



RETURNING MATERIALS:
Place in book drop to
remove this checkout from
your record. FINES will
be charged if book is
returned after the date
stamped below.

--	--	--

COUNTRYMEN RETURN:
COLONIAL MIGRATION AND RURAL ECONOMY IN NORTHERN PORTUGAL

By

Mark Gregory Wojno

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1982

Copyright by
MARK GREGORY WOJNO
1982

0117950

ABSTRACT

COUNTRYMEN RETURN: COLONIAL MIGRATION AND RURAL ECONOMY IN NORTHERN PORTUGAL

By

Mark Gregory Wojno

This study examines the effects of two decades of extensive international labor migration on the economic organization, social structure and world view of three rural, labor exporting communities in northern Portugal. Changes in the locality studied were found to stem from the circulatory nature of migration which includes continued emigration, cyclical returns, annual visits and permanent return migration. International labor migration is viewed as comprising one component process among others in a broad complex of modernizing forces which is currently altering rural areas throughout the Mediterranean region. Other processes which together with emigration are affecting change in this area include service sector expansion, state capital investment and tourism. This study documents the specific manifestations of modernization in a locality of Portugal where emigration has played a dominant role in generating change.

Economic changes were found to grow from the investment and spending of emigrant remittances and savings which have produced among other trends, a housing boom, rush for land, small-scale commercial expansion and seasonally distorted economic cycles. Agriculture, already in a state of decline, was found to be eroded further through land parcelization and non-agricultural land use patterns.

Principal changes in social structure which were found include:

1) a significant reduction in the size of the rural proletariat class, resulting from the exodus of landless workers during the 1960s and 1970s, 2) a slight decline in the number of rural semi-proletarians, also due to out-migration, 3) the continuation of a class of peasant cultivators, owing to the inflow of remitted earnings sent from emigrants and, 4) the maintenance of the rural petty bourgeoisie both in response to emigrant demand for consumer goods and as returned migrants establish small businesses of their own. Local social structure was also marked by the appearance of growing numbers of returned emigrants who, profoundly changed by their urban-industrial experiences, are forming a class of status conscious, modernized, workers and consumers whose identity no longer lies with their peasant kin and neighbors. This class group was incongruous with the traditional social relations of production in the locality studied and as such reflects a discontinuity which can only be exacerbated as return migration and modernization spread.

The importance of emigration for the communities studied was also found to be manifested in an ideology of emigration which through the years has come to be incorporated into traditional world view. In this cognitive framework, emigration is viewed as the only viable strategy for socioeconomic improvement for most of the rural population.

This study concludes by suggesting that despite the spread of many highly visible changes due to emigration and modernization, it is likely that northern Portugal is entering a period of crisis. Approaching problems will be generated by a convergence of four major trends. These include the continuing decline of regional and national economies, the impending implementation of far reaching agricultural reorganization programs under the EEC, the growing spread of modernization and the

continuing constriction of opportunities for emigration. As these processes are played out in northern Portugal, returned emigrants and minifundia cultivators will play a major role in voicing discontent.

To My Parents,
Thaddeus J. Wojno
Charlotte Nerenhausen Wojno

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is the product of a long period of training to which numerous individuals have contributed in a variety of ways. At the risk of neglecting many, I would like to thank a few people by name who have assisted me in this endeavor. First, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. William Derman who as academic advisor, chairperson of my dissertation committee and as principal teacher, has helped me at every stage of the doctoral program. His continuing support and insightful critiques have been invaluable in shaping my understanding of anthropology.

Special thanks are also due the members of my doctoral committee, Dr. Robert McKinley, Dr. Harry Raulet, and Dr. Scott Whiteford. Their genuine interest in my learning, their knowledge of anthropology and their encouragement of me at all phases of my training are deeply appreciated. I would also like to thank Dr. Allen Ehrlich, who as my first anthropology teacher, awakened my interest in the field and was instrumental in launching my graduate career.

While in Portugal, my research was aided by innumerable people in ways and under conditions which perhaps ethnographers understand best. I would like to express particular gratitude to Jose Pacheco Perreira who gave me many insights into the lifeways of northern Portugal, assisted me with archival work and who, together with his wife Dr. Isabel Perreira, arranged speedy and unencumbered medical care in Porto when it

was necessary. Maria Adelaide Fernandes, magistrate of the Comarca of Bucelas, unhesitatingly shared her knowledge of legal, administrative and political organizations in the communities studied. During my first weeks in Lisbon, Dr. Anthony Leeds read my research proposal, offered many suggestions and in general facilitated my early orientation in Portugal. Heartfelt thanks is of course due the people of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, whose gregarious hospitality, warmth and acceptance of me was greatly appreciated by a stranger who simply stepped off a bus one day with suitcase in hand and announced his intention to live among and study his hosts.

I would also like to express gratitude to my wife Amy Stone who joined and supported me during segments of field research. She also typed parts of this dissertation, proofread all of it and in general organized its final completion. Together with my son, Mark Andrew, she has helped me keep this entire process in a reasonable perspective.

This study was made possible in part through a doctoral dissertation grant from the National Science Foundation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1

 Conceptualizing Migration 1

 Migration and Modernization in
 Mediterranean Europe 4

 Emigration and Economic Change in
 Labor Exporting Communities 8

 Emigration and Social Structural
 Change in Labor Exporting Communities 14

 Emigration and World View in Labor
 Exporting Communities 17

 Research Objectives. 19

 Research Methodology 21

II. COLONIAL MIGRATION FROM PORTUGAL 1420-1960:
METROPOLITAN DEPENDENCE AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT 27

 Early Emigration: Madeira, Azores, Cape Verde
 Islands 28

 Trade and Exploration Along the West African
 Coast: The Shift Away from Permanent
 Colonial Settlement 30

 The Asian Spice Trade: Growing Emigration and
 Depopulation in Portugal 31

 Portuguese Emigration to Brazil. 34

 Metropolitan Dependence, Underdevelopment
 and Emigration 36

 The African Colonies: Continued Portuguese
 Dependence 46

III. PORTUGUESE ECONOMIC TRENDS 1950-1970: UNEQUAL
SECTORAL DEVELOPMENT AND ACCELERATED EMIGRATION. 51

 Agriculture. 54

 Land Tenure. 55

 The Contribution of Agriculture to the
 National Economy: 1950-1970 61

Chapter		
	Industry	62
	Private Enterprise and State Intervention in Portuguese Industry	64
	Industrial Growth and Agricultural Stagnation: Intersectoral Imbalances 1956-65	66
	Economic Decline and Accelerated Emigration.	70
IV.	PORTUGUESE EMIGRATORY PATTERNS: 1960-1975.	74
	Forms of Emigration.	74
	Destinations of Portuguese Emigrants	83
	Regional Origins of Portuguese Emigrants	88
	Composition of Emigration Movements by Gender.	91
	Composition of Emigration Movements by Age	93
	Emigration Among Families.	97
	Occupations of Emigrants	99
	Return Migration	102
V.	THE SETTING: BUCELAS, GANDRA, SANDIAÉS	105
	The Region	105
	The Communities.	107
	Local Ecology.	115
	Principal Crops.	117
	Recent Emigration from the Concelho of Bucelas	120
	Recent Emigration and Depopulation	121
VI.	THE EMIGRANT FESTA COMPLEX	131
	The Emergence of the Emigrant Festa Complex.	132
	Annual Summer Return Visits.	133
	The Festa of Our Lady of Salvation in Bucelas.	141
VII.	ECONOMIC CHANGE.	146
	Population Loss and Agricultural Productivity.	150
	Land Tenure.	159
	Agricultural Machinery	171
	Housing Construction	172
	Consumer Goods and Home Furnishings.	181
	Local Commercial Expansion	184
	Emigrant and State Capital Investment in the Local Communities	193
VIII.	SOCIAL STRUCTURAL CHANGE	201
	Social Class Structure: Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaés	204

Chapter

The Rural Bourgeoisie.	206
Rural Petty Bourgeoisie.	207
Self Sufficient Peasants	210
Rural Proletarians	211
The Rural Semi-Proletariat	212
The Exodus of the Rural Proletariat	213
Emigration and the Decline of the Rural Semi-Proletariat	222
Emigration and the Maintenance of the Self Sufficient Peasantry	227
Emigration, Commercial Expansion and the Growth of the Local Petty Bourgeoisie	232
Returned Emigrants and Social Class Structure	235
IX. PATTERNS OF MARRIAGE, FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND EMIGRATION	241
Emigration and the Selection of Marriage Partners	242
Courtship and Marriage Ceremonies: Seasonal Variation and Intensification	244
Women Remaining Behind in the Communities	245
Emigrant and Non-Emigrant Children in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães	248
Emigration and the Transmission of Western Youth Culture	255
X. RETURN MIGRATION	260
Socioeconomic and Demographic Characteristics of Returnees	262
Emigrating from Portugal	263
Living and Working Outside Portugal.	270
The Permanent Return to Portugal	286
XI. WORLD VIEW, THE IDEOLOGY OF EMIGRATION AND THE IDENTITY OF RETURNEES: THE COMING CRISIS IN NORTHERN PORTUGAL	300
The World View of the Transmontano	301
The Ideology of Emigration	306
The Ideology of Return Migration	309
The Identity of Returning Emigrants.	310
Conclusion: The Coming Crisis in Northern Portugal . . .	313

FOOTNOTES	321
APPENDIX A	323
APPENDIX B	325
LIST OF REFERENCES	327

LIST OF TABLES

Table

2.0	Emigration from Portugal 1500-1967	28
2.1	Destinations of Portuguese Emigration Movements 1900-1949	45
3.0	Evolution of Portuguese Industrial Production 1953-1970	65
3.1	GNP by Sectors of Activity	67
4.0	Legal and Illegal Emigration from Portugal 1960-1975	82
4.1	Destinations of Emigrants by Continent and Country 1950-1975	85
4.2	Regional Origins of Emigrants	90
4.3	Composition of Emigration Movements by Gender	92
4.5	Emigration by Age Group as Percentage of Total 1960-1975	95
5.0	Destination Countries of Emigrants Departing Legally from the Concelho of Bucelas Between 1950 and 1973	122
5.1	Population of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães 1864-1979	123
5.2	Destinations of Migrants from Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães Remaining Outside the Concelho of Bucelas and Portugal in 1979	127
7.0	Production of Principal Crops in the Concelho of Bucelas	158
7.1	Recently Completed Public Works Projects in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães	199
8.0	Occupational Distribution of Emigrants from the Concelho of Bucelas who Registered with the Camara Municipal Between 1969 and 1978	215
8.1	Occupational Distribution of Male Heads of Household in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães	229
9.0	Reasons for Returning to Portugal Given by Children with Emigration Experience in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães	251
9.1	Attributes of Students with Emigration Experience as Stated by Local Non-migrant students	254
10.0	Reasons for Emigrating from Portugal Given by Returnees	265
10.1	Destination Countries of Returnees	271
10.2	Occupations Held by Returnees in Labor Importing Countries	275
10.3	Reasons Given by Returnees for Emigrating to Portugal	288
10.4	Post Emigration Occupations Held by Returnees	294

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

5.0	Tras-os-Montes Province	106
5.1	Bucelas, Gandra, Sandiães	108
5.2	Center of Bucelas	113
5.3	Distribution of Population by Age and Sex: Bucelas, Gandra, Sandiães	129
7.0	Sales of Individual Land Parcels 1952-1976: Bucelas, Gandra, Sandiães	163
7.1	Permits Issued for House Construction and Renovation 1969-1978: Bucelas, Gandra, Sandiães	178
10.0	Returnee Investment in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães	292

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In this study I examine the effects of some two decades of extensive international labor migration upon the economic organization, social structure and world view of a rural labor exporting locality in northern Portugal. I focus on the migration process as it unfolds and transpires in the sending communities. Migration is viewed as an ongoing, curculatory and open-ended process. Continued emigratory flows, cyclical and annual returns and permanent return migration are forms of migration which have acted upon the communities examined. In studying both the context of population movements as well as individual migrants this work underscores the fact that migration should be viewed ultimately as a dependent variable, as a symptom of underdevelopment and dependence, conditions which in turn are shaped by the interplay of regional, national and international forces. It is suggested that labor migration be conceptualized as one among many wider forces of change currently unfolding in peripheral and semi-peripheral regions of the world economy.

