Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology

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Iain Lindsay

Migration of Rich Immigrants: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class
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Moving to Lisbon: Labor, Lust, and Leisure

Cristiana Bastos

Diversity and Monotony in the Old City

Periods of intense cosmopolitanism and global prominence have occasionally emerged in Lisbon’s long, multilayered, and inward-turned history. The most famous of them was in the early modern age, when the city became a hub of global flows of trade, peoples, riches, and ambitions related to the European overseas expansion, in which the Portuguese played an important role (Godinho 1982–1983, Couto 2003, Pinheiro 2011). With the influx of people, things and experiences from around the world, Lisbon might have become a diverse, multicultural, and global city, but its cosmopolitan moment was a short one. The alliance of the absolutist monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church, supported by the Inquisition, efficiently neutralized whomever they considered opponents. Diversity was not welcome during the Portuguese ancien régime.

There had been previous times of peaceful coexistence between people from different creeds and nations, be they Jews, Muslims, Christians, or pagans. After the Christian conquest of Lisbon in 1147 (see Mattoso 1995, Matos 2008, 2009), the living quarters for the Jewish and Muslim communities were limited, respectively, to Alfama and Mouraria, although people were allowed to freely circulate throughout the urban space (Tavares 1982, Barros 1998, Trindade 2007). Yet that coexistence of differences would give way to a forced monotony. In the fifteenth century, all non-Christians had to either convert
or leave the country. Even after becoming New Christians, the converted Jews were massacred by angry mobs that feared difference and dreaded imaginary contaminations—as in the bloody 1506 episode known as the Lisbon pogrom and portrayed in the bestselling novel The Last Kabbalist of Lisbon (Zimmler 1996). At that point, many of those who had not yet left Iberia departed for good. They headed to the Netherlands, settled there, and became an influential community with distinguished members in different fields, the philosopher Baruch Spinoza among them. Many of their descendants went later to New York or to the New World plantations in Northeastern Brazil, the Caribbean, and the Guianas (Arbell 2002).

The once-diverse city of Lisbon entered the sixteenth century as a society blended into a dispassionate, homogenized Catholicism. Alternative rites and beliefs persisted underneath, often absorbed by the Church. Popular festivities continued to celebrate fertility, love, and carnal pleasures, while also being devoted to Catholic saints.1 Much research waits to be conducted regarding the African rites that also persisted in the city. Africans, whether enslaved or free, were for centuries a significant component of Lisbon society, but there is still debate about how many Africans and their descendants actually lived there in different moments and in which neighborhoods.2

Another counterforce to Catholic hegemony came from international networks committed to the free-thinking principles of the Enlightenment—including Free Masonry. Those networks helped preserve intellectual freedom under the authoritarian monarchist regime, as they served as vehicles for meaningful intellectual exchanges within the broader international society and helped create the early scientific societies of the eighteenth century (Cardoso 1990, Diogo, Carneiro, and Simões 2001, Davis 2013, Horta 2011, Bastos 2013).

From Passing by, to Settling Down: The Galician Community of Lisbon

Every now and then, notorious visitors broke the monotony and brought in changes into the Portuguese cultural landscape. Italian musicians like Scarlatti and architects like Ludovico were invited by the crown and produced important landmarks. British literati like Lord Byron (1812) and William Beckford (1834) visited the country and wrote about it. German naturalists like Link (1801) surveyed the flora and produced remarkable scientific works (Hoffmansegg and Link, 1808–1820).3 There were also diplomats, military attachés, and merchants bringing diversity into the country.

British merchants were among those who took advantage of the local conditions. In Porto, they flourished as a community specializing in the trade of port wine. They benefited from a reputedly bilateral trade agreement in which the British would import port wine and the Portuguese would import textiles from England.4 Up to our days, British names are the brand names of port wine and of the upper-crust families in the society of Porto (Martins 1990, Lave 2001, Parkhurst 2015).

