IMMIGRATION AND GLOBALISATION FROM BELOW: THE CASE OF ETHNIC RESTAURANTS IN LISBON [1]

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Abstract – This paper aims to analyse the role of immigrants in the process of economic restructuring and secondary internationalisation of the metropolises in opposition to the hegemonic globalisation process associated to Transnational Corporations (TNC) and its strategies. This will be illustrated with a comparative reading of the diffusion process of ethnic restaurants (Chinese and Indian) and franchised pizza and hamburger (McDonald's, Pizza Hut) outlets in Lisbon.

Key words: Immigration, Globalisation, Secondary Internationalisation, Indians, Chinese, Ethnic restaurants, Lisbon.

Resumo – Imigração e globalização a partir da base: o caso dos restaurantes étnicos em Lisboa. Neste artigo, analisa-se o papel dos imigrantes no processo de reestruturação económica e internacionalização secundária das cidades, em alternativa ao processo de globalização da economia associado ao desenvolvimento das empresas transnacionais, tomando como referência a difusão, na cidade de Lisboa, dos restaurantes étnicos (chineses e indianos), confrontada com a expansão dos estabelecimentos McDonald's e Pizza Hut.

Palavras-chave: Imigração, Globalização, Internacionalização secundária, Indianos, Chineses, Restaurantes étnicos, Lisboa.

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I.   INTRODUCTION

Traditionally a country of emigration, Portugal only became a relevant destination for labour migrants coming from developing countries by the mid-1980s. As in other Northern Mediterranean metropolises, the proportion of immigrants in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) is above the national average, concentrating the majority of foreign citizens living in Portugal. Thus, the presence of immigrants and ethnic minorities with an immigrant background in the LMA is already noticeable in the urban landscape and constitutes a fundamental element of the socio-cultural, economic and urban restructuring processes that took place over the last 30 years.

The presence of labour immigrants in developed countries' metropolises is regarded as a contribution towards economic growth (by supplying labour market needs in "3D" tasks – dirty, demanding and dangerous), demographic renewal and spatial change. In addition, receiving societies tend to emphasise stereotypes and negative factors supposedly associated with immigrants, such as poverty and urban decay of the neighbourhoods where these groups tend to cluster. Frequently, even the values and socio-cultural practices of these people are perceived as disturbing or even threatening for local populations. However, the progressive development of transnational communities anchored in the circulation strategies of immigrants with multiple spatial belongings represent a high innovative potential both for places of origin and of destination due to their strong density of social capital, to the interchanges they promote and also to the challenges they put to the traditional regulation systems.

This paper aims to analyse the role of immigrants in the process of economic restructuring and secondary internationalisation of the metropolises in contrast to the expressions of hegemonic globalisation associated to TNC and its strategies. This will be illustrated with a comparative reading of the diffusion process of ethnic restaurants (Chinese and Indian) and franchised pizza and hamburger (McDonald's, Pizza Hut) outlets in Lisbon.

This paper is structured in four parts, with the first corresponding to the presentation of the key concepts (globalisation – hegemonic and non-hegemonic, internationalisation – primary and secondary, McDonaldisation and ethnic restaurants) and to their articulation in the analytical model of this study. The second part provides basic information about the recent evolution of Chinese and Indian immigrants in Portugal. The third provides a comparative reading of the expansion of ethnic restaurants and franchises, taking into consideration the changing local conditions (increase in income, new consumption habits, urban planning strategies and interventions, etc.) and the effects of this new offer on immigrants' labour market insertion and changes to the cityscape. Finally, the text will discuss potential contributions by transnational communities to the strategies aiming to improve the quality and the competitiveness of Lisbon.

II. IMMIGRATION AND GLOBALISATION FROM BELOW: CONCEPTS AND THEORETICAL REFERENCES

Along the 1990s, several authors have discussed the relationship between globalisation and international migration (CASTLES and MILLER, 1993; STALKER, 2000; MALHEIROS, 2001). This discussion is less focused on the eventual growth of populations living outside their countries of origin [4] than on the effects of the economic, political and social processes that are reshaping social structures and spatial forms or organisation with important effects upon the international migration processes.

'Globalisation' became a fashionable term in the academia world and in political agendas of the 1990s, expressing the fast growing interactions taking place at the international level – especially following World War II – that have been facilitated by the reduction in relative distances and also by the relative ubiquity in access to sources of information. The origins of the globalisation process can be traced back to the 16th century, when the image of Earth as an "unique" globe was confirmed with the circumnavigational voyage of Magellan and El Cano, and the development of, as Wallerstein explained, a "whole" World-Economy (led by the European powers) began. The pace of the globalisation process quickened in the 19th century due to technological progress that fostered the development of faster transport and communication systems (e.g., railways, steam ships, etc.) but also to the generalisation of the new "global" economic system, original in its geographical comprehensiveness and – especially – in its political and economic structures. In reality, the first stages of expansion of the capitalist world system, based on trade and economic exploitation and dependency, did not develop within a unique and unified political structure (the old model of the empire) but within the fragmented structure of nation-states (and their colonies) (WALLERSTEIN, 1974, 1990). Industrial and trade capitalist enterprises associated to the nation-state model with its protectionisms were key factors in the development of the globalisation process.

The globalisation process has accelerated in the post-World War II period. Technological progress in transportation and particularly in telecommunications has led to a decline in the relative cost of travel and long distance contacts and time-distance have reduced progressively. This has clearly facilitated the development of long distance flows of different kinds (e.g., goods, finance, information, people, etc.) and has led to the emergence of a new global geography, where expanding global network structures co-exist with old forms of continuous geography based on the nation-state structures (MALHEIROS, 2001).

These growing possibilities of worldwide interaction, sustained by developing global networks, have clearly been pushed by the big economic actors,

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[4] Actually, TAPINOS ande DELAUNAY (1998) show that the relative weight of the population living outside their country of birth in the total world population is similar in the 1960s and in the 1990s (approximately, 2.3 per cent).

namely the transnational corporations, who have in turn greatly profited. If in the 19th century state-protectionism was necessary for the success of the major corporations of the time, in the second half of the 20th century competitive economic processes can no longer be contained within the national borders. Multinational companies have evolved into transnational corporations, developing strategies targeting the world market(s) (with its national and regional particularities) and the competition at the globe scale. According to Feio (1998: 18), globalisation is "the process of development of mechanisms of co-operation and competition at the planetary scale, what supposes competitive global strategies, both in the organisation of the production and of the markets".

This definition is useful for understanding why production relocation processes are today so frequent and relevant – capital transfers (investment) are easy and strongly pushed by the recipient countries which tend to offer very good conditions (e.g., tax reductions, low-cost land, etc.) to transnational corporations looking for places where labour costs are low and consumer markets may be expanding. The high mobility of capital and the very low proportion of the transport costs incorporated in the price of the majority of the goods facilitate the process of geographical restructuring of several systems of production. However, working conditions, tax differences and especially wage differentials are the major engines behind this process of economic restructuring that reshapes the traditional international labour division, leading to a dichotomy between regions (not necessarily countries) of production/manufacturing and creative/decision-making regions.

However, the mechanisms that enable this hegemonic, mainly economy-driven globalisation process to move forward, supported by powerful actors and sustained by uniformising strategies and hierarchical spatial networks dominated by the so-called global cities (Sassen, 1991), have also opened the door to the development of international interaction among weaker actors (e.g., local authorities, grassroots organisations, migrants, etc.), thus leading to the development of non-hegemonic forms of globalisation (Table 1). These actors not only benefit from the technological progress that facilitates long-distance interaction, but also take advantage of the progressive (although still limited) global diffusion of certain social values (e.g., the right to health care, environmental protection, equal opportunities between men and women, etc.), of the value attributed to 'difference' in post-structuralist societies and also to the development of a conscience of transnationally-shared elements fostering people's identification with certain social groups scattered throughout several places in the world (e.g., migrant diasporas).

Naturally, the features of this non-hegemonic globalisation process are in many ways distinct from the elements associated with the traditional views of 'powerful' globalisation. Strategies for formal recognition are much weaker (the results of eventual multilateral agreements are less effective – if effective at all – and nation-state or international protection initiatives develop more slowly and take a longer time to be accepted by a wide audience), rationalisation and

Table 1 – Globalisation hegemonic (top dominated)
and non- hegemonic processes (from below).

