"A vida dos Moçambicanos é a Vida de Convivência" ["The Life of Mozambicans is Life of Conviviality"] Exploring Conviviality of Afro-Mozambicans in Lisbon, Portugal

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Invitation

Sometimes, I find myself suddenly questioning the meaning of my life. My existence is too small, whereas this world is too massive. I don't know how to locate myself in this world. While I am reading some articles for my course work, for example, this helpless wonder traps me, such as, "what I am doing this for?" "Many of my friends have already started to 'work'. How can I just sit here reading articles and books?" "What do I want to do with my life? Well … what is the meaning of life?" These thoughts hold me behind tightly, and my body cannot move forward.

I believe that many of you have gone through similar experiences. How do you overcome them? The solution varies for each person or situation, but sometimes the solution itself approaches you, and you just let yourself go with the flow. For instance, when one of your friends visits you and says, "What's your plan for tonight? Let's hang out and have dinner together somewhere!" you begin to feel calm and relief and even motivation to finish your work. It illuminates a direction in which you should be heading. This feeling is not something that resolves your feeling of helplessness, yet it equips you with a little strength to overcome the situation. One of my friends told me, "In order to get independent, you have to be connected to others, but at the same time, you have to be cut by a piece of paper." In other words, we cannot live and move forward completely alone but with connections to others, even though it sounds like a paradox.

Looking back at my life, I see that I have been constantly thinking about human relationships. They bring you joy, happiness, and the feeling of having meaning in your life. However, they can just as easily turn out to be bad and toxic and throw extreme feelings of sadness and loneliness at you. Humans are born to be alone but that we cannot survive in isolation from one another. We cannot deny that we have a desire to become a part of something, consciously or unconsciously. This desire drives us to seek, hold and love friends, partners, family, communities, and so on. We might call this a desire for a sense of belonging or identity, but I am not confident enough to use those terms yet. For me, it is something more real than these terms, it is a feeling of relief, happiness, or the feeling that I'm okay. It gives me space away from the flood of anxieties and helplessness, and it allows me to relax a little and think about myself, and

then I can move forward again. I believe that our lives are full of these little encouragements, which exist between people just like small bubbles, influencing everyone. Without these small bubbles, we might not be able to survive in this massive world.

Figure 1

Map of Lisbon
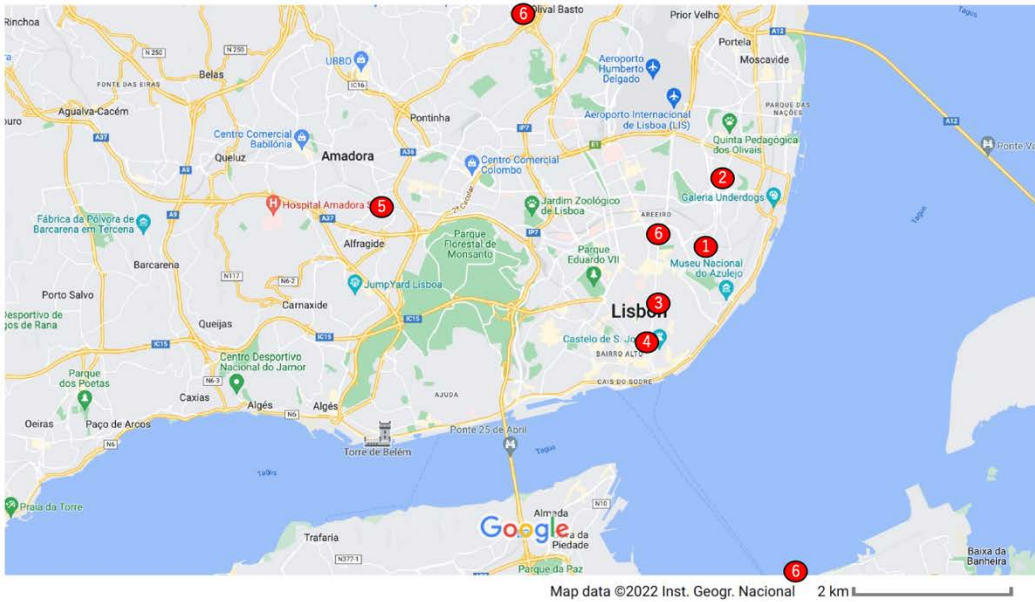
1. Olaias
2. Chelas
3. Anjos
4. The square of São Domingos
5. Cova da Moura
6. Odivelas
7. Barreiro
8. Alameda

Figure 2

Map of Mozambique

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1. Introduction

1.1 Overall Introduction – *"A vida dos Moçambicanos é a vida de convivência (Life of Mozambicans is life of conviviality)"*-

One day in 2018, when I was in Mozambique as an exchange student at Eduardo Mondlane University, I was sitting in the back of a truck with four or five Mozambican friends. We needed to collect many things, such as tents, pillars, chairs, many plates, and drinks…. It was all for my friend's Lobolo, a marriage ceremony. Along the way, we passed by a kiosk, bought a bottle of wine and plastic cups, and started drinking on the truck bed. We took turns pouring wine into our cups. When it was my turn, I thought that it would impossible to pour it without spilling it. The truck had already set off, the road was not paved well, and the truck was shaking. In the end, as expected, I spilled the wine. One of my friends immediately laughed, "Não tens ideia!" ["You don't have a clue!"]. I must say, I was very impressed by his words because if I were him, I would not have used the same expression. If I were in his shoes, what would I say? Perhaps "Never mind! It is what it is. The truck was too unstable" or "Hey, don't waste wine! (laughing)"? Anyway, I would not come up with any words to encourage me to think harder about successfully pouring wine.

Although this is just an example of one of the many micro-experiences I had in Maputo, it was impressive enough for me to think, "I want to live like them". The Mozambicans that I met simply looked "cool" in my eyes. Their life seemed as if they knew what they wanted to do and were always heading towards achieving it, actively taming the surrounding environment. The Mozambicans I met in Maputo always seemed to have something they wanted to achieve, from little things, such as haing some beer that night, to big things like opening a bar in their house. Moving their arms and legs, it seemed that they were always heading in the direction that they wanted to go. One of my Mozambican friends once said to me:

> "Não sei, mas os moçambicanos têm sempre esperança. Quando acordamos, mesmo que não tenhamos nada para fazer, mas vamos para o centro da cidade. Se formos à cidade, podemos encontrar alguém ou oportunidade de conseguir o emprego ou não sei. Mas sim, mantemos sempre a esperança." ["I don't know,

but Mozambicans always have hope. When we wake up, even if we have nothing to do, we go to the city centre. If we go to the city, we might find someone or an opportunity to get a job or I don't know. But yes, we always keep hope."]

It led me to wonder how I could live like Mozambicans that I met engaging in my life. At the same time, I started to reflect on myself. Why was I was so obsessed with their way of life? I found a possible reason in my background as a person who was raised in Japan. In Japan, the difficulty of defining ourselves and setting goals in life is a broader social problem. The Satori (悟り) Generation is a label for Japanese Millennials which means they lack ambition, are risk-averse and are detached from the material aspect of life (Nae, 2017), and seems to represent my concern well. As members of this generation we have tried to solve the issue of identity by abandoning the struggle to define who we are and pushing ourselves to be the people that society expects us to be instead.

Some scholars' theories equipped me with another perspective on this issue: losing communities to modernisation. American sociologist Richard Sennett (1992) pointed out that, along with urbanisation, mass-production and mass-consumption societies have promoted the detachment of people from the communities which had previously provided them with social codes and identities. Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2001) described this postmodern society as "liquid modernity." Meaning, the current privatisation of society, based on capitalist models, has promoted further individualism and feelings of uncertainty. Defining ourselves is getting more complicated in an era of "liquid modernity" and individualism.

This thought invited me to explore *Ubuntu*, an African philosophy, and means "I am because you are" (Nyamnjoh, 2019, p.1), as a counter-narrative. Cameroonian anthropologist, Nyamnjoh (2019, p.1) argues, "Ubuntu encourages a definition and understanding of individuals primarily through their relationships with others rather than by their status as discrete individuals". His explanation of Ubuntu fits what I felt during my stay in Mozambique and drives me to explore the feeling of conviviality among the Mozambicans.

Fieldwork in Lisbon

Covid-19, unfortunately or fortunately, changed my initial research plan and, due to university regulations, I conducted fieldwork in Lisbon, Portugal rather than Maputo, Mozambique. Thus, I decided to focus on Mozambican migrants in Lisbon to explore their feelings related to their conviviality. However, at first, I doubted whether "the feeling of conviviality" could really be my research topic because it had appeared from my personal experiences and feelings. I could not deny that I had been idealising my memories of 2018. My research interest ran the risk of just reproducing my ideal "Mozambicans," which was something that I really did not want to do.

However, at the same time, I could not start my research on any basis other than the concrete experiences and feelings that had made me want to become like the Mozambicans that I met in Maputo. If I had cloaked my research interest in other terms, such as identity or sense of belonging, I would have felt that I was merely creating another abstract field of research in my head and merely doing research within that field whilst ignoring the space where Mozambican lives exist as it is. I felt that it would be disrespectful to them, and also, I would never be able to approach my pure interest/research interest, which was wanting to live like the people from my memories from 2018. Furthermore, there has been one phrase that remained in my heart since we learnt about decolonisation in our course, which is:

> "*The issue here is that participation and action alone do not count as decolonisation because what indigenous people have suffered is not necessarily lack of participation or action but a fortiori the space to (re) make and define their world; they haven't necessarily suffered inaction but more emphatically the space for poesies*" (Nhemachena, 2016, p. 24)

If Africa has been a place where the room to define itself by insiders has been deprived by outsiders, my research must avoid it. To avoid repeating this problem, my research question should have consisted of Mozambicans' own words.

Thus, my research should start with my own words and impressions, which should then be reformulated by Mozambicans and put into their words, so as not to deprive them of their space. I realised that my research must be a process that deconstructs my initial impressions from 2018 and reconstructs them in the words of Mozambicans through a constant back-and-forth between my analysis in the words of an "outsider" and the words of Mozambican "insiders." Therefore, I started to recount my experiences from 2018 and my thoughts about them to Afro-Mozambican migrants in Lisbon while trying to gather their own words in response to the same.

While in this phase, I came across various expressions that rephrased what I had felt in Maputo in 2018. For instance, one of the Afro-Mozambicans that I met said as follows:

> "*We experience many difficulties in Portugal, such as registration, documentation, and so on. What would you do when you face them, Munyu[1]? I would call my friends on the telephone. They might tell me to go to the Mozambican embassy in Portugal. Of course, I know that I must go there. But the important thing is not just getting a solution but also feeling that you are okay, you are not alone and you can solve this.*"

His words verbalised how I really wanted to approach my research. As I described with the example of small bubbles in the invitation, people are always interacting with others, but we sense it sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously. We sense the interactions as feelings and the feelings sometimes softly drives us to move forward.

In addition, during we a house party among Mozambicans, one person expressed another viewpoint, which was that "A vida dos Moçambicanos é a vida de convivência" ["The life of Mozambicans is life of conviviality"]. They repeatedly explained to me how important it was for them to live with others using different expressions. Those

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[1] Ntaluma, who I call "Mozambican dad" gave me the Mozambican name, Munyu which means salt in Makonde, one of the local languages in Cabo Delgado in northern Mozambique. He named me Munyu because my Japanese family name partially means salt. During my fieldwork, most of Afro-Mozambicans that I met called me this name.

words assured me that I could still pursue what I had felt in 2018 in a form of research and guided me to explore Mozambican conviviality. It led me to explore how "convivência" appears in the minds of Afro-Mozambicans and how it has resulted in the formation of a community in the context of Lisbon.

1.2 Theoretical Background

This thesis primarily aims to explore conviviality among Afro-Mozambican migrants in Lisbon, Portugal, in combination with perspectives of daily reciprocity. It shall also discuss how conviviality intertwines with the context in Lisbon and results in the formation of a community in a place where the existence of the community is hardly visible to 'outsiders'.

By drawing from my lived experiences this thesis will take a close look at the lives Afro-Mozambicans and will conclude with a discussion about the importance of "being with other" in terms of conviviality, which the author feels is particularly relevant in this era which tends towards "living with others."

1.2.1 Conviviality

Conviviality has been used as an analytical tool to explore under what conditions people can create modes of togetherness and have a "capacity to live together" (Wise&Noble, 2016, p. 423). According to Wise and Noble, various socio-cultural arguments could be considered as discussions about conviviality. For instance, Durkheim's discussions about the "division of labour" and Marcel Mauss's "Gift theory" (Wise&Noble, 2016, p. 423). In particular, this theory has been applied to the critical analysis of industrialised society and has been used to explore the possibility of realising a convivial society. Ivan Illich was one of the first scholars to use this term, and he applied this theory to draw attention to the division happening in western industrialized society (Illich, 1973). The division could be found between institutions which hold the means of production and people who just consume its products. He asserted the importance of deconstructing the ways technology in the industry is used and employing convivial approaches to make a more democratised society. Whereas British sociologist Paul Gilroy used this term to draw attention to the everyday aspects of conviviality which at this time concern its politicisation (Gilroy, 2005). Gilroy chose the term conviviality carefully, but other terms, namely multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, also refer to the condition of togetherness. However, Gilroy found

these terms problematic because they are based on fixed categorisations, especially racial hierarchy. In order to overcome the political categorisations and focus more "purely" on the aspect of togetherness, he employed conviviality. His work is also based on the original meaning of conviviality at this point, referring to that the term Conviviality was originally derived from the Spanish word, *convivência,* which means togetherness and includes not only fun aspects, such as happiness and festivities but also negotiation and efforts.

Wise and Noble (2016) critically reflected on this point, stating the importance not only of using epistemological approaches but also of taking and ontological approach through the examination of daily practices. Regarding work looking at daily conviviality, an American philosopher, Boisvert, expresses it as the convivialist turn in his work. It is a move away from the perspective consisting of the dichotomy between subject, which owns the action, and objects, which are influenced by the action, towards another perspective that exists with "the intermediaries that mark their intersections between what would now better be called 'inquirers" and "subject-matters'" (Boisvert, 2010, p. 60). These "intermediaries" equip us with a point of view focussed on something in-between, which is intertwined with the human-relationship and also results in the formation of human relationships. Nowicka and Vertovec (2014) introduced Dunpal's and Neal and Walters' research on conviviality as the works following this current trend of paying attention to the everydayness. Dunpal (2009), for example, discussed the role of a communal meal in creating conviviality among the community that he was researching. He described how the routinely held dinner became an opportunity to generate a social norm within the community and make the community a place based on mutual obligation and sacrifice. Dunpal (2009) expressed the dinner as a "potluck" fashion because everyone was expected to bring their own foods and actively be "present" during the dinner by showing their knowledge about the origins of the ingredients and how they were processed. The dinner, at this point, connects the community and the egalitarian discourse that supports the community. Dunpal (2009) discussed how the community-making process was held through repeated dinners, which also strengthened the socio-economic ideology among the attendees there. Neal and Walters (2008) argued that the structures of community feelings with regard to conviviality and the continuous process of a sense of belonging

for a rural community are maintained and recreated through daily efforts. They analysed two social leisure organisations in a rural context and revealed the intertwinement between the shared emotions and friendships among the community and their sense of belonging to imagined rural communities. The latter sense of belonging was often narrated in the way of the organisation's responsibility for the rural community. These feelings intertwined with practical daily efforts, such as organising events, which were held to involve both insiders and outsiders, and resulted in the maintenance of conviviality in a rural community.

1.2.2 The everydayness of conviviality and reciprocity

This paying attention to daily togetherness echoes theory of reciprocity, as demonstrated by Wise and Noble's discussion of Mauss' Gift Theory in their work (Wise&Noble, 2016, p. 423). Reciprocity offers a perspective of the act of exchange, that sees it as a catalyst for the creation of human relationships. This theory originated from two main works, Malinowski's argument in the Trobriand monograph and Mauss's Gift theory. Their work implied that reciprocity, which consists of "giver and taker", could be observed in all human social life (Hann, 2006, p. 211). These days, the social role of reciprocity has been receiving attention again, in the form of critical reflections on the tendency to analyse reciprocity as an abstract act in past literature. Hann (2006) discusses the attempts to explain and theorise reciprocity using economic theories in economic anthropology. Moreover, ethnographic research also contests these efforts, claiming the impossibility of reducing it to an economic theory, which Hann calls Western models in her work. Godbout, Caillé and Winkler (1998) further argued that the role of reciprocity could not be reduced to discussions of power and economic aspects. They particularly aimed to deconstruct the perspective of 'giver' and 'taker' that on reciprocity. This perspective has often been associated with another dichotomic structure between sanctity (in other words, altruism and generosity) and egoism, or rationality, and has contributed to the strong division between "the rational West and the archaic Rest" (Godbout, Caillé&Winkler, 1998, p. 14). This also leads us to the argument that reciprocity does not exist because humans cannot be completely altruistic

or reducing reciprocal acts into the market exchange (Godbout, Caillé&Winkler, 1998). To regain the perspective of "reciprocity are everywhere essential features of humanity", which Malinowski and Mauss implied (Hann, 2006, p. 213)", instead, they emphasised that reciprocity is rather a social matter involving different aspects, namely, positive, and negative feelings, market values, social status, human relationships, morality, sociality etc.

This perspective on reciprocity, which actively focuses on social aspects, reflects on the "intermediaries" of conviviality in particular. Reciprocal acts exist in-between human relationships yet are also human relationships themselves at the same time. They are a part of creating togetherness and involving different kinds of feelings. The theory of reciprocity complements the theory of conviviality, equipping the solid perspective on the analysis of an act of exchange and related social manners, which give people conviviality. Also, conviviality opens up the dichotomy in the discussion related to reciprocity by giving a holistic perspective on the process of creating human relationships.

1.2.3. Conviviality in the African context

The discussion of conviviality echoes discussions related to Ubuntu, an African philosophy, in the African context. Ubuntu, a Nguni word, means "people become people through others". A Cameroonian scholar, Francis Nyamnjoh (2017), argued that a feeling of "incompleteness", which is recognised by Ubuntu, led people to open up their bodies, created a condition of togetherness among people, and become conviviality. According to Nyamnjoh, this philosophy can be found in many places on the African continent (Nyamnjoh, 2019). From this perspective, he analysed reciprocal remittances between Cameroonian migrants and people in Cameroon and showed how easily but strongly the acts of asking for money were done among them, which possibly turned out to be a burden for migrants (Nyamnjoh, 2015). Nyamnjoh also proposed to incorporate the idea of Ubuntu into the current western capitalistic society, warning of the tendency to fall into individualisation (Nyamnjoh, 2019). His argument corresponds to the wider philosophical discussion in Africa. Ghanaian scholar Kwaku Ayim Atta-

Asiedu argues that African epistemology was a "collective epistemology in opposite to Western knowledge production, which was based on a "rational individual" (Atta-Asiedu, 2020, p. 5). In his work, he criticises the fact that research on Africa has been dominated by the western lens and claims the necessity to incorporate storytelling, which had been a central source of knowledge production in Africa. Storytelling itself is known as collective acts such as songs, music, dances, plays, dramas, and poetry (Tuwe, 2016, p. 2).

Explorations of conviviality in an African context, which could be represented by a discussion of Ubuntu or collectiveness, can be found in different research, in different places, and in different words. A Japanese anthropologist, Ogawa Sayaka, pointed out that the sense of debt, in which we could find similarity to incompleteness, was shared among merchants in Tanzania (Ogawa, 2016). Her work focused on the way remittance services were used, which was enabled by the increased use of mobile phones among Tanzanians. She described how Tanzanians would ask a third person to lend them money so that they could pay back a debt to a second person, who had lent money to the first person. She argued that the shared sense of debt unconsciously pushed people to tame technology in their own way and maintain the circulation of money in their society. Besides, Daiji Kimura, a Japanese anthropologist, shed light on conviviality among the Baka Pygmies people in South-eastern Cameroon, by analysing their communications (Kimura, 2003). His research revealed that their communication was "spatially diffusive", in which speech overlaps each other many times in their conversation compared with other research groups. Also, with the time-sampling method and video image analysis, he pointed out their high degree of calmness and resonance. From this point, he introduced the term "feeling of co-presence", which referred to their feeling of togetherness, and "mode of co-presence", which mentioned how the feeling of togetherness practically appears in their communication. Also, he associated their attitude with the ethno-strategy to flexibly deal with possible problems in their society. Kimura suggested a continuous link between its strategic features and the Baka's history as a hunter-gatherers.