No equivalent British community carved their niche in Lisbon, although there are many British expats in the glamorous suburb of Estoril-Cascais. In Lisbon, Galicians were the most expressive nonnational group of residents.

For centuries, men and women from Galicia, in northwestern Spain, left their homes and headed south to cities like Porto or Lisbon. Those cities were closer to them than Madrid, not only geographically but also culturally and linguistically. Seeking labor or escaping from wars, many Galicians found in Lisbon a good place to settle for good (Gonzalez Lopo 2008, Leira 2008, Perez Torriño 2008, Serrão 2008). They worked hard in construction or carrying water, selling coal, moving furniture, bringing messages between people, or doing odd jobs. Reputedly, they provided a large contingent of the immense labor force involved in the construction of the majestic works of the early eighteenth century, like the emblematic Convent of Mafra and the Aqueduct of Lisbon (Leira 2009:2), when gold from Brazil flooded the royal treasury, and there was a penchant for lavish expenditure. Later, they worked in the rebuilding of Lisbon after the massive destruction caused by the 1755 earthquake (Gonzales Lopo 2008: 19). The building of the geometrical Baixa Pombalina neighborhood benefited from the use of trademark Galician construction techniques, like the tabique à galega (Perez Torriño 2008: 13). Known as hard workers, Galicians were sometimes referred to as "sweating machines" (Gonzales Lopo 2008: 18). Over time, some urban jobs in Lisbon were almost exclusively performed by galegos, and they were stereotyped as water carriers (aguadeiros), coal carriers (carneiros), errand boys, or messengers (Museu da Cidade 1978, Governo Civil 1991).

In the early twentieth century, many of Lisbon’s Galicians had become business owners, particularly in food distribution, restaurants, and lodging (Serrão 2008: 23). Some of the most iconic restaurants in downtown Lisbon, like Solmar, Gambrinus, Ramiro, João do Grão, Paris, and so on, had Galician owners. As Galician filmmaker Xan Leira (2009) notes, this history has never been fully told, nor has the role of Galician migrants in trade unionism, republicanism, and mutual societies—from which emerged, in 1908, the cultural center Xv Venhude de Galicia (Leira 2009: 3). The institution is still active today, and its headquarters are located in a sumptuous mansion donated by a businessman of Galician descent, Manuel Cordo Boullosa (1905–1998). Boullosa epitomizes the successful child of hardworking Galician migrants. His father sold coal and kerosene in the streets of Lisbon. Manuel helped him from an early age, and with an interest in fuels he grew up to become highly
influential in the international oil business, and the head of a powerful empire that included banks, industries, agriculture, tourism, and publishing. Always proud of his Galician background, he honored it by donating a building to Xuventude for its superb headquarters.

Figure 1.1 The water carrier, postcard, early twentieth century, collection Vieira da Silva, Gabinete de Estudos Olisiponenses. Reproduced with the kind permission of Gabinete de Estudos Olisiponenses, Lisbon.

Figure 1.2a Headquarters of Xuventude de Galicia—Centro Galego de Lisboa. Photo: Cristiana Bastos.

Figure 1.2b Sculpture representing the successful businessmen Manuel Cordo Boullosa. Photo: Cristiana Bastos.
Other renowned names of Lisboners of Galician or Galician descent are compiled in a recent volume organized by the Xuventude (Leira et al. 2008). Some became famous in the arts and literature, and at least one became prominent in medicine: Dr. Juvenal Esteves, a medical school professor and eminent dermatologist (Fonseca 2010). The old stereotypes of Galicians, which portrayed them either as rude or as smart and mischievous (Costa 1910, Museu 1978, Pinheiro and Consiglieri 1991), slowly gave way to the acknowledgment of their contribution to Lisbon’s economy and society. Their complete history in the city has yet to be written (Leira et al. 2008).