Conceptualizing Migration

The necessity of seeing migration as a continuing, double-ended process taking place in a variety of historical-structural contexts has become increasingly prevalent in anthropological analyses in recent years. This reorientation has developed in part as a response to the dominance of unidirectional models in migration studies, a focus upon the actions and decisions of individual migrants, and in part as a

concept to the artificial separation of migration research into distinctive categories. As Margolies points out,

"We have frequently failed to capture the dynamics of the migration process because we have approached it from the perspective of the migrant alone...it is evident that the migration process cannot be analyzed by concentrating only on individuals or idiosyncratic motives...the causes of migration are structural and must be sought in the broader historical-structural context that has invariably affected population movements" (Margolies: 1978:130).

Indeed, recognition of these problems in scholarly studies of migration has even resulted in a call for a "retreat from migrationism" on the part of some, who suggest that migration perhaps should not be treated as a separate field of inquiry (Adams 1978).

While not abandoning migration as a legitimate field of study, it is suggested here that a deeper understanding of migration may be attained by locating its specific occurrences within wider historical-structural contexts. As early as the 1960s for example, the artificial dichotomy in both the dynamics of migration as well as the geographical areas in which it occurs, was criticized in numerous migration studies carried out throughout Latin America (cf. Mangin 1967, Health and Adams 1965). In a similar way, the shift to "adaptation studies" oriented towards the behavior of individuals and institutions during the 1960s was also shaped by unidirectional approaches to migration and continued a theoretical bias which stressed rural to urban migration. Despite a shift of focus to the organizational response of migrants to urban environments, migration studies during the decade of the 1960s and early 1970s retained their urban orientation and continued to stress individual acculturation, adjustment and adaptation at the expense of broader, systemic generalizations. Until recently, the above biases were such that research on individual motivations, values, attitudes and aspirations

was more often than not conducted after migrations to an urban setting, a practice which resulted in the failure to recognize the importance of variables in the labor exporting communities such as agrarian structure, social class relations and opportunity structures, all of which condition the decision to migrate (Guillet and Uzzel 1976:3).

During the past decade however, anthropological studies of migration have turned to complementary studies of hinterlands and of both urban zones and rural areas, a trend which fortunately has focused attention back upon the conditions surrounding population movements. Central in the shift away from unidirectional rural to urban migration studies has been the recent growth in research carried out on return migration, especially in the intra-European context. Hence, Cerase's (1967) study of Italian migrants returning from the U.S. was perhaps among the first to analyze return migration in the European setting. Similarly, Kayser's (1972) analysis of cyclical returns among intra-European migrants also broke new ground in suggesting a circulatory framework for understanding migration. More recently, Rhoades (1978) conducted a regional study of Spanish workers returning from West Germany which also underscores the double-ended nature of migration as has the work of King (1980) and Bernard (1978) who documented the effects of return migration in rural communities of Malta and Greece respectively. Other recent studies of sending regions and return migration in the intra-European setting include those of Baucic (1972), Kenny (1972), Bennett (1978), Friedl (1974), Ward (1975), Poinard and Roux (1977), Nikolinakos (1977), Schiller (1977), and Castles and Kosack (1973). In short, the increasing number of migration studies carried out in labor exporting regions, together with those focusing upon return migration, signal a growing

awareness of the importance of treating all aspects of migration from a single historical and systemic perspective. As Kemper suggests,

"This does not mean that we can no longer analyze the movement of a villager to the metropolis or across the border; it simply compels us to place such moves within the boarder context. In fact...the emphasis on the context of migration, rather than on the attitudes and adaptations of individual migrants, emerges as a powerful chain of arguments" (Kemper 1979:9).

Because of its emphasis upon the context and conditions surrounding migration, the historical-structural approach to migration is especially appropriate for this study, which focuses not so much on the migratory process itself, but rather upon the effects of migration on the sending communities. In terms of intra-European labor migration, the historical-structural approach is often described as "dependency theory", "core-periphery relations" or "metropolis-satellite" relations, but is perhaps best summed up in the words of Rhoades (1978):

"Europe's structural inequality, characterized by growth...in the core and poverty and dependency in the periphery, is maintained by various mechanisms including institutionalized cyclical migration. Whether phrased in scholarly jargon or political slogans, the officially proclaimed 'mutually beneficial' nature of intra-European migration is a myth unsupported by empirical data and perpetuated to obfuscate the unequal exchange existing between migrant-exporting regions of the Mediterranean world and industrial centers" (Rhoades 1978:569).

Migration and Modernization in Mediterranean Europe

One useful historical-structural approach developed to explain change in Mediterranean Europe, an approach in which migration is viewed as one major force of change among several others, has been suggested by Edward Hansen, and Jane and Peter Schneider (1972). While similar in many ways to other broad historical-structural models, the importance placed upon the interplay between international migration, state capital investment, tourism and regional Mediterranean cultural institutions

makes this approach particularly useful for examining migration and change in southern Europe. Taken together, these processes, which may vary in individual importance from region to region throughout the Mediterranean, are referred to as comprising "modernization". According to Hansen et al., modernization consists essentially of highly uneven and unstable processes,

"By which an underdeveloped region changes in response to inputs (ideologies, behavioral codes, commodities and institutional models) from already established industrial centers; a process which is based upon that region's continued dependence upon the urban-industrial metropolis" (Hansen et. al. 1972:340).

In their view, modernization is contrasted with genuine development, which refers to an underdeveloped region's attempt to acquire an autonomous and diversified industrial economy "on its own terms". Seen another way, the dominant feature of post-war economic growth in Mediterranean Europe has been modernization in the absence of significant development. Modernization however, while failing to transform underdeveloped rural areas of the Mediterranean, does succeed in securing their continued dependence upon urban-industrial centers. Thus,

"There has been a rise in incomes and a decline in the proportion of population engaged in agriculture; consumer products are more readily available, more young people have access to educational institutions, information is more widely diffused through the media of mass communication. All of this however, has not been accompanied by significant expansion in the productive capacities of the regions involved. As a result, most of what is consumed in these regions--the furniture, TV sets, bathrooms fixtures, cosmetics, etc., is produced elsewhere" (Ibid.:341).

According to Hansen et al., the growing purchasing power in peripheral areas of the Mediterranean which has contributed significantly to modernization processes unfolding there is derived from four primary sources. These include: cash remittances sent by emigrants, state capital investment, tourism and sources derived from the above three

processes. Among the most important sources of purchasing power in the Mediterranean and certainly in northern Portugal, are cash remittances to home towns and villages from emigrants working in northern Europe and North America. As this study will show, these remitted earnings form the single most important resource currently entering the communities.

A second major source of wealth in modernizing areas of the Mediterranean consist of state capital investment. According to Hensen et al., this commonly takes the form of,

"Price subsidies, grants and loans for the purchases of agricultural machinery, land reform programs, unemployment and retirement benefits, medical care and insurance most of which are administered by the national governments of the countries in which backward regions are located" (Ibid.:341).

As will be shown, the rapid if belated proliferation of programs in each of the above areas in post-revolutionary Portugal underscores the appropriateness of this particular model.

A third source of purchasing power identified by Hansen et al. for underdeveloped areas of the Mediterranean is tourism. Like other areas of the Mediterranean, tourism is a major industry in Portugal and is second only to emigrant remittances as a major source of foreign exchange. Indeed, the importance of tourism for the national economy is illustrated by the fact that the communities studied, all relatively poor agricultural villages and certainly not tourist centers, were subject to special taxes and price controls because they were located within the margins of a government demarcated "tourist zone", so demarcated because of a thermal springs some twenty kilometers distant from the communities.

A fourth source of increased purchasing power in the Mediterranean stems from the preceding three and can be called "spin-off" economic

activities. According to Hansen et al., these "spin-off's" include: 1) the expansion of bureaucratic agencies created to administer social programs and tourism, 2) the boom in housing construction and public works contingent upon emigration, tourism and welfaristic investment and, 3) the rapid multiplication of commercial establishments and activities, also contingent upon the three sources of rising incomes. As will be shown, change trends identified in the locality studied contain strong parallels to the above described processes, especially with regard to the growth of an emigrant-generated construction boom and commercial expansion.

In this model, modernization also means the incorporation of metropolitan lifestyles by dependent regions. Hence, along with growing consumerism, modernization includes, attendant values, behavior codes and ideologies--albeit reinterpreted and often distorted by rural dwellers--of urban centers. Again, the emigrants in the communities studied, often highly visible because of their conspicuous displays, were found to be the principal transmitters of modernizing ideologies to their home communities. In turn, most young people, better educated and exposed to a liberal post-revolutionary media, are perhaps the most receptive to the imported lifestyles of developed regions and by the same token are the most dissatisfied with traditional rural life.

It should be emphasized that while I stress the importance of historical-structural forces of change in Portugal among which labor migration is perhaps paramount, as an ethnographic study this work is concerned with the specific manifestations of broader processes within a particular cultural-historical locality. This analysis

of migration necessarily focuses upon the specific ways in which international labor migration, in conjunction with other modernizing forces, are currently being played out and shaping a particular region of Portugal.

Emigration and Economic Change in Labor Exporting Communities

As Swanson (1979) points out, most studies of the economic consequences of emigration on sending regions usually recognize one or more of the following as important variables: 1) manpower loss, 2) remittances 3) repatriated skills and 4) repatriated ideas (Swanson 1979:40). However, if there is general agreement on the importance of the above factors in emigration-related change in sending communities, there is far less agreement on the nature and permanency of economic change resulting from outmigration. That is, while there is a feeling that emigration may improve the standard of living for migrants and their families, there exists a considerable diversity of opinion with respect to its consequences for long term economic development.

In general, this diversity of opinion involves two broad groups of scholars. One group is economists working with macro-theoretical models at the national level who have tended to be optimistic about the economic consequences of emigration for labor exporting areas. Hume (1973), for example, states that the principal benefits enjoyed by sending communities include reductions in unemployment and under-employment and an improved balance of payments (Hume 1973:2-3). Similarly, Friedlander (1965) emphasizes that emigration may stimulate economic growth when it is coupled with foreign investment because in reducing the number of unemployed and unskilled workers, it will exert a positive effect on the

growth of output (Friedlander 1965:55). Griffin (1976) also stresses the positive effects of emigration upon sending areas and states that it is beneficial because it 1) increases the wealth of the migrants family through remittances and through the consumption foregone by the migrant himself, 2) it increases the land/man ratio and therefore worker productivity, 3) it reduces rural unemployment and increases wages, and 4) it increases the amount of investment capital available in rural areas.