*Quadro 1 – Globalização hegemónica (de cima para baixo)
e não hegemónica (de baixo para cima).*

	HEGEMONIC	**NON HEGEMONIC**
DOMINANT ACTORS	Transnational Corporations, **Powerful countries individually or associated, Supra-national institutions, mainly economic.**	**Grassroots social organisations,** SME's, **local authorities and the** individuals themselves **(alone, in family or kinship groups or even associated in some other ways)**
DOMINANT FLOWS	• Capital and goods, • **I**nformation.	• People; • **Capital and goods,** • **Information and cultural goods.**
(MAIN) SUPPORT PRINCIPLES (Forms of capital associated)	**Economic and business capital Rationalisation, planning, competitiveness, economic effectiveness, theoretical free markets (neo-liberalism)** Formalization effort within a liberal logic, increasing flexibility, **re-arranging processes, Contribution to the rule-making process (main-streaming).**	**Social capital More confuse and contradictory - limited rationality, competitiveness and co-operation, solidarity** Relatively flexible with several kinds of combinations between formal and informal. **Conditioned by the dominant rules and benefiting from the social and institutional mismatches.**
SOCIO-CULTURAL TRENDS (Products, values and symbols)	Progressive uniformisation around western values - **regional and local specificities are used as diffusion vehicles of western values and products. High culture commodification.**	**Higher heterogeneity, diversity and resistance - westernisation is relevant but is incorporated in** hybridisation processes**.** Larger opportunities for alternative products and values**.**
SPATIAL ORGANIZATION	Hierarchical networks; **dominance of the global metropolises of Western Europe, North America and Japan.**	Complex networks **with important changes in the traditional hierarchies**

planning are more limited and socio-cultural support is more diversified, incorporating some elements that counter hegemonic westernisation.

Although different forms of capital support both kinds of globalisation, we may assume that social capital as a higher value, at least in relative terms, as an organising principle in the case of non-hegemonic globalisation.

The notion of capital may be understood as the basic set of resources that an economy and a society need for their development and dynamics. Based on the work of MOULAERT and SEKIA (s/d), four types of capital are considered: ecological, human, business and social. In a simple reading, *ecological capital* encompasses all environmental (in the sense of 'natural') resources; *human*

capital corresponds to the skills, knowledge and experience of the human actors and *business capital* can be read as materialised investment, that is, the creation of (productive) durable structures. *Social capital* corresponds to the "social networks and reciprocity norms associated to them that, such as physical capital (tools) and human capital (knowledge), are able to create individual and collective value and may be object of investment" (PUTNAM, 2002). Social capital is therefore associated with non-tangible elements (trust, mutual obligation) and with the relationship between individuals and institutions. As mentioned in the World Bank website, "Social Capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together" (SMITH and WISTRICH, 2001: 7). Although social capital may be understood from a more institutionalised perspective (levels of institutional trust and institutional thickness as well as levels of civic engagement and interaction between institutions), somehow following the original ideas of Putnam, this concept may also assume a more informal perspective, corresponding to the links, ties and trust relations associated to groups of individuals, eventually organised in some form of community (intra-recognised, extra-recognised or both) (BORENHOLDT and AARSOTHER, 2002).

In this sense, social capital is a key-element in immigrant strategies, because their migration options and insertion procedures largely rely on social networks of acquaintances or relatives. We may assume that conditions for successful migration or the settlement of small ethnic businesses strongly rely upon the extent and density of the networks and on the principles of trust and mutual obligations among acquaintances (issues placed within the concept of social capital – SMITH and WISTRICH, 2001: 10). Naturally, human and business capital play a relevant role in the process of establishing a business, but within the so-called ethnic economy niches, social capital seems to be a key condition of settlement and success.

In addition, let us consider the two basic dimensions (*bonding capital* and *bridging capital*) that BORENHOLDT and AARSOTHER (2002) consider within the definition of social capital. If the bonding capital corresponds to the internal links (and associated sets of norms) of the individuals or groups and the bridging ties the external connections of those, it is legitimate to suppose that sustainability of immigrant communities and immigrant ethnic businesses (depending on immigrant labour or on supplies produced at the place of origin or, eventually, on vocational training) depend, simultaneously, on the level of embeddedness in these two kinds of networks. "Social capital appears to be a significant factor in supporting business start-ups where normal institutional arrangements are not readily available. We also find that some ethnic minority businesses have been able to develop an international dimension through family and kinship networks" (SMITH and WISTRICH, 2001: 13).

Non-ethnic businesses also rely on social capital strategies, but the roles of business and human capital seem to assume a much higher relevance, espe-

cially in the cases of powerful enterprises and corporations, that play the game within the framework of the hegemonic processes of globalisation.

It is within this framework that we compare the trade principles and the diffusion process of the Chinese/Indian restaurants with the strategies of McDonald's and Pizza Hut. It is assumed as a departure hypothesis that each of these processes illustrates the basics of each process of globalisation (the hegemonic and the non-hegemonic), which have links between themselves (e.g., labour market needs associated to the hegemonically-induced international migration that feeds ethnic businesses and enables the development of transnational migrant communities; consumer demands in the global cities of the North, with open market niches for ethnic shops and restaurants).

Actually, we may even assume that some aspects of McDonaldisation are present in the strategies of Chinese restaurants. The McDonaldisation thesis has been developed by Ritzer (1993, 1998) and explored by other authors such as Ariès (1997). This thesis assumes McDonald's as the prototype of the contemporary transnational enterprise, where the principles of standardisation and rationalisation (of the work, of the products offered, of certain elements of the restaurants' aesthetics…) are the basics of success. According to Ritzer (2002), the key-features of McDonald's, which have been copied by other fast-food chains, are efficiency, calculability (emphasis in the quantitative aspects of the products and also of work), predictability (standardised products in time and space) and control (through nonhuman technology) of both work and customers. As we will see in the example of Lisbon, efficiency, predictability (Chinese, and even Indian, dishes in western markets are similar in all restaurants and often use ingredients produced and distributed by the same companies) and even calculability (long working hours, serving in dishes larger than ones used in western restaurants, etc.) are present in the strategies developed by ethnic restaurants owned by Chinese and Indian entrepreneurs.

If we look into the McDonaldisation and ethnicisation processes in the restaurant sector through the perspective of city internationalisation, we may assume they are expressions of the primary and secondary forms of internationalisation. Primary internationalisation is associated with strong actors, mainly from the economic and policy arenas – governments, companies, etc. –, whose headquarters are located in global cities or at least in developed countries. Investment decisions and trade play important roles in this process. Secondary internationalisation concerns the 'apparently' weaker actors of the system of international relations (immigrants, local authorities in the periphery and medium-size cities, micro-firms and SME's, grassroots organisations, etc.) and involves informal and eventually even "irrational" processes of exchange, frequently with non-economic and non-financial purposes. Ethnic restaurants may be understood as an example of protagonists in this process of secondary internationalisation of the metropolises.

III. THE CHINESE AND INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN PORTUGAL:
      FROM A COLONIAL HERITAGE TO INTEGRATION
      IN INTERNATIONAL LABOUR FORCE CIRCULATION NETWORKS

1. Immigration contexts in Portugal and differences within communities

According to Foreigners and Borders Service (SEF) data, the stock of Chinese immigrants with a residency permit included 4794 people (1.9% of the total immigrant population) by the end of 2003. Between 2001 and 2003, SEF issued members of this community 3909 permanence permits during the regularisation campaign for undocumented immigrants provided for by the Decree-Law no. 4 of 10 January 2001. Therefore, there were approximately 9000 documented Chinese settled in Portugal in December 2003, comprising 2% of foreigners with residency or permanence permits.

At the same time, there were 5008 documented Indians living in Portugal (or 1.2% of the total immigrant population), of which 1623 possessed a residency permit and 3385 possessed a permanence permit.