We will later return to the Galician community in Lisbon, but for the moment one note should be emphasized: their linguistic, cultural, and even physical proximity to the Portuguese worked as a competitive advantage for integration vis-à-vis other groups. Galicians were often taken for Northern Portuguese (Perez Tourinho 2008:14). They might have endured negative stereotypes, which often related them to mental jobs and equated “Galegos” to a lower social strata (e.g. Noronha 1912), but they did not have to face the overwhelming racism that affected Africans and the itinerant gypsies in the city.

Throughout most of the twentieth century, Galicians were the only contingent of nonnationals with a significant presence in the life of Lisbon. Working in restaurants and often owning them, or acting in other economic and cultural sectors, Galicians increasingly blended into mainstream Portuguese society (Leira et al. 2008). Some Galician workers contributed to the struggles against the monarchy and to the trade union movement (Leira 2009: 3). In Lápides Partidas, Aquilino Ribeiro’s celebrated novel about the republican plots against the monarchy, one of the main characters is a Galician man named Porriño (Ribeiro 1945).

**The Twentieth Century: The City and Its Underground**

The social and cultural atmosphere of Lisbon at the turn of the twentieth century could hardly be depicted in the glamorous colors associated with the belle époque. In his 1912 booklet *O Vício em Lisboa—Antigo e Moderno* (Vice in Lisbon—old and new), Fernando Swalbach lamented the general decline of social life in the capital at the time. He especially complained about the poor quality of the nightlife, parties, and brothels when compared to the past. Gone were the wild parties of the previous decades, when gentlemen spent thousands on gambling and when French coquettes—a specialized contingent of immigrants—would sit side by side with the good old Portuguese strumpets. Everything had become cheap and low class (Swalbach 1912).

In his lament, the author provides us with an insightful guide to the geography of early twentieth-century underground Lisbon. Underneath a grey, homogenous society, there was a pulsing life of brothels, from the few remaining temples of high life to a myriad of cheap and lowly hostels. In his words, Alfama and Mouraria were the cheapest sites, with “six-cent” joints, while Bairro Alto ranked slightly above them and Baixa kept a few glamorous houses. Other contemporary authors, inspired by social hygiene principles and naturalist literature, depicted those neighborhoods as swamps of degradation and degeneration (Malheiro Dias 1900, Botelho 1927).

Precisely where some saw swamps of low life and degenerating mismas of vice, others saw a place for business opportunities. This was the case with the odd couple of newcomers Esteban Sandoval, from Cuba, and Ramiro Espinheira, from Galicia. Together they sought to depict in festive colors the gloomy downtown neighborhoods so loathed by the naturalist writers. Who were these characters, and what was their business?

Esteban Rodriguez Sandoval was one of a kind. We do not know much about him—what he looked like, when and where exactly he was born, when and why he moved from his native Cuba, how long he wandered in Europe, which countries he visited, or whether he ever returned to Cuba. We just know that in the 1930s he lived in Portugal, where he used some of his creative entrepreneurial skills. He resided for some time in the Hotel Franco, at 222 Rua dos Douradores, in downtown Lisbon. In 1934, he moved to Porto, about 300 km north and connected to Lisbon by railway and roads. While in Porto, he kept an address at 12 Rua da Fábrica. Later that year, Esteban became unreachable. He may have changed his name. He may have made himself invisible to the authorities by hiding away in a small village. He may have paid bribes to become incognito. He may have moved to Spain or even further away. One way or another, the Portuguese police could not find him when he was indicted as the author of a misdemeanor that led to the jailing of his business partner, Ramiro Espinheira.6

We know a little more about Ramiro Espinheira. He was born in Covelo, in the district of Pontevedra, Galicia, c. 1910, of a single mother named Carmen. At some point he moved to Lisbon. At the age of 23 or 24 he waited tables at the Hotel Franco, where Esteban was lodged. Ramiro better fits the traditional category of an immigrant in the city, as part of the large community of Galicians who at the time owned, managed, cooked, or served in downtown Lisbon restaurants and hotels.