Paine, (1974) is a less optimistic macro-economist postulates that there are eight factors which influence whether or not emigration will generate sustained economic growth. These factors include: 1) relative skill levels of migrants, 2) applicability of skills learned abroad in the home society, 3) magnitude of emigrant remittances, 4) extent to which repatriated earnings are spent on imports, 5) extent of investment of remitted earnings in productive enterprises, 6) effects of remittances on local prices, 7) consequences of labor export on trade between receiving and sending societies, and 8) proportion of emigrants who settle abroad permanently. According to her, "Migration would alleviate unemployment not just temporarily but also permanently by creating new job opportunities. It would also provide savings, foreign exchange and trained manpower for economic growth" (Paine 1974:47).

However, migration might also have negative effects on the economy in that the loss of skilled labor reduces productivity and may create constrictions at key points in the industrial system. Moreover, in the agricultural sector, emigration may result in increased consumerism and a decline in production with no surplus for investment. Remittances would be spent on imported consumer goods which leads to inflation or, would be invested in non-productive commercial enterprises. Those few

workers who had learned skills abroad would find no jobs in the local industry or would prefer to avoid wage labor altogether upon their return (Ibid., 47-8). Like Paine, Kindleberger (1967) suggests that migration may or may not stimulate economic development in the sending society. According to him, outmigration seems to have been a significant factor in the development of some southern European countries such as Italy and Greece where unemployment, while great, does not approach the massive proportions found in other developing regions. Similarly, where emigration does lead to economic growth, Kindleberger states it is primarily a result of a reduction of rural unemployment which in turn leads to higher wages and lower profits. This then forces a rationalization of agriculture including the consolidation of holdings as well as mechanization. In contrast, Kindleberger doubts if emigration can stimulate economic development in some developing countries where unemployment is especially great. Similarly, mass outmigration may also lead to collapse and wholesale abandonment of communities (Kindleberger 1974:10).

In contrast to the above views, economists, geographers, sociologists and anthropologists conducting research at local and regional levels are less optimistic. Castles and Kocsak (1973) take a pessimistic view of the impact of emigration upon labor exporting regions. By their account, while emigration may reduce unemployment in some instances, the joblessness rate is often so great that it is unlikely to have a significant impact. Similarly, remittances are also viewed as an unlikely source of capital for economic development because they are commonly invested in improved living standards or other marginally productive undertakings. Castles and Kocsak also suggest that by and

large, the quality of the local labor force will not be improved by repatriated skills primarily because most workers find few opportunities to upgrade skills abroad. Indeed, as has been demonstrated throughout the western Mediterranean, upon their return, even those workers with skills usually find employment which is not related to their craft.

Like Castles and Koscak, Bohning (1975) also takes a negative view of the effects of emigration upon sending communities. While admitting that emigration may relieve unemployment and improve living conditions for migrants and their families, Bohning also argues that it tends to reduce the number of skilled workers in the sending region while those who remain behind become dependent upon remitted earnings and begin to withdraw from agriculture. Moreover, Bohning also states that most returning migrants are concerned with conspicuous display and consumption rather than investment in local productive enterprises. Indeed, according to him, the desire for consumer goods has a tendency to erode any positive applicability of savings in that "What is brought in with one hand i.e. hard foreign currency, is taken away with the other" (Ibid.:163).

If considerable disagreement exists concerning the effects of emigration upon the economic development of sending regions at the national level, there appears to be a greater degree of unanimity among those who have conducted research at regional localities and at the level of the local community. In general, micro-analyses have tended to bear out the neutral or negative impact of emigration upon economic development in sending regions with respect to Swanson's four key emigration-impact variables. Hence, depopulation due to massive

out-migration in some cases has led to declines in local agricultural productivity in Greece (Lowenthal and Comitas 1962), Italy (Foerster 1919), Spain (Rhoades 1979), and Portugal (Kayser 1972).

Similarly, while many locality studies have stressed the importance of cash remittances in the local economy, many also have emphasized the failure of repatriated earnings to find their way into productive undertakings. Considerable agreement emerges on this point from research conducted at the local level. Many studies conducted throughout the Mediterranean to date, have found that remitted earnings commonly are spent on consumerism, housing, small shops, restaurants, cafe-bars, land and autos (cf. Rhoades 1978, Baucic 1972, Cerase 1967, Friedl 1974, Poinard and Roux 1977, Kayser 1972). As Swanson summarizes,

"Large segments of the emigrant earnings are spent raising the standard of living and another significant portion finds its way into the conspicuous consumption of large and elaborate housing. Little of the money brought from abroad finds its way into productive enterprises and the large quantity of remitted funds may create inflation both locally and nationally" (Swanson 1979:50-1).

Many local and regional studies conducted throughout the Mediterranean have also dispelled the notion held by some economists that emigration will result in a return flow of modern, innovative ideas and attitudes which will contribute to the stimulation of economic development. While it is recognized, therefore, that many emigrants and returnees view themselves as bearers of modern culture and as facilitators of the "right way to do things", many of the new ideas and attitudes they introduced into sending communities more often than not reflect an ideology of consumerism rather than significant change (cf. Lapreato 1967, Friedl 1974, Rhoades 1979, Kayser 1972, Poinard and Roux 1977).

consumer goods, they function only to draw the sending society deeper and deeper into a relationship of dependence on the industrialized West" (Swanson 1979:52).

Finally, perhaps the most notable failure of emigration to generate economic development in areas of the western Mediterranean involves the repatriation of skills to labor exporting areas from urban-industrial centers. That is, in general, the evidence marshalled to date suggest that most intra-European migrants, comprised primarily of unskilled laborers at the time of their departure, return with few if any useful skills to their home communities. Furthermore, it has also been found that most migrants who acquire skills outside their homelands fail to employ them upon return to thier communities of origin (cf. Bernard 1978; Poinard and Roux 1977; Rhoades 1979; Kayser 1972).

Thus, as Swanson (1979) notes, it appears that the markedly differing labor requirements of labor exporting and importing regions increases the possibility that returned migrants arrive in their home communities with no applicable skills. Moreover, as growing evidence from the Mediterranean indicates, skilled emigrant workers either cannot practice their trade in rural areas or refuse to, perferring instead to emulate the lifestyles of the European or North American middle class.

Data presented in this study of three communities parellel in many ways findings documented elsewhere in the western Mediterranean with respect to the impact of emigration upon the economic development of labor exporting areas. In terms of manpower loss, it will be shown that while outmigration resulted in lowered rates of unemployment, agricultural productivity also declined. Cash remittance in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes have been spent primarily on consumer goods, house construction

and land. Investments made by emigrants with remitted earnings concentrated in commercial establishments such as cafe-bars, small shops and restaurants rather than in agriculture, the principal economic activity in the region. While the emigrant generated construction boom has triggered some state sponsored infrastructural projects, the house and commercial expansion in the area has taken the form of what may be best described as "hinterland suburbanization", a process which continues to remove agricultural lands from cultivation.

With respect to the repatriation of ideas, attitudes and innovation to sending communities, this study will demonstrate that new ideas and values introduced by emigrants into the three communities have not contributed to meaningful change, but rather have tended to reflect consumerism and status differentials based upon material wealth. Finally, the findings of this study parallel other analyses carried out in this region; they underscore the failure of emigration to provide migrants with skills they can use upon their return to their communities of origin.

Emigration and Social Structural Change in Labor Exporting Communities

As Weiss (1979) suggests, perhaps the most significant way migration affects sending societies, that is, how migration affects social structure, has been the most neglected in migration studies. In particular, the problem of the effects of emigration upon the class structure of labor exporting regions has not received the attention it deserves. Thus, while many analyses have focused upon individual social and status mobility and local social organization, little has been done to gauge the effects of emigration upon the wider social structural relations of which local configurations form a part.

The lack of data concerning the impact of emigration upon social class structure also holds true for migration studies carried out in the Mediterranean. As with migration studies in general, most have tended to emphasize the social mobility of individuals in the context of local groups. Brettel (1979) for example, stresses the pretense character of Portuguese returning emigrants which nonetheless fails to gain them recognition by the local established rural bourgeoisie despite their conspicuous displays. Rhoades (1977) describes the improved social status and living conditions of Andalusian workers from West Germany in terms of "conspicuous consumption run amok". Friedl (1974) also emphasizes the role of material wealth and conspicuous display in her analysis of the impact of Greek urban migrants upon their home communities. Similarly, King (1980) found that nearly half of the 52 returning Maltese emigrants experienced some form of tension emanating from non-migrant community members, which he attributes to jealousy and suspicion of the improved social status of returnees. In like manner, Cerase (1974) has argued that the southern Italian migrant who returns to his village after many years abroad "has no real place in the social structure of the community" and remains detached from local activities. On a broader level, Castles and Kosack (1973) suggest--although with strong reservations--that emigration may only create a rural petty elite whose standard of living may adversely affect the already limited resource supply of the poorer segments of the population.

Thus, while descriptions of emigration-related social mobility and shifts in local stratification systems in labor exporting communities offer insights into particular case studies, they do not as a rule contribute to an understanding of the linkages between local social

structure and broader class relations in which they are subsumed. Perhaps more importantly, discussions of individual social mobility and improved social status associated with emigration fail to consider potential shifts in the underlying production relations. As Weiss points out,

"Attention to social mobility is hardly adequate. In fact it is deceptively misleading in analysis, just as it serves to mystify the relations of production in class societies. The rise in social status that often accompanies...consumption... has little to say about economic development. We must concern ourselves with more than just the migrant returnee and their status. We must also determine the effect of emigration on those who do not migrate" (Weiss 1979:177)

Towards this end, the present study, while utilizing data collected primarily at the level of the community, also makes use of regional figures to analyze the effects of emigration upon class structure. That is, in an attempt to bridge the gap between local regions and national patterns, this work conceptualizes local rural social classes as "segments" or "class segments" of broader rural class relations at the national level. Discussions of emigration-related changes in local social structure therefore, are phrased in terms of shifts involving the various class segments in the communities studied. Moreover, although social mobility, consumerism and status mobility are discussed in this analysis, the effects of emigration upon the class structure of the target communities will be discussed primarily as they affect change in the ownership of the means of production, which in the region studied consist of the ownership of agricultural land. Within the framework, the analysis of change in social structure focuses primarily upon the acquisition of agricultural land and the participation in cultivation among those touched directly and indirectly by emigration, as well as the impact this has upon the non-migrant population.

As this study will show, although emigration has resulted in improved standards of living and improved social status for many community members, it has transformed neither the underlying class structure of the communities studied, nor the region which surrounds them. That is, while the proportional size of local class segments has shifted somewhat as a result of depopulation from the area, the continuity of the structure has remained essentially unaltered. Thus, emigration-related social mobility which has taken place in the communities, by and large, has not meant significant structural change but rather has involved what may be best described as "horizontal social mobility" as former rural proletarians, rural semi-proletarians and peasants obtain land, property and start small commercial concerns.

Emigration and World View in Labor Exporting Communities

Although the specific manifestations of emigration as a broad modernizing trend constitute the principal focus of this work, so too are continuities and changes in the world view of resident populations, a conceptual frame within which migration and modernization are evaluated, participated in and given meaning in this region of northern Portugal. That is, while historical-structural forces are given major weight in this work as a means of understanding international labor migration from out of Portugal, both the ways in which peasants enter into this process as well as the particular form emigration related changes take in the communities studied cannot be adequately assessed without reference to the ways in which people in this part of Portugal view these processes.

Throughout most of rural Portugal, traditional world view, a view of the world which is in many ways conservative and resistant to rapid

change, has been shaped by at least four major influences. These influences grow from conditions associated with a peasant mountain adaptation, domination by the Church, a rigid class structure and government policy, which became intensified during the Salazar regime, and all of which have for centuries reinforced values and norms associated with concepts of hierarchy, authority, and stability. Within this cognitive model, virtually all forms of social change have been discouraged leaving emigration out of the country as the only logical and socially acceptable way of solving life's problems.