Although the number of documented immigrants in both communities described here is still rather small, these communities – especially the Chinese community – began to register notable growth by the early 1990s (Table 2. Furthermore, results from other studies (Malheiros, 1996; Teixeira, 1995; Bastos and Bastos, 1999; Oliveira, 2002), point to far higher values than those indicated by official statistics. In the case of the Chinese community, Teixeira (1995) notes that in 1995, according to observations by various members within the community, the number of Chinese and their descendents living in Portugal might have been somewhere between 3000 and 3500. By the late 1990s, according to estimates by immigrant associations, the Chinese population was close to 10,000 (Oliveira, 2002). In the case of the Indian community, according to an estimate made by J. Malheiros, there were nearly 33,000 ethnic Indians in Portugal in 1992 (Malheiros, 1996: 140).

Table 2 – Evolution and growth rate of Chinese and Indian immigrants
with legal residence in Portugal, 1991-2003 (%).

*Quadro 2 – Evolução e taxa de crescimento dos imigrantes chineses e indianos
documentados, residentes em Portugal, 1991-2003 (%).*

	Number			Growth rate (%)		
	1991	1996	2003 *	1991/1996	1996/2003	1991/2003
Chinese	1354	2380	8703	75.8	265.7	542.8
Indian	640	952	5008	48.7	426.1	682.5
Total foreigners	113,978	172,912	434,646	51.7	151.4	281.3

Source: Foreigners and Borders Service (SEF).
* Immigrant stock with residency permits and permanence permits between 2001 and 2003.

This discrepancy is related to three types of factors: i) the existence of numerous undocumented immigrants; ii) acquisition of Portuguese nationality, via marriage or naturalisation; and iii) the Portuguese colonial heritage in both Africa and Asia.

Although very difficult to estimate the number of undocumented Chinese and Indian immigrants, the volume of regularisation requests made by Chinese and Indians during the special regularisation campaigns of 1992-93, 1996 and 2001 provides an idea as to the size of the phenomenon. Regularisation requests by these two communities, relative to the stock of documented Chinese and Indian immigrants, indicated very high growth. In the 1992-93 regularisation campaign, Chinese submitted 1352 requests and Indians, 261. In 1996, the equivalent values were 1628 and 915, respectively. Finally, between 2001 and 2003, Chinese workers received 3909 permanence permits and Indian workers received 3385.

As for obtaining nationality, between 1985 and 1996, Chinese immigrants had a higher naturalisation rate[5], representing 29.6% (or 5853) of the 19,753 foreigners having received nationality during this period. Many of these immigrants came to Portugal by way of Macao in order to leave China and take advantage of the relative ease in obtaining Portuguese nationality during this period coinciding with the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration on Macao on 26 March 1987 (OLIVEIRA, 2002). Furthermore, as can be observed in the Indian community, there is a considerable number of Portuguese of Chinese origin living in the former colonies in Africa, especially in Mozambique, that came to Portugal following the territories' independence. Because of this, both communities, despite their small sizes, are quite heterogeneous.

Four groups can be distinguished within the Chinese community:

1) Those coming from former colonies in Africa, especially from Mozambique, that have mastered the Portuguese language (oftentimes better than Mandarin) and have a western lifestyle that is very similar to that of a Westerner (COSTA, 1998);

2) Macanese, or Chinese born in Macao, that are highly integrated in Portuguese society. Many have Portuguese nationality, are married to Portuguese and practice Catholicism. However, despite having a Portuguese passport, some keep their Chinese identity alive (CABRAL and LOURENÇO, 1993);

3) Mainland Chinese that, similar to that which has been observed in other European countries, are largely from the Zhejiang province and the counties of Qingtian and Wenzhou, having started to migrate to Portugal only by the 1980s. Their migratory process is based upon personal

[5] Percentage of naturalised citizens relative to the total of foreign residents of the same nationality.

networks of family members and friends and, in more recent years, illegal labour force trafficking networks that have developed along with the relaxation of border controls among member-states in Schengen space (OLIVEIRA, 2002);

4) Students on Macao Mission scholarships in Lisbon, hailing from Macao and – although in lesser numbers – from mainland China, that have come to Portugal because of cooperation agreements established between Portuguese and Chinese universities. Despite many Macanese scholarship-holders already having Portuguese nationality, few speak Portuguese and, rather, use English as the motor of expression. They comprise an autonomous group, practically unrelated to other Chinese established in Portugal (PEREZ, 1998; OLIVEIRA, 2002).

As with the Chinese community, the arrival of the first ethnic Indian immigrants is based upon Portugal's colonial heritage. Until independence of the former African colonies, ethnic Indians in Portugal were limited to a tiny number of university students and, eventually, to some members of the local elite – especially Goans – coming from what was once Portuguese India or from Mozambique. It was only after Mozambique achieved independence that some of the Indians settled there came to try their luck in Portugal, because Portuguese citizenship and knowledge of the language facilitated their integration in the host society. For this reason, although the number of Indians has gradually increased since the 1990s, most members of the community currently settled in Portugal are already Portuguese.

As described above, according to an estimate by MALHEIROS (1996), the number of individuals of Indo-Pakistani origin at the beginning of the 1990s was close to 33,000, split into four main groups (Hindus, Muslims, Ismailis and Goans), of which 80% were concentrated in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. More recently, a few thousands Sikhs have established themselves in Portugal, namely in the periphery of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. The settlement of the first Indians in Portugal, following decolonisation in Africa, played an important role in the development later on of a migratory flux directly from India and from Pakistan, sustained by networking with communities already established in Portugal.

2. Labour market insertion:
emergence and development of ethnic entrepreneurial spirit

Labour market insertion of Chinese and Indian immigrants sheds light not only on some important differences between the two communities but also, and more importantly, on the relationship to workers from the Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP) and from other EU member-states. Chinese stand out from the rest, with their activity rate being greater than all other groups. By contrast, Indians have the lowest activity rate among all groups (Table 3).

Table 3 – Immigrant activity rate and occupational status, as of 31/12/98.

Quadro 3 – Taxas de actividade e situação perante o trabalho dos trabalhadores estrangeiros com autorização de residência em Portugal, em 31/12/98.

Nationality	Activity rate (%)	Employer and self-employed (%)	Wage-earner	Unknown/other (%)
China	57.3	11.2	88.8	0.0
India	40.0	23.7	75.6	0.8
EU	54.9	37.2	62.5	0.3
PALOP	54.7	3.1	96.8	0.1
Total foreigners	53.0	19.3	80.3	0.3

SOURCE: INE – Estatísticas Demográficas, 1998.

This is because Chinese immigration constitutes a very recent migratory wave to Portugal, comprising mostly working-age men that have an ability to create employment for members of their own community. As for Indians, the reduced rate of activity is associated with the high feminisation of the population. The sex ratio for documented Indian immigrants established in Portugal in 1998 was 83.3%. Furthermore, Hindu and Muslim traditions place lesser value on women working, leaving women more confined to domestic space.

In terms of the employment structure and the working status of the employable population, the high proportion of Chinese and – notably – Indian employers and self-employed workers contrasts starkly with the low proportion of independently-employed Africans, despite the latter – especially Cape Verdians – having lived in Portugal longer than the others (Table 3). The percentage difference between self-employed and wage-earning workers in distinct groups of immigrants reveals that Asians' entrepreneurial capabilities are much greater than those of their African counterparts, in that the self-employed employment rate is an important indicator of economic self-confidence, constitutes a potential source of mobility and, generally, indicates higher earnings than those received by wage-earners (PORTES, 1999).

Generally, immigrant workers not hailing from EU member-states are over-represented in low-salaried, socially undervalued and low-skill professions, namely in the fields of personal care and cleaning services and construction. It is less common for them to be involved in liberal professions and management and administrative roles (Table 4). Chinese and Indians are, however, over-represented in the commercial sector and in the running of hotels and restaurants.

Although there is no information on the employment structure and the working status of the employable population for the stock of documented foreign workers in Portugal later than 1998, the professional distribution of immigrants with valid job contracts registered at the Inspectorate-General of Labour (IGT) used to obtain permanence permits between 15 January 2001 and 1 March 2002 confirms tendencies that had previously been detected (Table 5).

Table 4 – Employment structure for immigrants with a residency
permit in Portugal, by region of origin, as of 31/12/98 (%).