Ramiro and Esteban met at the Hotel Franco—Esteban was a guest, Ramiro a waiter, partners-to-be in a business venture that required some imagination, a little work, and, if things went well, would bring them a
reasonable amount of money. But things did not go so well. At some point, the business was interrupted by the police. Esteban disappeared for good, and Ramiro was caught and brought to jail, fined, and had his skull and features measured with the anthropometric compasses and rulers that at the time were used in criminal investigations. We owe to the intervention of the police the opportunity to know their story, albeit blurred and with gaps.

What was their business venture, after all, exciting enough to engage them, illegal enough to alert the police? Basically, the venture consisted in compiling, producing, and distributing a guide to the nightlife of Lisbon. It was an entertainment guide, a precursor to the leisure guides that exist in print and digital form today. The combination of the two partners’ skills was optimal: Esteban knew about making and selling guides; Ramiro knew the streets of Lisbon. They aimed to make an unbeatable guide to Lisbon’s nightlife, a must-have for all those seeking lust and love. They went around town taking notes on prices and addresses, and produced the attractive Guia Noturna de Lisboa—Amor Livre (Night guide to Lisbon—free love).

The Guia Noturna de Lisboa—Amor Livre was an interesting, imaginative, and originally designed guide for commercial sex establishments in Lisbon. Printed in bright pink paper and folded for the convenience of the user, it provided addresses and prices for a variety of houses, with a few advertisements for antivenereal products or special services. The guide advertised itself as something that all men should carry with them to avoid illegal street prostitution. With the guide in hand, clients of commercial sex could choose from a large panoply. On the high end there were the luxury services of special ladies who would meet clients at a place of their convenience, or the also highly priced Jardim do Regedor 51—second floor, behind the National Theatre, for 100 escudos. There were the more moderate prices practiced on the Rua dos Correiros (Baixa), which, depending on the house, began at 17,50 escudos, 15 escudos, 12,50 escudos, or merely 10 escudos. On the bottom end, the places in Mouraria: Rua do Benformoso, Escadinhas das Olarias, Travessa do Forno, Rua Silva e Albuquerque, Rua da Mouraria, Beco do Rosendo, had fares that were either similar to Baixa or even lower, like in Rua dos Vinagres, where the rate was down to 5 escudos.

The information was compiled by the duo, with Ramiro leading the way and Esteban asking prices and taking notes. When the list was compiled, in 1933, Ramiro acted as editor and had 3,000 copies printed on Rua da Horta Seca. Of that total, 2,300 issues were sold, mostly by Esteban. Ramiro claimed to have sold only 200, at one escudo a piece. Esteban had moved to

Figures 1.3 (a and b) The night guide to Lisbon, apprehended by the police. Museu da Polícia Judiciária, Loures; Gabinete de Estudos Olisiponenses, Lisbon. 
Photos: Cristiana Bastos
Porto in February 1934 and left Ramiro with 600 copies of the *Guia*, which were kept in the closet next to his room. On March 20, Esteban wrote to Ramiro asking him to mail 100 issues of the *Guia* in two different packages and on different days. Men taking the train to Lisbon were the target customers.

All seemed well in Esteban and Ramiro’s business. Yet there were flaws (perhaps typos?) that became fatal. The first of them was in the title: the correct spelling of the adjective would have been “noturno” or “nocturne,” not “noturna,” which is the Spanish spelling. But that was a minor detail. There were other, more relevant typos—or results of careless compilation—that affected the actions, interpretations, intentions, and exchanges between people. Some of the addresses listed in the guide had nothing to do with the sex business, leading to wrongful soliciting, angering the residents, and bringing them to call the police. This was the case of 58-year-old widow Amelia dos Santos Repos, resident of the first floor at 115 Rua da Atalaia, in Bairro Alto, which was listed in the *Guia Noturna*. She came to the police on July 23, 1934, complaining that several men had rung at her door thinking it was a “casa suspeita.” One of them handed her an issue of the guide, which is found in the police file.