In the Mozambican context, the research on conviviality has not coalesced, yet we could find a similar essence in various works. Research on Xitique could be considered one of the representative research projects on conviviality in Mozambiques

showing their togetherness through the co-saving of money. *Xitique* is an informal practice of savings and rotating credit in Southern Mozambique (Trindade, 2019, p. 3). It is conducted as a group of a few people, who could be family members, friends and colleagues, and they pay a fixed amount of money, which will be lent to one of the members. Xitique has received attention as a means of economically surviving from the perspective of feminism (Espling, 1999; Cunha, 2011). Yet, Trindade shed light on the sociability of Xitique and argued how it creates intimacy, friendship, and solidarity through the circulation of money, foods, gifts and affections (Trindade, 2019). Besides, in Northern Mozambique, Huhn (2013) disclosed the shared convivial idea among people in Matangula in Niassa Province, analysing the daily exchange of foods. People there perceived acting in a sympathetic, altruistic and non-self-interested manner as essential to their humanity. She introduced three concepts, compassion (lisungu), intelligence (njeru), and acting for the welfare of others (kuphwanyika), which people in Metangula explained as the necessary elements for achieving a meaningful life (Huhn, 2013, p. 6). Huhn (2013) also argued that they achieved those three concepts through daily food distributions according to their morality because it provoked kindness, forgiveness, and generosity among people.

1.2.4 Some reflections on the theory of conviviality

The accumulation of research on conviviality has broadened the perspective on living with others. However, it has a strong tendency to fall into epistemological discussions due to its use by scholars critical of the so-called western society. This is particularly significant because the discussion on conviviality has been confined to the dichotomic structure of the West and the Rest (convivial society). The starting point of the discussion on conviviality is based on a differentiation of the rest, a convivial society, from the west, an industrialized society. The criticism that research on conviviality often falls into the epistemological discussion seems to reflect on this point (Wise and Noble, 2016). Similar problems could be found in African contexts, as in the structure Africa and the West. Nyamnjoh (2019) developed epistemological criticism toward capitalism by applying Ubuntu as conviviality in African contexts and suggested

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combining them. Yet, he did not offer a concrete way. He concluded that Ubuntu had an "emancipatory potential, as a critique of and complement to Western modernity by bringing the latter into systematic and sustained conversations with endogenous African value systems and philosophies of personhood corrupted by colonialism, apartheid and neoliberal individualism (Nyamnjoh, 2019, p. 8)".

Looking at some of the arguments related to Ubuntu can give us a perspective on how this problematic dichotomy has developed. Ubuntu became popular when it started to be employed to criticise the colonial system and apartheid that plundered human dignity (Matolino&Kwindingwi, 2013, p. 199). It was also elevated in the post-apartheid years and adopt as a philosophy to lead the healing of the South Africa. According to Gade (2011), The characteristics of the narrative of Ubuntu could be divided into three; (1) the pre-colonial period, which is about Africa before the colonisers came. Africa is often narrated as a golden age and harmonised place (2) the colonial period which is a time of decline and dehumanisation (3) and the recovery period and attempts to restore lost dignity. In this context, Ubuntu has been narrated with other narratives of return by some African political leaders, namely Kwame Nkrumah, Leopold Senghor, Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda (Matolino&Kwindingwi, 2013, p. 198). Eventually, Ubuntu started to be used in different fields to give an alternative perspective. Especially, Ubuntu has been incorporated into the politics of South Africa (Matolino&Kwindingwi, 2013, p. 200). The government included Ubuntu ethics in its approach to social welfare, specifically in the White Paper, which was passed in 1997. Also, it started to be used in a commercial way and the numbers institutions established under the name of Ubuntu have been increasing (Matolino&Kwindingwi, 2013, p. 200). Besides, Ubuntu has expanded beyond the context of South Africa and academia started to apply Ubuntu in the context of decolonisation. For example, Ngcoya (2015) suggested that Ubuntu provides a critical framework for reflection on the current state of International Relations. He particularly criticised the idea of Kantian cosmopolitanism. And considers it to be based on an idea of universalism that is opposed to local contexts, and that had a role in establishing the Eurocentrism that has marginalised certain regions, including Africa. In this context, incorporating the idea of Ubuntu contributes to adapting frameworks to incorporate local and human-rooted perspectives, due to the focus that Ubuntu places on

human beings and social relationships. However, the danger of applying Ubuntu has been criticised, on the other hand, and it must be noted. In the South African context, Van Binsbergen (2001) pointed out the increasing number of institutions applying Ubuntu in current day South Africa and the danger of veiling the existing conflicts with mysterious sounding terms. He also argued that the current applications/uses of Ubuntu had become unrooted from the local contexts of Ubuntu and had reconstructed its meaning in a context of globalisation. Marx (2002) used the term, "conformity" to criticise the application of Ubuntu. He illustrated how it promotes conformity among people and creates ambiguity around controversies. For example, there is an aspect of postponing the actual problem, such as structural poverty, under the rhetoric of "restorative justice had to be achieved through structural changes within society" (Marx, 2002, p. 54). Moreover, the application of Ubuntu also has a problem of strengthening both the dichotomic structure, Africa vs the West and the monolithic perspective on Africa (Marx, 2002; Matolino&Kwindingwi, 2013). Marx (2002) pointed out its problematic aspects that could lead to the denial of some basic concepts of democracy, namely the autonomy of humans and individual freedom in the dichotomic structure. Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013) argued that it fixed a monolithic perspective on Africa to show the authenticity of mutability in African society. They also proceeded this argument with a discussion of the problems of its politicisation by elites that cause exclusivism, saying "Afrocentric approaches tend to fall into exclusive and exclusionary views that could be against more inclusive approaches (Matolino&Kwindingwi, 2013, p. 202)".

Thus, the use of Ubuntu is an opportunity to focus on conviviality in African societies, but at the same time, it is fraught with the danger of giving a uniform perspective on Africa in the name of Ubuntu. At the same time, the term "conviviality" itself can be linked to a similar structure, the West and the Rest (convivial society). In order to theorise conviviality, we must aware that conviviality exists in all human societies. In order to overcome this problem, this research applied auto-ethnography, which I shall explain later, as a research methodology.

1.3 Literature review: Past literature on African Mozambican migrants in Portugal

The research on both conviviality among Mozambican migrants in Portugal and African Mozambicans in Portugal is scarce. The existing research mainly focuses on the identity of Mozambican migrants (Khan, 2009; Santana, 2011) or Mozambican youth (Costa, 2012; Forte, 2015). Amongst the limited amount of research, the work of Khan (2009) is one of the earliest research on this topic. She discusses the fluidity of the identity of Mozambican migrants in Portugal and the United Kingdom, linking it to socio-historical and socio-political contexts, namely colonisation by Portugal, the process of liberation, the project of creating a new Mozambican society, the discourse of Frelimo[2] and migration to Portugal and the UK. Moreover, her research points out the impossibility of considering "Mozambican" migrants there as one ethnic group considering the lack of a cultural distinction, such as "a value of unity" and "a value of homeland", regarding the relatively new concept of "Mozambique". Instead, it revealed that the process of migration was also the process of creating ethnicity as a strategy to survive in new environments where a definition of culture as "Mozambique" and associations that seek to unite Mozambicans are lacking. Santana's (2011) research on Mozambican migrants in Lisbon focused on festivals, which took place annually corresponding to Mozambican national celebrations, and demonstrated how they serve a variety of purposes, including exaltation, vindication, and the implementation of identity in terms of politics. He connected the historical discussion and identity constructions discussion in Mozambique, called *Moçambicanidade* [Mozambicanness], to his analysis of festivals in Portugal. His anthropological analysis of the festivals, which extended to gastronomy and music, revealed the appropriation of the festivals by the ruling political power, Frelimo. Also, he touched on other festivals, which were mostly held by one of the Mozambican associations, Casa de Moçambique, and pointed out their intention to create an alternative identity, which was against the main political power. Regarding Mozambican youth in Portugal, Costa's work (2012) is important research. It shed light on Mozambican students in higher education in Portugal and analysed the relations between their backgrounds in Mozambique and their presence in higher education. It revealed that most of the Mozambican students often belong to families with relatives

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[2] Frelimo is Portuguese contraction of the first political party, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

who had studied and who supported the students financially. Also, it showed that although there were some people who entered the Portuguese higher education on their merits alone, most of them were led by their families' backgrounds. Besides, he mentioned the tendency of Mozambican students to stay within a network of other students from PALOP and without establishing extensive networks. Forte's (2015) work also aimed to research on Mozambican youth in Portugal, but from the perspective of social integration. She focused on the Mozambican youth (between 18 years old and 35 years old) who migrated into Portugal between 2015 and 2017 and lived in a metropolitan area in Lisbon. It shed light on their social integration into the Portuguese society, from the perspective of their practice of acculturation strategies and experience of discrimination and racism. She concluded that the integration did not go well and pointed out three aspects on it; (1) their experiences of racism (2) the economic difficulties and their necessity to have side jobs (3) the small number Mozambican associations that could help them.

In terms of conviviality, I could say that it is still an untouched field among Afro- Mozambican migrants in Portugal as discussed above. Looking at the research methods used, researchers approached Mozambican migrants individually or as institutions and none of them researched them from the perspective of "everydayness", which is an essential element for exploring conviviality (Nowicka&Vertovec, 2014). To approach the conviviality among them, participant observation is one of the most effective research methods because it allows researchers to observe daily interactions among the communities they study (Schensul, Schensul&LeCompte, 1999; Hennink, Hutter&Bailey, 2020). However, it has not yet been done in this research field since, first of all, none of the purposes of the research were exactly focussed on daily aspects, but rather identities related to political perspectives and social integration. Santana's (2011) and Forte's (2015) work adopted participant observation, yet neither of them were focused on daily settings, but instead specific occasions, namely festivals and events related to an association. Also, one of the reasons why there is no research focusing on daily aspects may be the difficulty of finding Mozambican migrants in Portugal. Khan (2009) did not explicitly mention this issue as a research limitation, yet her way of approaching to Mozambicans seemed to reflect the difficulty to find them. She noted, "Apercebi-me de que estava a ser confrontada com um problema de

investigação sociológica: como encontrar estas pessoas [Mozambicans]"? ["I realized I was being confronted with a sociological research problem: how to find these people [Mozambicans]"?] (Khan, 2009, p. 107), mentioning the lack of the contact list at the embassy. She ended up approaching people from an informal contact who acted as a gatekeeper via mobile phones (Khan, 2009, p. 109). Likewise, besides interviews with leaders of the institutions, such as the Consul, Forte (2015) also adopted the snow-ball method to collect interviewees. She also referred to the lack of communities among Mozambican migrants in Portugal; a conclusion linking to the necessity to establish an administrative organisation for aiding the minority group, such as Mozambicans whose population and presence was not large in Portugal (Forte, 2015, p. 55). As I discussed above, I believe that this thesis will be one of the earliest works focusing on African Mozambican migrants' daily conviviality in Portugal at this point.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Research methods: Auto-Ethnography

This research applied autoethnography as a primary research method and output. Autoethnography is "a style of autobiographical writing and qualitative research that explores an individual's unique life experiences in relation to social and cultural institutions" (Custer, 2014, p. 1). According to Chang (2008), there are the following three types of approaches in auto-ethnography:

(1) "The life of self is the primary focus of inquiry, and others are explored only in auxiliary relationships with self" (Chang, 2008, p. 65)

(2) "you may decide to investigate a certain life experience of yours, but, instead of studying only yourself, you include others with a similar experience as co-participants in your study" (Chang, 2008, p. 65)

(3) "researchers use their personal experiences or perspectives to guide the selection of their research topic or subjects without centring on self" (Chang, 2008, p. 66)

My research takes the third approach. This research consists of a constant back-and-forth between my observation of Mozambican migrants in Portugal and my personal background. Observation gives me an opportunity to realise the embedded conviviality in myself, and the realisation of the difference and reflection on myself give me another opportunity to explore the conviviality of the research population, as Chang (2008) stated as the third way of applying auto-ethnography. This process equips me with an opportunity to overcome the dichotomy in the theory of conviviality that I previously mentioned because the exploration starts from the researcher's feelings and doubts, which appear from the difference between their background and the research population, and it cannot be categorised by the framework. Those feelings and doubts are called "lived-experience" and "being-in-the world" and have received attention in recent anthropological research (Beatty, 2013, p. 414). This method crosses with phenomenology, and phenomenological anthropology emphasises the importance of "capturing the vivid immediacy of experience, from which meaning cannot be separated (Beatty, 2013, p. 414)." In this method, researchers are expected to maintain an attitude to take every expression, emotion and feeling that she/he witnessed within her/himself and research populations as real and start to explore the culture behind them. Thus, in this text, I will expose my experience, feelings, reflection on my background and, most importantly, analysis of the conviviality among Afro-Mozambican migrants in Portugal all at the same time. Also, we must be aware that this does not mean that we cannot discuss the abstract level-discussion, such as an epistemological conflict. We could always find a connection between our feelings in our body and the wider discussion (see the discussion of body politics. Jacobus,Keller&Shuttleworth, 1989), such as feelings of loneliness and the accelerated individualism regarding the discussion on conviviality. The point is that this paper starts the discussion on conviviality from the reseacher's senses, not the differentiation of others, such as asserting the existence of a "convivial society". The careful analysis of that sensory information, could then lead to epistemological discussions, such as a discussion related to Western modernity, for example.

1.4.2 Research methods: In-depth interviews

Besides autoethnography, in-depth interviews fit this research topic, as they take a phenomenological and daily approach. This is because in-depth interviews shed light on an "individual's understanding of their experience in the context of their everyday lives" (Mccormack, 2004, p. 220). Wilson and Washington (2007, p. 66) emphasise the necessity to include dialogic process and participant witnessing for phenomenological research. Also, since I planned to take note of the interview process as a part of the autoethnography, an in-depth interview fits autoethnography too. Moreover, Atta-Asiedu (2020) emphasised the importance of storytelling to approach "collective epistemology" in the African context. To this point, researchers need to actively engage in dialogue to collect interviewees' stories because stories are often generated in a dialogue (Wilson&Washington, 2007). In addition, researchers should approach stories in ways that are affirming and experiencing, and they need to immerse themselves in their testimonies as much as possible. An in-depth interview also fits this aspect as the researcher is allowed to take as much time as necessary to carry out the interviews individually.

1.4.3 Research methods and research site

I conducted fieldwork in Lisbon, Portugal, from early September 2021 until the end of February 2022. As a research method, this research mainly adopts auto-ethnography, which includes participant observation, and in-depth interviewing. I conducted participant observation in two sites during different periods: one site is the house of Ntaluma (from November 2021 until the end of February 2022), a Mozambican artist living in Lisbon, and the Mozambican church in Lisbon, which is a branch of Ministério Evangelho em Acção in Maputo, Mozambique (mainly from December in 2021 until the end of February). I must say that the selection of the research sites in Lisbon was out of my control due to the university's restrictions related to Covid-19, which did not allow me to go to Mozambique, the initial research site in my research proposal. Doing fieldwork in European countries was a feasible choice at that moment, considering the

relatively large Mozambican population among European countries and historical/colonial ties, so I chose to conduct my fieldwork in Portugal. In terms of the two specific sites for participant observation, the encounter was quite coincidental, which will be described later in the text. As past research shows, meeting with Mozambicans was not an easy task in Lisbon because of the lack of associations and small populations (Khan, 2009; Forte, 2015). Thus, the first two months were dedicated to approaching Mozambicans individually using the snowball method and establishing a network among them. A house of Ntaluma was introduced as "a house of Mozambique" (Casa de Moçambique) by some of the Mozambicans there at the time. It is located in the metropolitan area of Lisbon and plays an important role in the Afro-Mozambican community in Lisbon. While I was living in Ntaluma's house carrying out participant observation, one of the visitors introduced me to the Mozambican church, which is located around the metro station Chelas. From the perspective of conviviality, the church is also an important place for creating daily interactions. However, although I did participant observation in both sites, my research mainly focused on Ntaluma's house due to this research's main focus and also limitations of research. This research aims to explore the conviviality among African Mozambican migrants, and it required me to analyse their daily interactions. To achieve it using auto-ethnography in their daily life, I needed to stay and spend time with one community, which was centred around the house of Ntaluma in this case. Also, since the encounter with the church was unexpected and I had not expected to carry out research in a church, my knowledge was not enough to collect sufficient data related to it. However, considering the limited amount of research on conviviality among African Mozambican migrants in Portugal, I decided to dedicate one small section to my encounter with the church in this work, although most of the text is about the auto-ethnography in a house of Ntaluma.

1.4.4 **Reflexivity** and Ethical concerns

Regarding reflexivity of this research, I will touch on three points, the danger of fixing culture, the role of gender, and language use.

A discussion regarding the brutality of writing about other people's cultures has been taking place, particularly in anthropology. For example, Edward Said (1978), in his book "Orientalism," criticised the fact that studies on so-called Eastern countries had been conducted through the western lens. It had given, and fixed, an authentic view of the so-called Orient, which was produced in western academia and based on scientific research. Clifford and Marcus's (1986) criticism of ethnography also caused a huge debate about "writing culture" in the context of postmodernism. They made the argument that ethnography is a product created by a researcher rather than scientific output since it always has limitations resulting from the researcher's background, such as language use, perceptions, and the foundations of western academia. This discussion is particularly relevant to my research considering the fact I employed auto-ethnographies, which heavily relied on my personal background. This problem appears as the proximity between the researcher and the research population increases (Lapadat, 2017, p. 589). Yet, at the same time, we must be aware of the intersubjectivity of fieldworkers and the research population (Svasek, 2005, p. 15). The relationships between researchers and informants have an emotional impact on both parties and might cause an impact on the research outcomes. To employ auto-ethnography, I must be aware of this problem. Also, I shall actively show the relationships between me and research populations in the following texts.

Regarding the fact that I am a male researcher, it is particularly important to reflect on how my gender affected my research. As some scholars have reflected in their work and warned (see Brannen, 1988; Gubrium&Holstein, 2012; Manohar et al., 2017), I must be aware that my presence would influence female participants' opinions. This problem was especially evident at the beginning of my fieldwork when the Mozambicans were networking. I realised that I tended to talk more to male Mozambicans at some point. Since then, I have become more cautious about gender in encounters with Afro-Mozambicans in the field, not only for in-depth interviews but for an entire fieldwork period in general.

Lastly, I will reflect on my language use, especially on the point that I actively used Japanese. In this research, I use three languages, namely Portuguese, Japanese and

English. I primarily used Portuguese for fieldwork, such as communicating with Mozambicans and taking interviews, and English is used mainly for writing this thesis. I used Japanese for taking notes on auto-ethnography since it was the best language for me to record trivial and ambiguous feelings in the field. Japanese is my mother tongue and first language I think in too. I shall illustrate the process of my thinking and feelings in my mind in the following text, and I sometimes mention some specific terms in Japanese. Japanese language is strongly associated to my analysis in field, especially when I felt something ambiguous, which often arose from the difference between my cultural background and what I encountered with in Lisbon. Japanese culture and society are often categorised as "high-context", which means people tend to read between lines without verbally expressing everything (Hall, 1959). I am not sure if what I will expose in the text could be associated to a "high-context" culture, yet, without bypassing Japanese, I would not be able to express and analyse what I felt in the field, which is significant for auto-ethnography, because it appears in my mind as Japanese words. Also, the research was the process of transformation of my words from Japanese to either Portuguese or English. I often did not use direct translation from Japanese to those two languages because I often found that it was better to use another expression to express my feelings and thoughts in Japanese. It added another layer to the analysis of my thinking in Japanese and it generated further analysis in my auto-ethnography. Above all, using three languages was necessary for me to conduct fieldwork, analyse it, and finish writing this thesis.