*Quadro 4 – Estrutura profissional dos imigrantes com autorização de residência
em Portugal, em 31/12/98, por regiões de origem (%).*

Employment structure	China	India	EU	PALOP	All foreigners
Professional, technical and related	7.7	23.4	40.6	4.5	24.4
Directors and managers	3.5	7.0	14.2	0.3	5.8
Clerical and related workers	0.8	4.0	5.2	2.9	3.9
Sales workers	21.9	37.9	13.3	2.6	8.4
Personal and service workers	52.4	7.5	6.2	10.3	8.5
Agriculture, animal husbandry and related workers	0.0	3.7	1.9	0.7	1.2
Production and related workers, transport equipment and labourers	13.7	16.5	18.6	78.8	47.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: INE – Estatísticas Demográficas, 1998 (Calculations by the authors).

Table 5 – Permanence permits granted to foreign workers,
by economic activity, between 15 January 2001 and 1 March 2002.

*Quadro 5 – Autorizações de permanência concedidas, entre 15 de Janeiro de 2001 e Março
de 2002, a trabalhadores estrangeiros não-comunitários, por sector de actividade.*

Economic activities	China		India		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	68	2.1	56	1.8	5326	3.8
Mining and quarrying	4	0.1	0	0.0	1043	0.7
Manufacturing	149	4.5	43	1.4	20,629	14.6
Electricity, gas and water supply	0	0.0	0	0.0	50	0.0
Construction	116	3.5	1764	57.0	56,063	39.6
Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	904	27.3	231	7.5	11,777	8.3
Hotels and restaurants	1906	57.5	238	7.7	15,763	11.1
Transport, storage and communications	1	0.0	5	0.2	2164	1.5
Financial intermediation	2	0.1	6	0.2	122	0.1
Real estate, renting and business activities	73	2.2	676	21.8	23,321	16.5
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security, education, health and social work	11	0.3	10	0.3	1332	0.9
Other community, social and personal service activities	36	1.1	65	2.1	2902	2.0
Private households with employed persons	45	1.4	2	0.1	1138	0.8
Extra-territorial organisations and bodies	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	0.0
TOTAL	3315	100.0	3096	100.0	141,636	100.0

SOURCE: Inspectorate-General of Labour (IGT) (Calculations by the authors).

Chinese immigrants reinforce their concentration in restaurant management and in the commercial sector by developing an ethnic economy characterised by high initiative in creating employment for members of the community. Research undertaken by TEIXEIRA (1995 and 1998), TRABULO (1998) and OLIVEIRA (2002), confirm that most recent Chinese arrivals work for Chinese employers. Immigrants settled in Portugal for a longer period of time, especially those coming from Mozambique, have slightly greater occupational diversity and perform an important intermediary role between the Portuguese and Chinese populations, offering them a variety of support services in virtue of their rather westernised culture and their linguistic ease with Mandarin. Furthermore, as studies by TOMÉ (1994) and TEIXEIRA (1998) illustrate, Chinese from Mozambique and their children possess more advanced academic and professional skills than other groups within the Chinese community.

A study by TEIXEIRA (1995) involving the survey of a sample of 220 commercial establishments belonging to ethnic Chinese confirmed the predominance of the restaurant sector (66% of the establishments surveyed), followed by retail and wholesale commerce (19%), import/export businesses (13%) and other types of businesses (2%), namely in the textile and clothing sector (TEIXEIRA, 1998: 149-150). Commerce includes a variety of items: dishware, hand-embroidered articles, home decor, cosmetics, leather goods, computer-related items, home appliances, jewellery, watches and newsstands.

The geographic distribution of these establishments is very concentrated spatially, closely following the settlement of the community itself as well as taking advantage of the better market opportunities in Portugal's two metropolitan areas (especially in Lisbon) and in Algarve, in light of the latter's role in national and international tourism.

Indians have a more heterogeneous employment structure than that of the Chinese. A large part, mainly from the Hindu community, has an employment structure similar to that of Cape Verdians: men work in construction and relatively few women in cleaning professions. Another group, smaller though rather visible (especially when compared to PALOP immigrants), is dominated by those employed in commerce, hotels and restaurants. These activities employ 15.2% of Indians issued permanence permits during the special regularisation period that began in January 2001.

A study by MALHEIROS (1996) found that, in 1992, commercial establishments owned by ethnic Indians in Lisbon displayed a sectoral distribution in which, despite a visible presence in wholesale commerce, more were involved in retail commerce (Table 6).

As for the distribution of commercial establishments by type of activity, furniture and home decor businesses (8.2% of all establishments), newsstands (7.3%) and fashion accessories and knick-knack shops (4.9%) stand out as the dominant three types. In addition to this type of commerce, there is also a small group of grocers, selling products bound for consumption by members of the community as well as the general population. These last establishments are typi-

Table 6 – Distribution of ethnic Indian commercial establishments,
by type of activity, 1992.

*Quadro 6 – Distribuição dos estabelecimentos comerciais pertencentes
a indianos étnicos, por tipo de actividade, 1992.*

	Lisbon Total	**Indian establishments**	**% of Indian establishments**
UNSPECIFIED WHOLESALE	1449	98	6.8
RETAIL	11,639	196	1.7
Grocers	2897	25	0.9
Chemical/pharmaceutical/medical products	779	15	1.9
Clothing & footwear	2380	34	1.4
Furniture & home decor	807	66	8.2
Fashion accessories & knick-knacks	265	13	4.9
Jewellery & watches	743	10	1.3
Newsstands	288	21	7.3
Other	3480	12	–

Source: Malheiros, 1996: 172.

cally located in areas in which Indians have settled, as there are Indian groceries spread throughout Lisbon's suburbs, namely in the areas of Almada, Seixal, Loures, Odivelas, Oeiras and Vila Franca de Xira, in shopping centres or in the neighbourhoods in which they live.

IV. DIFFUSION PROCESS OF ETHNIC RESTAURANTS AND FRANCHISED PIZZA AND HAMBURGER OUTLETS IN LISBON

The increase in immigration to Portugal after the independence of the country's former colonies in Africa – and particularly from the mid-1980s onwards – took place against a background of profound demographic, geographic, economic and social change. These changes produced the ideal conditions for the penetration of several transnational fast food companies in the country, such as McDonald's and Pizza Hut, while creating opportunity structures that were conducive to the development of ethnic entrepreneurship in the restaurant sector.

1. Development factors of ethnic restaurants

The entrepreneurial initiatives of immigrants are usually the result of the interaction between the opportunity structures faced by the immigrants and their own characteristics (Kim *et al.*, 1989; Waldinger *et al.*, 1990). Therefore, the social and economic conjuncture at the time of the arrival of the immigrants

in the host society plays a decisive role in determining their strategies of integration in the local economy.

In the specific case of the city of Lisbon, several factors joined together from the mid-1980s onwards to produce an environment that was highly conducive to the expansion of ethnic entrepreneurship in the restaurant sector, particularly in the case of Chinese and Indian restaurants:

— The fact that, after the independence of the former African colonies in the mid-1970s, large numbers of Portuguese citizens returned to Portugal, bringing along with them a taste for Asian (Indian and Chinese) cuisine;
— The rise in the purchasing power of the Portuguese families since the mid-1980s, made possible by the economic growth experienced in the country;
— The rise in the number of women engaged in paid work (high growth rate of double-income families, particularly in the metropolitan areas);
— The changes in lifestyles, due to the upward social mobility from working-class to middle-class status;
— The fact that the new members of the middle-class discovered the pleasures of eating out – previously a privilege of the upper middle-class. It was at this time of social, economic and cultural change that the Chinese – and, to a lesser extent, the Indians – entered the restaurant business (PANG, 2001);
— The competitive prices practised by the Chinese restaurants, rendered possible by low labour costs incurred by the staff.

On the immigrants' side, a specific set of circumstances also contributed to their engagement in small ethnic businesses in the host society and to the expansion of those businesses.

WALDINGER, ALDRICH and WARD (1990:31-32) argue that the specific characteristics of diasporic businessmen are the result of the interaction between four different factors: i) hampered social mobility; ii) the selectivity of the migratory process; iii) their own aspirations usually being more modest than those of the autochthonous population; and iv) the ability to mobilise the financial and informational resources within their ethnic community.