On August 3, 1934, the police entered the Hotel Franco and confiscated the remaining 690 issues of Guia. The reason was that it indicated not only the houses of prostitution but also “some honest houses, strange to that industry, with severe defamation to its residents.” Ramiro was arrested for publishing and selling leaflets “of an obscene nature, which contained the indication of some houses of prostitution, but also advertising as houses of prostitution some residences of honest families.”

Ramiro told the police he had no recollection of registering the number 115 at the Rua da Atalaia—it had been Esteban who took notes. And it was not only Amelia Repas and her residence that were wrongly advertised but also Rua da Barroca 114–1st; Rua dos Douradores 117–3rd; Rua do Ferragial 13–1st; Avenida Almirante Reis 206-A; Beco dos Alamos 37–1st and 72 1st; Rua do Bemfimosa 50–1st; Travessa da agua Flor 7–1st; Rua Alves Correia 15–2nd; Rua de Sao Paulo 42–2nd; and Rua Luciano Cordeiro 31–1st and 2nd.

Ramiro was fined 100 escudos, which he could trade for imprisonment, plus 3 escudos for the anthropometric measurements required by the police. The issues of the Guia were destroyed on August 30, except for a few that were archived by the police, leaving us a clue to Lisbon’s nightlife and the initiative of some creative minds.

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**Figure 1.4** Letter from Esteban to Ramiro asking him to ship 100 *Guias* to Porto in two different parcels. *Museu da Policial Judiciária*, Loures.

*Photo: Cristina Bastos*

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**The Twentieth Century: Modest Routines and Cosmopolitan Interludes**

The combination of a steady flow of incoming Galicians, plus some remaining “French” cocottes (who in reality were more likely to be from Spain, yet used the more glamorous French identity), as well as the occasional Cuban, did not seriously affect Lisbon’s demographic growth. It was above all the influx of internal migrants, mostly from the north, but also from the south, that triggered the city’s rise throughout the twentieth century. In the meantime, the city expanded to its northern plateau (Brito 1974, Salgueiro 2001). Downtown Lisbon lost residents to the newly built up town neighborhoods, sometimes designed as urban utopias—Avenidas Novas, Alvalade, Encarnação, Ajuda, Caselas, Madre de Deus, Olivais, and so forth. The
inner city decayed and was left to the older and poorer inhabitants, and the domestic migrants who continued to arrive to the capital, expanding its suburbs and keeping alive the old neighborhoods of Alfama, Mouraria, Bica, Bairro Alto, Alcântara, Madragoa, and so forth (Costa e Guerreiro 1984, Cordeiro 1997).

No longer a playground for lavish aristocrats and passersby, downtown neighborhoods entered an era of low profile. Fun and vice, which had made those areas the target of social hygienists (Botelho 1898, Dias 1900), went underground. The sanitary police regulated prostitution with weekly medical checkups. Some of the brothel streets were torn up in a general attempt to sanitize the lower part of the city (Meneges 2009, 2012, Bastos and Carvalho 2011). On the surface, all was supposed to be quiet, serene, and unchallenging in the capital, under Salazar’s rule, to develop a fantasy of a nation inhabited by a people of modest virtues and past glories.

But the world turns around, and the modest living of Lisbon under Salazar was occasionally interrupted by cosmopolitan interludes. One of those moments corresponded to the rise of Nazism in central Europe and the war that followed (1939–1945), in which Portugal remained a neutral outsider. Lisbon and its surrounding areas, including the coast of Estoril, buzzed with the cosmopolitan presence of the thousands of exiles who made a temporary home there on their way to America (Ramalho 2012). People of many backgrounds and conditions lived in all sorts of accommodations. Some of them were wealthier than others, and some had sophisticated habits that clashed with local customs. Reportedly, the outdoor cafés that are now so much part of Lisbon’s life were created to accommodate the refugee women who wanted to drink or smoke and were not supposed to enter the male-only sanctuaries that cafés and bars were at the time (Dias 2005).

