians who lived in Mozambique” who “after the 25 April” arrived in Portugal. The question of integration is almost redundant because according to her “they feel Portuguese, just like their children”. Moreover, she recognises that “even in the recent immigrant waves, despite the difficulties of the language and strong links to their countries of origin, they are well integrated” and “even their children are already fans of Portuguese soap operas”.

The role of the Archbishop of Goa and Daman, Filipe Néri Ferrão who presided over the last big pilgrimage of the year at the Sanctuary of Fatima, was mentioned in an article published by RTP: *The Archbishop of Goa and Daman presides over the last great pilgrimage of the year of the sanctuary*⁶⁴ (11 October 2014). The article notes how the archbishop “affirmed that Catholicism in India is flourishing” and “though less than 3% of the total population are Catholic, there are more than 20,000 Catholics, 95% frequent the church” and that “our seminaries do not close and our priests are helping many churches in Europe”. The article is keen to emphasise Goa and Daman as “old Portuguese colonies” when referring to the archbishop and his comments regarding the persecution of religious minorities.

The only article that discusses the treatment of the Sikh community in Portugal are two articles, one in the *Correio de Manhã* and one in RTP, concerning a protest of Indian immigrants outside the Indian embassy in Lisbon. However, the reports are not concerned with how Sikhs are treated or received in Portugal by the Portuguese. Rather, the Indian embassy and consulate authorities in Lisbon are accused of abusing members of the Sikh community. Nevertheless, it elaborates on the condition and status of many Indian immigrants in Portugal and notes the existence of an Indian humanist association SEVA but unfortunately, neither article gives any further information on the association. Both articles report on the peaceful protest of 300 Indians who congregated at the embassy to reclaim documents “and who will protest for the first time in front of the Indian embassy demanding passports for all those undocumented who ‘suffer daily injustices’ by living clandestinely in Portugal”.⁶⁵

The article notes, that according to the president of SEVA, this “very grave” issue has largely gone unnoticed due to the “reduced visibility of Indians due to their discreet behaviour” explaining that “Indians have never protested in Portugal” but that “more than a thousand people are in this situation”. Furthermore, he stresses that “beyond the illegal situation in which they live, these immigrants are easy targets for exploitation” and that “almost all have been exploited” as “there is a tendency to take advantage when a person is undocumented”. However, according to the president, “on average, the case assumes graver proportions when the people involved are from a completely different culture and language”. This is the only article to fully reflect on the fact that cultural and linguistic differences may be barriers to integration and to suggest that Indians in Portugal still face problems as a result. For example, he refers to “cultural habits such as clothing” especially within the Sikh community in Portugal, stressing that no matter how much “effort they make at integration” no “restaurant is going to accept a waiter with a turban and a half metre beard”. The article also gives an explanation of who the Sikhs are. The article in the *Correio de Manhã*, *Indians protest against discrimination*, also reports on the same event, highlighting the treatment of the Sikh community in particular, quoting Khalsa who

⁶³ 25 April 1974 is highlighted as this was the date of the Carnation Revolution, which overthrew the dictatorship and began the withdrawal of Portugal from its African colonies.

⁶⁴ rtp.pt, 11.10.2014: Arcebispo de Goa e Damão preside à última grande peregrinação do ano ao santuário [Archbishop of Goa, Daman presides over the last great pilgrimage of the year of the sanctuary].

⁶⁵ rtp.pt, 29.8.2007: Cerca de 300 indianos em vigília junto à embaixada para reclamar documentos [Around 300 Indians in vigil congregate at the embassy to reclaim documents].

“accused the Indian embassy, this Thursday, of discriminating against the members of the Sikh religious community by not issuing them passports”.⁶⁶

General conclusions

In sum, the media portrayal of Indian communities in Portugal remains largely descriptive and is fairly neutral in tone. Indeed, where Indian nationals or PIOs are mentioned, the articles offer little in the way of in depth analysis and the reader is often left with a superficial and sometimes one dimensional view, especially in articles concerning culture and religion. The articles are almost always approached from the Portuguese perspective, for example, looking at how the prospects of economic partnership with Indians would benefit Portugal or what the general impact of immigration has meant for the country. This ‘Luso-centric’ approach is especially true in the case of articles focusing on business and integration. Nevertheless, there is widespread consensus that immigration and the diversity is positive and, as one article noted, “enriching”.

Thus, articles dealing specifically with Indian nationals, PIOs or migrant communities are very rare: what we do have tends to be additional material to the overall article rather than being the specific focus. Indicative of this is, is the fact that in most of the articles concerning migration or labour initiatives, Indian immigrants are almost always grouped under the general ‘immigrant’ category and listed alongside other migrant groups to form the basis of general articles on immigration or racism. Nevertheless, when mentioned the overall tone is positive and welcoming, with a distinctive emphasis on proactive integration. The sweeping claims in the articles stressing complete integration and assimilation are indicative of the need to stress first and foremost the sense of being Portuguese: e.g., those articles which proposed the idea that Indians with Portuguese nationality ‘feel’ Portuguese even after leaving Portugal; or the emphasis on Goan efforts to retain their Luso heritage; or, for that matter, the successful integration of South Indian Muslims.