Regarding ethical concerns, maintaining the anonymity of research populations is extremely important. Cleark (2006) said that academic literature should use pseudonyms or initials for two reasons: (1) to protect the identity of research participants and (2) to protect the location information of research participants. I took this concern seriously and decided to apply pseudonyms for all of the research participants except for Ntaluma and Mário, who is the pastor of the church. Ntlauma and I have been communicating with each other since I first met him at the beginning of fieldwork. In the meantime, we have repeatedly confirmed our agreement as to whether he would be willing to include his name in the present paper. Also, he has often talked about wanting to document his house, and we have talked to each other about the

possibility that this paper could help with that. Based on the above, his answers were always affirmative with regard to having his name in the thesis. So, I decided not to change his name. With regard to Mario, we first got the agreement of the members of the church to include the church's information in the paper. Then, in light of Mário's public activity as a pastor, and because he also gave his consent for his own name to appear in the paper, I decided not to use anonymity for his name in the present work. Lastly, names of locations are provided only if the location information is publicly available at the time when I was writing this thesis, or only if it was the past information.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of four chapters and a conclusion. Since it has an auto-ethnographic writing style, it tries to follow the order that I gave an analysis on conviviality among Afro-Mozambican in Lisbon and express my thinking process as much as possible. In the first chapter, I shall write about my encounter with two Afro-Mozambican communities: Ntaluma's house and the Mozambican church. It will introduce the term, "being open", which I first invented to explore and understand conviviality among Mozambicans through the analysis of their way of communicating with each other and forming a community. In the second chapter, I will give an analysis of the Afro-Mozambican behaviours, particularly focusing on how they use a mobile phone using the concept of reciprocity. Also, it aims to understand their reciprocal acts from the perspective of "ethics" and reveals how their daily interactions are intertwined with "ethics" and result in the formation of a community. In the third chapter, I shall discuss their dissimulative acts from the perspective of conviviality. Their reciprocity, which will be explored in the second chapter, also generates a strong expectation for people to answer positively when asked for a favour. In this chapter, I will give several concrete examples of dissimulative acts among the Afro-Mozambicans and discuss the relations between them and conviviality. In the fourth chapter, and based on the preceding discussion, I shall introduce the term *estamos juntos* [we are together] and demonstrate its relationship to conviviality through the reflections recorded about the shift in my way of thinking away from an individual mindset towards a plural mindset. By

presenting the changes that took place in my analysis of their conviviality from a conceptualisation of "being open" to "estamos juntos" [we are together], I aim to explain "estamos juntos" as both the senses and mode of "being together" shared among Afro-Mozambicans. Lastly, I shall depict how "estamos juntos" overlapped with Ntaluma's house and resulted in an emergence of a community among Afro-Mozambicans in Lisbon.

2. Chapter 1: Encounter

"Amizade é, aceitar o mundo como ele é.
Amizade é, não aceitar a maldade que o mundo tráz.
Amizade é, libertar o egoísmo construído o amor.
Amizade é, gostar do outro como ele é.
Amizade é, enfrentar as dificuldades.
Amizade é, uma aproximação tu e eu.
Amizade é, um sentimento de misericórdia, bondade, humildade, paciência e imensidão,
suportando todos os obstáculos.
Amizade é, revestir de caridade um coração aberto e cheio de paz.
Amizade é, simpatia, vontade, prontidão e vontade de escuta.[3]
(A poem written by J.A, a Mozambican resident in Lisbon)

2.1. Encounter: Casa de Ntaluma

Almost one month had passed. Yet, I still seemed to have difficulties finding the Afro-Mozambican communities in Lisbon. Although I had met a few Mozambicans already and they had told me about Mozambican communities in Lisbon, most of the time they were referring to festivals[4] that were held by the embassy from time to time. However, unfortunately, due to covid-19, those events had been paused since 2020[5]. The Mozambican presence is not strong in Lisbon, compared with migrants from other African countries, though the presence of African migrants in Lisbon has become more

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[3]"Friendship is, accepting the world as it is.

Friendship is, not accepting the evil that the world brings.

Friendship is, to free the selfishness built love.

Friendship is, to like the other as he is.

Friendship is, to face the difficulties.

Friendship is, a closeness you and I.

Friendship is, a feeling of mercy, kindness, humility, patience, and immensity, bearing all the obstacles.

Friendship is, to clothe an open, peace-filled heart with charity.

Friendship is, sympathy, willingness, readiness and willingness to listen."

[4]The cycle of festivals takes place every year in Lisbon from February to October; in the months of July and August, there are no parties, in this period, the Community Festivities cycle starts, which goes from July to September (Santana, 2011, p. 13)

[5] Guesse, the consul of the Mozambican Consulate, said in his interview, "The Mozambican Embassy holds festivals for celebrating the important days, such as the day of independence. However, it has been paused for a while due to covid-19."

explicit than before[6].

       If you walk around Lisbon, you can find many African traits. Near the square and church of São Domingos, there is a meeting place for migrants, mainly from West African countries, such as Guinea-Bissau and Senegal[7]. They sit on benches and on the ground, selling spices, fabrics, and dried peanuts in small plastic bags, sometimes while smoking and chatting. According to a friend of mine from Guinea-Bissau, there are some kinds of spice and some goods for wedding ceremonies that they can only find there. "I don't want to walk there because they can easily recognise me", she said, looking a bit embarrassed but laughing. If you take a train and go a bit out of the centre of Lisbon, you will encounter Cova de Moura, where many Cabo Verdeans live together. Once you get off the train at the Santa Cruz Damaia station, you will be welcomed by some street vendors selling tuna and sausage pastries in plastic boxes. If you go further, you will smell charcoal burning, which vendors often use to grill chicken, and hear *Funaná*, which is a type of Cabo Verdean accordion-based dance music, playing from a speaker. According to Pardue (2013, p. 119), migration to Cova de Moura started in 1974, right after the end of Portuguese colonisation, and it has been a place to live for migrants who look for a residence close to automobile-assembly factories.

       The ties between Africa and Lisbon were first established in the 15th century

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[6] According to Vanspauwen (2013), the Portuguese government and institutions are trying to establish a cohesive idea of *lusofonia*, which originally meant former Portuguese-speaking colonies, through political, economic, linguistic, and cultural elements in current-day Portugal. This movement was particularly promoted by the creation of CPLP (the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries) in 1996 and the World Exposition held in Oriente, Lisbon in 1998 (Vanspauwen, 2013, p. 70). Arenas also pointed out the current increase in the presence of African migrants in popular culture in Lisbon (Arenas, 2016, p. 359). In popular music, the term, "African Lisbon" has received attention in Lisbon recently. Yet, he also critically argues that this movement has another aspect of praising "Lusotropicalism", which enumerates the "unique features" of Portuguese imperialism abroad, arguing that the Portuguese were superior to other European countries as colonisers (Arenas, 2016, p. 385).

[7] According to Henriques (2021), the trees in the meeting place give the African migrants an opportunity to continue to practice their religion. You can still find pieces of paper advertising spiritual and "divine" offerings distributed among people there (Henriques, 2021, p. 37)

when Portugal began its overseas expansion, yet the history of migration from Africa to Lisbon itself dates back to the 1960s (Arenas, 2015; Malheiros&Vala, 2004). The migration from former Portuguese colonies in Africa started to increase in the 1960s (Arenas, 2015; Malheiros&Vala, 2004). The first wave was mainly Cape Verdeans, who were recruited in Lisbon to compensate for the lack of construction workers. This lack was aggravated by significant Portuguese emigration to other European countries or North America and the colonial wars in Africa (Arenas, 2015, p. 534; Malheiros&Vala, 2004, p. 1066). The second wave took place during the decolonisation period in 1975. The migrants were mainly divided into two groups; *retornados*, who were white Portuguese settlers and their African-born progeny, mainly from Angola and Mozambique, and Portuguese nationals of African origin (Arenas, 2015, pp. 534-5). Throughout these waves of migration, the populations of African migrants have been mainly concentrated in the greater Lisbon area, the most numerous being Angolans and Cape Verdeans (Arenas, 2015, p. 535).

However, the presence of Mozambicans in Lisbon is quite small when compared with migrants from other African countries. This variation of the migrant population according to their origins is clearest when expressed in statistics. According to the INE, in 2020 the population of African migrants by country was registered as the following: Angola: 24,409, Cabo Verde: 36,466, Guinea-Bissau: 19,664, São Tomé and Principé: 10, 646 whereas Mozambicans are 3,675[8]. I had rarely seen any literature referring to the reason for this small number of Mozambican migrants in Lisbon, yet a possible explanation would be that the biggest destination of Mozambican migrants in South Africa, not Portugal, unlike African migrants from other African countries in Lisbon. South Africa had been a destination for Mozambican migrants since 1850 by attracted the economic opportunities (Wentzel&Tlabela, 2006). Especially after the discoveries of two gold mines, in Kimberley and in Witwatersrand, due to the demand for labour, a great number of Mozambicans started to migrate there (Wentzel&Tlabela, 2006). This migration was also strengthened by Portuguese colonial policies, which tried to increase

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[8] I consulted the statistics of "Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence and Nationality; Annual - Statistics Portugal, Foreign population with legal residence status" (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2021).

taxation through a series of border policies (First, 1983, p. 212). Also, eventually, the migration itself begun to embed in cultural norms, especially in Southern Mozambique (Aminaka, 2010). This situation has resulted in large numbers of Mozambican migrants in South Africa and also to the small number in Portugal nowadays[9].

Thus, although Mozambicans in Lisbon are still migrants, the situation is different from migrants from other African countries. A Mozambican migrant who had been living in Lisbon since 2009 also told me in their interview that Mozambican migrants were different from "pure" migrants, such as the Angolans. The in-depth interview I did with 19 Mozambicans also revealed that nine of them were students, or used to be students, and had decided to live in Portugal. Thus, all I could do, at that moment, was to keep using snowball sampling and showing up to events or places when I heard "Mozambique" mentioned in connection to them. All the time, having a small hope that I would be able to find Mozambicans as a community.

On the 30th of September, I found a post on Facebook about a Mozambican music festival at the Mozambican restaurant, Roda Viva, in Alfama and decided to go there as usual. At 9 p.m., I was late and had a seat with Nilza, who I had interviewed on the same day, and she introduced me to a Mozambican man, Ntaluma, who later would become a gatekeeper in my fieldwork. During the interview with Nilza, she told me that I should talk to him because he is a big reference for Mozambican migrants in Portugal. However, frankly speaking, our first meeting didn't go well. Simply, he seemed to me to be a difficult person. Our conversation didn't have any flow and stopped from time to time. Besides, due to the loud music at the festival, I had to ask him to repeat what he said many times. He looked like a very silent person in my eyes. In the end, all I was able to learn about him was that he is from Cabo Delgado and is a sculptor. I also wanted to talk to other participants, so I decided to "postpone" talking to him in my mind.

A week later, Nilza invited me to lunch at Ntaluma's house. I expected to have a "lunch" with a few people around a table and was ready to talk to him this time.

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[9] According to the United Nations (2014), Portugal is the third-largest destination for Mozambican migrants. The first country is South Africa and the second is Zimbabwe.

However, once I stepped into his house, my expectations were pleasantly surprised. "I found Mozambique here in Lisbon," that is what I thought, and I actually told them that. The house was full of Mozambican things, such as arts and national flags. The yard was especially full of Mozambican sculptures, from Makonde[10] wooden masks to the popular carvings such as wooden Mozambican maps that you can easily find in markets in Mozambique. However, these material objects, which immediately established a clear connection to Mozambique, were not enough for "Mozambique" to have appeared in my mind. Rather it was a sum of everything that existed there. Even if I was cautious or not, *Marrabenta*, which is one of the most well-known genres of Mozambican music, jumped into my ears. If I listened carefully, I could identify some specific high-pitch sounds, which were created by a specific guitar, and unique rhythms, which were faster than so-called Afro-beats and slower than South African deep house. The wavy plastic corrugated roof was set up in such a way that made it seem even more severe than usual, as it struggled with the branches of overgrown trees to create a space for the people in the yard. It reminded of me a street in Matola[11], where you can find many under-constructed houses and overhanging trees. Different types of chairs were set up, both in order and disorder. Also, my nose identified the smell of Mozambican foods, peanuts curry, *xima*[12], and grilled chicken, and my ears recognised Mozambican Portuguese, which is very different from the Portuguese spoken in Portugal.

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[10] Makonde is an ethnic group from southern Tanzania, northern Mozambique and Kenya.
[11] Matola is a municipality in Maputo province in southern Mozambique. It is also a capital of the province.
[12] Xima is a staple in Mozambique. It is a porridge made with hot water and maize flour.

Figure 3

The yard in Ntaluma's house

Note. Own work. (Photo taken on the 24th of November in 2021)

Figure 4

The yard at Ntaluma's house when they had a party

Note. Own work. (Photo taken on the 20th of February in 2022)

It seemed that it would be necessary to carry out participant observation to understand the Mozambican community in Lisbon. Even though I didn't know much about Ntaluma, I felt tempted to ask him if I could stay at Ntaluma's house as a participant observer The house was an intersection where a bunch of people always just came and went. This impression gave me, as a stranger, a little more confidence to ask permission to stay there. However, I had met Ntaluma only three times when I asked him this. Also, for some reason, each time we had been in the same social gathering, I had missed the chance to talk to him. For instance, he always had a seat in the corner, and I always had a seat at the furthest   position from him at his house parties. Every time, there were at least eight participants, and we had one big conversation that included everyone. In order to join the conversations, I had to encourage myself to speak up considering my poor Portuguese abilities at the time. I needed to jump into the conversations without fully understanding the context almost every time. However, this inner conflict was never conveyed to anybody unless I explicitly told them, especially after I explained my purpose for being there and my research interest in Portuguese, which gave the impression that I was able to speak and "comprehend" Portuguese. At some point during the second house party, Ntaluma asked me, "Porque está calado?" ["Why are you silent?"], and I answered, "Porque não entendo bem da conversa" ["Because I don't understand the conversation well"]. He frowned, and he did not ask anything more. Besides, although I had sent him a message several times on WhatsApp asking if I could visit him in person after the second house party, I had never received any reply. I wanted to have small talk and feel comfortable asking if I could stay at his place, yet it seemed that there was no opportunity for that.

However, time never stops. This made me feel anxious regarding the progress of my research. I asked one of my Mozambican friends, who knew the situation well, whether it would be rude to directly ask him if I could live in his house without having previously established a close relationship. Her answer was, "Just ask him. Mozambicans are quite open so just take it easy!". Her words pushed me, and I finally decided to visit his place and ask if I could stay there on the 9th of November. Before taking the metro to head to Ntaluma's house, I called him for "the last check," yet he still did not pick it up. This made me unsure again, and I sent a message to Nilza on WhatsApp,

Eu queria falar com Ntaluma mas ele não respondeu a minha mesagem e chamada. Você pensa que se for okay para bater a porta da casa dele diretamente? Não sei se seria malcriado. [I want to talk to Ntaluma, but he hasn't responded to my any of my messages and calls. Do you think it would be okay to just directly knock on his door? I don't know if it would be rude.] (WhatsApp record on the 10th of November, 2021)

Her reply was very simple.

Olá. Tenta.
[Hi. Try.]

I had run out of excuses *not* to knock on the door. Nilza's messages convinced me to stand in front of the door and ring the doorbell. The lock automatically opened, and I went through two doors; one was the entrance to the entire building, and the other was of his apartment. I found no one at the open apartment door. I assumed that Manuel, Ntaluma's son, had opened the door and gone back to his room because I had experienced it once before. I walked through the house to the yard and found Ntaluma sitting in the same position as usual and typing on his Macbook. He noticed me and smiled at me, saying, "Olá" ["Hi"]. I couldn't help being surprised by his reaction, which seemed as though he had expected that I would visit him. I was surprised and had thought that either he hadn't known about my plan to visit him, or that I wasn't welcome, because he hadn't answered any messages or calls that I had made.

He gently told me to have a seat and went back to his work on his MacBook. He was working on a presentation for the Expo in Dubai. I asked him if he was going to attend, but he said no. He complained that he was just asked to go and give a presentation but couldn't bring his sculptures. If I were him, I would have immediately gone to Dubai because it is an honour just to be asked to participate, and also, I could enjoy a free trip to Dubai. His answer reminded me of what Osvaldo had said,

Two types of artists exist in this world, in my opinion. One is for elites, and the

other one is for people. Ntaluma is the latter. His artworks are very famous,
and everybody knows about them in the whole Mozambique. But he never
changes the prices. He is an artist for the people.

The small talk didn't last for long. Still, a part of my brain was thinking that he hadn't responded to my messages for a reason, because I saw that he responded to the messages he received each time a notification sound played on his MacBook. The fact that his pc was notifying him of the receipt of many messages made me assured that he knew that I wanted to ask something to him and he chose not to answer. So, I was very hesitant, yet tried to ask if I could stay at his house for a while. Surprisingly, his answer sounded very easygoing as follows, "*Yes, check the bedroom. You will share one room with my son, Manuel. If it's okay for you, you can stay here as long as you want.*"

I couldn't believe how easily I had got an answer, but I immediately checked the room as he had instructed me to, even though I had already made up my mind to stay there. It was a small room, around 10 m^2, and was full of Manuel's belongings, such as clothes, a laptop, and books. I also found a bunk bed, and since Manuel used the lower one, I was automatically assigned the upper bunk. I wondered if my moving in would cause problems for Manuel, because he would lose his private space because of my presence. However, Manuel was not there at that moment, and so this question was left unanswered.

Once I had told Ntaluma that I was satisfied with the room, he briefly mentioned two house rules: 1. When I want to eat dinner, I must make it for everyone. 2. I have to clean up the house with Ntaluma and Manuel every Sunday. After we agreed upon the amount of the monthly rent, everything was ready. This whole process just took around 15 minutes, and the moving date was scheduled for two days' time. It was incredibly easy-going, as if I had been preparing to lift a heavy-looking rock up and had been convinced that it would require a lot of effort, but on lifting, I had discovered that it was actually made of sponge, falling over and landing on my butt in the process. I finally felt relieved, so I asked him why he hadn't answered my message. "Eish!", which is a common exclamation in Mozambique used to express disapproval and surprise, suddenly came out of his mouth, and his facial expression became filled with a bitter smile and apology. He immediately checked his WhatsApp, but apparently, my

messages hadn't reached his laptop. At that moment, I figured out that my concerns had been caused by my mistake. I had registered the wrong number and ended up sending some messages to an anonymous stranger. While I was filled with embarrassment and apologised to this anonymous person, the fact that he hadn't received any contact from me until that day made me even more surprised. It meant that he had accepted my request to live in his house without hesitation, as though we had been having small talk, such as "tudo bem?" ["How are you?"] "Sim, tudo" ["Yes, I'm fine"]. Considering that he had put me in a shared room with Manuel, which does not afford the privacy and separateness of a shared flat, I considered that he had accepted my direct 'penetration' of their life's rhythm. Taking this into account, this situation could be explained in two possible ways: 1. He identified the same/similar life rhythm in me, or, 2. Their life's rhythm itself is open to others on a daily basis. Although he knew that I had been to Mozambique and had some knowledge about Mozambican culture, considering our relationship at that moment, as I described above,   the second possibility seemed a more promising explanation in my eyes.

This led me to reflect on one statement, "Mozambicans are quite open" as one of my Mozambican friends had advised me. Also, it reminded me of an interview with Osvaldo, saying, "Ntaluma's house is like a Mozambican house. Everyone can just go and knock on the door". "Being open" is often narrated in connection with "being a Mozambican". "Being open" is slightly different from "living with others". The former is a passive act, and the latter is an active act. From this experience with Ntaluma, I got the idea that Mozambican conviviality doesn't mean "living with others" from the outset, but "being open." This "being open" enables people to freely come and go and generate a situation where people live together.

2.2. Encounter: The Mozambican Church

On the 20th of November, Ntaluma and I were cleaning up the yard at his house. We were preparing for a house party to celebrate the birthday of Ntaluma's son, Manuel and one other Mozambican student. At some point, I realised that a tall Mozambican man was standing in the yard. His name was Emidio. He laughed and talked to Ntaluma in a cheerful voice. I even got the impression that Ntaluma was a little bit overwhelmed by

his way of talking. Eventually, I joined the conversation, and, at some point, I introduced the purpose for staying in the house and my research topic—conviviality—to him. He immediately asked me many questions: if I had already contacted some Mozambicans in Lisbon, if I had visited Rua de Moçambique in Anjos, and so on. Also, he told me that, "Se você vai escrever a tese mestrado, tem que entrevistar pelo menos seis pessoas. Pelo menos." ["If you write a master thesis, you must interview six people at least. At least."] He had experience writing a master's thesis and told me that he regretted that he had only interviewed six people back then. He seemed to be willing to help me with my thesis. While we were having a conversation, he said, "Aqui em Lisboa, tem uma igreja onde só Moçambicanos reuniam." ["Here in Lisbon, there is one church where only Mozambicans get together"] I was surprised and asked him if I could visit the church. His facial expression seemed to say, "of course," and those were the words I heard from his mouth. We lightly made a promise that he would pick me up in his car at 9:30 a.m. the next morning. Ntaluma was listening to our conversation, and by his facial expression he seemed to want to say something, yet he didn't say anything.