Moreover, during the course of the past century, the singular importance of the "emigration option" for northern Portuguese peasants has grown to such proportions, that the idea of emigration itself has come to be incorporated into traditional world view in the form of what Martins (1971) has called, "The permanent emigratory expectation" and what Brettell (1979) has recently referred to as "The Portuguese ideology of return migration". That is, within a view of the world in which the possibilities for social change are severely restricted, emigration not only has become recognized as the only means for self-improvement, but as such has been integrated into this cognitive model as a major component.

Furthermore, not only has traditional Transmontana world view come to include an ideology of emigration, but in the communities studied, it continues to influence the particular form which emigration-related modernization forces assume. As will be discussed in Chapter Six the continuity of many elements of traditional world view in the context of modernization have become especially visible during annual summer return visits made by emigrants to their home communities. During this period, the traditional roles of the Church, the importance of class

position and a variety of local customs for example, are reaffirmed in the context of a festa or local religious celebration. This festa, while ostensibly held in honor of a local patron saint, is now widely recognized as really being given to honor the emigrants and provides a setting for lavish conspicuous display and consumption. In short, while international labor migration from Portugal is best understood within the context of broad historical-structural processes, the ways peasants perceive of and participate in emigration and in particular the specific form emigration-related modernization forces assume in the community must also be considered.

Research Objectives

The principal, over-arching aim of this study was to document the specific manifestations brought about by broad emigratory trends and their attendant modernization processes in a given locality in northern Portugal. More specifically, the research objectives of this study were two-fold: 1) to assess the nature of economic change in a rural, labor-exporting region and, 2) to examine the extent to which rural social class structure might have been altered as a result of depopulation, remittance sending and return migration.

With regard to local economic change, this study was concerned primarily with the utilization of repatriated earnings and skills in the productive structures of the communities examined as a means of generating sustained regional economic growth and development. In this context, the research focused upon, among other, six key factors as a means of assessing the nature of economic change in the selected locality. These include: 1) the general magnitude of emigrant remittances flowing into the communities, 2) the extent to which remittances are invested in

productive enterprises, 3) the degree to which repatriated earnings are spent on the acquisition of consumer goods, 4) the skills held by returnees, 5) the applicability of skills obtained abroad in the home communities, and 6) the effect of emigrant remittances upon the price structure of the local communities.

The second principal objective of this study included examining the degree to which emigration may have brought about change in the social class structure in the target communities. In this context, shifts in class structure are viewed as being contingent upon changes in the relations of production which are in turn attendant upon shifts in the ownership of the means of production. As previously described, the basic means of production in the communities studied is to be found in the ownership of agricultural land, a form of property currently in great demand on the part of emigrants and returning emigrants.

Thus, while indicators such as social status, consumerism and material wealth were considered in examining the effects of emigration upon social class structure, the acquisition of land, a determining factor in establishing productive relations in the region studied, is viewed as a major avenue of class mobility for many former landless workers-turned-emigrants. Hence, emigration-related shifts in social class position commonly involved a form of "horizontal social mobility" in which former rural proletarians, rural semi-proletarians and peasants obtain land in or near their home communities with earnings acquired outside Portugal. To a lesser extent, class mobility was also experienced by those who successfully invested remitted earnings in small business ventures and who thus joined the ranks of the local petty bourgeoisie class segment. The study of the effects of emigration upon

social class structure then, included a focus upon two principal variables. These include: 1) the acquisition of agricultural and non-agricultural land by emigrants and families of emigrants and, 2) the occupational distribution contained in the locality of the three communities studied. Utilizing these two primary factors, potential structural shifts and alignments in social class relations, rather than descriptive accounts of improved social status or social mobility, are examined in this work. While emphasizing structural shifts in class relations however, this study also examines the world view or identity of emigrant returnees, who differ in many ways from the bulk of the local non-migrant population. Most returnees, having lived and worked in various metropolitan settings throughout northern Europe have indeed acquired many of the "modern" views, life styles, expectations, and mannerisms of northern European working and middle classes. Hence, while again residing in their home communities, they often find that some of their expectations and views are now incongruous, a pattern which could have, if current socio-economic trends continue in Portugal, wider political implications.

Research Methodology

Data collection techniques employed during the twelve month period spent in the communities studied between June 1978 and June 1979 included a complementary triad of three broad strategies. These included: 1) formal and informal interviewing techniques, 2) participant observation and, 3) archival and documents research. Much of the data obtained during fieldwork was collected through the use of open-ended questionnaires (see appendices). During this period, three principal groups of informants in the communities were interviewed in this manner. The first group included emigrants, who at the time of the interviews were

still working outside Portugal, but present in the communities in order to visit their families and to participate in the annual summer festa or celebration held in their honor. A second set of open-ended interviews was carried out among former emigrants who had returned permanently to their communities of origin. The third local group interviewed included forty-two secondary school students, approximately half of who had experience living outside Portugal, primarily in France. To supplement these interviews, oral life histories were taken from two individuals from each of the above groups as well as from a number of local non-migrant residents.

In addition, specifically tailored, open-ended interviews were conducted among a wide range of local officials including bank functionaries, various elected officials, agricultural extension agents, administrators, the local magistrate, human service administrators and health service functionaries. These interviews in turn were supplemented with data obtained from almost daily contact with three key informants who volunteered a host of valuable insights, information and observations regarding the impact of emigration upon the communities. To the above methodological strategies were added various participant observation techniques carried out on a daily, weekly and seasonal basis.

Considerable archival and documents research was also undertaken in both the local communities as well as in Lisbon in order to complement and buttress the various interviewing and participant observation strategies employed. Thus, officials from the Câmara Municipal furnished records of local emigration, house building and renovation permits and public works projects while administrators of the Departamento das

Finances (a local branch of the Ministry of Finances) made available records of land tenure arrangements and sales in the three frequecias studied.

Similarly, records of births, deaths and marriages were made available in the Registro Civil (civil registry). In addition, figures from the national electoral census of 1978 carried out in the three communities, were furnished by the presidents of the local frequecias of each village. Data obtained from this census were then supplemented and cross-checked with figures obtained from a household census conducted by myself some months earlier. Finally, broader aggregate data concerning emigration and agriculture at the regional level was obtained from the Instituto Nacional de Estatistica in Lisbon where the Boletins da Junta de Emigração and materials from the general population census of 1970 were examined.

The discussion of specific, local-level socio-economic changes produced from emigration and modernization processes will proceed within this work in the following manner: Chapter Two, concerned with international, national and regional historical-structural conditions, traces the five-century history of emigration from Portugal from the discoveries period which began in the fifteenth century. Included within this chapter are discussions of the successive emigration movements from Portugal which were linked to Portugal's slow decline as a global power and its gradual underdevelopment and emerging status as a dependent European metropolitan center.

Chapter Three, also concerned with broad historical-structural trends, discusses the major factors surrounding the massive emigration movements from Portugal which accelerated during the decades of the

1960s and 1970s. In particular, it focuses upon intersectoral imbalances present within the Portuguese economy in a context of expanding colonial wars in Africa and rapid economic growth in North America and northern Europe as influencing emigration.

Chapter Four, utilizing materials from the Estatística Nacional and especially from the Junta Nacional de Emigração, presents a broad profile of legal emigration from Portugal between 1950 and 1975. With figures for the mid-1970s, estimates for illegal emigration, which accounts for the bulk of Portuguese intra-European migration, are discussed as well. In this chapter, the demographic and socio-economic composition, regional origins and destination countries of emigrating Portuguese during this period are also summarized.

In Chapter Five, consisting of a description of the locality in which data was collected, the focus shifts to the local community. Included are descriptions of the surrounding region, local ecology, the physical layout of the communities studied, principal crops, administrative organization and recent history of emigration from the locality.

Chapter Six focuses upon the emigrant festa complex, which has emerged in conjunction with the massive post-war emigration movements from northern Portugal. In this chapter, both the material and ideological aspects of the festa complex in the town of Bucelas are discussed but particular attention is given to the continuities and reaffirmation of traditional world view in the context of this emigration-influenced celebration.

Chapter Seven describes the nature of economic change which has taken place in the communities studied both as a result of depopulation due to emigration and more recently as a result of the inflow of

remittances, investment and spending patterns undertaken by both emigrants, returnees, and their families. In particular, a growing suburbanization process is discussed together with its impact upon land tenure and agricultural production.

Chapter Eight shifts to a discussion of changes in local class structure brought about through emigration from Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes. While considerable status mobility among emigrants and returnees is documented, the data also indicate that rural class structure in the communities has not been transformed as much as it has undergone shifts in the size of its various segments. In this context, the marked shrinkage of the rural proletariat due to emigration is discussed at length.

Chapter Nine continues the discussion of social organizational change in the face of emigration and modernization processes by addressing changes in courtship and marriage ceremony patterns, marital partner selection and in the position of women whose husbands remain outside Portugal. In addition, the effects of separation upon the family due to emigration is also discussed together with a discussion of an emerging youth culture due both to the importation of ideas and lifestyles from Northern Europe and North America, as well as from post-revolutionary liberalizations which have taken place in Portugal since 1974.

Chapter Ten focuses upon the reintegration of former emigrants who have returned permanently to Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes after working many years outside Portugal. Through a discussion of interviews of forty such individuals, the chapter provides information about the reasons for emigrating, how migration was undertaken, occupations and

living conditions outside Portugal, reasons for returning permanently to Portugal, investment patterns, post migration lifestyles and occupations, and the view of the future.

In summarizing, Chapter Eleven examines the role of world view held by emigrants, returnees, and non-migrant community members against a backdrop of continued emigration, return migration, and modernization processes. In particular, local cultural tradition, the Church, the State and class structure are discussed as comprising important influences which have shaped a traditional world view in which emigration emerges as the only socially acceptable and logical means for socio-economic improvement for northern Portuguese peasants. Similarly, the influence of these same factors is also seen as conditioning such behaviors as conspicuous display, return migration and the festa complex which are viewed as rational responses within this cognitive framework. In this regard, this chapter also discusses the incorporation of an "ideology of emigration" and an "ideology of return migration" into traditional world view among residents of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes. Finally, the distinct identity of "modernized" returnees is discussed as it bears upon future social, economic and political developments in the locality studied.

CHAPTER II

COLONIAL MIGRATION FROM PORTUGAL 1420-1960: METROPOLITAN DEPENDENCE AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Emigration has played an important role in the history of Portuguese society for some five centuries or since the early stages of the exploration period in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Since the initial efforts of the Crown to colonize the Archipelago of Madeira during the 1420s, Portuguese emigration has continued to the present, with the most recent surge in the 1960s constituting the single largest population movement in the history of the small nation. Throughout the years, emigration flows from Portugal have been comprised primarily of peasants and rural workers but have always included groups from every socio-economic class of Portuguese society. Similarly, while the country's northern provinces have traditionally been the source of emigratory flows, each region of Portugal has come to be represented in these population movements. Emigration from Portugal has also been characterized by a general tendency towards increase over the centuries.

It has been estimated that as early as the sixteenth century, some 300,000 persons left Portugal as the overseas empire began to expand and prosper (Almeida and Barreto 1976:76). A similar figure is cited for the seventeenth century, while estimates for the eighteenth century more than double. Emigration from Portugal during the past century is estimated to have included some three million individuals with 2.5 million departures recorded for the first half of this century and some 800,000 departures recorded during the decade of the 1960s alone (See table 2.0).