According to the same authors, the difficulties that these immigrants face in accessing the labour market and the restricted choice of occupations made available to them create an incentive for them to acquire business and entrepreneurial skills. Moreover, the selectivity of the migration process usually means that, as a general rule, immigrants are more flexible, more able of adapting to changing circumstances and less risk-averse than the average autochthonous citizen. These qualities provide them with a competitive advantage in the low-wage labour market. Besides, the ethnic identity of the group favours the development of informal networks that, by way of cooperation, facilitate the processes of learning by doing and professional development, the access to information

regarding market opportunities or the procedures associated with setting up a business, and the access to informal credit mechanisms. The role of social capital is, therefore, clearly visible in these processes.

In the case of small ethnic businesses, the capital usually comes from personal savings or loans lent by friends, family or business associations within the ethnic community. Moreover, the possibility of relying on family or co-ethnic workers allows for lower wage costs, greater flexibility regarding tasks and working hours and guarantees greater loyalty with regard to the employer. However, it is worth stressing that the social support networks within the ethnic community are not always built on cultural solidarity: situations of conditional support and even cases of sheer dependence are also frequent, usually caused by the discrimination faced by the immigrants in the host society and by the fear of reprisals in the event of breaching the loyalty towards the other members of the community (Portes and Zhou, 1992; Trabulo, 1998).

Due to the fact that many of the ethnic Indians that came from Mozambique after the independence held on to their Portuguese citizenship, they were able to benefit from government support to the returnees from the former colonies, particularly access to sponsored credit. Furthermore, some of these businessmen (particularly the most successful ones) already relied on commercial credit to finance their business activities.

2. Development strategies of transnational fast food franchises (McDonald's and Pizza Hut) present in Portugal

The location strategies of transnational fast food franchises, such as McDonald's and Pizza Hut, rely on the globalisation process as well as on local opportunity structures. As in the case of ethnic restaurants, competition is based on prices, which are a product of certain conditions, such as efficiency, calculability and predictability.

The first McDonald's franchise opened in 1955 in Des Plaines, Illinois, in the United States. Today, the McDonald's corporation employs approximately 2800 employees in its headquarters in Oak Brook, just outside of Chicago, who provide a wide variety of support functions to the 30,000 McDonald's restaurants in 119 countries around the globe, through a network of divisional, regional and local country branches (www.mcdonalds.com/corp.html).

In the 30,000 McDonald's restaurants scattered around the globe (80% of which are owned and run by independent local businessmen and women) an average of 47 million costumers are served every day.

Pizza Hut was also created in the US in 1958, just three years after McDonald's. It provides different kinds of services: eat-in (restaurant); take-away, slice and delivery. Today, franchises and joint venture partnerships account for more than half of the Pizza Hut system's total units. Following the opening of the first international restaurant in 1968 in Canada, Pizza Hut restaurants quickly appeared in Mexico, South America, Australia, Europe, Asia

and Africa. Today, Pizza Hut operates in 84 countries and territories throughout the world (www.pizzahut.com/about/).

The spread of McDonald's, Pizza Hut and other similar restaurants around the globe has turned them into landmarks in present-day urban landscapes – and a central feature in the daily lives of many urbanites.

The peculiar characteristics of their architecture and decoration provide them with a "familiar" appearance – a home away from home. Many tourists tend to favour them, not only because of their prices, but also because they provide a "safe haven" for those who feel anxious in unfamiliar surroundings.

They usually have long opening hours that are compatible with the frantic pace of big cities and focus on attractive menus for children and young people, without neglecting their more mature costumers – particularly young adults. Furthermore, they combine eat-in service with take-away and, in some cases, even home delivery for those costumers who prefer to have their meals at home.

The setting up of McDonald's and Pizza Hut restaurants in Portugal and their spread throughout the country in the 1990s was the result of the combination of the globalisation strategies of the companies and a set of local circumstances that were conducive to their development. Thus, the process took place alongside the process of tertiarisation and internationalisation of the Portuguese economy that followed Portugal's adhesion to the European Economic Community in 1986.

Much like ethnic restaurants, international fast food restaurant chains seek to lower their labour costs by employing many young workers in part-time positions, including many ethnic minorities and women, while – again, like ethnic restaurants – contributing to the internationalisation of certain eating habits. However, there are big differences between these two types of restaurants, in what regards their organisational systems, spatial organisation, information sources, capital origin, labour training, labour recruitment and management strategies, their relations with costumers and suppliers and their location patterns at the intra-urban level.

McDonald's opened its first restaurant in Portugal on 23 May 1991 in the Cascais Shopping Center, followed by two others in Saldanha (Lisbon) and Setúbal, 40 minutes outside of Lisbon. Pizza Hut arrived in Portugal in 1990 and opened its first restaurant on the Avenue Fontes Pereira de Melo in Lisbon. There are now 63 Pizza Hut restaurants in Portugal, the majority being located in the metropolitan areas and the Algarve.

3. The spatial diffusion of ethnic restaurants and pizza and hamburger franchises in Lisbon

In 1975-76, there were no more than seven Chinese and five Indian restaurants in Lisbon (Fig. 1). At the time, the country was undergoing a severe economic crisis. The effects of the international economic recession that followed the first oil crisis in 1973, as well as the political and economic insta-

bility in the wake of the 25 April 1974 revolution, had a highly negative impact upon the purchasing power of the Portuguese families. Moreover, the relatively low educational levels of the population and the country's isolation during the 48 years of the dictatorship all contributed to a general lack of appreciation for exotic cuisine.

Consequently, first-generation ethnic restaurants were usually quite expensive and their clientele consisted of co-ethnic diplomatic workers or cultural attachés, tourists and local elites, particularly high-rank civil servants or military personnel who had served in the former Portuguese territories in India, in Macao or in the former colonies in Africa where there was a significant presence of ethnic Indian and Chinese minorities, as was the case in Mozambique.

Whenever the clientele is small and the choices on offer are limited, there is an advantage to geographical concentration and to being located in a relatively central area. Therefore, as can be seen in Fig. 1, Chinese restaurants tended to concentrate around the Duque de Loulé and Luciano Cordeiro venues.
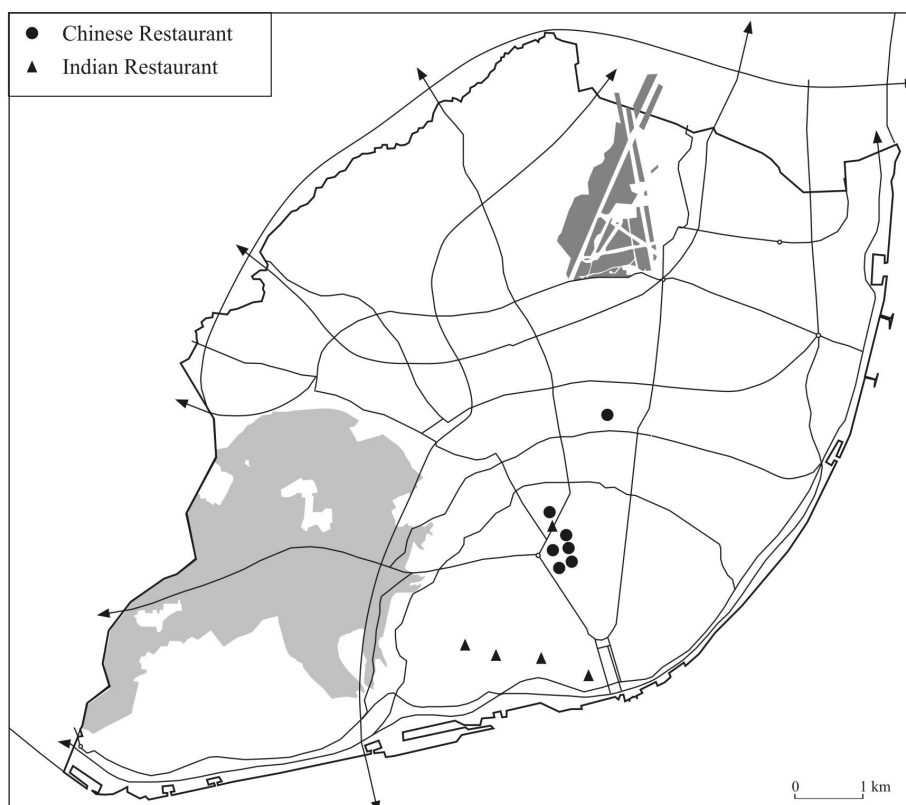

Fig. 1 – Ethnic (Chinese and Indian) restaurants, 1975-76.