The following day on Sunday, I woke up at 9:15 a.m. and got prepared. Honestly, I doubted if he still remembered our promise. People had drunk a lot and had stayed up until late the day before. Emidio was one of them. I left the house at precisely 9.30 a.m. and looked around a little to find him so that I would have an excuse if he would censure me for not showing up at the church. Since he wasn't there, I went back inside. As I was about to return to bed, Manuel told me that Emidio had just called him. He had told Manuel that he would be at the house in ten minutes, so I should prepare. I must say that I was a little surprised that Emidio remembered the promise and arrived on time. In ten minutes, he arrived at the house, and I got in his car. With a big smile, he proudly said, "Munyu! Eu sou homen de palavras!" ["Munyu! I am a man of words!"]. On the way to the church, he was called on his mobile phone several times and told the callers when he would pick them up. Apparently, he was responsible for picking up people to deliver to the church. Besides me, another Mozambican got in the car on our ride.

The church was located in a large Chinese warehouse in Marvila. According to Emidio, many Chinese workers stay and sleep there. I also found some Chinese shops that sell clothes there. After walking to an area far behind the warehouse, I found myself

in the room that was "the Mozambican church". There was also another room, a Brazilian church a few metres away. When I got out of Emidio's car and stepped into the church, Emidio indicated a seat and told me to sit down there. Around 10 a.m., we were asked to close our eyes, and the prayers started. I felt nostalgia while I was sitting there. During the bible reading, the lady who led it mentioned several Mozambican terms, "matapa[13]" and "Beira", to make a joke. A few songs that they sang were in Changana. They also shook their body when they sang, which I had witnessed when I was in Mozambique and participated in a church in Maputo, although I don't remember exactly which church.

Figure 5

The Chinese warehouse where the MEA is located.

Note. Own work. (Photo taken on the 17th of February, 2022)

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[13] Matapa is one of the staple foods in Mozambique. Its main ingredients are cassava leaf, coconut milk and shrimps. You can also find some variations depending on different regions.

Figure 6

The pastor, Mário, giving a speech in a public service on Sunday.

Note. Own work. (Photo taken on the 13th of February, 2022)

The name of the church is Ministério Evangelho em Acção (MEA). According to some interviews I made, and the church's website, the church was established in 2000 in Maputo by Luís Betuel Maposse, both the founder and the pastor of the church. Gisela says it grew rapidly after its founding in Maputo, saying, "tem mihões das pessoas!" ["there are millions of people!"][14]. On its website, there are several photos of the stadium of Zimpeto full of believers. It also expanded to different countries, namely, South Africa, Malawi and Lisbon. The founder and pastor, Luís, also mentioned the existence of the church in Germany and the Netherlands in his speech for the Christmas prayer. The Christmas prayers were held on the 19th of December, 2021, and his speech was delivered via video to Lisbon. Yet, according to Gisela, he did not mean that there were churches in the Netherlands and Germany, physically. He meant that there were some MEA members there. The church in Lisbon was founded in 2016. When a Mozambican couple, who were members of the MEA congregation, started to pray in

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[14] This interview was conducted on the 26th of January, 2022 in person.

their house. Eventually, they began to invite other Mozambicans and pray together. Since the number of believers who prayed together was getting bigger, they asked permission from the church in Maputo to establish a church in Lisbon. Evaristo, who helped with the administrative process, said, "Eu queria ajudar os Moçambicanos" ["I wanted to help Mozambicans"][15]. According to him, some Mozambican communities already existed at that time, but none of them had been based around religion. Yet, the number of members has been increasing these days. Gisela also mentioned the possibility of moving to another, larger space or of establishing another church in Alameda. Their weekly activities could be divided into three (1) public service, (2) private service and (3) services for the youth. They are led by another pastor in Lisbon called Mário. A public service is held every Sunday at the church. Private services are held during the week both in church and in a believer's house. The youth service is held every Saturday at the church. The number of participants in the public service was around 20 each time I attended, and the gender ratio of regular attendants was almost 50:50. The service usually consists of several parts, namely, praying, singing/dancing, bible reading, the sermon by the pastor, and donations.

Conviviality in the church

The role of the church is narrated in different ways among the believers. One of the most frequently heard roles attributed to it was "to preserve Mozambican culture". I witnessed several aspects that seemed to represent this view. Emidio once told me that the church was built to preserve Mozambican culture. Also, Evaristo, who helped with the founding of the ministry in Lisbon, said that the church plays a role in unifying Mozambicans, as they need to maintain Mozambican customs and language. Evaristo explains the church's role "Igreja é como assim" ["Church is like that"]. As their words demonstrate, most of the participants were Mozambicans in the public service on Sunday, although there was one Angolan and two Portuguese participants who used to live in Mozambique. Also, "Mozambique" could be found at many points during the service. Helena, who often took charge of the bible reading, incorporated Mozambican

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[15] This interview was conducted on the 13th of February, 2022 by telephone.

terms into her talking. She often mentioned Mozambican cuisine, like "matapa" and "xima", and some regional names, such as "Beira" in her talking and used them to make jokes. I could see how "Mozambique" the church was in these elements. However, the church also tries to be less "Mozambique" and to open up more to non-Mozambicans. The attendees of the public service were not only Mozambicans, as I mentioned. Evaristo told me in the interview, "Não podemos fazer cultura moçambicana. [...] Alí não é um lugar para mostrar a cultura moçambicana. Nossa cultura é de Deus" ["We can't do Mozambican culture. [...] There, it isn't a place to show Mozambican culture. Our culture is God.]. Also, the pastor of the church told me that some participants actually complained that they sang in Changana[16] during the prayers because they could not understand. The pastor said that since then, they decided to sing in Portuguese. Yet, while doing a participant observation, I heard that the congregation singing in Changana several times. Also, when I participated in the public service with a Mozambican lady from Beira, where people do not speak Changana, she told me that she could not understand. "Mozambican church" is located in-between "being Mozambican" and "being open not only for Mozambicans" as a convivial space.

The church also offers a space for socialising. The church is a place for meeting new people and maintaining social networks. Some interviewees answered that their purpose in attending the church was to socialise and meet new people. For example, Elton, who started to go to the church almost at the same time as I started to visit, told me that he used to go to a different church in Mozambique. Yet since he could not find the same one in Lisbon, he decided to go to the MEA. Another interviewee told me that she had started going to the MEA because it was closer than the other church that she used to go to. The church she used to attend was located in Barreiro, on the other side of the river Tejo. She said that the church in Barreiro was bigger, but she had stopped going there because she had to wake up early to catch the ferry to get there. Also, she told me the congregation was made up primarily of Angolans, and there were no other Mozambicans.

Besides, the church actively demonstrates its attitude toward including new

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[16] Changana is one of the local languages in Mozambique. It is often spoken in Southern Mozambique.

people in several ways. Every month they hold a birthday party to celebrate everyone who has had a birthday during the month. They discuss who will prepare food beforehand, and there are many kinds of foods laid out on the table on the day. They also grill meat outside, as you can often see in Mozambique. Also, in the public service, when there are new attendees, the new people are asked to stand up and are explained there are fixed seats in the church for attendees. Besides that, they sing a song to welcome the new members to the congregation. The lyrics of the song are as follows;

> *Visitante seja bem vindo. Sua presença é um prazer. Com Jesus nos te dizemos pra nossa igreja ama vocês. Boas vidas são bem vindos. Boas vidas são vocês, hallelujah! Boas vidas são bem vindos. Venha venha outra vez.*

> *[Welcome visitor. Your presence is a pleasure. With Jesus we tell you our church loves you. Good lives are welcome. Good lives are you, hallelujah! Good lives are welcome. Come come again.]*

Figure 7

A birthday party at the church.

Note. Own work. (Photo taken on the 13th of February, 2022)

Limited conviviality of the church among Afro-Mozambicans in Lisbon

The church is becoming well known among people through word of mouth. Evaristo explained, "Nos somos communicativos" ["We are communicative"]. Although I met only slightly more than 20 people, there were 96 people in Lisbon's MEA WhatsApp group[17]. The WhatsApp group has been active, and I see some messages almost five days per week. Members exchange information about services, videos and photos that they took during the service, and messages of condolence when someone dies. Also, the church post a Zoom link here. Since covid-19 started to spread, they introduced the use of Zoom to allow people to join the services remotely. While I was there, there was one regular attendee from the Netherlands. Online services seem to contribute to maintaining the church's network, considering that Lisbon is often not a final destination for Afro-Mozambican migrants. One interview explained at this point that, since Lisbon is a place for many Mozambicans to just pass through, some people go to northern Portugal for work, and others go back to Mozambique. The church's population in Lisbon is not stable, unlike the MEA in Maputo, whose population keeps growing. Besides, there seems to be another reason for the lack of growth of the population. People who I met at Ntaluma's house actually knew about the church, but they chose not to go. When I came back from the church one day, some visitors asked me, laughing, "Você foi para igreja? Como foi?" ["Did you go to the church? How was that?"], as if they were teasing me. Apparently, Emidio sent a video, in which I was giving a speech of introduction myself during the service, to Ntaluma, and Ntauma had shown it to them. One participant continued, "o pastor parece boa pessoa." ["The pastor seems a good person"] although he does not go to the church. Ntaluma once told me that he believes in God, but he did not like the idea of church. Pointing to his body with his finger, he said, "Deus está aqui" ["God is here"]. I cannot say that everyone who chooses not to go to church has the same reason as Ntaluma. Yet, it was clear that the conviviality in the church exists under the idea of "Mozambique" in Lisbon, but it is not

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[17] This is the number on the 20th of July, 2022.

accepted by everyone because of its characteristic as a religious place.

2.3. What is "being open"? : Exploring their way of communication

Ntaluma's house is known as "Mozambican House" among Mozambican migrants, yet it also has another name: *Base Beira*. Ntaluma named it after the place where he was born in Cabo Delgado. According to Ntaluma, Base Beira was the first military base in Mozambique founded by Frelimo. Fifty-six soldiers, who had been sent to Algeria to train themselves, returned to Mozambique and founded the base in 1964, naming it *Base Algéria*, leading an independent war for independence against Portugal. Later in 1965, they changed the name to Base Beira. He recalled that people there were often recruited by Frelimo and sent to different military bases, in Tanzania to collect materials and food.

Ntaluma was born in Cabo Delgado in 1969 to a family of sculptors. He said that it was natural for him to learn how to make sculptures because he grew up with his uncles, who were also his consultants and sculptors.

> A maioria de Makondes, convivem com consultores. […] Então era cresci na ambiente que os meus tios, o irmão mais velho da minha mãe e irmão mais novo do meu pai eram escultores. […] Irmão do mau pai chamava-se Nungo significa Deus. Nungo ainda esta vivo. Agora, o irmão da minha mãe chama-se Mamba. Mamba significa crocodilo em Makonde. Então, por ser mestre de escultura era conhecido por Fundi, Fundi significa mestre em Makonde e Swahili. Então meu tio era conhecido por Mestre Mamba, Fundi Mamba.

> [Most Makondes live with mentors. [...] So I grew up in an environment where my uncles, my mother's elder brother and my father's younger brother were sculptors. [...] My father's brother's name was Nungo means God. Nungo is still alive. Now, my mother's brother is called Mamba. Mamba means crocodile in Makonde. So, because he was a master of sculptor he was known as Fundi, Fundi means master in Makonde and Swahili. So, my uncle was known as Master Mamba, Fundi Mamba.] (Ntaluma, 10th of February 2022)

In 2002 Ntaluma moved to Lisbon to work as a sculptor. First, he worked with other sculptors for a Mozambican association located near to the metro station, Olaias. Yet, at some point, art works and laptops started to go missing. They couldn't find the thieves at that time, so Ntaluma decided to quit the association, and found his own place where he started to work by himself. "Eu estou aqui, tranquilo. Preciso estar aqui. Muito bem tranquilo para poder criar. Caso não, não posso criar [escultoras]." ["I am fine here. I need to be here. Very good to be able to create. Otherwise, I can't create [sculptures]."]," he said. When he moved to his current house in 2010, he named it after Base Beira and started to open it up for people. In my eyes, the current "Mozambican house" also looked too open to prevent his belongings from being stolen. However, Ntaluma explained, "não tem medo aqui. Porque aqui entra, quem admitir entrar?" ["I don't have any fear here. Because when someone enters here, who will let them enter?"].

Ntaluma is a person who is passionate about relating to others. I vividly remember one day in the house, during a dispute with his son about his son's lack of contact with others, he said "If you can't live in a relationship with others, you are *lixo* (trash)!" This word choice, *lixo* [trash] seemed to represent his belief about human relationships well. In fact, Ntaluma is adored by many people, not only African Mozambicans, but also so-called, *retornados*, who were white Portuguese settlers who used to live in Mozambique and moved to Portugal after the end of colonisation. I a few times when I told retornados that I lived with Ntaluma, they tried to recall the memory of meeting with him and happily said, "ah! Mjomba! Mjomba!". Ntaluma often calls his friends *Mjomba*, which means uncle both in Swahili and Makonde. His friends also call him Mjomba and they use the term as a greeting. Ntaluma talks gratefully about "being with others", "isso [estar com as pessoa] é ser uma artista, minha forma de ser e minha forma de estar." ["this [being with others] is being an artist, my way of living and my way of being."] The fact that he named his house after Base Beira and opened it up to everyone, seemed to reflect his personality.

Figure 8

The Base Beira sign in Ntaluma's yard

Note. Own work. (Taken on the 10th of February, 2022)

As Ntaluma had repeatedly said, his house is open for Afro-Mozambicans. In fact, when I asked Ntaluma if I could live there for a while, he immediately said "yes". However, "being open" didn't seem as though he opened the door each time someone knocked on it. Rather, it looked as if Afro-Mozambicans recognized that the door of the house was never shut down, so they just went there. I tried to explore what I felt at that moment in a house dedicated to "being open" and found a tiny clues in their way of communicating.

Four days after I had moved in, I was giving a Japanese lesson online, which was a small side-job of mine. It was around 7 p.m. and I was in the living room of Ntaluma's house, when out of the corner of my eye I saw a man come in. I had never seen the man before. He and Ntaluma started to drink some red wine in the living room, and their talking gradually got louder. Likewise, they increased the TV volume until I had to apologise to the student, who was in the UK. Since Ntaluma emphasised that "aqui é sua casa, fique à vontade" ["here is your house. Make yourself at home"] several times, and I had taken these words to mean that I'm free to have my own life, so in return, I have to respect the lives of others. Thus, I tried not to say anything about this noisiness at this moment because I thought it might be a part of their lifestyle. Once I

closed my laptop, the guest told me, laughing, "hey, I understood your English. Yours was clear, even though I don't understand the English that Portuguese people speaks in class. They speak so fast". He was so comfortable there, as though he had been a member of the household for a long time. Our conversation started smoothly and lightly, as though we had met each other before. We hadn't introduced ourselves, yet we talked for a while without even asking what our names were or where we were from. Later, I figured out that his name was Leonel from Nampula, and he had been living in Lisbon since September 2021 as a PhD student.

As a person from a country with a culture of a strong division between private and public space[29], the rhythm of this conversation seemed noteworthy. What intrigued me the most was that there was no clear sign signalling the start of the conversation, which involves common topics for strangers to get to know each other as an introduction, such as asking, "what's your name?" "Where are you from?" "How long have you been here?" "What do you do here?". These signs perform the role of a tiny ritual which allows us to digest an unknown person and transform them into a known person, as if we aim to establish an order in chaos[30]. It even feels to me that these small introductions, which often start "by the way…", appear in words that are pushed out by an unconscious discomfort that lies in the depths of our mind with the chaos of "not knowing others well".

On the other hand, conversations in Ntaluma's house often skipped this introductory phase. The line between insiders and outsiders in the conversation was vague. Although if you are a stranger to the participants, the conversation wouldn't treat you as an absolute stranger, as Leonel's case shows above. Or, the interlocutor wouldn't mention the fact that there is a new person in the conversation, unless the new person speaks up in the conversation. This latter thought brings me to another memory of when I first met Marta at Ntaluma's house. She is from Sofala, Central Mozambique and has been in Lisbon since 2012.

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[29] In Japan, there is a notion, 本音と建前 (honnne to tatemae). 本音(honnne) refers to a person's honest opinion and feelings and, on the other hand, 建前 (tatemae) refers to one's behaviors and opinions in public. This notion has been academically used for understanding Japanese behaviour and culture both in Japan and abroad (Doi, 1973; Prasol, 2010).
[30]

On the 15th of November, she showed up in the house for the first time after I had moved in. I was also sitting in a yard with Ntaluma, but we were doing our own things. Marta directly came to the yard and firstly greeted Ntaluma with her fists. She also greeted me the same way but without saying anything. She took a seat exactly between Ntaluma and me and started a conversation with Ntaluma. To be honest, I felt helpless in the moment because I was not sure if I should, or could, join the conversation, even though the conversation was happening just one meter away from me. However, meanwhile, I somehow sensed that I didn't have to think about it as I didn't see myself in the conversation. My fieldnote recorded it as "*When a Mozambican woman, Marta arrived, the atmosphere that I always felt, 'not being an outsider but definitely not being an insider', appeared*".

This "not being an outsider but definitely not being an insider" atmosphere became clearer later. At some point, Ntaluma went to the kitchen to prepare lunch and Marta and I were left in the yard. Then, I asked her, "vocé é de Moçambique? Eu estava lá" ["Are you from Mozambique? I was there"] and our conversation started smoothly, almost as though the conversation with me was a continuation of her conversation with Ntaluma. She told me about her brother, who was a scholar of sociology in Mozambique and showed me a pdf of the book that her brother had written on her phone. After around 15 minutes, Ntaluma came back to the yard again, and our conversation belonged to the three of us. However, at some point, after I had gradually become silent, the conversation "returned" to the two of them again. At this point, I left my seat, and they continued their conversation. About this "returning," my fieldnotes recorded it as: "*they communicate like bubbles. They don't undertake it too much in a positive way[31]. In other words, 'Those people who come are welcome, those people who leave are not regretted*".

"Insider" and "outsider" would not exist without a clear boundary. For example, What's-your-name?-type questions let people get to know each other, but at the same time, they imply a border of things that they haven't known about each other until then.

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[31] I wrote this fieldnote in Japanese and "undertake it" comes from "請け負う", which I use to mean to feel excessive pressure to take responsibility for the flow of the conversation in this context.

This boundary coats conversations with a sort of heaviness, which requires people to actively do something to get through the boundary to communicate. On the other hand, "being open" makes this boundary thinner. As in the cases of Leonel and Marta, people treat new aquaitances as if they have always been there. If new participants want to talk or establish relationships, they are welcomed and vice versa. This difference led me to think of bubbles as a metaphor for the interactions. Bubbles are neither "being active" nor "being passive" and flow as the wind leads them. Although they have thin boundaries, if two bubbles happen to touch each other, they will form a giant bubble. If there is a strong wind, that bubble will be separated into multiple smaller bubbles. Similarly, if a guest shows up at Ntaluma's house, the person will not be actively welcomed by people who have been there for a while but will seamlessly become a part of them. "Being open" requires neither active acts nor passive acts from the bubbles, rather it is a condition that people keep their doors open. Whenever others come into their life rhythm, they can let them in, and whenever they want to leave, they can also let them go.