TABLE 2.0

EMIGRATION FROM PORTUGAL: 1500-1967

YEARS	EMIGRANTS	ANNUAL AVERAGE	POPULATION OF PORTUGAL	CENSUS YEAR
1500-1580	280,000	3,500	1,200,000	1527
1580-1640	360,000	6,000	1,100,000	1636
1640-1700	120,000	2,000	--	--
1700-1760	600,000	10,000	2,143,000	1732
--	--	--	2,932,000	1801
1866-1888	309,574	13,462	3,499,000	1854
1886-1926	1,351,119	32,347	6,033,000	1920
1926-1967	1,326,233	32,954	8,851,300	1960

Source: C. Almeida and A. Barreto,
Capitalismo E Emigração EM Portugal

(Lisbon: Prelo Editora, 1976:176, table 49)

Between 1900 and 1950, figures for Portuguese emigration by destination countries are estimated as follows: Brazil: one million; France: 500,000; US: 400,000; South Africa: 120,000; Canada and Venezuela: 80,000; Germany: 25,000 (Ibid). The most recent and extensive emigration movement from Portugal took place during the 1960s and early 1970s and was directed primarily towards France. During this period, some 800,000 individuals left Portugal in what has been described as a national exodus. The role of emigration in Portuguese history therefore would appear evident. Indeed, the almost permanent character of emigration is such that it is often referred to as a constant in the history of Portuguese society.

Early Emigration: Madeira, Axores, Cape Verde Islands

The first significant emigration movements from Portugal can be traced to the colonization of the Archepeligo of Madeira during the early 1420s. From the 1420s to about 1500, steps were taken to colonize the islands in response to a fear of a Castilian takeover. As Lord of

Madeira, Prince Henry created a system of captaincies which he entrusted to three local lords or captains who administered the islands in his name. The colony soon prospered with exports of cedarwood and dyes. From approximately 1450 to 1470, Madeira was a large grain producer with more than half of its wheat traveling to Portugal. During the 1460s, sugar began to dominate the local economy and the islands' population increased to about two thousand inhabitants (Oliveira Marques 1972:155).

The colonization of the Azores began considerably later and produced its first important products later as well. Settlement began in the decade of the 1440s, but it was only during the 1460s that the Azores became profitable and attractive for further settlement. Wood, dyes, and fish dominated the early economic developments while cattle and wheat production expanded during the 1470s (Ibid.: 154).

Settlement of the Cape Verde Islands began soon after their discovery by the Portuguese in the late 1460s, but colonization proved to be substantially more difficult than it was in Madeira and the Azores. Initial problems stemmed from a combination of poor soils and an arid climate preventing the cultivation of the kind of crops which were flourishing in Madeira and the Azores. The Cape Verde settlers adapted to these constraining ecological factors by establishing a trading port. This port functioned as a port of call for the numerous Portuguese ships traveling along the African coast. The port on Santiago Island soon became the center of trade in Upper Guinea. In 1466, settlers were allowed to trade freely in African slaves as well as other goods and services. During this period, livestock production and the manufacture of dyes also began to complement the local trading economy (Ibid.:157).

Trade and Exploration Along the West African Coast:
The Shift Away From Permanent Colonial Settlement

In contrast to the colonization of Madeira, the Azores and Cape Verde, Portuguese settlement in continental Africa was intended only as a means of strengthening trading ports or of supporting key military fortresses. Yet, by the late fifteenth century, African exploration and trade was already attracting significant numbers of individuals who were willing to leave Portugal for extended periods of time. The West African coast did not become attractive to merchants and traders until the mid-1440s when the slave trade began in earnest and when gold was brought back from what is now the Western Sahara. As a result of local resistance to slave raids in North Africa and competition from Spain, it soon became evident that the Portuguese had to push southward in order to maintain their advantage in African trade. To accomplish this, between 1469 and 1482, a string of trading posts and fortresses were established along the African coastline extending from North Africa to Angola.

Therefore, while increasing numbers of Portuguese were being drawn to the lucrative profits and trade of the West African Coast, little emphasis was placed on colonization or settlement in these areas. During this period, population movements from Portugal to Africa were in the thousands but consisted primarily of soldiers, merchants, adventurers, priests, functionaries and craftsmen. By the mid-sixteenth century, it is estimated that only about 300-500 Portuguese settlers were actually residing in areas along the African coast (Ibid.:249).

The Asian Spice Trade:
Growing Emigration and Depopulation in Portugal

The effects of the Asian spice trade on Portuguese society during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were strong. The rush for riches in the East assumed proportions so large, that by the middle of the sixteenth century the first signs of serious depopulation began to appear in some regions of Portugal. Moreover, with the success of the Asian spice trade, Portugal's mercantile policy was solidified, a policy which ultimately would establish an economic dependency continuing for four centuries. As early as 1518, overseas trade represented sixty-eight percent of Portugal's resources (Ibid.:261). As in the case of the African trade however, the desire for commerce and military expansion inhibited the development of permanent colono settlements. Thus, although ever-increasing numbers of Portuguese left their country for the East, colonizing settlers remained secondary in importance to the establishment of trading-military posts. And, the Portuguese trade monopoly was always a tenuous one because a chronic state of war existed in parts of East Africa and the Arabian Peninsula throughout the sixteenth century. Constant warfare in turn led to serious manpower shortages. The lure of tremendous profits, combined with a constant demand for manpower needed to maintain the far-flung trade system, led to significant increases in emigratory movements from Portugal during the sixteenth century. Estimates of the population of Portugal at this time range from approximately one million to one and a half million. Yet, vast tracts of territory within Portugal itself were still underpopulated and much potential agricultural land was left uncultivated due to labor shortages (Boxer 1969:52).

Increased emigration to Asia further exacerbated these problems.

Depopulation became so severe that government officials, such as

M. Severim de Faria, began to complain,

"A Primerira cause de falta de gente que se padece neste reino...sao as nosses conquistas ...De aqui veio o ser necessario trazerem-se cafres e inios para o serviço ordinario."

"The primary cause of the lack of people which has troubled this reign...is our conquests... From them came the necessity to bring Kaffirs and Indians for ordinary service" (Serrao 1977: 104 translation mine).

Labor shortages in rural areas resulted in declining agricultural yields which in turn intensified grain shortages, already a problem for Portugal since the fifteenth century. Throughout the sixteenth century, it is estimated that approximately 2,400 individuals left Portugal annually for overseas destinations. The vast majority of emigrants during this period consisted of adult males, most of whom would never return to Portugal. Very few women traveled to Asia during the sixteenth century. According to Boxer (1969:53), on the average, an Indiaman ship which carried eight-hundred or more men would usually have only ten or fifteen women on board, and often none at all.

The Asian spice trade had other effects on Portuguese society and economy, many of which would later inhibit the transformation of development and continued emigration. One side trend involved the lack of growth of a strong commercial bourgeoisie. In contrast to the commercial backbone of Holland for example, (and which later ousted Portugal from its position of dominance in Asia) which was composed of an emigrant commercial bourgeoisie trade in Portugal was strictly controlled by the Crown. Moreover, the Portuguese royalty was supported by a feudal structure based upon privilege which allowed profits to be siphoned off by the nobility and the Church. Lacking bourgeoisie mentality, nobles

and clerics invested their new capital in land, construction (churches, monestaries, palaces) and in luxuries. Despite the decline of Portuguese trade in the East, the favored position of nobles and the Church, resting as it did upon land and agriculture, survived for centuries (Oliverira Marques 1972:265).

Later, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese nobility and the Church resisted attempts by an incipient bourgeoisie to promote manufacturing and instead supported political-commercial treaties which encouraged the export of agricultural products. At the same time, the Crown and the nobility both strengthened their control over Portugal by increasing their land holdings throughout the country. Land use patterns at this time formed a continuation of the traditional "quit-rent" lease system instead of attempting direct exploitation and large scale management. Land was parceled and rented to small scale agriculturalists and members of the petty bourgeoisie. In northern Portugal, particularly in what today comprise the Douro and Minho provinces, the tendency was to divide the land into ever-smaller holdings. The introduction of corn and the rise of a corn-vegetable garden complex further encouraged individual cultivation and favored smaller holdings. As a result, population grew and its concentration in north-west Portugal was more rapid than anywhere else in the country. From the seventeenth century onwards, this region of Portugal became one of the major areas for emigration movements (Ibid.:281).

Another development resulting from the siphoning off of wealth from overseas trade by the nobility and the Church was a chronic lack of funds to be used for the maintenance of the empire. As early as the sixteenth century, the Crown had to appeal for foreign loans, beginning

a balance of payments problem which would plague Portugal until recent times. Similarly, as Portuguese shippers became transporters for others, instead of for themselves, foreign interests increasingly assumed ownership of overseas products.

Emigration flows from Portugal decreased somewhat between 1640 and 1700 as a result of two major events: the domination of Portugal by Spain and a broad attack on Portuguese possessions by Holland. It was through the Spanish domination (1580-1640) that Portugal became involved in a costly series of wars with Holland. By 1609, treaties signed between Spain and Holland allowed the Dutch free access to the Indian Ocean and effectively spelled the end of the Portuguese trade monopoly. In response to these events, Portuguese mercantile policies as well as emigration movements began to be directed more toward Brazil.

Portuguese Emigration to Brazil

With the loss of the Asian spice trade monopoly, Portugal's economic interests gradually shifted to Brazil, a relatively neglected colony up to that time. Brazil would become the cornerstone of the Portuguese Empire and would attract millions of Portuguese migrants, to its shores, especially during the nineteenth century. The importance of Brazil in this regard is suggested by Oliveira Marques,

"From the late 1600s to 1822 Brazil was the essence of the Portuguese Empire...one might even say that Brazil was the essence of Portugal itself. It was Brazil that gave Portugal the means to remain independent afterward...it was Brazil that brought about a new wave of prosperity during the eighteenth century...this explains a political current of the time, which proposed that Portugal be concerned only with Brazil and neglect European affairs. 'Rule with one's face turned to Brazil and one's back to Europe', as a renowned diplomat advised his king" (Ibid.: 431).

The shift of Portuguese emigration from Asia to Brazil during the early seventeenth century did not mean merely a change in destinations,

but involved a series of qualitatively different conditions which eventually led to still larger emigration movements from Portugal, the economic dominance of Brazil in the Empire and ultimately independence for Brazil itself. Foremost among these conditions was a change in economic activity of the earlier emigrants from simple trading to an involvement in extractive industries. In addition, a focus upon extractive industries tended to encourage permanent settlement and led to the emergence of a new type of migrant: the "independent emigrant". In contrast to the government sponsored colono attached to trading posts in Africa and Asia, the independent emigrant was not bound by regulations and contracts and often had considerable mobility (Ferreira 1976:32). With the beginning of sugar production in northeast Brazil therefore, the colonial and post-colonial economy of Brazil experienced a series of booms, each of which attracted waves of Portuguese and other Europeans to its shores. In addition to sugarcane, other Brazilian extractive booms included: gold, diamonds, rubber, cotton, and coffee.

From about 1570 onwards, Brazil began to attract increasingly large numbers of Portuguese migrants who felt that opportunities in this colony were superior to those in Portugal. During this period, Portuguese emigrants differed from earlier migrants to Brazil in two principal ways. First, the independent or voluntary emigrant now heavily outnumbered the original majority of exiled degredados. Second, while emigration movements still consisted primarily of adult men, the proportion of women who now traveled to Brazil was much higher than the trickle of women who departed from Asia (Ibid.:90). By the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese population in Brazil could be divided into five general categories. These included sailors, and soldiers,

merchants, traders and well-off commoners, craftsmen and artisans, small-scale agriculturalists and laborers, plantation owners, and lesser nobility (Poppino 1973:56, Boxer 1969:91).