Fig. 1 – Restaurantes étnicos (chineses e indianos), 1975-76.

Outside this relatively central area, there was only one restaurant, which was located in Alvalade – an upper middle-class neighbourhood that was built in the late 1940s-early 1950s with money coming from the former African colonies. In turn, Indian restaurants – some of which offered Goan cuisine – were nearly all situated in the Western part of the city, along the axis that runs from the Baixa-Chiado zone to the elegant district of Lapa, along S. Bento and the Parliament. The only exception was located on the Fontes Pereira de Melo Avenue, near the area where the Chinese restaurants tended to concentrate.

In the second half of the 1970s, oriental (particularly Chinese) restaurants experienced a significant expansion. As mentioned before, this had to do both with the development of ethnic entrepreneurship in the restaurant sector, which took place alongside the increase in immigration to Portugal that followed the independence of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, and with a series of important social and cultural changes that were then taking place in the Portuguese society, making it more open and cosmopolitan and bringing the lifestyle of its urban middle-class closer to the global pattern.
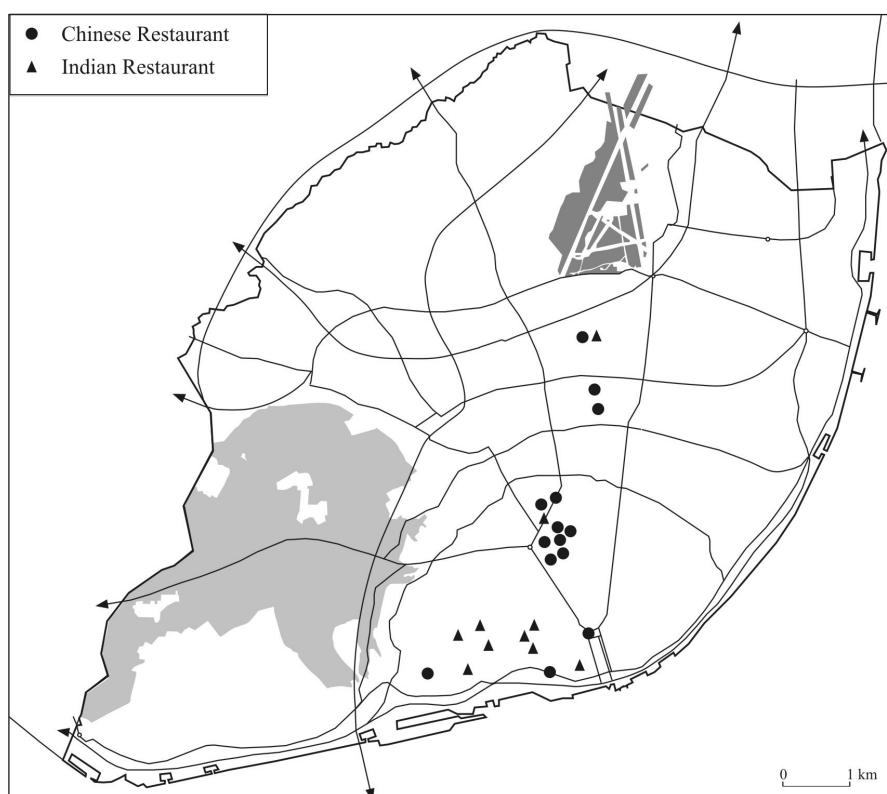

Fig. 2 – Ethnic restaurants (Chinese and Indian), 1980-81.

Fig. 2 – Restaurantes étnicos (chineses e indianos), 1980-81.

Hence, between 1975-76 and 1980-81, increasingly more restaurants opened around the original nucleus, while there was also an expansion to the western part of the city, following the Indian pattern, and to the Northern area (i.e., Alvalade) (Fig. 2).

The number of Indian restaurants also increased, tending to concentrate around those that were already in place in 1975-76, although a new one opened in the Alvalade district. However, Indian restaurants found it harder to become popular, not only because the cuisine is generally quite spicy, but also because the prices are usually much less competitive. In addition, certain features of Chinese cuisine make it more similar to fast food (cut in small pieces, less sauce, no bones, etc.) than Indian cuisine.

During the 1980s, the expansion of Chinese restaurants continued apace, radiating from the original nucleus: northward to Fontes Pereira de Melo Avenue, Praça do Saldanha, Alvalade and Praça de Londres; southward and eastward to Rossio, Bairro Alto, S. Mamede, Estrela and Campo de Ourique; and to the northwest, to Benfica, a residential upper-middle class district (Figs. 3 and 4).
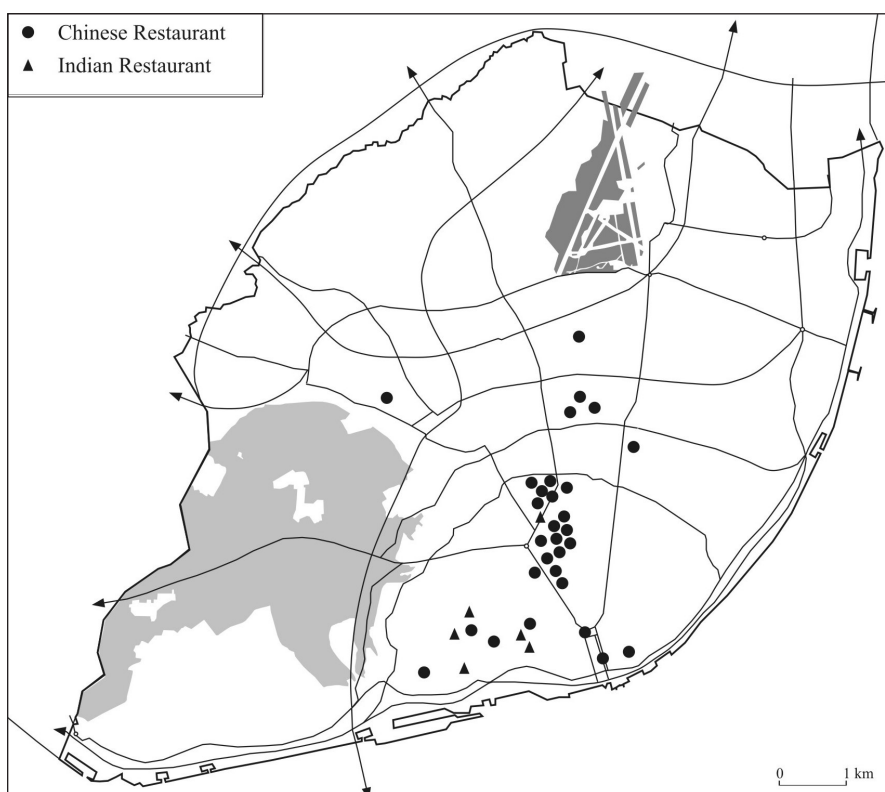

Fig. 3 – Ethnic (Chinese and Indian) restaurants, 1985-86.

Fig. 3 – Restaurantes étnicos (chineses e indianos), 1985-86.

Unlike the Chinese restaurants, Indian restaurants then experienced a decline. The likely causes were the wider range of choices of exotic cuisine in the city of Lisbon (which took place alongside the increase and diversification of the immigration to Portugal), the opening of the first fast food restaurant chains in the early 1990s and the Indian restaurants' own lack of capacity to compete in terms of price.

The first Pizza Hut restaurant in Portugal opened in September 1990 and was located in the heart of the city's business and commercial district: Fontes Pereira de Melo Avenue, in between the Praça Marquês de Pombal and Saldanha. Ten months later, on 18 July 1991, the first McDonald's in Lisbon opened in the Praça de Saldanha (Fig. 4), not far from the first Pizza Hut.

The trends of the late 1980s persisted in the early 1990s. Chinese restaurants began to scatter around different areas of the city, even though the highest

Fig. 4 – Ethnic (Chinese and Indian) restaurants and franchised pizza and hamburger outlets (Pizza Hut and McDonald's), 1990-91.