Figure 9

The image of "bubbles". N: Ntaluma, M: Marta, R: Ryohei
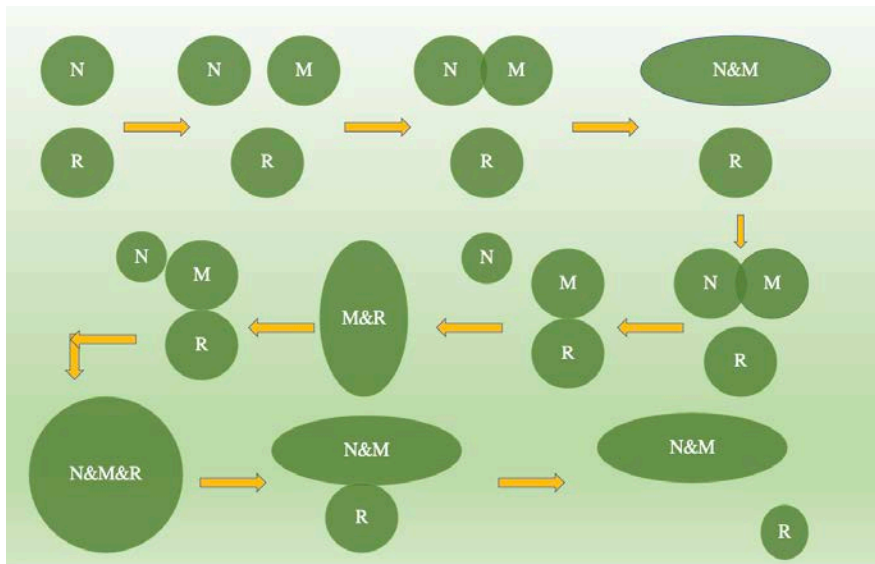
Note. Own work. (Made on the 1st of May, 2022)

2.4 "Being open" and Community formation of Afro-Mozambicans

As previously noted, the Mozambican communities were barely visible in Lisbon. As a way to establishing a network of Mozambican migrants, besides using the snowball method, I visited some places that had been mentioned in academic literature about African communities, namely, Cova da Moura and the square of São Domingos, and randomly asked people if they knew someone from Mozambique in those areas. I must admit that this approach was too random and a detour, but I also wanted to have an idea of how the Mozambican community was perceived by "outsiders". Approaching Mozambicans was the fastest way to find the Mozambicans' networks, yet if I only contacted Mozambicans, I would just presuppose the existence of Mozambican communities in Lisbon and research them within the borders of my imagined communities. However, what I got as answers were mostly like, "I know there are one or two people from Mozambique around here, but… I don't remember them. I must ask somebody". I could not reach out to any specific contact or place in Mozambican communities. I remember that once I asked a PhD student who was researching Mozambique about any of their Mozambican contacts in Lisbon. At first, she was unsure if she had any, yet she ended up naming more than 10 Mozambicans in Portugal. When it's all about individuals, it's hardly seen as communities. For the term, community to appear in our mind, we must be able to recall the expanse of a network that exists behind individual contacts. For "outsiders", it seemed that the expanse didn't exist for Mozambicans in Lisbon.

However, it was not the case from a Mozambican perspective. According to the owner of one Mozambican restaurant, called Oliveiras, there were a lot of Mozambicans in Lisbon, and they always met up at festivals, although that had stopped for a while because of Covid. Also, Osvaldo said that there were many Mozambicans in Lisbon, but we simply couldn't tell because Mozambicans were calm and peaceful in public spaces, and they never stood out. It seemed that Mozambicans interacted with each other on a daily basis, and it enabled them to imagine the spreading network as "communities" beyond individual contact. Also, I must note that they referred to this community as specifically for Afro-Mozambicans, although Portugal has been a destination for Indo-Mozambican migrants as well.

According to Lourenço (2013), the population of Indian origin residing in Mozambique can be divided into three groups according to their birthplaces: Gujarat

(Hindus and Muslims), Goa (Christians) and Punjab (Sikhs). Many of them from Gujarat and Goa migrated to Portugal from Mozambique during the decolonisation period in the 1970s. Migration from Gujarat to Mozambique happened, along with trade on the Indian Ocean, over centuries, whereas the migration from Goa to Mozambique happened after the Indian annexation of Goa in 1961. Many Goans opted for Portuguese nationality and migrated to Mozambique or Angola, taking a role in administrative infrastructures there. According to McGarrigle (2016), the majority of Indo-Mozambicans migrated to Lisbon, and currently, you can find a sizeable community living in Lisbon's northeastern suburb of Odivelas[32].

From the point of view of Afro-Mozambicans, although some of them have personal contact with Indo-Mozambicans, they didn't seem to consider Indo-Mozambicans as a part of their convivência [coviviality]. During one party at Ntaluma's house, people began talking about Indo-Mozambicans, and from the way they talked it seemed as if the participants in the conversation differentiated Indo-Mozambicans clearly from Afro-Mozambicans. One of the participants said, "Indians take money from Mozambique as the Chinese do". They clearly drew a line between Afro-Mozambicans and Indo-Mozambicans while they criticised them as too homogenous, saying, "eles crearam amizades só entre eles" ["they make friendships only among themselves"]. Also, Marta, in her interview, said that it was a mystery for her that she had barely interacted with Indo-Mozambicans in her life, including the time she was in Mozambique, referring to the fact that Indians have been in Mozambique for centuries regarding the trade over the Indian Ocean. She also narrated:

> Aquele espaço, Hotel Don Afonso Henriques é de Indianos Moçambicanos.
> Aquela empresa, Casinos, também, são indianos moçambicanos. Muitos
> empresas ponderosas são indianas moçambicanos. Maiorias dos ricos dos
> indianos aqui [Lisboa] são Moçambicanos. [That space, Hotel Don Afonso
> Henriques, is owned by Indo-Mozambicans. That company, Casinos, are run

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[32] With the exception of some Indo-Mozambicans who are merchants in a market in the Mouraria neighbourhood of Lisbon (McGarrigle, 2016, p. 442).

by also Indo-Mozambicans. Many big companies are Indo-Mozambicans. Most of the rich Indians here [Lisbon] are Mozambicans.] (Marta, the 21st of January, 2022)

Afro-Mozambicans seemed to project the image of being homogenous and rich, which turned out to be an image of "stealing money" from Mozambique to Indo-Mozambicans. When they narrated the Convivência, it referred specifically to Afro-Mozambicans in Lisbon.

Then, what does the community among Afro-Mozambicans look like? How do they establish networks among themselves in conditions where it is hard to meet others, considering the small population? Ntaluma's house, Base Beira is a place for Afro-Mozambicans to gathering in Lisbon. Although there are several advantages of his house turning into a hangout spot for them, such as the location close to the metro station[33] and his marital status as single[34], here I shed light on how the "being open" of the house lets Mozambicans create a community there and how the house provides an opportunity for Mozambicans to help each other.

On the morning of the 17th of November, the doorbell rang, so I opened the door and found a man standing at the entrance looking a little bit nervous. "Ntaluma?" I asked him, and he shortly said, "Sim" ["yes"]. I led him to the yard, which was also the workplace of Ntaluma. I sensed a slightly different atmosphere than usual from the conversation between them. Ntaluma quickly showed him around his house and went back to his work, and the sudden guest came back to the living room and nervously had a seat on a couch. Normally, Ntaluma would spend much longer, at least 15 to 30 minutes, having a conversation when someone visited the house, even while he was in the middle of his work. I was sitting on a different couch and made some small talk with

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[33] One interviewee analysed that the location of Ntaluma's house, which was close to the metro station, let his house become a hangout for African Mozambican migrants in Lisbon. He also said that the last Ntaluma's house was far from the metro station so it was difficult for him to visit Ntaluma at that time.
[34] Marta raised one point that Ntaluma was single as one of the reasons why it was possible for his house become a community in Lisbon in the interview.

him. His name was Elton, from Xai-Xai, the capital city of Gaza province in southern Mozambique. When I introduced myself and said that I was from Japan and had visited Xai-Xai before, he told me that he had some Japanese friends who worked in Xai-Xai as volunteers. This conversation melted the uneasy air surrounding us, and he looked a little more relaxed. He had arrived that day at the Humberto Delgado Airport in the early morning, a PhD candidate at one of the universities in Lisbon and had headed directly to the house. Ntaluma and I were the first people he had met in Lisbon. Apparently, he hadn't met Ntaluma before and didn't even know who he was at that time. While we were having small talk, Ntaluma came and asked me to buy some eggs and bread for this guest. As I was about to leave the house, Elton hurried to follow me, saying to Ntaluma, "I want to see around here", which sounded like an excuse not to stay in the house alone and avoid an awkward moment.

How could he have reached Ntaluma's house without knowing who Ntaluma was? What brought him to the house of Ntaluma? According to Elton, he first contacted one of his friends who had already been a PhD candidate in Lisbon when he decided to go there. This friend presented him to Nilza, a close friend of Ntaluma who works for a consul. Nilza offered him housing, yet since she had been busy at the time he arrived, due to her work and couldn't pick him up. So, she had told Elton to go to Ntaluma's house and wait for her until she finished her work.

One interesting finding here is Ntaluma's house is not only open for people who Ntaluma knows but also for people who he doesn't know, as this case and my encounter with his house show. This openness allows people to feel able to knock on his door as if the door itself doesn't exist and to stay there, which has resulted in a community of Mozambicans in Lisbon. While I was staying in Ntaluma's house, I witnessed many guests visiting the house no matter the time and without any prior notification. It happened even when Ntaluma was not at home. One day, Ricardo, who was from Nampula and currently pursuing a master's degree in Lisbon, suddenly appeared in Ntaluma's house around 8 p.m. According to him, the last time he had visited the house had been six months ago and he was visiting on this day because "he thought it had been a while since the last time he visited the house". However, at that time, Ntaluma was away, participating in an exhibition, and only Manuel and I were at home. Ricardo had brought a bottle of red wine with him, even though he didn't drink alcohol. He said,

"I don't drink alcohol but brought it because it would be nice" and ended up leaving the bottle on a shelf at the house when he left.

      The flow of people who pass through this house reminded me of the flow of the river, which always keeps moving and never stops. As the cases of Elton and Ricardo show, the door of this house was open for visitors who don't know the owner, Ntaluma, and also for spontaneous guests. Also, the order of things in Ntaluma's house seemed to represent this flow, which was backed by the openness. The accumulated bottles of alcohol, books, artworks, clothes, etc. seemed to have been silently and visually recording this constant flow of people to the house in an autobiographical way. On the shelves, there had always been some bottles of alcohol, especially red wine and sometimes *aguardente* (spirits), that the guests had brought to the house. Ntaluma always preferred red wine, saying, "one cup of red wine for each meal is good for health". Whenever a guest came, he asked me to bring some glasses and a bottle of red wine. Even when he got sick, he said, "Munyu vai acompanhar hoje" ["Munyu will accompany you today"], and never let the guest drink alone. Also, when he went to a party at other people's houses, he always brought some bottles of red wine, "porque é bom" ["because it's nice"]. A bottle of red wine was one of the signs that represent the current circulation of people to Ntaluma's house. On the other hand, books represented longer periods of circulation. Books were accumulated in different places in the house: at the back of the storeroom, under the kitchen desk, on the bookshelf in the living room and behind the family photos. The titles were diverse, ranging from old to new, and included books about Makonde sculpture and Mozambican history alongside novels written by Mozambican novelists, such as Mia Couto[35] and Paulina Chiziane[36], as well as current academic works about Mozambique written by Elísio Macamo[37] and Carlos Serra[38], for example. The constant flow of people to this house lets things accumulate

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[35] Mia Couto is one of the most well-known Mozambican writers from Beira. He won a Camões Prize, which is the most important prize for Portuguese literature, in 2014.
[36] Paulina Chiziane is one of the well-known Mozambican novelists from Maputo. She won a Camões Prize in 2021.
[37] Elísio Macamo is a Mozambican sociologist and is currently an assistant professor at the University of Basel. His name was popular among the Mozambican community in Lisbon, and one Mozambican recommended that I contact him.
[38] Carlos Serra (1941-2020) was a Mozambican sociologist who worked for the African

little by little. It gradually turns into a track that narrates people's circulations.

Figure 10

Sculptures lined up at the entrance to Ntaluma's house

Note. Own work. (Taken on the 11th of February, 2022)

Figure 11

Artwork hung on the walls of the house.

Studies Center at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. While I was reading his book at Ntaluma's house, one Mozambican told me, "I know him! His son is also famous these days as environmental activist in Mozambique".

Note. Own work. (taken on the 11th of February, 2022)

Figure 12

Books stacked haphazardly on shelves in the house

Note. Own work. (taken on the 11th of February, 2022)

Figure 13

A bookshelf lined with books related to Mozambique

Note. Own work. (taken on the 11th of February, 2022)

Figure 14

A shelf where I could always find bottles of red wine without running out

Note. Own work. (taken on the 11th of February, 2022)

The flow of people through the house has also accumulated knowledge in Ntaluma's house. Emidio, in his interview, mentioned a problem that some Mozambican migrants face in Portugal, which is the complicated process of getting a

resident permit. Due to the complicated procedure, he said that there are some Mozambicans who can't get the permission in good order and ended up staying in Portugal illegally. Also, as Forte (2017) mentioned in her work, the organisations that help Mozambican migrants with the problem of legalisation and social integration are lacking in Lisbon. Emidio also confirmed this point in his interview, saying, "o problema é a falta de federações que unam as associações moçambicanas." ["the problem is lack of federations that unite Mozambican associations."] He also mentioned the attempt by one of the biggest Mozambican associations in Portugal, "Casa de Moçambique", to found a federation, but it failed due to competition with the Mozambican embassy.

At this point, I found that Ntaluma's house provides an informal social security net. On the 19th of January, a Mozambican woman from Maputo visited the house with her nine-year-old daughter. The woman told me that she had been hospitalised because of illness for a while and had relied on Ntaluma's help during that time. She had come to Lisbon alone with her daughter "para melhorar a vida" ["to improve my life"], leaving her husband and son in Maputo. Unlike the situation faced by students, she was facing the problem of finding a job and navigating complex administrative procedures. She told me that she wanted to find a job cleaning or at a restaurant. At the same time, she needed to send her daughter in school for her education. Yet, she had a problem at that point because she didn't know which documents she needed to prepare. That was the reason why she visited Ntaluma's house. After chatting and having lunch with her, Ntaluma spontaneously asked her to make a phone call to the Portuguese administration. Once the call was connected, she passed the phone to Ntaluma, and he started to ask some questions about which document she needed to submit. It looked like he applied his way of solving a problem, "just knock on the door and ask," to the Portuguese context. He didn't seem to prepare anything beforehand, yet just made a phone call and collected the required information on the spot. Later, based on the answer he got, he went to the living room and found the document that she needed in a pile of other documents. Ntaluma once told me that Mozambican communities have always existed in Lisbon, saying "essa parte é que a communidade dos moçambicanos tem acolhimento. Acolhe-se, ajuda-se um ao outro." ["This part is that community of Mozambicans has a welcome. They welcome and help each other."] The case of Joana

seemed to reflect his words well. In a situation lacking in official aid for Mozambican migrants, "Mozambican house" has been a place where Mozambican migrants can help each other.

2.5 Conclusion of chapter 1

This chapter illustrated two places that maintain conviviality among Afro-Mozambicans in Lisbon, namely, Ntaluma's house and the MEA. Ntaluma's house has been open for Afro-Mozambican migrants, and there has been a constant and spontaneous people flow. This flow actually ended up transforming itself into a hangout and community among them in the context of Lisbon, even though Lisbon gives a feeling that the Afro-Mozambican community doesn't exist to outsiders' eyes. The Ntaluma's house provides a solid place where Afro-Mozambicans can gather up anytime and an informal safety net in which they can help each other regarding the administrative process as migrants. This people's flow is backed by the people's attitude of "being open", which gives a sense of already knowing each other although they had never met each other. Whoever comes to the Ntaluma's house was smoothly welcomed into the house no matter how the guest didn't know Ntaluma. Also, the role of Ntaluma's personality in preserving this community must be noted. His strong creed in human relationships, which was represented in his words, entangled with his house, let the house open under the name of "Base Beira", and led a community to appear in Lisbon. The flow of people at his house, which was backed by "being open", could also be found in the order of goods, such as books and bottles of alcohol in an autobiographical way.

The MEA, on the other hand, offers a space for maintaining conviviality as a religious space. It was found in Lisbon in 2016 as a brunch of MEA in Maputo. It is often narrated as a place of uniting Mozambique. Whereas, it also has an aspect that denies completely being Mozambican as there are non-Mozambicans in practice. It is located in-between "being Mozambican" and "being open for non-Mozambicans". Also, it takes a role in creating social network in Lisbon by constantly showing the attitude of welcoming new attendants and regular events held. It has been gaining new participants through word of mouth and seems popular among Afro-Mozambicans. Yet, due to the religious characteristics, it cannot be a place of conviviality for every Afro-

Mozambicans.

3. Chapter 2

A mode of "convivência"
-Art of keeping small interactions –
"If you can't make a call, you don't trust the person enough.
If you don't call back when you can't pick up the call, you lack ethics."

3.1 Tiny daily exchanges maintaining a network: phone calls

We have seen that Ntaluma's house was backed by the attitude of "being open", which could be seen in Ntaluma's creed in human relationships. Even though Ntaluma doesn't know about the guest, and no matter how spontaneous the guest is, Ntaluma's house is open to them as a "Mozambican house" or Base Beira. However, in order for a community to appear in his house, it is not enough that his house is "being open", but the people who pass by the house should also have an attitude of "being open". The guest, who always passes by the house, must feel easy to knock on his door, as if the house is a part of them, and its constant flow turns into a community later. For me, for example, knocking on the door of Ntaluma's house was difficult, as I noted in the first chapter. Many "what if" questions appeared in my mind along with nervousness and worries, especially because I didn't know Ntaluma very well. However, what I witnessed there was that although they didn't know each other, the guests gently knocked on the door of Ntaluma's house. Thus, in other words, for the house to become a community as a result of constant people passing by, both the house and people who pass by should mutually have an attitude of "being open". Then how does "being open" appear in African Mozambicans' minds? And how is it maintained in their mind?

Observing their way of using the telephone gave me the insight to explore at this point. As a person who makes a phone call once a week or not, the number of calls they made seemed to be too many in my eyes. Ntaluma, for example, always answered his phone when someone called. When I passed his room in the morning, around 6 a.m., I could already hear him laughing and talking to someone on his phone. While waiting for food to get ready, he attempted several times to catch someone on the phone who could take his call. I still can clearly remember his figure in my mind, one day, he took two calls at the same time, clasping two phones, one over each shoulder. Though I could never count exactly how many calls he made each day, because he sometimes

spent time in his room, I often saw that he made at least five calls in the morning. Based on my observations, I don't think it is an exaggeration to say that he made around ten calls a day.

When I shared this finding with some Afro-Mozambicans, they often laughed at it, as if they were saying, "it makes sense because that's Ntaluma". His case seemed exceptional even in other Mozambican's eyes. However, I was still interested in their mobile phone use because I saw other Mozambicans also frequently made calls on a daily basis, and it occasionally passed through my mind regarding the Convivência. In the first interview with Nilza, which took almost one hour and a half, she received four or five calls. Jean, who I met in Lisbon and called *avó*, or grandma in Portuguese, called me seven times between the end of February when I left Lisbon, and now, the 18th of May 2021. These experiences correspond to another experience in that I still receive spontaneous calls from Mozambicans who I met back in 2018, although we later had a big fight and have stopped contacting each other at that moment. We don't really talk on a call for long. It was more about exchanging small greetings as we do on the street, such as "tudo bem?" ["Is everything alright?"] "Sim, tudo. Contigo?" ["Yes, how about you?"] "Sim, eu também. Obrigado" ["Yes, everything is good to me too. Thank you"].

This thought led me to ask about the frequency of phone calls per day, both calls they make and calls they receive, in each interview. The frequency itself highly varied, depending on each person. One person answered six times, another one said two or three times and also one person answered that it often happened that he didn't make a single call during a week. Apparently, each person had specific people who they frequently called. One interviewee answered that he basically called his wife whenever he wanted. Another person answered that she often called her aunt and uncle. Also, there was an answer, stating, "We call many times, but it mostly happens within the same clan"[39]. Yet, when they were talking about those important/principle "calls," it seemed that they were not considering the small calls that I have mentioned above. Then, I tried to explain the reason why I asked the question after asking about the frequency of calls and associating it with my image of their "conviviência" [conviviality]. My image of the Convivência at that moment was "being able to knock

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[39] The interview was conducted on the 8th of February, 2022

on other's doors whenever they want to," which was associated with the idea of "being open". This idea came from my observations and daily interactions with Mozambicans, but the concrete image itself came from talking with Osvaldo in an early phase of my research, which associated "being able to knock on the door anytime" with "being Mozambican". I assumed that the feeling or the shared feeling of, "being easy to knock on other's door," allowed people to actually knock on someone's door, and this behaviour generated opportunities to live with others. Also, feelings and bodily movements are intertwined. This bodily movement embeds the easy feeling of interacting with others in them, and the feeling pushes people to actually knock on the doors again, and the behaviour strengthens the feeling too. I had hypothesised that the Convivência was based on this cycle. Yet, considering the context of Lisbon, where the Afro-Mozambican people don't live together, knocking on others' doors is not physically an easy option. So, I imagined it was replaced with something else, which could be "calling other's phones".