By this time, the regional origins of emigrants from Portugal had already shifted from the southern provinces (Algarve, Alentejo) to those in the North (Minho, Douro). The population of Brazil in 1600 is estimated to have been approximately 100,000 with those considered European accounting for about one-third of the total (Poppino 1973:157). By the eighteenth century however, the population of Brazil nearly tripled to about 300,000 inhabitants with the proportion of Europeans or whites remaining essentially essentially the same.

Two general phases of emigration from Portugal may be distinguished therefore, up to the eighteenth century. The first phase, involving approximately 300,000 Portuguese migrants, lasted until about the second half of the seventeenth century and may be characterized as a period of relatively moderate emigration. The second phase begins with the restoration of the Portuguese Crown and was considerably stronger,

"The situation in Portugal on the restoration of the national dynasty in the kingdom was deplorable. Portugal..whose existence depended above all on her colonial possessions suffered a profound blow. Had it not been for the aid of England who henceforth supported if not dominated Portugal she would perhaps have lost the rest of her colonies and even her existence as a sovereign state. Repercussions of Portugal's crisis were felt in Brazil, through the increase in immigration currents coming from the impoverished mother country. Emigration to the colony increased at such a rate that restrictive measures had to be applied. As early as the seventeenth century, we find that four such laws were passed after 1667 in an attempt to restrict emigration to Brazil (Prado 1967:93-94).

Metropolitan Dependence, Underdevelopment and Emigration

During the post-reunification crisis, the Portuguese Crown attempted a variety of measures aimed at strengthening Portugal's weak international position. One of these measures included the signing of a

series of commercial treaties with England in 1642, 1654 and 1661 which gave England economic concessions in return for political and military protection. A second initiative undertaken to develop and maintain Portugal was in part a response to these commercial treaties and involved an attempt to establish domestic manufactures in Portugal. This first attempt at industrialization, one of many which would ultimately end in failure, consisted principally of protectionist laws which were enforced between 1670 and 1700. Protectionist actions taken by the Portuguese included the curbing of British and imported textiles and encouraging the immigration of British artisans to manufacture cloth from local wool. After a brief period of limited success, the program lost momentum due to the lack of a strong commercial bourgeoisie, the disinterest of government officials and the opposition from both the Church and aristocracy (Sidiri 1970:27).

As early as the seventeenth century therefore, the groundwork for dependency relations with England were being established which even the discovery of gold in Brazil in 1699 could not eradicate. Indeed, with the signing of the Methuen Treaty in 1703, much of the Brazilian gold would simply pass through Portugal on its way to England. Nonetheless, the discovery of gold in Brazil did much to revive the Portuguese Empire and conceal its stagnation and dependency relations. Moreover, the lure of gold resulted in the largest transatlantic migration the world had seen up to that time. While figures for this period are scarce, it is estimated that between 1700 and 1760, some 600,000 Europeans, a majority of whom were Portuguese, emigrated to Brazil (Boxer 1969:168, Poppino 1973:159). During the first decade of the eighteenth century, the peak years of the gold rush, an average of five to six thousand individuals

left Portugal each year for the mine fields in what is now the state of Minas Gerais (General Mines) (Oliveira Marques 1972:435, Boxer 1969:168).

The discovery of diamonds during the late 1720s in the same area further accelerated emigration from Portugal to Brazil. Emigration to Brazil reached such proportions by 1720 that the Crown promulgated an additional series of decrees limiting further departures from Portugal. The problems continued however, until about 1760 when eight additional laws were passed (Ferreira 1976:33, Boxer 1969:169).

Although the majority of Portuguese emigrants journeyed to Brazil in search of gold during this period, a great many also became involved in the ongoing and related sugar, cattle, cotton and tobacco industries. While population movements from Portugal to Brazil declined somewhat following the end of the gold rush, they continued at fairly high levels as peasant families from northern Portugal and the Azores were settled in southern Brazil between 1748 and 1753 (Poppino 1973:108). Even greater numbers of peasant emigrants were drawn to the rising prosperity of the older coastal towns as well as to the newly opened agricultural areas of the colony.

While the discovery of gold and later diamonds in Brazil temporarily stimulated the Portuguese Empire, the Methuen Treaty of 1703 however, firmly re-established and solidified dependency relations elaborated with England some forty years earlier. Essentially, the Methuen Treaty established and codified an international division of labor between Portugal and England which was characterized by the exchange of Portuguese primary materials for British manufactured goods. The relationship which emerged from this economic arrangement was one of strong dependence by Portugal upon England, although it reinforced the

royal House of Braganca, the aristocracy and the Church. Between 1700 and 1760, the large and chronic deficit created by this international division of labor in the Portuguese balance of payments caused some 50 percent of the Brazilian gold to flow out of Portugal to England. There, under different conditions, it contributed to industrialization much more than it had done in Portugal, whose incipient manufactures had been sacrificed for wine production (Sidiri 1970:50, 56). What followed was a permanent deficit of the Portuguese balance of payments with England, financed by Brazilian gold in the eighteenth century and by foreign investment in the nineteenth century.

Another effort at industrial and economic independence was attempted between 1770 and 1810 under the guidance of the Marquis de Pombal and later under his successors. This effort included breaking some of the provisions of the Methuen Treaty. At the time of Pombal's initial programs, economic conditions in Portugal were far from optimal,

"Her agriculture was in a miserable state, trade was mostly in foreign hands, manufactures were non-existent on the coastal strip while those of the interior were technologically backward and unable to grow owing to the shortage of entrepreneurial capacities and the limited size of the market they could supply. Brazil was the only colony of any economic dimension but it so far provided a market mainly for foreign goods, largely English. Furthermore, the Brazilian gold effect on the Portuguese economic structure had been nil except for having accustomed the upper classes to a standard of living geared more to imports than to domestic products" (Ibid.:97).

During this period, fully two-thirds of Portugal's manufactured material necessities were being supplied by England.

Pombal's industrialization program stressed the role of the state in the process and control of development. In his plan, an increase of manufactures was meant to reduce foreign dependence as well as the continuing massive drain of the country's resources. Given the economic

structure of Portugal, the scarcity of large amounts of financial resources and the lack of a national bourgeoisie able to take initiatives, the only viable economic policy open to Portugal was not only to reduce imports, but also to make an effort at improving infrastructures and communications, and to encourage the slow expansion of existing small scale enterprises (Ibid.:98)

Pombal's program also included provisions for domestic development in agriculture. Under his policies, plans were made to replace vines with corn, to protect tenants and to encourage the growth of medium sized properties. Agriculture however, remained stagnant throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in many areas of Portugal. A central problem involved the chronic inability to produce sufficient food to supply the domestic market. The continuing problem of poor communications systems, lack of labor (due to both rural-urban migration and emigration from the country), shortage of capital and the land tenure system increased production costs until they could not compete with foreign products.

In 1810 another setback was suffered by Portugal with the forced opening of Brazilian ports to England which effectively meant the loss of control over Brazilian trade. Thus, after Brazilian ports were opened to British concerns, the previous triangular trade between Brazil, Portugal and England was replaced by a direct one between Brazil and England while Portugal was put aside. Pombal's attempt at economic independence however, was finally and abruptly cut short by manufacturing centers but also drove Portugal firmly back to British "protection".

The political instability which continued throughout most of the nineteenth century severely hampered the development and expansion of

Portuguese economy. While brief and sporadic gains were periodically registered through the course of the century, in general, the economy continued to be bound by dependency, underdevelopment and stagnation. Under these conditions, emigration movements from Portugal continued to slowly accelerate with the exception of a brief interlude between 1855 and 1868.

As mentioned previously, emigration from Portugal declined somewhat following the Brazilian gold rush but continued at significant levels well into the nineteenth century. For 1808 to 1817, approximately 24,000 Portuguese entered Brazil through the port at Rio de Janeiro at an average of roughly 2,600 individuals per year (Serrao 1972:33). While exact figures are scarce, it is also evident that an upsurge of emigration from Portugal to Brazil took place in the years immediately following Brazilian independence in 1822. As Poppino notes,

"The mainstream of newcomers continued to flow from Portugal ...some 15,000 civil and military officials, functionaries, servants and assorted hangers-on at the court accompanied the royal family in its flight from Junot's army in November 1807. And in the next thirteen years, nearly 10,000 more migrated from the mother country to Brazil" (Poppino 1973:182).

During the years 1844 and 1845 respectively, 3,197 and 3,353 Portuguese arrived in Rio de Janeiro. The average of these two figures represents a 70 percent increase over the yearly average figure for 1808 to 1817 (Op Cit:41).

By 1855, the annual rate of emigration had climbed to 11,557 persons. From 1855 to 1868 however, departures from Portugal declined somewhat and stabilized at approximately 4,000 per year. During this period, it is estimated that roughly 25 percent of all Portuguese emigrants leaving for Brazil were from the Azores and Madeira Islands. At the same time (1855-65), a total of 81,219 departures from Portugal

were registered of which some 68,998 were directed towards Brazil (Serrao 1972:41). By the latter part of the nineteenth century however, emigratory movements from Portugal to Brazil, consisting primarily of minifundia peasants from the northern provinces, not only reached high levels, but also gave rise to a widespread myth among peasants which viewed Brazil as the El Dorado.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese economy experienced some growth in its infrastructure and in its services and manufacturing sectors. Expansion in these areas, however, under the limited program of Minister Fontes, was due to a considerable degree to large inputs of foreign capital, while the temporary growth of manufactures was the result of northern European competition for Portuguese markets and expanded Portuguese textile production. The heavy borrowing undertaken by Portugal during the second half of the nineteenth century produced the same basic effects as did the previous export of Brazilian gold: perpetuation of basic economic structures by which underdevelopment continued and the political status quo was maintained.

According to Sidiri (1970), Portuguese agriculture during this period remained in a state of inertia and continued to be chronically unable to produce sufficient food for the domestic market. In response to foreign demand, vineyards expanded in response to population growth, corn consumption increased, therefore increasing the gap from 0.4 to 0.6 hectares (except in the latifundia dominated Alentejo region), yet extensive areas of cultivable lands remained untilled. During the 1850s, uncultivated land in Portugal is estimated to have been as high as fifty percent of the potentially cultivable area (Ibid.: 165). In addition, after passage of the New Civil Code in 1866, which established

partible inheritance for all beneficiaries, fragmentation increased substantially (Hammond cited in Sidiri 1970:165).

Because of the northern Portuguese minifundia system, agricultural productivity remained low throughout the nineteenth century. The capital which could have been generated did not materialize; at the same time, rents were spent for foreign goods. Thus, chronic shortages of capital were not independent of the traditional Portuguese agricultural system but in fact were in part created by it. The persistence of an unproductive agricultural system and an incipient industrial sector together with increasing population densities and political strife combined to generate conditions for continued high rates of emigration during the second half of the nineteenth century. Brazil remained the principal destination during this period, although increasing numbers of Portuguese were also beginning to migrate to the U.S. and Argentina. By the turn of the century, the regional origins of Portuguese emigrants, while still in the northern areas of the country, had shifted eastward to interior regions including the province of Tras-os-Montes and Beira Alta. Official figures for the year 1912, for example, show that 91.5 percent of those departing for Portugal were leaving the District of Braganco in eastern Tras-os-Montes province (Ferreira 1976:35).

From 1860 onwards, the gradual phasing out of slavery in Brazil (abolition was officially declared in 1888) resulted in severe labor shortages in agriculture for which Portuguese peasants were recruited. By 1873, the growing volume of emigrants, together with accounts of extremely poor working and living conditions for them in Brazil, prompted the first "Parliamentary Inquiry into Emigration" and was held in

Lisbon. At this session, it was reported that the Portuguese in Brazil:

"Comem, dormem e trabalham como os escravos...durante o dia, lavram a terra e, a noite, trabalham em fabricas de tijolos."