Fig. 4 – Restaurantes McDonald's e Pizza Hut e restaurantes étnicos (chineses e indianos), 1990-91.

concentration could still be found in the central part of the city, between the Baixa and the main avenues. Indian restaurants continued to decline (Fig. 5).

Meanwhile, the number of McDonald's and Pizza Hut franchises continued to increase, as the city of Lisbon underwent a process of significant economic, social and urban change over the past two decades. Besides contributing to changes in the eating habits of the population, the spatial diffusion of ethnic restaurants and international fast food franchises also introduced some major changes in the urban landscape. Due to the peculiar style of its internal and external architecture and decoration, these restaurants are easily recognised as symbolic elements representative of the cosmopolitanism and internationalisation of the city of Lisbon.

Unlike the process of spatial diffusion of the Chinese restaurants, the expansion of the McDonald's and Pizza Hut franchises followed a pattern of dispersal. Therefore, these franchises are usually located in very central areas,
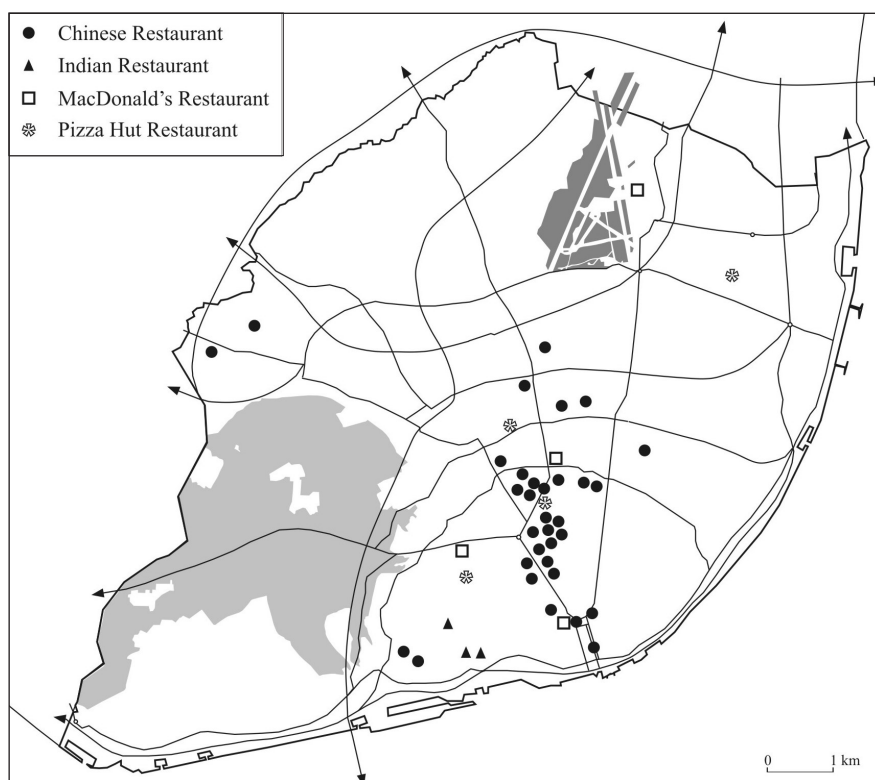

Fig. 5 – Ethnic (Chinese and Indian) restaurants and franchised pizza and hamburger outlets (Pizza Hut and McDonald's), 1995.

Fig. 5 – Restaurantes McDonald's e Pizza Hut e restaurantes étnicos (chineses e indianos), 1995.

easily accessible by both public and individual means of transportation, where large numbers of people pass by every day.

Consequently, by 1995, there were McDonald's restaurants in Saldanha, Rossio, Amoreiras Shopping Centre and the airport, and Pizza Hut franchises in Fontes Pereira de Melo Avenue, Berna Avenue, Álvares Cabral Avenue and Olivais Shopping.

Ethnic restaurants are excellent interfaces for the cultural dialogue between the immigrants and the host societies. As in other European and North American metropolises, both Chinese and Indian restaurants in Lisbon have shown a remarkable capacity to adapt their own culinary tradition to the taste of the local customers. They have also created employment opportunities for co-ethnic workers, not only in the restaurant sector, but also in other activities in the food and restaurant filière, upstream from the final consumer. Moreover, they have also created new business opportunities, thereby contributing to the diversification and intensification of the international relation network of the destination city. Their potential to induce innovation both in their places of origin and in the host societies is remarkable, due to the strong density of social capital that characterises them.

All these factors, along with an economic conjuncture that was favourable to the increase in the spending power of the Portuguese families, made it possible for the number of Chinese restaurants to keep increasing and scattering all over the city (Fig. 6). Indian restaurants finally reversed the tendency of the 1980s and also began a new cycle of expansion. The restaurants that opened at this time were located in the area around the Martim Moniz-Almirante Reis Avenue axis – which gradually emerged as an ethnic enclave, in the Alvalade district and in a recently developed area in the Eastern part of the city: the Expo'98 urban intervention site.

McDonald's and Pizza Hut franchises also underwent a remarkable expansion and opened all over the city: in the new shopping centres and hypermarkets in recent peripheral areas of the city such as Telheiras, Benfica and Parque das Nações (Expo'98 zone), next to gas stations along the major speedways and avenues (i.e., Padre Cruz Avenue, 2.ª Circular, etc.), in residential areas characterised by high commercial density such as Alvalade, in the historic centre (Rua Augusta) and in the Western part of the city in the Belém-Restelo historical monument area (due to it being an important tourist attraction and a favourite leisure site for the Lisbon population) (Fig. 6).

Much like the ethnic restaurants, international fast food chains also sought to adapt to a segmented demand by offering a slightly wider range of products to consumers with varying purchasing powers and by incorporating certain local traditions such as introducing McCafé areas in most McDonald's restaurants, so that customers are able to have their traditional *bica* (expresso) and *pastéis de nata* (Portuguese custard tarts) alongside the regular McDonald's fare. The recent difficulties experienced by McDonald's, which is becoming less successful then once was (RITZER, 2002: 256), justify the introduction of these
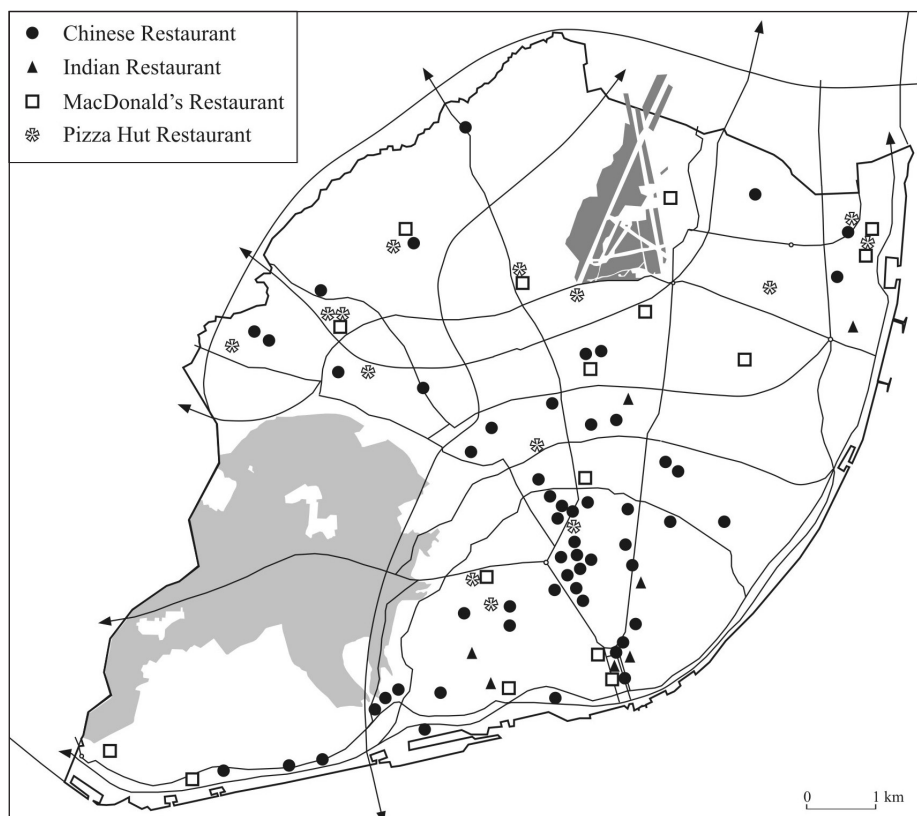
Fig. 6 – Ethnic (Chinese and Indian) restaurants and franchises pizza
and hamburger outlets (Pizza Hut and McDonald's), 2000.