I shared my hypothesis about Convivência and its relation to the phone calls with the interviewees to clarify my intention behind the question about the frequency of daily calls. Among the responses, one interviewee's statement was noteworthy. After I explained all this, he seemed excited and immediately talked over me, saying:

> Exato!! exato!! Quase a mesma coisa, acho que está associado [to the way of using phone and knocking other's doors]. Porque como nós, temos essa particularidade, eu quero tratar um assunto consigo, né? Antes quando não existia o telephone, eu quero tratar um assunto, eu vou à sua casa. Chego a bater a sua porta e falar consigo. Sentamos e conversamos sobre o assunto e vou. O mesmo acontece na nossa cultura nossa lá [Moçambique]. Então isso, também, acho que se transferiu para o telefone. Como tu vieste bater a porta da casa, "aló? tudo bem? Tás aí? Podemos conversar?" e falamos. Por isso mesmo só para jogar a conversar fora. Ligar para rir, "como é? tudo bem?" só para te cumprimentar, saber como tu estás. Nos também fazemos isso. Olá amigo tudo bem? Como é que foi teu dia? Só! Para isso, só.

> [Exactly!! Exactly!! Almost the same thing, I think it's associated [to the way

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of using the phone and knocking on other's doors]. Because as we have this particularity, I want to deal with a matter with you, right? Before, when there was no telephone, I wanted to deal with something, and I went to your house. I come and knock on your door and talk to you. We sit down and talk about it, and then I go. The same happens in our culture there [Mozambique]. So that, too, I think it has transferred to the telephone. Like you came knocking on the door of the house, "hello, is everything okay? Are you there? Can we talk?" and we talk. So just to chat. Make a call laughing, "what's up? how are you?" just to say hello, to know how you are. We do that too. "Hi friend, how are you? How was your day? That's all! That's it, that's all.] (Leonel, 11st of November 2021)

Regarding Convivência, their way of calling each other on the mobile phone was a tiny enough interaction that they weren't conscious of it. However, the mobile phone plays an important role in creating opportunities for daily interaction among Afro-Mozambicans in Lisbon, although they live geographically apart in Lisbon. Their daily and trivial exchange of calls makes them feel easy to contact each other. The flow of people at Ntaluma's house is backed with the easiness of knocking on the door, felt by the people, which is constantly generated by the daily interactions.

3.2 "Ethics" and "trust": phone calls, something that should be

We have seen that Afro-Mozambican Convivência in Lisbon is supported by the tiny interactions like phone calls. However, if so, how is it possible for them to do so? If I, for example, try to do the same things, I would feel like I was putting effort into lifting my butt. The imagined boundary between others and myself hides what will happen next, and it makes me nervous. Under the name of "contacting people", many "what if" worries appear in my mind, such as "what if the person is busy?", "what if the person is annoyed?", "what if the other person says no?". Yet, this might not happen when I contact someone who I know well because I can imagine how the person will feel, and there is less mystery. Yet, the way of contacting each other among Afro-Mozambicans seemed smooth and easy-going in my eyes, which looked the opposite to how I felt.

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What makes them keep contacting each other on a daily basis? The words that Ntaluma casually uttered as he went about his daily life gave me a starting point to explore what makes them do so, and how the small interactions appear in their eyes.

One day, Ntaluma and I were having some red wine together in the living room at around 11 p.m. We were talking about the Convivência and Ntaluma was telling me about the importance of having many family members in Makonde as if he was poking fun at me; "Why!? It is a joy, it is a joy of having children, grandchildren, cousins…." His passionate way of talking and facial expression looked like he didn't understand why I didn't have the same feeling about it. It explicitly showed his high priority in expanding his networks. Once he even told me proudly, "Even a year or more after my death, there will still be people who do not know I died." I understood how joyful talking to people and connecting with people were. Yet, at the same time, I did feel a barrier when interacting with people because of the boundary I mentioned above. Our conversation was shifting to my findings about the phone calls, and I shared my sense of being a little scared to call people. His answer was, "if you can't make a call, you don't trust the person enough. If you don't call back when you can't pick up the call, you lack ethics."

Those two words, "ethics" and "trust" gave me the impression that "being easy to make calls" was not only something ordinary to them, but also something should be for them as a social norm. At this point, I was not sure what he meant, but the meaning behind the two words was revealed step by step through an unexpected dispute between Ntaluma, who had spent a long time in Mozambique and his son, Manuel, who had spent most of his life in Lisbon. Also, their discussion touched on some of the questions that I had had after spending time with Ntaluma.

Dispute and doubts 1: making phone calls on a daily basis as "ethics"

On the 18th of December, Manuel and I were standing in the kitchen and preparing for dinner. It was a normal day, nothing special. I went out to research the literature at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal [Portuguese National Library], and Manuel went to his school. On the days when I left to carry out research at the library or interview people,

Manuel and I usually had dinner together because both of us came back home at around the same time, 8 p.m., Ntaluma usually had dinner earlier than us, sometimes at 5 p.m., and sometimes at 7 p.m., because he mostly spent time in the house for his work. As usual, Manuel and I were heating up the foods that Ntaluma had already prepared and casually having a random chat about what we had done on that day. Then, suddenly Ntaluma's angry shouts echoed throughout the kitchen, saying, "Manuel! Chega aqui!" ["Manuel! Come here!"]. The air in the house became frozen all at once, and Manuel toddled off to the living room, looking at the ground and saying nothing. Soon after that, the dinner got ready, and since we used to have dinner in the living room, I brought my plate and had a seat with them. I strongly felt that I was intruding; the heavy air trapped my body, but my head said I should started eating as normal. The way that Ntaluma had shouted at Manuel clearly drew a line between people who knew the reason behind the shouting and the people who didn't, which was me. There were four people there: Ntaluma, Manuel, Samuel, a Tanzanian artist who often worked with Ntaluma, and I. Samuel and Manuel were seated on the same couch at the edge of the room, while Ntaluma was sitting on the largest one-person sofa, just next to it. Samuel said nothing, and his serious eyes were fixed on the television. Ntaluma opened his mouth and aggressively said, "Didn't you make any single call to me while your father was sick? Were you out for three days without saying anything, even 'tudo bem pai [How are you, father]? Even though Munyu asked me if I was okay, although he had been here only for a month. How come you don't care for your father when he gets sick?" The 18th was Monday, and Manuel and I had stayed at Manuel's Congolese friend's place for the last weekend. Thus, whereas Ntaluma had been sick since last Friday, Manuel had been out for the whole weekend. Manuel kept his silence and didn't say anything back to his father. While I was witnessing this, I was also ashamed of myself because I remembered that I had gone out without saying anything to Ntaluma. Moreover, I reflected on the fact I had only sent a message and hadn't talked on the phone with my father, who was in Japan at that moment and had celebrated his birthday just three days earlier. My fieldnote records my feeling at that moment as "I don't even call my father, and I wonder what I am". In fact, according to my calling records, I made a call to my father on his birthday. But he didn't pick up, so I just sent a message. But, even then, I still felt ashamed myself for not I "talking" to him. Apparently, at that

moment, "talking" began to attain a different meaning from texting for myself.

One of the interviewees, Sidonio, explained to me the importance of calling, "calling has a facial expression, but texting doesn't have". A mobile phone is a handy option to keep in contact in a distanced setting. The Afro-Mozambicans use it as a method to show how they care for others. Their way of using mobile phones, and constant small calls, correspond to "ethics", which is what Ntaluma referred to here. His utterances, when he got angry at his son, showed that they are "required" to make a call on a daily basis to show the attitude of caring for others. Ntaluma concluded the dispute with the strong words, "If you can't learn at home, go learn on the road!".

Dispute and doubts 2-1: preparing food for "everyone" as "ethics"

The second dispute happened around a week later. On that day, I interviewed a Mozambican that night, had dinner at their house and came back home around 9 p.m. Ntaluma also went out to a house party with his friends, wearing a nice t-shirt and hat made out of Capulana[40]. Back home, Manuel was heating up his food. It was just for himself, but it was fine for me because I had already eaten. Right after I came back, Ntaluma also arrived home. He came directly to the kitchen, where Manuel and I were standing, stared at the gas stove, and found that there was only food for one person. The next moment, he expressed his anger by laughing and saying, "Is that kind of person you are?" "I always prepare food for both of you, but you only make food for yourself?" "Is there a logic?" "Did you ask me if I would have dinner outside or not?" "Even if I don't eat dinner at home, meals should always be prepared for everyone!". The last statement especially reminded me of the house rule that Ntaluma told me when I had decided to move in, "When you want to eat dinner, you must make it for everyone". At first, when he said this to me, I imagined that it meant sharing the same meal, sharing the place, and sharing the same time. However, in practice, we barely had dinner "together" in that sense. Rather, one of us made dinner and each of us had it in our own time. We shared the same meal but at a different time and space.

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[40] Capulana is a fabric primarily found in Mozambique, but also in other areas in south-eastern Africa.

Dispute 2-2: preparing foods for "possibility for unexpected guests coming" and actively including others as "ethics"

The second dispute corresponded to some small doubts that I had while I spent time in Ntaluma's house. Preparing food does not just mean preparing enough food for spontaneous guests. Yet, Afro-Mozambicans also have to show the attitude to include others if they are sharing the same time and space at that moment.

One morning, I was eating some fruit in the kitchen. Ntaluma had already taken his seat in the yard and started to work. I found that there was a small pot on the gas stove heating up something. While I was eating an apple there thinking about nothing, Ntaluma rushed into the kitchen saying, "Está quemado?" ["Is it burnt?"]. My head was spacing out at that moment, so I vaguely answered, "sim?" ["yes?"], finished eating the apple and went back to the living room. After a short while, Ntaluma ducked in, with only his face in the living room, and said, "mandioca já está!" ["Cassava is ready!"] and went back. I must say that I then became confused because, first of all, I didn't know that there was cassava in the pot. Besides, what confused me more was that he just told me that the cassava was cooked, not asked me if I wanted it. The interpretation of his words was left to me, "Did he want to ask me if I wanted to eat it? Or should I eat it?". I ended up going back to the kitchen and eating some, but alone. Ntaluma was already back in his seat and facing his Macbook. That night, I still found some leftovers in the pot. It was clear that he didn't cook it just for himself. Yet, I was not sure if he considered the possibility that I would eat it when he cooked it. He might have forgotten to ask me if I wanted to eat before or thought that he had already asked me. However, another similar experience led me to think that he cooked it for "the possibility that somebody eats it later".

Another day, I arrived home from an appointment at 2.30 p.m. and told Ntaluma that I would eat lunch, he shortly and bluntly said, "Então, aquela comida" ["then, that food"] and went back to his work. To be honest, I felt a little offended from what he said because before I left the house, he had asked me, "Vai almoçar aqui?" ["Will you have a lunch here?"] and I had unconsciously taken the question to mean "if I would eat

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lunch with him". Yet, he didn't seem to care at all. Thus, I just followed what he said, served lunch for myself, sat at the table where Ntaluma was typing on his Macbook, and had lunch right in front of him without any conversation. After the meal, I went back to the living room and started reading some articles as usual. After just 15 minutes had passed, Ntaluma called me from a distance, "Ryo! Não comes Matapa?" ["Ryo! Don't you eat Matapa?"] I again became confused. I had told him that I would eat lunch, and he had even indicated to me what I should eat, but his behaviour seemed as if he didn't see or her anything. I even thought he had already had his own lunch before I came back, but apparently, I was wrong. My fieldnote records it as follows:

"My foods were prepared again as if he hadn't noticed that I was eating my lunch. There were two chunks of chicken left in the pot. Thus, I had lunch once again. Yet, the conversation between us were still few and not smooth" (Fieldnote, 17th of November, 2021)

I was wondering why he called me although he must have known that I had already eaten. His way of asking, which sounded like "don't you eat matapa, why?", made me even more confused. In the end, I ended up having the second lunch with him at the same table, yet we didn't talk so much. I tried to attribute logic to his actions, yet I couldn't do so at that moment. One possible explanation was, "Ntaluma might have wanted to have lunch with me/ talk to me", yet it seemed wrong too.

Now looking back and rethinking those disputes and doubts, the words that I used in my fieldnote above, "my foods," were not accurate. My word choice was based on what I felt, "Ntaluma might have prepared foods for me". However, rather it was for "the possibility of someone eating it later". Ntaluma's statement, "Even if I don't eat dinner at home, the meal should always be prepared for everyone!" echoes here. This didn't mean that Manuel had to prepare food for Ntaluma, but for "the possibility of someone eating it later", although he might have been angry at Manuel because there was no food for him at that moment. Having a meal seemed to already include the meaning of "sharing it with others", yet this doesn't mean sharing the same time and space. It is shared beyond time and space. Yet, if there is someone who is sharing the

same time and space, they are required to show the attitude to include others. Looking at Ntaluma's behaviour and the fact that he called me each time the food was ready illustrates this point. He "had to" call me simply because I was sharing the space with him, and he was unconsciously expected to keep including others. This embedded attitude of "keep including others" echoes with the Afro-Mozambicans' way of using a mobile phone and related statements. For the Afro-Mozambicans I had met, to keep contacting others seemed to be backed by their way of thinking that it is necessary to try to include others on a daily basis. Maintaining contact through small interactions is an important behaviour among them because it could be one of the ways to show how much they care for others, and it is also intertwined with their "ethics". Besides, these daily and small interactions give a sense of "trust" that Ntaluma also mentioned too.

3.3 **Conclusion of chapter 2**

Afro-Mozambicans in Lisbon use the mobile phone as a way of maintaining constant and tiny contacts on a daily basis. They use it to engage in small talk as if "they easily knock on the other's door". This daily contact was backed with "ethics", which expects them to keep showing an attitude that includes others. This attitude was also found in Ntaluma's daily behaviour. Having a meal doesn't necessarily mean that the meal will be eaten together with others, and it could be shared with others in a different time and space. Yet, there is an expectation when preparing a meal that enough will be prepared for unexpected guests, which eliminates the possibility of excluding them, and also actively demonstrates an attitude of including others if they are sharing the same time and space. These tiny and small daily interactions, which are backed with "ethics", generate "trust" among them, and it makes them feel easy to "knock on the door" in a reciprocal way. Especially in the context of Lisbon, where people live separately geographically these interactions play an important role in generating and maintaining a network among Afro-Mozambicans there.

"If someone tells you, 'Your socks look nice', then you have only two options.
One is to give the socks on the spot, and the other is to make a promise to give it later."

4.1 Dissimulation: the art of not saying "no"

Convivência [conviviality] sounds beautiful. Especially as a person who has been living in a society that has been criticised for individualisation, the idea of "being together" makes me long for it. However, simply living with people does not imply authenticity. Being with others pushes our body to keep interacting with people, making the boundary of our body more fluid. I sometimes wonder if what I say really belongs to me, or if what I say is what I really want to say. Here, I pay attention to the fact that I barely saw any Afro-Mozambicans say "no" during my fieldwork to shed light on another aspect of their Convivência. Was it their choice not to say "no"? If so, then why didn't they say "no" in the first place? I found this particularly interesting because it overlapped with my struggle with saying "no". It was natural for me to form the question, "why 'couldn't' they say 'no'?"

One day, I had an appointment for an interview with a Mozambican woman, Laura. We had first met each other at a Mozambican dinner party. We danced together, and she sent me the video of both of us dancing. Also, after that, we coincidentally met twice at a Mozambican restaurant. Our relationship seemed positive, in my view. Plus, I had already told her about the purpose for my stay in Lisbon, my research topic and had asked about the possibility of interviewing her. Her response was always positive, and I felt that our relationship was established enough to conduct the interview. Thus, I sent a message asking whether she would be available, and received a positive answer, as always. We decided on the date for a week later. I also sent another message for confirmation the day before the interview to check if she would still be available. Her reply, "Logo já te digo a que horas tu podes?" ["I will tell you at what time you can interview me later"]. I took this as a positive message and replied to her, "Está certo,

obrigado" ["Noted. Thank you"]. She sent me back "Bjs" ["little kisses"][41,] and I waited for her reply. Yet, later that day I still hadn't received any message from her. Around 2 p.m. on the next day, she finally texted me, saying, "Boa tarde tudo bem? Hoje já não vai dar para o nosso encontro estou ainda na fila da vacina. Bjs" ["Good afternoon, how are you? Today, I can't go to our meeting, I'm still in a line of vaccination. Little kisses"]. I asked her to let me know if she would be available on another date as a reply. She said that she would do it, yet I ended up not hearing from her again in our chat on Messenger. I was a little confused because she hadn't indicated that she might not be able to come, and there was no apology for the last-minute cancellation. On the other hand, I found myself somehow accepting it because of similar experiences during fieldwork and my personal struggle with saying "no".

Saying "no" is considered disrespectful in Japanese society, especially when we receive an invitation. This is often explained as a necessity to maintain "和 (wa)", which means harmony. Locating myself in a different cultural context, in the Netherlands, the frequency of being told, "be direct!" escalated. I often jokily say, "Japanese people can't say no. So, if you offer food, they will eat it up for sure". Not saying no is not an option. Rather, it is my body's reaction. The offer, "Do you want to eat more?" traps my body and ties it up. A smile almost automatically appears on my face, yet I feel an internal struggle over the words "no thank you. I am full" popping up around my chest. The feeling of the struggle makes me more aware of the fact that I am smiling, and my body starts trying to act naturally, I end up saying, "Oh really? Thanks!" to catch up with my smile. In turn, the words, which came out of my mouth consciously but beyond my control, lead my body to follow the words. I end up eating the offered foods, although I am full. Yet, at the same time, I consider that this difficulty with saying "no" is what brings people together. I don't remember how many times my struggle with saying "no" created opportunities to for me to meet new Mozambicans and brought us closer together during my fieldwork. Some of the Afro-Mozambicans who I met in Lisbon told me similar things, "Eu gosto do Munyu porque ele come e bebe tudo" ["I like Mynyu because he eats and drinks everything"]. This struggle pushed me to try various new things, dancing, singing, drinking, and eating together

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[41] It stands for "Beijinhos", and means little kisses. It is a common greeting in Portugal.

with members of the Afro-Mozambican community. It always pushed me forward a little bit when I was in between "do" or "do not" and hesitating. It was not always my active choice to participate in activities, yet my feeling, which might come from my Japanese background, led me to be with them.

From this perspective, I explored the fact that Afro-Mozambicans barely say "no" through their Convivência. In my case, if I have to say "no", then I would use a detour expression explaining the reason behind it or apologise for not being able to accept the invitation, feeling a strong inner struggle and discomfort. I assume that it makes Japanese people or myself seem indirect. Yet, at the same time, this turns out to be a clearly demarcated in the conversation. On the other hand, in Mozambican communication, I could not clearly perceive their "no" in any form of expression. Besides, I didn't hear any justifications being given either. This left me with a slight discomfort as I couldn't make sense in my head of what was going on. For example, although Laura didn't send a further message about the interview, she left a comment on my Facebook post, "Tudo de bom e muitas Felicidades" ["All the best and best wishes"] as normal after I came back to the Netherlands from Lisbon. She never touched on the topic of the interview, yet our relationship has continued as though the conversation related to the appointment hadn't happened. If there had been another message about rescheduling, the reason for the cancellation, or an apology later, I would have been able to put a period after the conversation and move on. Yet, since those words didn't show up, I have been unable give any logic to what happened. I even felt that I was required to keep contacting Laura as normal, holding back my questions and slight discomfort. My fieldnote recorded another experience during which I had to hold back my frustration when I conducted an interview with Emidio.