"Eat, sleep and work like slaves...during the day, they work the fields and at night, they work in tile factories." (Ibid.:35)

Similar accounts of conditions in France would be heard during the 1960s. At the turn of the century, as it had in the past, the Portuguese government attempted to restrict emigration to Brazil and, as in the past, these efforts were not successful (See table 2.1). As early as 1890, it was reported that clandestine emigration from Portugal greatly exceeded legal emigration. Clandestine emigration would also reappear as the dominant mode of emigration during the massive intra-European migrations of the 1960s.

Despite severe problems for Portuguese workers in Brazil, emigration from Portugal to that country continued to grow during the late nineteenth century and remained high well into the 1900s. In 1890, 1891, and 1895 for example, emigration from Portugal eroded the natural population increase in that country by 78.6, 72.4, and 92.5 percent respectively.(Ibid.:44). Moreover, as early as 1860, the economic importance of emigration to the national economy was already recognized; the government began to consider remittances from emigrants as part of the net bullion import component of the balance of payments, in so doing establishing a precedent which has only increased in importance throughout subsequent years (Sidiri 1970:160).

From 1900 onwards, emigration movements from Portugal remained relatively high until the outbreak of World War I. With the conclusion of war, emigration again began an increase which continued through the decade of the 1920s. They were halted once more when the world wide

TABLE 2.1
DESTINATIONS OF PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION MOVEMENTS 1900-1949

YEAR	BRASIL	ARGENTINE	U. S.	OTHER COUNTRIES	TOTAL
1900	14 493	..	4 174	2 568	21 235
1901	14 489	..	3 787	2 370	20 646
1902	15 003	..	6 841	2 326	24 170
1903	14 527	..	4 755	2 329	21 611
1904	21 449	..	4 351	2 504	28 304
1905	24 815	..	6 057	2 738	33 610
1906	26 147	..	7 631	4 315	38 093
1907	31 483	..	8 488	1 979	41 950
1908	36 362	..	3 105	678	40 145
1909	30 580	..	6 023	1 620	38 223
1910	31 280	..	6 819	1 416	39 515
1911	48 202	..	9 892	1 567	59 661
1912	74 860	..	10 775	3 294	88 929
1913	64 407	..	11 445	1 793	77 645
1914	19 334	254	5 930	202	25 730
1915	11 438	252	7 077	547	19 314
1916	10 002	128	11 522	3 245	24 897
1917	6 935	89	4 560	4 241	15 825
1918	6 107	113	1 439	4 194	11 853
1919	21 228	339	5 246	10 325	37 138
1920	33 651	747	24 156	6 229	64 783
1921	13 838	856	3 502	6 311	24 507
1922	25 630	1 484	3 323	9 358	39 795
1923	22 272	1 851	3 706	12 342	40 171
1924	14 964	979	1 058	12 709	29 710
1925	13 288	1 529	589	7 478	22 884
1926	31 339	2 565	440	7 723	42 067
1927	21 153	2 353	692	3 476	27 674
1928	27 728	3 328	851	2 390	34 297
1929	29 792	3 871	1 421	5 277	40 361
1930	11 834	2 384	1 152	7 826	23 196
1931	2 541	645	694	2 153	6 033
1932	3 960	647	344	958	5 909
1933	7 202	196	424	1 083	8 905
1934	5 517	275	643	1 037	7 472
1935	6 917	600	596	1 027	9 140
1936	10 470	895	659	460	12 484
1937	11 613	1 103	789	1 162	14 667
1938	9 314	1 215	761	2 319	13 609
1939	16 322	414	730	341	17 807
1940	12 260	425	328	213	13 226
1941	5 891	175	125	69	6 260
1942	1 926	86	96	106	2 214
1943	502	..	158	233	893
1944	341	42	570	1 471	2 424
1945	1 206	62	639	4 031	5 938
1946	6 955	373	168	779	8 275
1947	10 875	867	354	742	12 838

Source: Secretaria de Estado da Emigração
Boletim Anual (Lisbon, 1975) pp. 21-22, table 2.8

depression resulted in lowered immigration quotas abroad. Clearly then, socioeconomic conditions present in Portugal during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of this century did not show many opportunities for economic restoration and independence. Not surprisingly, the paucity of options during this period is paralleled by continued high rates of emigration from Portugal.

The African Colonies:
Continued Portuguese Dependence

At the turn of the century it became increasingly clear to government officials that what little hope remained for Portugal's development lay with the long neglected African colonies.

"It seems...that Portugal turned to her African possessions only when they seemed to offer a chance to keep the country on its feet. Brazil played a similar role in the eighteenth century and the Portuguese ruling class thought of repeating the experiment, alas, in the face of mounting imperialism of stronger (that is industrialized) powers" (Ibid.:180).

Despite domination by British merchants and strong internal criticisms of the "burden" of investing in the African colonies, efforts were made to consolidate and strengthen these possessions. But while modest inroads were made toward improving administrative organization and toward establishing the groundwork for productive investments, progress was so slow that Portugal would not reap the economic benefits of colonial exploitation on a large scale for at least four decades. Indeed, during the early 1900s, Portugal's imports for consumption from Mozambique and Angola were larger than its exports of domestic products to them; therefore, from 1908 to 1912, Portugal experienced a deficit in the balance of payments. Commenting on the role of the African colonies

during the early years of the republic, Figueiredo asserts,

"As for the empire, such was the neglect and stagnation that most of its component parts were in liability rather than an asset...most of the production was in the hands of the chartered companies under foreign control; a great deal of the shipping, ports and railway services were owned by British concerns...the end result was that the net income hardly covered the administrative and military expenses of the sleeping empire" (Figueiredo 1975:53).

It was not until the late 1930s when reforms associated with Salazar's plan to create "The New Portuguese Colonial Empire" that conditions were established for the more efficient extraction of profits from the African colonies. In this plan, Salazar hoped to create a self-contained empire; one which was to develop at a speed congruent with Portugal's limited natural resources. In turn, the colonies would absorb surplus populations from the continent, therefore eliminating the need for agrarian reform in Portugal and at the same time, setting up a division of labor whereby ten million Africans would produce raw materials necessary for industrial development in Portugal. It was not until the post World War II period however, that Portugal began to benefit from its policies in Africa as well as to channel significant numbers of settlers to them.

The "return to Africa" therefore, did not result in rapid economic development for Portugal, nor did it syphon off "excess" population to any significant degree. Indeed, the development of the colonies was dependent on resources coming from Portugal. Because of Portugal's underdeveloped state, the resources were extracted from the labors of working Portuguese. So, until Portugal came to enjoy an improved financial situation under Salazar, and while capital was generated for investment in Africa, socio-economic conditions for Portuguese workers

and peasants worsened, resulting in the continuation of relatively high emigration rates.

The stringent financial policies enacted by Salazar to balance Portugal's budget did little to stem emigration flows and, as previously mentioned, may have encouraged their continuation. During the Depression and the Second World War, 1926-1930, 1946-1968, (both part of Salazar's term) emigration from Portugal remained high and even showed a gradual tendency towards increase.

Essentially, when Salazar assumed power, his plan for the recovery of Portugal was used on creating an accumulation of "national capital" without recourse to foreign investment. Given Portugal's weak socio-economic condition at this time, the capital was to be produced by Portuguese workers, Portuguese peasants and the African people in the colonies.

Portuguese economic development under Salazar, can be divided into two broad stages. During the first stage, roughly spanning the years 1928-1950, Salazar's policies concentrated on balancing Portugal's budget, paying off the foreign debt and in general restoring financial stability by strengthening the escudo. In addition to exploiting the labor of the Portuguese people, these objectives were accomplished by pre-empting funds normally allocated for health, education and other social services. A Law of Economic Reconstruction passed in 1935 and in effect until 1950, mandated the development and expansion of infrastructural sectors such as railways, road, dams, irrigation, forestations and various industrial projects.

The second stage, beginning with the First Development Plan of 1953, was characterized by an increasing trend toward the economic

integration of the colonies to achieve the overall goal of national recovery (Figueiredo 1975:162).

During both stages, the combination of heavy taxes and "worker discipline" was sorely felt by Portuguese workers and peasants. As one prominent Portuguese economist wrote concerning this period,

"The working classes feel completely alienated from the process of economic development...except in suffering its consequences...one needs only to recall the stagnation and minimal improvement in the standard of living in contrast with the impressive accumulation of wealth in the hands of a small group of big landowners and capitalists (Guerra cited in Figueiredo;16).

Thus, while Salazar often emphasized the need to reverse the Portuguese emigration process, and hoped to accomplish this with the implementation of his long-range development programs, the immediate effects of many of his policies merely intensified the already poor socio-economic living conditions which were the root of Portuguese emigration. Indeed, these conditions were exacerbated during the depression years and during the years of World War II when foreign immigration quotas were drastically lowered.

By the 1950s, some of Salazar's development plans finally began to show signs of fruition. In addition to modest growth in the infrastructures, the country was forested and acquired a fairly strong textile industry as well as the largest ship repair yard in Europe.

Despite these improvements, the policies of the Salazar regime had in effect only produced a richer state and richer elite in an essentially poor country. Despite statistical increases in GNP rates in the late 1950s as well as the implementation of rigid price controls, the cost of living consistently increased at a higher rate than the rise in wages and salaries so that the majority of the working rural and urban

populations faced a progressively lower standard of living. In response to these conditions, emigration movements from Portugal during the postwar depression and pre-war levels. At the same time, the European economies, now completely recovered from the war and entering into a phase of rapid expansion and growth, were in need of abundant cheap labor. By the early 1960s, traditional Portuguese emigration movements to Brazil had been almost completely rerouted towards northern Europe. The outbreak of the African wars of liberation in 1961 and the accompanying military conscription and soaring inflation rates which followed, only accelerated emigration for Portugal, which through the decade of the 1960s would become the largest single emigration movement in the country's history.

CHAPTER III

PORTUGUESE ECONOMIC TRENDS 1950-1970: UNEQUAL SECTORAL DEVELOPEMNT AND ACCELERATED EMIGRATION

Although Portugal emerged from World War II untouched and with colonies intact, the Portuguese economy remained agrarian, underdeveloped and located within the "semi-periphery" of the world capitalist system. Despite its nominal status as a metropolitan colonial power and its policy of relative economic self-sufficiency, Portugal remained dependent upon its colonies for raw material and upon industrialized European countries for technology and manufactured goods. Indeed, despite its role as a colonial power, some have argued that Portugal resembled more a peripheral social formation than a semi-peripheral one. Portugal exhibited chronic deficits in trade, in technological, financial and commercial dependence, especially after 1960. It also exhibited a lack of industrialization, a marked intersectoral unevenness, a lack of a strong, domestic commercial bourgeoisie and, large segments of agriculture were characterized by stagnation and subsistence orientation. While these conditions are certainly at the root of continued emigration from Portugal, especially since the early 19th century, it is suggested that the attempt at rapid industrialization on the part of the Salazar regime during the late 1950s and early 1960s, only exacerbated intersectoral imbalances between industry and agriculture and between urban and rural zones. This exacerbation occurred in part because Salazar's policies ignored the importance of agriculture and because the industrialization took place in the context of growing numbers of

colonial wars and in a rapidly expanding European economy. The intersectoral imbalances in turn accelerated emigration movements from the countryside.