Then once again in the mid-1970s, for even a shorter period, Lisbon became a meeting point for revolutionaries from around the world who came to see and report on a real revolution. The long-lasting dictatorship of Salazar-Caetano had been peacefully overthrown, and the society exploded in happiness, booming with energy for transformation (Tréfaut 1999).

Also at that time, following the independence of African countries, many of the residents of the former colonies moved to Portugal as returnee migrants (Lubkemann 2002, Cardoso 2011). They added diversity to the social landscape. Some engaged in entrepreneurial ventures, while others entered the labor market or joined a special contingent of public service. Still in the 1970s and 1980s, many people born in Africa also came to Portugal, whether as Portuguese nationals, as African migrants with passports from Angola, Cape Verde, or other countries, as refugees, or as undocumented migrants. Not everyone had the social, cultural, and material capital or resources needed to join in the entrepreneurial wave of the returnees. Many of those who came from Africa settled in shantytowns on the outskirts of Lisbon (Fikes 2009, Sampaio 2014).

In the 1990s, with the economic growth that followed Portugal’s integration into the European Union (EU), opportunities for work and business attracted new waves of immigrants into the country, particularly to Lisbon. The flows of new migrants were no longer structured by former colonial relationships—except the one old colonial relationship between Brazil and Portugal. New groups came from Eastern Europe, Bangladesh, China, West Africa, and South America (Bastos et al. 1999, Bastos 2001, 2004, Machado 2002, Malheiros e Mendes 2007, Sarro and Santos 2011, Mapril 2012, Rodrigues 2013).

**Millennial Shifts: Economic Glamor, Labor, and the Business of Leisure**

Lisbon entered the new millennium in what seemed to be a state of cosmopolitan diversity. Its vibrant economy attracted new migrants from many different backgrounds. For some time, it seemed that a multicultural moment had finally arrived for good—as the film Lisboetas documents so well (Tréfaut 2004).

The many faces of racism influenced complex local geographies of permanence, belonging, and transience. African migrants tended to concentrate in neighborhoods on the outskirts, next to other communities of Africans and African descendants that had formed since the 1970s (Sampaio 2014). Newcomers from Asia and South America, however, settled more easily into some of the historical and decaying inner city neighborhoods like Mouraria and Alfama. The Martim Moniz Plaza, which had remained empty for decades since the destruction of some of the lower Mouraria streets, was refashioned and became a meeting point for migrants (Bastos 2004, Meneses 2009, 2012). The multicultural flavor of the place was later capitalized by the city to create new dynamics of urban business: ethnic foods, music festivals, initiatives for social and cultural inclusion.

Yet, a few years into the new decade, the millennial vitality was mostly gone. Gone were also many of the recent immigrants. Jobs and business opportunities had drastically declined as a consequence of the major crisis experienced in European peripheries. By the 2010s, few new immigrants
were coming to the country. The Portuguese were leaving too, restoring the trend of out-migration of the 1960s and early 1970s. The economic boom of the 1990s–2000s stopped almost abruptly.

While we wait for a credible explanation for the collapse of the markets, the bank rescues, the cash-flow shortages in national economies, and the consequences that followed, we know for a fact that the more fragile economies in the EU were suddenly caught with a change in the paradigm of governance, and what had been idealized credit routines became a debt nightmare managed with externally imposed austerity. Businesses collapsed throughout the country, particularly in Lisbon. Income levels declined to what they had been in the 1970s. Many immigrants returned to their home countries or moved elsewhere, and many Portuguese emigrated in search of better lives in the fast-growing economies of Brazil and Angola, in the Arabic Emirates, or in other places that would take their work, talents, or initiatives.