> My today's plan was swayed by Emidio. He sent a message about an interview, saying, 'I have time tomorrow'. Yet, he hadn't replied later and didn't even pick up a call. While I was waiting, he called me and said that he would arrive at his house in 30 minutes, around 4 p.m., so I went there, but he was not there. Then I came back home and received another message around 30 minutes later and said, '*já estou na casa. Não vou sair mais hoje, pois vem cá qualquer horas quando quiseres'* [I won't go out anymore today so come here anytime

you want']. When I knocked on the door and finally entered his house, he was watching TV as if nothing had happened, and he told me, *'Mynyu, fique à vontade. Aqui é tua casa. Okay, Munyu vamos conversar* ['Munyu, help yourself. Here is your house. Okay, Munyu, let's talk'].   (Fieldnote, 18th of December, 2022)

This discomfort and the frustration of not being able to understand, which came from the lack of apologies or explanations, led me to think about why I couldn't stop seeking those words. I consider that any invitation carries some sort of expectation that the person will show up, and apologies are made when that person is unable to meet that expectation. Then, don't Mozambicans have any expectations when they invite someone for something? What's more, why don't they say "no"?

This reminds me of a statement made during an interview with Estar, who also resides in Portugal but a bit far from Lisbon. She said, "If someone tells you, 'Your socks look nice', then you have only two options. One is to give the socks on the spot, and the other is to make a promise to give them later". I asked her the reason behind this rule, but she said that she didn't know why. What she said surprisingly showed that there is an extreme expectation placed on a person when they are asked for something, which is exactly the opposite to what I had hypothesised. The person who is asked *must* answer, "yes". This might be an attitude that their Convivência requires of them. In the other two interviews, two women, Nilza and Marta talked about their experience with this attitude linking to Convivência.

4.2 "Estas á ver essa mentalidade né?" ["You see the mentality, right?"]:   Two stories of impossibility to say "no"

Nilza's experience was about a time when she had received some pharmacists from Mozambique, who she had never seen before, in Lisbon. She narrated that she accompanied one of them to the airport on the day when he was supposed to leave, yet he asked her to pay for his ticket on the spot, and she had to pay for it. We could see how easily and smoothly the act of asking is exchanged among them. Also, it showed how they are expected to answer it although it was about a large amount of money and

the person asking was not familiar to them. The way of she smoothly and lightly said "okay" seemed to show that her behaviour of answering everything being asked was ingrained in her body.

> *[Os farmacêuticos] estiveram aqui [em Lisboa], foram lá pra minha casa, foram pra casa do Ntaluma. Bebeu-se um bocadinho. Então, no dia em que eles foram embora, eu vim deixar a ele às 15 horas, ah às 14, mas disse, 'Olha, como ainda não comeste, e vais viajar as 19:15, vais para casa comer'. Como é pertinho, minha casa é pertinho. 'Okay' e foi. Como foram 17 horas, famos embora. 'É bom tu ires, se não perdes o avião'. 'Okay, tá se bem". [...]Então foi lá (para o aeroporto). Eu não o conhecia, conheci naqueles dias. [...] Depois diz assim 'Vamos no banco? Eu não tenho dinheiro, mas preciso de pagar, isto.' 'Okay.'' Precisa de pagar isto (a passagem). 'Mas quanto é que é?' '600 e tal'. 'Não sei se consigo'. Mas depois consegui e paguei. Eu paguei a passagem tudo bem. Foi embora? Não. Voltou para o sitio, para o sitio onde ele estava a dormir. ficou lá um dia, acho que um dia, e no dia seguinte, epa, ele consegu viajar. Okay, mas ele tem os meus 600 e tal euros. Em meticais já nem sei quanto é que é. Então, ele chegou lá e pagou-me uma parte. Depois diz que, 'eu não estou em condições ainda de pagar. [...] Mas vou-te pagar' Porque pessoas nem dão satisfação. Ele me-deu depois pagou mais 15000, acho que agora faltam 15000 meticais.*

[(The pharmacists) were here (in Lisbon), they went to my house, they went to Ntaluma's house. We had a little drink. Then, the day they left, I came to see off him at 3 o'clock, ah at 2 o'clock, but I said, 'Look, as you haven't eaten yet, and you're going to travel at 19:15, you're going home to eat'. As it's close by, my house is close by. 'Okay,' and he went. … Since it was 5 p.m., We left. 'You better go, or you'll miss the plane'. 'Okay, that's fine'. [...] So we got there (the airport). I didn't know him, I met him in those days. [...]Then he said like this, 'Shall we go to the bank?' I didn't have money, but I needed to pay this.' 'Okay.' I needed to pay this (the ticket). 'But how much is it?" '600 or something'. I didn't know if I could do it. But then I managed it and paid. I paid

for the ticket, all okay. Did he leave? No. He went back to the place, where he was sleeping. He stayed there one more day, I think one day, the next day, hey, he got it, he was going to travel. Okay, but he had my 600 and something euros. In meticais[42] I don't even know how much it is. So, he got there and paid me a part. Then he said, 'I'm not in a condition to pay yet. But I'll pay you'. Because people don't even apologise. He gave it to me then paid 15,000, I think now 15,000 meticais are missing.]

(Nilza, interview taken on the 27th of October, 2021)

Whereas Marta told me about a similar experience she had during her interview, adding her own analysis to it. She seemed to be aware of the peculiarity of Convivência compared with other modes of conviviality in Portugal based on her own experience of being in Lisbon for almost 10 years. A much-repeated phrase from the interview, which she said while laughing, "Estas á ver essa mentalidade né? ["You see the mentality, right?"] emphasised the strength of the connections between Mozambicans, especially between members of the same family, and their potential to cause negative consequences.

Her story was about her nephew who was a university student living in Covilhã, a municipality in the Central region of Portugal. He received money for daily expenses and tuition fees from his mother, yet since "também tem irmãos lá, que a mãe também sustenta" ["There are brothers there [Mozambique], who his mother supports"], the total amount was small and he couldn't afford to do extra activities, such as travelling. Marta underscored the importance of having different experiences, saying "porque ele é jovem" ["because he is young"]. However, due to the intensity of his course, he couldn't make time to work a part-time job. So, Marta advised him to contact the Social Service Department at his university to ask for an allowance for meals. He followed her advice and ended up getting the allowance and succeeded to save some money. Yet, "vou-te contar outra historia engraçada" ["I'll tell you a funny story"] she said. Her nephew had then visited his cousin who studied in Coimbra, another city in Central Portugal, and told him how he had managed to save up some money. Then, the cousin

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[42] Metical (meticais in the plural) is the currency of Mozambique.

in Coimbra shared this information with his mother, and she went on to call Marta's nephew, who had succeeded in saving some money. Marta narrated;

Eu não sei o que conversaram. Só sei que a minha irmã liga para meu sobrinho, 'você é irmão, voce consegiu isso, porque não avisou para o teu primo que você consegiu isso?' Tás a ver a mentalidade, tás a ver né? 'Você tinha que avisar o teu primo! Você não pode ser assim.' [...] A mãe liga para o filho dela que está em Covilhã, "você é irmão. Ajuda o teu primo! Teu primo está aí?' [...] Outros está em Aveiro [laughter] *todos têm 18 anos. Todos vão chegar aos 18 anos. Um está em Aveiro, outro está em Coimbra, ele também combinado. Ele, cada vez que descobre uma coisa, tem que avisar outros.*

[I don't know what they talked about. My sister just called my nephew, 'you're a brother. You got this, why didn't you tell your cousin that you got this?' You see the mentality, you see right? 'You had to tell your cousin! You can't be like that.' […] The mother calls her son, who is in Covilhã, 'you are brother. Help your cousin! Is your cousin there?' […] Other is in Aveiro (laughs) all are 18 years old. They're all going to be 18. One is in Aveiro, another one is in Coimbra, he was also combined. He, each time he discovered things, has to let others know.]

(Marta, interview taken on the 21st of January, 2022)

Marta repeatedly said, "não faz sentido!" ["It doesn't make sense!"]. According to her, not only did her nephew have to inform his cousins in Coimbra and Aveiro of any such achievements, he also had to do everything for them, such as going to the website of his cousin's university, finding an email address of the Social Service Department, and writing an email, "Começa com os cumprimentar, 'Boa tarde',[…]no fim escreve 'Saudações'" ["Starts with greeting words, 'Good afternoon' […] ends with writing 'Greetings'."] Apparently, her nephew later got angry at his mother, who kept telling him to share his achievement with his cousins, and he said, "Entao já não vou contar-te nada" [Then I will not report you anything"]. She referred to the fact that I was studying

at a university in the Netherlands and emphasised how it didn't make sense to her;

> *Você está a estudar na tua universidade na Holanda, ele (her nephew) é que tem que descobrir o site da tua universidade para entrar o pedido. Não faz sentido! Mas como eu vou conversar aquelas pessoas estão na Holanda? Não faz sentido!*

> [You are studying at your university in the Netherlands. He [the nephew] is the one who has to find out your university's website to enter the application. It doesn't make sense! But how come I'm going to talk to those people who are in Holland? It doesn't make sense!]

These two interviews demonstrate the embodied and expected behaviour among Afro-Mozambicans, namely, that when they are asked a favour, they must respond positively. This seemed to be related to the art of not saying no in a way that they "couldn't" say "no" because they have to show a positive attitude. This echoes the Nyamjoh's assertion that Ubuntu sometimes turns to opportunism (Nyamjoh, 2019). Nyamjoh describes the case of a Togolese migrant who found the weight of his family's expectations regarding remittances so great that he thought about committing suicide. An attitude of "incompleteness" leads people to open themselves up to others and relate to each other in a reciprocal way. As some scholars have pointed out (see Nyamjoh, 2019; Godbout et al, 1998) that reciprocity let people to unit up, but at the same time, it also involves negative feelings.

In Mozambican contexts, the art of not saying "no," which seems to come from the expectation to respond positively when asked for a favour, a Brazilian scholar, Luiz Henrique Passador, analysed dissimulative acts among people who live in Homoíne, Southern Mozambique (Passador, 2011). According to him, dissimulative acts were common in Hermoíne society and an effective way for individuals to protect themselves within the society (Passador, 2011). Passador analysed Hermoíne society using Comaroff's theory of, "being-as-becoming", which had come from Comaroff's analysis of the Tswa society in South Africa. "Being-as-becoming" conceives of a self that is in

a state of continual construction in relation to socio-physical space and time, namely its relations, presences, and enterprises. In other words, nothing, including one's own identity, can exist without relating itself to others, which rejects the concept of a self-being confined and completed within one's body (Comaroff&Comaroff, 2001, p275). In this regard, self is also related to social status, and Tswa people don't consider wealth as something accumulated by individuals, but as something accumulated in people, for example, as extensive human relationships. At this point of being connected, the state of death is not physical death but a condition of "being undone", which is when the self stops relating to others through either becoming a victim of witchcraft or using witchcraft (Camaroff, 2001, p. 275). Thus, the exercise of witchcraft was based on the epistemology of people relating themselves to each other to exist. The state of being "known" allows the self to be attacked by others. In this regard, concealing the self became an effective way of protecting oneself because it is the furthest state from "being known". Passador (2011) found a similar social structure in Homoíne society. He gave Lobolo, which is a traditional marriage ceremony in Southern Mozambique, as an example of this notion of wealth. He argued that the groom doesn't pay the bride-wealth for the bride but for the network, which comes from the alliance of two families and their descendants (Passador, 2011, p. 153). Passador mentioned that the Homoíne people often used some metaphors to refer to an ambitious person who also use witchcraft: someone who tried to eat alone or someone who eat foods without sharing it with others. (Passador, 2011, p. 152).

We could see how the behaviours described in the interviews by different Afro-Mozambicans, such as the art of not saying "no", could be ways of coping with this strong expectation of "being together", which Ntaluma referred to in his statement as "ethics". Also, problems caused by the strength of this expectation are not only related to the spiritual dimension, namely witchcraft, but also to practical matters, such as paying for a plane ticket in Nilza's interview and being forced to help cousins in Marta's interview. As Marta said, although it also looks like "Não faz sentido" ["It doesn't make sense"] in their eyes, they are expected to answer all requests positively. Convivência is upheld by "ethics" to be always together, which also creates a strong pressure so that they would not say "no" but dissimulate.

4.3 Conclusion of Chapter 3

The art of not saying "no" and the two interviews revealed that the Afro-Mozambicans are expected to answer positively to requests for favours. Applying the argument of Passador, I suggested that there is an idea of a self that is continuously under construction with regard to the relationship with others and their society among the Afro-Mozambicans. What Ntaluma called "ethics" could come from this state of being connected to other people and its society and implies the importance of maintaining the connections. Concretely, as we have seen in Chapter 2, the Afro-Mozambicans are expected to maintain constant small interactions on a daily basis and these acts were supported by "ethics". The embedded "ethics" push people to constantly interact with others and have resulted in the formation of a community whereby people frequently show up at Ntaluma's house. Yet, "ethics" also creates a strong expectation that requires members of the community to say "yes" to the requests from others. The art of not saying "no" seems a necessary behaviour as a strategy when Afro-Mozambicans need to express "no". Convivência is maintained by this sensitive balance, which could turn out to be either a condition for people to be together or problems caused by the pressure of expectations.

"Estamos juntos" [we are together] – the precondition for the embodied self -
"Munyu, Mozambican party was convivial (de convívio).
Each one helps each other and organise a party"

5.1 A Birthday Party: Melting "I" which feels a pressure

We have seen in the interactions between Afro-Mozambicans that a number of expected behaviours, carried out in the name of "ethics," exist. These behaviours create community as well as intense pressure for them. Observing their lives allowed me to see how deeply this concept of "ethics" was embedded in their lives. As Leonel explained to me in his interview saying, "It's too natural for us. We don't have to talk about something too natural," this behaviour was mostly unconscious, and was usually remarked on when it presented a drawback, as Marta answered. Yet, how do Afro-Mozambican people feel about "ethics"? What does it mean to them? I wanted to deconstruct the term "ethics" in their words and know how it appears in their minds. The experience of being with them made me reflect on my way of thinking and gradually melted it. This experience of "melting" guided me to understand "ethics" as a bodily experience in myself and to connect it to their daily expression of, "estamos juntos" ["we are together"].

I planned to have my birthday party at Ntaluma's house on the 11th of December. As my birthday is on the 12nd of December, Ntaluma and I had talked about having a party several times. Yet, every time we had talked about the party, he had told me "Fique à vontade! Aqui é sua casa" ["Let yourself comfortable! Here is your house."]. Thus, the organisation of the party had been left in my hands. I was particularly interested in how Mozambicans communicate with each other and gather in one place, and it was a great opportunity to learn about it. Yet, since I didn't know where to start I asked Ntaluma and Manuel about what I should do. Their answer was simple, "text people whom you want to invite to the party". Following their advice, I first texted six Mozambicans who I had met a few days before the party. I also invited some Japanese, Congolese, and Tanzanian friends. Every Mozambican's reply was positive, mostly like "Estarei lá. Obrigado pelo convite." ["I will be there. Thank you

for the invite."]. That was all that I did. Besides that, I planned to prepare the food myself with Manuel.

On the day of the party, I had lunch with Ntaluma and Manuel at around 2 p.m. since the party was planned to start at 5 p.m. While I was having lunch and thinking about shopping, Nuno, who was a Mozambican PhD student in Lisbon, came to the yard. I hadn't texted him about the party before because I didn't have his contact first of all, and second of all, I didn't know anything at all about him, not even his name. On arriving at the yard, he greeted us, left his stuff, served lunch for himself, and sat at the table with us. Apparently, he had already heard about the party from someone else and had come for it. The party was going to start at 5 p.m., but he had arrived there at 2.30 p.m. I asked why he had come so early, and his answer was "to prepare food before the others come". He also said, "Munyu, Mozambican party was convivial (de convívio). Each one helps each other and organise a party". I was not sure if he used the word *convívio* [convivial] because I had already introduced my research topic— Convivência—to him, or if the word had naturally come out of his mouth. However, it was certain that I, who I considered to be an "organizer", didn't know that he would come and, moreover, prepare food. In the end, this helped the party a lot. The Japanese dishes that I prepared were gone soon after the party began, and the voices, "Aren't there another sushi/gyoza[43]!?" "Is that all?" started to fly in the yard. It was too late to prepare more, so we slowly shifted to the Mozambican dishes that the participants had prepared. Likewise, "my" birthday party was gradually spilling out of my hands. Improvised things were not only foods but also people. In the end, the number of participants swelled to more than 30. The four out of the six people that I had texted, Ntaluma, Manuel, who lived there, two Congolese friends, one Tanzanian friend, and five Japanese friends, came. The two Mozambicans, who told me that they would come, didn't text me that they wouldn't come in the end. More than 15 people came to whom I had not sent an invitation.

Ntaluma and a friend of his once talked to me about throwing a party, laughing,

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[43] 寿司 (sushi) is a dish of a piece of fish with prepared flavored rice with vinegar, sugar and salt. Sometimes it's wrapped with seaweed. 餃子 (gyoza) is a dumpling often filled with pork, cabbage and leaks.

"Munyu, you can't predict how many people will come to a party in Mozambique. Sometimes over 20 people come, but sometimes no one comes". For these words to become real, the people hosting the party must be open, and, at the same time, the people who go to the party must be able to "trust" the hosts to be open. Although if either the original invitees don't come or unexpected participants show up, the organiser would still have to welcome them, which is an active decision to close their eyes to negative consequences or feelings. Also, the people, who receive the invitation, must feel comfortable to decide whether to actually go or not. This is also an active decision in my eyes because I must accept the bad feeling of betraying, which comes from not going without letting them know although I received the invitation.

However, the way that Nuno or Ntaluma explained this made it seem like it was natural to be open rather than actively opening. This struggle to find the exact expression that could explain what I felt there led me to rethink my framework of thinking. My choice of the words "my" and "organiser" reflect that I had unconsciously assumed that there must be people who were re sponsible for this party and then guests. Especially, in this case, Ntaluma's words, "Fique à vontade! Aqui é sua casa" ["Let yourself be comfortable! Here is your house."] drew my attention to the fact that "I" had organized the party and put pressure on myself. However, as Nuno's words, "the Mozambican party is convivial" showed, their way of having a party had gradually melted the feeling of being under pressure. The word "responsibility" seemed to start lift from my hands and slowly spread and melted into Ntaluma's house. There was no heaviness, which often accompanies responsibility. Responsibility makes organisers feel that they have to take care of an event and meet the invisible expectations of the guests. Also, guests feel the pressure to meet the organiser's expectation, "to be present". However, as Ntaluma's words on the impossibility of knowing the number of participants to expect and the two Mozambicans who had said they would come yet sent no notification to the contrary, represent, unexpected guests or sudden cancellations seem to be accepted as normal. The party didn't seem to belong to anyone, especially those who had organised the party, but rather, there was just a space called "party", and people were simply there, loosely fitting into the framework. Once someone steps into that space, their behaviour becomes part of the party. One person prepares food, someone else does the dishes, and somebody plays music. The actions of each and

every person in the space complement the party by being loosely organised within the framework of the party.

This experience of "spilling out" made me think that "being open" was not enough to describe Convivência. Rather, "being together" was more accurate. If I use "being open", it means that I assume that there are people who welcome others (organisers) and people who are welcomed (guests). This division creates the heaviness, that I described above. On the other hand, the phrase, "estamos juntos" [we are together], which is frequently used at the end of conversations, suggests that being with others may exist as a precondition for the embodied self. This precondition prevents the creation of a border between organisers and guests. If there is no border, there is no reason to be surprised by unexpected guests and sudden cancellations. Moreover, this precondition appears in each person's behaviour. Especially, in this case, "being together" was in the context of the party and appeared as cooking, doing dishes, and so on.

5.2 Embedded "estamos juntos" in Mozambique

Back in 2018, when I was in Mozambique, I saw that Mozambicans often concluded conversations by saying "estamos juntos" [we are together]. We often exchanged these words with fist pumps. It was catchy enough that even Japanese people living there as volunteers often used "estamos juntos" to show how much we "know" about Mozambique. Unfortunately, I could not find any academic literature researching this expression in the Mozambican context, yet I could find some mentions of it. Santana (2021, p. 27) introduced "estamos juntos" as "a frase costumeira muito repetida entre as pessoas por aqui [Chibuto[44]]" ["the often-repeated phrase among people around here [Chibuto]"]. "Estamos juntos" is also used as a name for some associations or projects. For example, there is an association that aims to help AIDS patients called Hixikanwe, which means "estamos juntos" in Changana, a local language spoken in Southern Mozambique (Andrade, 2015, p. 566). Also, there is a project called "Estamos Juntos Pela Vida" [We are together for Life] to prevent the spread of AIDS (Ramos,

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[44] A city in Gaza Province in the southern Mozambique.