To conclude, the fact that Portugal is still home to, not including Goans, a relatively small Indian immigrant population coupled with the fact that wider Indian cultural and socio-religious influences and elements are still quite new, is reflected in the press coverage. Understandably, given the historical link, the Goan and Luso-Indian connection is given much weight in the media. In light of this, perhaps it would be useful to repeat this exercise at a later date to gauge if there is any change in the reporting and to assess the status of Indian nationals and PIOs in Portugal.

⁶⁶ *Correio de Manhã*, 30.8.2007: Indianos protestam contra discriminação [Indians protest against discrimination].

Appendix of newspapers and news agencies

Correio de Manhã: a daily right-wing newspaper founded in 2009 and published in Lisbon. Its circulation was reported as 110,442 in 2013. It is one of the most read newspapers in Portugal and has a populist stance. It is known for its attention-grabbing headlines and content that focuses mainly on crimes and scandals. Website: <http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt>

Diário de Notícias: a centrist daily newspaper founded in 1864 and published in Lisbon. Its circulation was reported as 29,054 copies in 2012. Website: <http://www.dn.pt>

Expresso: a centre-right weekly newspaper founded in 1973 and published in Lisbon. Its circulation was reported as 93,707 in 2013. It is known for its editorial independence and sharp political reporting. Website: <http://expresso.sapo.pt>

i: ‘*i*’ stands for *informação* [information]. It is a centrist daily newspaper founded in 2009 and published in Lisbon. Its circulation was reported as 6,044 copies in 2012. It has a condensed style, with short reports much like *Metro* in the United Kingdom. Website: www.ionline.pt

Lusa, Agência de Notícias de Portugal: is the sole national Portuguese national news agency. It gathers, processes, distributes and produces news articles for national and international media organisations and public and private sector organisations. It is half owned by the Portuguese state.

Público: is a centre-left daily newspaper founded in 1990 and published in Lisbon and Porto. Its circulation reportedly stood at 28,360 in 2013. Website: <http://www.publico.pt>

RTP (*Rádio e Televisão de Portugal*): founded in 1935, Radio and Television of Portugal is one of Portugal’s biggest public broadcasting organization with four television channels, three national radio channels and news and press articles on its websites. It is a state-owned corporation funded by television advertising revenues, government grants and the audiovisual contribution tax, which is incorporated into electricity bills. It is akin to the BBC in the United Kingdom. It receives the bulk of its press articles from LUSA, Agência de Notícias de Portugal.

Sol: a centre-right weekly newspaper founded in 2006 and published in Lisbon. Its political orientation is centre-right and its circulation was reportedly 33,089 in 2011.

TSF: is a Portuguese radio station founded in 1989 and broadcast from Lisbon. It is one of the three main Portuguese radio news stations and its programs are dominated by the news.

Media sources

Correio de Manhã, 06.09.2004: Casamento recorde em Portugal [Record wedding in Portugal] [online], available on: <http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/nacional/portugal/detalhe/casamento-recorde-em-portugal.html> [Accessed 21 February 2015]

Correio de Manhã, 21.3.2005: Imigrantes querem acesso a legalização [Immigrants want access to legalization] [online], available on: <http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/nacional/portugal/detalhe/imigrantes-querem-acesso-a-legalizacao.html> [Accessed 25 February 2015]

Correio de Manhã, 14.7.2005: Descoberta pista de Lisboa [Discovery of a pista of Lisbon] [online], available on: <http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/exclusivos/detalhe/descoberta-pista-de-lisboa.html> [Accessed 25 February 2015]

Correio de Manhã, 14.7.2005: SEF desmente pista de Lisboa [SEF dismantles pista of Lisbon] [online], available on: http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/cm_ao_minuto/detalhe/sef-desmente-pista-de-lisboa.html [Accessed 25 February 2015]

Correio de Manhã, 16.6.2006: Festa contra o racismo em Lisboa [Party against racism in Lisbon] [online], available on: <http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/nacional/portugal/detalhe/festa-contra-o-racismo-em-lisboa.html> [Accessed 21 February 2015]

Correio de Manhã, 25.6.2006: O SEF do Porto complica-nos a vida [The SEF of Porto complicates our life] [online], available on: <http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/nacional/portugal/detalhe/o-sef-do-porto-complica-nos-a-vida.html> [Accessed 21 February 2015]

Correio de Manhã, 8.1.2007: Emigração atinge os luso-indianos [Emigration hits Luso-Indians] [online], available on: <http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/nacional/politica/detalhe/emigracao-atinge-os-luso-indianos.html> [Accessed 21 February 2015]

Correio de Manhã, 16.1.2007: Cavaco destaca espírito de inovação da Índia [Cavaco celebrates Indian spirit of innovation] [online], available on: http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/cm_ao_minuto/detalhe/cavaco-destaca-espírito-de-inovacao-da-india.html [Accessed 21 February 2015]

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