But many of the recent migrants remained in Lisbon, trying to adjust and adapt to a shrinking economy that still had some business opportunities. Small shops run by Chinese and Bangladeshi families further adjusted their offers to the needs of city life: low-cost clothing and accessories, clothing repair, ethnic groceries, halal butchers, cellphone repair, long-distance phone and Internet booths, souvenir kiosks that cater to new demands, and above all after-hour convenience stores—selling everything from liquor to cat litter—which for years had been lacking in the city.

As much as the future seemed grim and unappealing in the 2010s, Lisbon was about to experience yet another turn of events. For reasons that history will one day elucidate, all of a sudden the beauty of the city, its light, its manner, its music, food, lifestyle, and so forth, long known to its residents and visitors, made it to the top of international tourist literature. Lisbon became the cool destination of choice for all tastes. Suddenly, the city became a hub of international tourism that opened a wide range of business opportunities. One trophy or award for the city led to another, and it was shortlisted in the top ten cities for this and for that and nominated the best destination for this and for that. The popularity of the city attracted massive waves of tourists from all economic, social, and cultural backgrounds. Gigantic cruise liners brought thousands of people into town, and low-cost vacation operators brought thousands more, as did regular airlines, railways, and highways. By sea, air, and land, tourists arrived en masse and changed the face of many of the city’s neighborhoods.

Figure 1.5 Chinese festival at Martim Moniz Plaza, January 2014. Photo: Cristiana Bastos.

Figure 1.6 New business in old Lisbon: Asian tailor Photo: Cristiana Bastos, October 2014.
New businesses began providing lodging, meals, or entertainment for visitors. In this way, many Lisboners, old stock or recently arrived, adhered to Airbnb and other home-tourism platforms, while cultural tours, literary tours, culinary tours, and all possible circuits of exploring the city were created. "Tuk-tuks," a type of motorized rickshaw so popular in Asia, and never seen before in Lisbon, became a way of exploring the roughly paved, traffic-free historical neighborhoods.

Along with that movement, some of the nightlife spots exploded with tourism related business—to the point of making the residents angry with the noise of hordes of youngsters and oldsters at their doors and windows, paving the way for the abandonment of the old town and potentially leaving it to the floating businesses of leisure and entertainment.5

Notes
1. Still visible in our days, the street festivals of Saint Anthony (June 12–13), sponsored by the Church and the city, are blatant celebrations of love, eroticism, match making, eating, drinking, community ties, neighborhood competitions, etc.
2. Isabel Castro Henriques (2011) suggests that there was an important Mocambo in Lisbon that is yet to be fully documented.

3. The Flora compiled by Link was produced as both an accurate object of science and a lavish artwork by Link’s patron, Count von Hoffmansegg (see Bastos 1985). The two-volume edition is worth an extravagant value of over USD$ 50,000 at international auctions (e.g., http://www Christie.com/loffinder/lotDetailsPrintable.aspx?trObjectID=228301 [Accessed October 30, 2014].

4. The agreement doubly benefited England. Portugal became a buyer of English textiles, rather than producing its own textiles. The port wine, which is a local product, was instead exported to England, but the business was almost entirely managed by British merchants.

5. For a biographical note, see http://www juventude dagaliza.com/informaciongalega/manuel-cordo-boullosa.html (accessed October 30, 2014).

6. All the data regarding this episode comes from the Archives of Policía Judiciária, II Secção, 10.05/03 ex 106, 1934.

7. At the time, the police routinely measured suspects and recorded their anthropometric features, which they considered relevant to the understanding of crime. Criminology had developed under the influence of Cesare Lombroso’s theories about the correlation between physical types and propensity for crime (Lombroso 1911).

8. The distaste of downtown residents for the excess of tourism appears now and then in the media (e.g., “Tourist avalanche is destroying downtown’s quality of life, say its residents”, in O Corvo, March 16, 2015 http://ocorvo.pt/2015/03/16/ avalanche-turistica-esta-a-destruir-qualidade-de-vida-na-baixa-dizem-residentes/, accessed October 30, 2014)

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