2016, p. 99). It was financed by the Confederação Episcopal Italiana [Italian Episcopal Confederation]. "Estamos juntos" is also used to show the "resilience" of Mozambican society. A Portuguese media, TSF Rádio Notícias featured one Mozambican lady's statement saying "estamos juntos" in an article about the damage of Cyclone Idai[45] in Beira, Central Mozambique (Men, 2020). The lady was a director of an association, called Young Africa, which provides vocational training to young people. The article said,

> *A directora do Centro de formação da YA admite que 'as pessoas ainda não se reergueram'. Apenas '30% dos danos na Beira estão superados e a cidade vai demorar cinco anos para recuperar', antevê Aksana Varela, mas 'estamos juntos'.*

> [The director of the YA training centre admits that 'people have not yet got back on their feet'. Only '30% of the damage in Beira has been overcome, and it will take five years for the city to recover', predicts Aksana Varela, but 'we are together (estamos juntos)'.] (Men, 2020)

The way this article introduces this expression in texts shows how easily "estamos juntos" became associated with the wealth-in-people in Mozambique as a way of being resilient. "Estamos juntos" is also politicised. The deputy of the assembly of Portugal, António Maló de Abreu, used the expression in an article in one of the biggest newspapers in Portugal, *Diário as Beiras* (Maló de Abreu, 2020). The title of the article was "Opinião – Moçambique: Estamos juntos" ["Opinon – Mozambique: We are together"]. This article was about his opinion in reaction to the current terrorism in Cabo Delgado, Northern Mozambique. He used this expression in a way that he could express his empathy and stance of supporting Mozambique against terrorism. Also, in another news article by the Observatótrio da Lingua Portuguesa, there is a mention that the general of the Portugese army, Nuno Lemos Pires, had raised "estamos juntos" as a

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[45] Idai hit Central Mozambique in 2019 and 2.2 million people needed an urgent assistance (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2019).

key idea behind the collaborative military training mission held by the European Union and Mozambique in response to the terrorism in Cabo Delgado ("Moçambique/Ataques: Missão", 2021). According to the article, this would be the fourth EU military training mission following missions in Mali, Somalia and the Central African Republic. The training sessions would be held, both in Chimoio, central Mozambique, and Maputo, together with 1,000 Mozambican soldiers and 140 soldiers from different European countries. The quote, "estamos juntos", here seems to give a sense that the mission is welcomed in Mozambique and emphasises the importance of the collaboration between the EU and Mozambique.

According to one Mozambican interviewee, people started to use "estamos juntos" after Mcel, one of the leading telecommunication companies in Mozambique, started to use it for their advertisements. Mcel was founded in 1997 and has more than 3 million customers in Mozambique (Devex, n.d.). They have been using "estamos juntos" as a tagline in its advertisements which show how their mobile phone service brings people together. Although it is not possible to demonstrate exactly how this advertisement has increased the use of this expression in Mozambican daily life, we can understand how deeply the expression is embedded in their life when we observe its frequent use in daily interactions, its politicisation and association with the image of "Mozambique". Also, similar expressions exist in other local languages, such as "Hixikanwe" [we are together]. I would assume that people had a sensibility that corresponds to "estamos juntos" even before it became a popular expression among them. "Estamos juntos", which could be rephrased as "being together", overlaps with the acts that I witnessed during my fieldwork, namely the impression that "they are open", constant callings and an expectation to respond to other people's requests for favours positively. The fact that people frequently use "estamos juntos" seems to represent that they have a shared feeling of "being together" in their bodies, and what I witnessed was its realisation through their daily acts and attitudes. Also, seen from this point of view, dissimulative acts are not chosen out of a desire not to live with others, but are rather acts to cope with, and temporarily remove oneself from the state of "being together".

Figure 15

An Mcel advertisement.

Note. An image of the Mcel's advertisement from its official twitter account.

5.3 Accumulated "estamos juntos" in Ntaluma's house

My realisation of "estamos juntos" led me to look at Ntaluma's house from another perspective. I started to feel that Ntaluma's house could be seen as an accumulation of acts of "estamos juntos". Their acts, such as constant phone calls, the preparation of extra foods for unexpected guests, and Ntaluma's custom of calling everyone who happened to be in the house when the food was ready, might be parts of an effort to eliminate possible mental borders that arise between Mozambicans and preserve the constant circulation of people. These may have been the acts that led to the creation of the "Mozambican house" among Afro-Mozambicans in Lisbon. I came across a statement once that seemed to represent that effort.

On the 24th of December, we were preparing for the Christmas party at

Ntaluma's house. To be honest, I had a hangover that morning, so I told Ntaluma and Manuel that I would sleep until noon. While I was sleeping, some people came into the bedroom and left their bags. They seemed to start the preparations by cleaning up the yard because normally, people gathered there and grabbed some drinks. I had heard the sound of the preparations and of the accompanying conversation begin a while before I got up. I felt a bit guilty for joining them so late on, yet they laughed at me, saying "when did you come back last night?" "Did you drink a lot?". I found four people in the yard, Ntaluma, Nuno, Hugo, and Manuel. Apparently, they were trying to set up an instant roof in the yard since the weather forecast predicted that it would be rainy. There was already a wavy corrugated plastic roof, yet it covered only a small part of the yard. So, they were trying to cover up the rest of the yard by connecting the instant roof to the sheets of corrugated plastic roof and the roof of the house. Aluminium rods and blue plastic sheets were used to make this improvised roof. It was very a sensitive task, and they had to tilt the sheet so that the rain would not collect on the covering as it would break under the water's weight. Should we erect one tall post and lower the others, or should we build two high points? Each of us gave our opinion, and discussed the best way to set it up. It was raining already, so we proceeded with our task in the rain. Ntaluma or Manuel climbed onto the stacked shelves or concrete walls and tried to hammer nails into them. I supported the rods and tried to give my opinion. After a while, it looked like it was ready in my eyes. The roof became stable, and I was satisfied with the positioning of our instant roof. Yet, the others didn't stop and instead kept trying to adjust the roof. I told Hugo that the roof was ready and asked why they were still adjusting it. Interestingly, he explained, "We're trying to remove the water dropping here because if there is, people would be divided into two groups. One will keep staying under the wavy corrugated plastic roof, and the other will be under the instant roof". He was right. I also found water dropping between the existing the corrugated roof and the instant roof. Yet, it seemed too complicated to prevent all drips. The instant roof was placed on top of the plastic wave roof, so rain falling on the plastic roof would have fallen off its edge, which would create "the division". Yet, they tried to fix the aluminium rods, which had a dent for the water to run along, to the edge of the corrugated plastic roof, so that the drips of water would only fall at one point, thereby preventing the rain from dividing people into two groups.

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This last plan was not realised in the end. They tried it in multiple ways, but couldn't find the right spots to fix the rods. Also, the weather got better, so the feared division didn't appear in the yard. However, my mind couldn't stop reflecting on the fact that they had tried to prevent this possible division. Even though if they didn't try to realise the plan with the rods to stop water dropping, the yard would be able to contain more than 20 people. Besides, the amount of water dripping between the different roofs wasn't much, so people would still have been able to have a conversation without any problems. We could say it might have been natural to pay attention to the dripping water because it would be better not to have it. However, if I had been trying to get rid of it, my intention wouldn't have been to prevent the rain from dividing people into two groups. Rather I would have simply thought about the discomfort of having water dropping in the space where we were having a party. The fact that they paid attention to the water dropping, clearly stating that they didn't want to separate people into two groups, made sense in the context of what I had seen and thought until then.
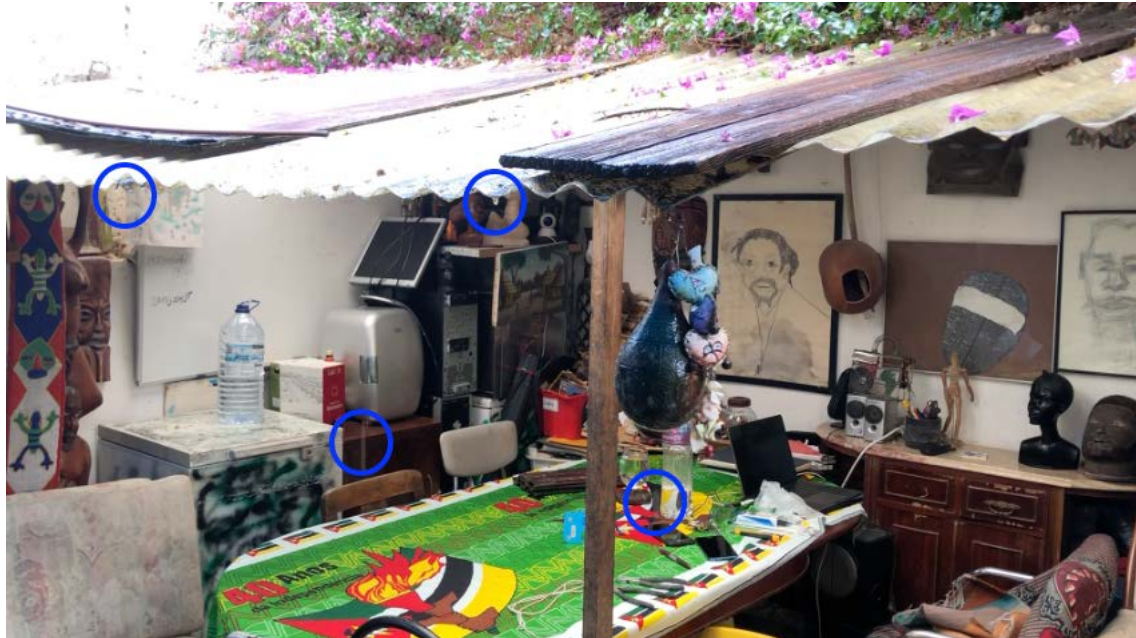
Figure 16

Ntaluma and Manuel setting up the instant roof

Note. Own work (Photo taken on the 24th of December 2021)

Figure 17

Water drops

Note. Own work. (Photo taken on the 24th of December 2021)

If "estamos juntos" lies beneath Mozambicans' life as a cultural norm, "being separated" would its opposite, and as Camaroff (2001) said "being undone", which is a condition that stops one from relating to others, would mean death. It could also be said that "having an 'outsider' in their space is something that must be avoided because it might overturn the precondition for embodied self. Looking back on my time with Ntaluma, I realise that I had angered him several times because I had behaved as an "outsider" in the house. Mostly he had been angry with me on the occasions I had asked him if I could bring friends to the house. One day, one of my Japanese friends asked me if he could stay over. I knew that Ntaluma would say "no problem" if the friend would just come and have dinner, but I was not sure about staying over. So, although I had already been told several times that I didn't have to ask Ntaluma, I asked. I still remember that right after I asked him, his face immediately contracted into a frown, and he asked in a serious tone of voice, "Você perguntou porque?" [You asked me why?"]. This question was followed by another phrase, "Aqui é sua casa" ["Here is your house"]. This experience blew away my doubt that his words "make yourself at home" had been said out of politeness, to make me feel more comfortable during my stay in the

house, which is something we always do in Japan. His anger demonstrated that his words were not about me but about something important to him. I understood that I had acted badly and not according to his principles, which might have been "estamos juntos"; not holding an "outsider" in the space. As the Mozambicans had tried to avoid create divisions in the party, we could see Ntaluma's house as an accumulation of "estamos juntos". The house is maintained by Mozambicans and their behaviour, which is based on 'estamos juntos', creates space where 'Mozambicans can knock on the door'. The piles of Mozambicans books, artworks, documents, and personal belongings also represent the constant flow of people to the house and the accumulation of "estamos juntos". This is how Ntaluma's house has become the "Mozambican house" in Lisbon.

5.4 Conclusion of Chapter 4

The impossibility of fully explaining what I felt while I was with the Afro-Mozambicans led me to deconstruct my way of thinking from individual to plural. Their attitude, which seemed to be based on coexistence with others, guided me to explore the frequently used expression, "estamos juntos". Besides the fact that people often use the expression in their daily life, the fact that it is often politicised and associated with the image of "Mozambique" shows how profoundly the expression is embedded in their bodies and society. The sense of "estamos juntos" appears as a mode of "estamos juntos", namely, constant daily interactions through phone calls and strong expectation to positively answer other's requests for favours. Also, we could see Ntaluma's house as an accumulation of people's tiny behaviours out of "estamos juntos". "Estamos juntos" could also be expressed as a mode which eliminates the possibility of creating borders among people. Ntaluma's house represents their daily and small attempts to eliminate possible borders, and it has resulted in creating a space of Convivência among Afro-Mozambicans in Lisbon.

6. Conclusion; Realisation of "being with others" in our life

During a house party at Ntaluma's house, a married couple spontaneously asked me, "Munyu, what is your plan after finishing your master's? Do you come back to Lisbon?" I honestly answered that I didn't know. Also, I asked them, "why?". Apparently, they wanted to ask me if I was interested in getting married to someone in Lisbon from their community. They laughed and said to me, "If you want to get married, you should come back. I just talked to your dad [Ntaluma] about the marriage. I told him that you should pay four 'cabeça de boi [cow heads],' but he said he would pay six instead for his son". Apparently, they had been talking about Lobolo[46] at the table and had made some jokes about that. I was doing the dishes at that time, so I had missed the conversation itself, yet it felt refreshing that they were seriously and jokingly discussing the number of "cabeça de boi" at a table in the centre of Lisbon, many miles away from Mozambique. The couple were from Maputo whereas Ntaluma is from Cabo Delgado where Lobolo is not practised. This conversation is aa example of how, through Convivência, the participants recreate 'Mozambique' in Ntaluma's house as a space.

My research aims to explore and understand Convivência through an analysis of my stay at this "Mozambican house" in Lisbon. It describes how Convivência exists as a sum of different attitudes and behaviours, namely, reciprocal interactions, pressure to answer positively to requests from others for favours, and dissimulative acts. These attitudes and behaviours are backed by "ethics", meaning "being together", which eliminates possible divisions between people because "being separated" is the furthest opposite to "being together". This "ethics" pushes people to make a short phone calls and subconsciously prevents people from saying "no". These behaviours are expected in social interactions with others and are embedded into the bodies of participants, generating the conditions for people to live with others, at the same time. The common expression, "estamos juntos" represents these acts and feelings well. "Estamos juntos" includes expected behaviours, positive feelings of being with others, and occasions to be with others, such as a holding a festival. It is both a sense of "convivência" and mode

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[46] In Lobolo, the groom's family must pay bride-wealth for a marriage. The cabeça de boi [head of cow. But it is actually the full body of cow.] used to be a main bride-wealth in the past. Yet, money, fabrics, and drinks have been taking its place nowadays.

of "convivência". In other words, "estamos juntos" lies in their body as a premise for embodied self, but actually manifests in their lives as behaviours, feelings, and images of "being with others", creating a condition that determine life with others.

In the context of Lisbon, Ntaluma's house appears to be an example of a positive manifestation of 'estamos juntos'. This is supported by various qualities that Ntaluma possesses. For example, his marital status and the location of the house close to the metro station. Yet, more importantly, his personality seeks to establish an extensive network. As demonstrated by his words, "even a year or more after my death, there will still be people who do not know I died", he values the ability to make connections with others highly. All these elements have intertwined with "estamos juntos", and Ntaluma's house is the result of this process, appearing as a "Mozambican house" in the centre of Lisbon.

Ending: To regain small encouragement

While writing this thesis, I lived in a shared house with 24 international students at Leiden University. I started to live there after completing my fieldwork in the middle of April. Since the academic year begins in February or September in the Netherlands, everybody had arrived in these months, and I was "late" to move into the house. It was a house with 25 individual rooms, several shared bathrooms, a living room and a large kitchen. Here I will write about my favourite space in the house, the kitchen. What comes to your mind when you think about conviviality in a shared house? Perhaps, you the living room comes to mind. Yet, in the beginning I felt unwelcome in the living room, to be honest, it was because I always found the same groups of people there, which made me feel a bit excluded, although I knew that was not their intention. In order to stay in the living room, I felt that I needed to have a specific purpose, such as drinking with friends, to justify my being there, and that purpose would have been something that could convince me to go there over the temptation to stay in my room. Yet, this doesn't mean that I am a misanthrope or asocial. I do like to socialise, which is probably why I chose to research the theory of conviviality. The problem was that any time I would think about joining one of these pre-existing groups in the living room, a

feeling of nervousness almost automatically came up in my body. The kitchen, on the other hand, was a more relaxed place for me. I already had a purpose to go there: to cook. We all need to eat something to satisfy our appetite. I didn't need to justify why I was there. Of course, I sometimes needed to encourage myself to go there, especially when I didn't know my housemates well. Yet, the point was that I went there almost every day simply because I needed to. It was the same for other housemates, I think. We shared the same time in the kitchen, saying "hi" at the beginning and eventually talking about what had happened during the day. The kitchen was a place that enabled us to interact with various housemates, even with people who I didn't actively invite each other for the purpose of social interaction in daily life. It was a space to create conviviality in the way of "being there". Just "being there", led by the necessity of our body and the existence of the kitchen, turned into conviviality.

I came to this point of view through my research and my time being with the Afro-Mozambican community in Portugal. Through this fieldwork, as I wrote down what I felt, thought, and analysed about their conviviality, the notion of "myself" was deconstructed and, at the same time, the feeling and mode of "estamos juntos" appeared in my mind and body. It is an attitude of "being with others" and sheds light on my thinking framework that had been confined to "living with others". It was a reformulation of my way of thinking about conviviality from one that consisted of "active" or "passive" acts, which my analysis ("being open") at the beginning represents, into another horizon that consist of "active", "passive" and "being".

Realising the mode of "being with others" led me to think about the discussion of conviviality with regard to individualisation, or destruction of community in different words. I would rather say, "the process of confining our conviviality into the 'active' and 'passive' mode". In 2020, when the Covid-19 hit the world hard, and some of the activities were relocated as arguably they still took place, albeit online, there were many attempts to fill the feeling of "something missing". For instance, some people tried to grab some drinks with their friends on an online call. There were several explanations for this feeling of "something missing". Some people said that it was because we would never be able to make eye contact due to the position of the camera, and others said that we could not share spontaneous things with people, like when we grab some coffee after

class. I would assume now, after this research, that it was because there was a lack of a place of "being together". It's a loss of opportunity, of having small and daily interactions with others that create "small encouragement" among people. The loss of the space where we could "be together" requires us to actively contact someone in order to be with someone. If I may step further at this point, this loss of space could be found at many points if we cautiously look around. We live in an apartment, which is a closed space that makes people reluctant to interact with neighbours. And under the guise of being harmful to health, we have been discouraged from consuming alcohol and tobacco, which also create space for people to gather. Interacting with others is increasingly becoming an active act in my eyes.

However, "estamos juntos" gave me another perspective. It shows the possibility to realise "being with others" in the same setting other than Mozambique. The way how Afro-Mozambicans use mobile phone can play a good example. As one of the interviewees narrated, the small calls between each other, which appear as a mode of "estamos juntos", led them to feel supported by others. They just made calls to say "hi". It gave me another perspective on the usage of mobile phone, which I had used only for having a conversation with purpose, such as update on a recent days with my friends. Also, Jean narrated in her story that she knocked on every door in her apartment building to "get to know others". It has four floors, and each floor has three apartments, so she knocked on 12 doors when she arrived in Portugal in 1992. By knocking on the doors, she was creating a space that enabled people to "be with others". These might look like active acts still, however, the point is that they create a space for "being with others". And the acts seem active, yet they might not be active in their eyes as I showed it as an art of not saying "no".

Being with Afro-Mozambicans in Ntaluma's house was a process of the realisation of a sense of "being with others" in daily life. Also, at the same time, it was a realisation of the possibility of creating a space of "being with others". It might be impossible to attain the same sense of "being with others" as Mozambicans have. However, we could learn the perspective of "being with others" from them and how to create a space for it. It is a tiny strategy for surviving in this world, which is getting full of "active" or "passive" acts to interact with others. Let me conclude this thesis by expressing my hope that anyone who is feeling a lack of small encouragement will be

able to get it back by "leaning" mode of "estamos juntos".

The Kitchen in a shared house that I lived

Note. Own work. (Photo taken on the 30th of May 2022)

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