*Fig. 6 – Restaurantes McDonald's e Pizza Hut e restaurantes étnicos
(chineses e indianos), 2000.*

new strategies of limited local adaptation and "sneakerisation" (controlled diver-
sification of the basic products offered). However, the basic, more or less stan-
dardised, products continue to be the basis for business at McDonald's
(hamburger, chips and soft drinks) and Pizza Hut (pizza and soft drink).

V.   CONCLUDING REMARKS

If we systematise the comparative reading of the strategies and spatial
diffusion processes of McDonald's/Pizza Hut restaurants and Chinese and
Indian restaurants in Lisbon within the framework of hegemonic and non-hege-
monic globalisation processes, we end up with Table 7.

Table 7 – A reading of hegemonic and non-hegemonic globalisation processes: the examples of McDonald's/Pizza Hut restaurants and ethnic restaurants (Chinese and Indian examples)

Quadro 7 – Uma leitura dos processos de globalização hegemónicos e não hegemónicos: o caso dos restaurantes McDonald's e Pizza Hut e dos restaurantes étnicos chineses e indianos

Domains	Dimensions	The McDonald's/Pizza example (from the top)	The ethnic restaurants example (from below)
Actors (type)		**Transnational corporations**	**Transnational communities**
	Key-element (capital type)	**Economic/business**	**Social**
Support principles	**Setting conditions**	. **Centrally Planed (formal);** . **Franchising (local entrepreneur-ship under rules defined by the top - the mother firm)**	. **Informal opportunities checking;** . **"Individual" entrepreneurship within community/family strategies**
	Labour	. *Mc jobs* **(low-pay, low status, precariousness…);** . **Formal internal training (human skills, personal development - upward mobility devaluated);** . **Over-representation of young ethnic minorities.**	. **Ethnic economy jobs (low-pay, low-status, community ties…),** . **Informal internal training with co-ethnics (human and social skills, opportunities of upwards mobility within the ethnic economy);** . **Over-representation of young foreigners.**
	Selling strategies	. **Advertisement - strong means (e.g. TV) and weak ones (e.g. mail boxes propaganda, etc.)** . **Diversification (eat in, drive in + take away)** . **Small offers (children);** . **Flexible open hours;** . **Low prices**	. **Advertisement - weak means only;** . **Diversification (eat in + take away);** . **Small offers (all customers);** . **Flexible open hours;** . **Combination of prices but relevance of low prices**
Spatial organisation	**International**	. **Hierarchical, eventually with national autonomies**	. **Complex, with links to origin, not necessarily hierarchical**
	Local	. **Hierarchical process (from big city centres/wealthy neighbourhoods to other areas)**	. **Unplanned hierarchical process, normally starting in big city centres**
Dominant Flows (internat.)		. **Capital and information**	. **People and goods**
Products and symbols		. **Standardisation - meat, chips and soft drink. Introduction of a few local specificities;** . **"Easy food" with strong quality control - ready made, no cover needed;** . **Normalised decoration - colour-ful dynamic (arches, dominance of the colour red).**	. **Hybrid standardisation - basic elements of exotic cuisine adapted to Western taste;** . **"Easy-food" - small pieces;** . **Normalised decoration - exotic, colourful (arches, dominance of the colour red, paintings).**
Consumers (main types)		. **Urban - Children, young people and families with children (inter-classes).**	. **Urban - Young people and families (inter-classes with some segmentation).**

Despite having bases of sustainability that are dissimilar (transnational corporations anchored in business capital and in formal/planned economic strategies *vs*. transnational communities relying on informal ethnic networks and relations), the expansion stories of McDonald's/Pizza Hut restaurants and Chinese/Indian restaurants display several common features. Before moving into these ones, it is important to go back to the role of social capital in the set up and posterior support of the ethnic restaurants. On the one hand, the systematic use of imported goods and imported work that arrives in Portugal already aware of the possibilities of integration in restaurants belonging to co-ethnics or even in a specific ethnic restaurant, points to the relevance of the bridging capital. On the other hand, individual trajectories of certain people (from paid employment to the settlement of restaurants) and the role of family/community capital in the setting up of the restaurants, especially among the Chinese, points to the importance of bonding capital in the process. Naturally, the role of community leaders (in terms of social and financial power) is fundamental in this process and expresses the necessary links between social capital and economic resources (business capital). Also the learn-by-doing experience, which leads to an increase in the individual human capital, plays a role in this process of social mobility. In other words, social capital assumes a key position in the dynamics of ethnic businesses, not just by itself but also due to its role in stimulating or facilitating the access to other forms of capital, namely business and human capital.

Having stressed the differences in the strategies of fast food chains and ethnic restaurants, it is now important to turn to the similar features and outcomes. First, there is a standardisation of the products, even in the case of ethnic restaurants, where diversity does not override internationally-known dishes such as chop suey, Beijing duck, won ton soup, Indian biriani, tikka massala or tandoori. Standardisation is even taken into aesthetics, where the Golden arches of McDonald's are echoed in the Chinese-style arches, roofs and pillars that decorate every Chinese restaurant.

Secondly, the idea of "easy-food" sold at competitive prices is present in both McDonald's/Pizza Hut and Chinese restaurants (small pieces, no need for knives and spoons). The motives for these low prices are achieved through identical principles, even if the strategies mobilised display some differences (e.g. low paid jobs with an over-representation of young people based in formal short-term precarious jobs – Mcdonaldised restaurants and in the kinship ties and trust, in the case of ethnic restaurants).

Finally, even the local spatial strategies of both types of restaurants display some similarities. Although the spreading of McDonald's and Pizza Hut restaurants results in a more scattered pattern than the one displayed by Chinese restaurants, the importance of the central areas of the city (especially the expansion axes of the traditional city centre) as the initial focal point is noticeable in both cases. In addition, both kinds of restaurants try to take advantage of the new opportunities associated with the restructuring of shopping spaces in

Lisbon, opening spaces in the new shopping malls, in the areas subject to important renewal projects (e.g., Parque das Nações constructed for Expo'98) and in the expanding neighbourhoods where the upper-middle class dominates, such as Telheiras. However, while McDonald's restaurants are frequently established in large, newly built or re-built spaces that try to take advantage of important crossroads or major traffic arteries, Chinese restaurants seem to be more inserted in the consolidated urban fabric, both in new and old neighbourhoods of the city.

If the expanding presence of McDonald's, Pizza Hut, Chinese and Indian restaurants in Lisbon is an expression of hegemonic and non-hegemonic forms of globalisation, it is also an element in the contemporary dynamics of the city, namely in the domains of available foods and food consumption.

In terms of social changes, these presences point to the role of "limited" standardisation in contemporary lifestyles. However, contemporary postmodern trends towards diversification of experiences and tastes are leading to the aforementioned "sneakerisation" processes and justifies the need to have in town both the westernised global uniformity of McDonald's/Pizza Hut and the "adjusted" exotic uniformity of Chinese and Indian restaurants. In other perspective, the combination of these physical spaces of consumption and the kind of offer that they propose simultaneously represent the westernisation of Lisbon (all West European cities have franchised fast food outlets and a myriad of Chinese restaurants, easily identifiable in the urban fabric) and the presence of hybrid cosmopolitanism (through the offer of "ethnic tastes" associated with "ethnic decor" in restaurants and with foreign workers with distinct social and cultural practices and values).

Finally, as an expression of Lisbon's integration in the international economy, transnational food chains represent global economy networks and ties to primary internationalisation, while Indian and particularly Chinese restaurants show that Lisbon is on the map for the ethnic transnational economy associated with the secondary internationalisation processes.

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