Broad trends in the post-war Portuguese economy can be seen as unfolding into three general phases. The first phase, lasting from the late 1940s to the late 1950s was characterized by an overall sluggishness. This sluggishness was due to stagnation in the agricultural sector and to less than average activity in the industrial and service sectors. In general, this phase was conditioned by the Salazarist economic policies (elaborated during the 1930s) which emphasized financial stability, colonial consolidation and investment, infrastructural development, and the maintenance of Portugal as an essentially agrarian state.

The second phase, lasting from about 1957 to 1965, was a period of considerable economic growth stemming almost exclusively from the expansion of the industrial sector but also in part from increased inputs of foreign capital. This rapid, mainly quantitative industrial growth was largely the result of economic planning and collaboration between the Portuguese government and the financial elite under the planificação indicativa. This plan called for the development of a small group of protected, modern and capital intensive industries and was Portugal's key towards entering the European economic community. The sudden surge of this sector between 1957 and 1965, however, exacerbated a wide range of sectoral, regional, demographic and class contradictions in Portuguese society and was instrumental in accelerating already relatively high emigration rates to levels unmatched in the history of the country. During this same period, agriculture continued to stagnate and even decline as rural populations increasingly abandoned

the countryside to search for work in urban areas and especially to search out of the country, hence further distorting the strong intersectoral disequilibrium between agriculture and industry.

Although the beginning of the African Colonial Wars in 1961 contributed to the growth of the industrial sector, they were also largely responsible for generating a debilitating inflation which eroded the already limited purchasing power of the bulk of the Portuguese citizenry. Moreover, the exigencies of the Colonial Wars, coupled with rising inflation, forced the Salazar regime to abandon its long standing policy of relative self-sufficiency and turn to foreign capital to meet its growing economic problems, thus intensifying dependency relations.

A third broad phase in Portuguese economic developments can be established from about 1966 and which continue to the present. During this phase, the Portuguese economy experienced a sudden downturn in industrial growth and in continued inflation. While periodic yearly fluctuations in this general downward trend occasionally have occurred, this overall decline has continued to the present and in fact was exacerbated by events following the April coup of 1974.

Post-war trends in the Portuguese economy therefore, can be characterized as sluggish, with the exception of the relatively brief period between the late 1950s and the mid-1960s when national economic growth expanded primarily due to activity in the industrial sector. However, the rapid growth at that time strained historical-structural contradictions within Portuguese society to their limits, setting off a series of wide-ranging perturbations which, when coupled with agricultural stagnation, helped stimulate the "national exodus" of the 1960s and 1970s.

Agriculture

As previously mentioned, Portuguese agriculture has remained little changed during the past three decades and has continued to act as a strong drag on the national economy as a whole. Major problems during the early post-war period were rooted in an archaic agrarian structure which represented the end of the historical evolution of Portuguese rural class relations. While there existed considerable variation in land tenure arrangements throughout the country, marked regional disparities in land distribution continued to hamper agricultural production. The southern Alentejo region of Portugal was dominated by an extensive and inefficient latifundia system which was characterized by extreme concentration of properties, absentee landlordship, and the presence of large numbers of landless seasonal wage laborers. In contrast, agrarian structures in northern Portugal are best described in terms of the minifundia system and are characterized by an orientation towards subsistence agriculture. Other regional imbalances during this period were based upon differential access to markets, to transportation, to mechanization, and to services, Agriculturalists in the coastal areas enjoyed a highly favored position with respect to this access. Additional problems in agriculture stemmed from a severe lack of mechanization and a low utilization of selected seeds and chemical fertilizers.

Through the 1950s and early 1960s, Portuguese agriculture continued to be dominated by cereal cultivations (wheat in the South, and rye and corn in the North) despite ever decreasing yields. More recently however, a gradual shift has been occurring, away from cereals and toward fruits and dairy products. (Plano 1977-1980:23). Similarly, while extreme concentration and fragmentation of properties still characterize

the southern and northern regions of Portugal, in more recent years, increasing numbers of medium-scale farms have emerged; this phenomenon is due to the decline of traditional latifundist estates, to inroads made by capitalist farmers as well as to remittances sent back from emigrants working outside Portugal (Cabral 1978:418). Nonetheless, in general it can be said that Portuguese agriculture has changed little during the past fifty years and the socio-economic conditions associated with its continued stagnation have played an important role in the departure in the 1960s of rural populations from the countryside.

Land Tenure

Although shifts have occurred in Portuguese land tenure arrangements during the past few decades, basic regional disparities have remained essentially unchanged. Thus, land distribution has continued to be characterized by concentration in the southern regions and by fragmentation and dispersion in the northern provinces. While the number of medium-sized properties has increased in recent years throughout the various districts in Portugal, their expansion has not had an appreciable positive effect on the general distribution of agricultural lands as a whole.

According to the National Agricultural Survey of 1953-1954, 32.4 percent of all agricultural units contained six or more dispersed parcels of land. While clearly excessive, this figure obscures marked regional differences in land distribution. Thus, in the district of Bragança in the northeast corner of Portugal for example, the figure for agricultural units with six or more parcels of land was 63.4 percent of the total in that district.

In the same study, the district of Villa Real occupied second place out of eighteen administrative districts with respect to land fragmentation. In this district, agricultural units with eleven or more parcels of land accounted for 25 percent of all those sampled. In the concelho of Bucelas, the local administrative district for the communities studied, agricultural enterprises with eleven or more parcels of land comprised 68 percent of all agricultural units (Martins 1973:265-6).

The National Agricultural Survey of 1953-1954 also shows that approximately 50 percent of all agricultural units sampled held lands totaling less than 1 hectare. In contrast, those agricultural enterprises with an area greater than 100 hectares represented less than 4 percent of the total number of units but occupied 45 percent of the total land area. Similarly, those agricultural enterprises greater than 500 hectares comprised roughly 30 percent of the total cultivable area but represented only 1 percent of all agricultural enterprises. The profound disparity between large and small agricultural units can be seen yet another way: in 1954, the 72 largest farms (with landholdings greater than 2,500 hectares) occupied an area larger than 330,000 hectares or almost twice the total area of the 400,469 smaller units (Almeida and Barreto 1976:95).

Although land tenure structures remained essentially unaltered between the years 1950 and 1970, subtle shifts within the system are nevertheless present. Two such trends include the continued concentration of properties in the Alentejo region and the further fragmentation of parcels in the North, and the emergence of medium sized properties throughout the entire country. It should be kept in mind however, that in general, agricultural enterprises with one block of land tend to

correspond to large farms while those with six or more parcels can be correlated with the tiny minifundia units. Thus, between 1954 and 1968, it was found that farms with one block of land increased to 24 to 25 percent of the national total while those agricultural units with six or more parcels of land also increased from 33 to 35 percent of all agricultural enterprises sampled (Freitas, Almeida and Cabral 1976:87).

The continuation of regional patterns of concentration and fragmentation in Portuguese land tenure systems can also be seen by looking at the average areas of landholdings as well as at the number of parcels contained by each. By 1968 therefore, the average area per land parcel in Portugal was .995 hectares with an average of 6.38 parcels for each agricultural unit. Regional disparities can also be seen in this context. In the district of Setubal, the average area per plot of land in 1968 was 11.32 hectares with 1.4 blocks of land for each farm. In marked contrast, the figures for the district of Braganca within this category were .520 hectares per parcel and 13.08 parcels for each agricultural unit. In the district of Vila Real, these figures were .470 hectares for each plot of land and 8.06 parcels per agricultural enterprise. Seen another way, by 1968, 92 percent of all cultivable plots of land in Portugal had areas between less than one hectare and 20 hectares, with an average of 6.8 parcels of land for each agricultural unit (Ibid.:87). Thus, the twin problems of concentration and fragmentation continued to hamper Portuguese agriculture through the 1960s contributing both to stagnation as well as to the outflow of agriculturalists unable to make an adequate living from the land.

While the basic shape of Portuguese agrarian structure remained essentially unchanged, various shifts, nonetheless, were taking place

during the 1960s. By 1968, agricultural enterprises with less than five hectares had decreased from 87.5 percent in 1954 to 77.8 percent of the total number of agricultural units in Portugal. In contrast, those agricultural units of a size 5-50 hectares increased from 11.7 percent to 14.6 percent of the total. Finally, agricultural enterprises larger than 50 hectares increased from .08 percent to 1.2 percent of the total number of farms in Portugal (Freitas, Almeida, Cabral 1976:79).

Subtle alterations also took place in the northwest region of Portugal during this period. By 1968 the land area utilized by agricultural units containing less than five hectares had decreased sharply to 40.7 percent of total area of that region while the area occupied by medium sized farms had increased to 49.1 percent of the cultivable area. Similarly, the agricultural area occupied by farms larger than 50 hectares increased to 10 percent of the total area of that region (Ibid.: 79).

Perhaps the most important of these trends for this period was the substantial increase in both the number of and area occupied by medium sized farms, which grew from approximately 12 percent of all types of farms in 1954 to 21 percent of this total in 1968. Seen another way, the medium sized group increased its numbers by almost 100 percent by 1968 and occupied some 34 percent of the land area as opposed to 27 percent 15 years earlier (Cabral 1978:414).

According to Cabral, the expansion of medium sized farms, although due in part to the decline of large estates, was primarily the result of emigration during this period. That is, while emigration represents the exodus of large numbers of rural proletarians and agriculturalists, through the return flow of remittances, it allowed not only for the

relative expansion and maintenance of the peasant class, but facilitated some growth in the numbers of medium sized farms.

"Emigration undoubtedly contributed...to the formation of medium and large farms...in other words, emigration was also another name for land concentration during the period under consideration...this process of land concentration at the expense of the smaller farmers did not...lead to the formation of large capitalist estates but in fact strengthened the medium sized group...(Cabral 1978:414).

Portuguese agrarian structure, therefore, while helping to generate the expulsion of rural populations which allowed for the growth of medium sized farms, was also acted upon by the very emigration it helped to create as both the peasant and semi-proletarian classes and medium sized farmers were maintained and even increased in size as a result of remittances sent back to Portugal by emigrants.

It should be pointed out however, that while data concerning the exact size of each agricultural unit in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes were not tabulated (due to the extreme fragmentation and dispersal of approximately six thousand individual plots of land) figures illustrating the breakup of land parcels through inheritance and sales, especially as they pertain to the few medium sized units in the communities studied, point to continued fragmentation rather than concentration in this particular locality. That is, the construction boom and rush for land on the part of emigrants appears not to have resulted in the formation of new medium sized farms but rather has encouraged the shrinkage of traditional medium sized units owned by the old rural bourgeoisie, a trend which is discussed at length in Chapter Six.

The major trends exhibited in Portuguese agrarian structure during the post-war period therefore, can be seen as resulting from a number of interlocking factors. Foremost among these variables has been the

continuing stagnation of Portuguese agriculture itself, which is inextricably tied to an archaic agrarian structure characterized by a marked contradiction between productive forces and productive relations illustrated in part by the above data. During the 1950s and 1960s, the continuing stagnation of Portuguese agriculture, assisted by sectoral disturbances set off by rapid industrial development and the lure of higher wages outside of Portugal, resulted in a massive outflow of rural populations. In turn, emigration, while not transforming Portuguese rural class relations and land tenure patterns, did allow for shifts in the relative importance of various rural classes and property arrangements.

Between 1950 and 1970, despite the emergence in some areas of medium sized farms, Portuguese agriculture has continued to remain stagnant and unproductive, therefore maintaining the socio-economic conditions which were influential in generating emigration. Through these years, unemployment and underemployment remained high, and as late as 1968 some 77 percent of all rural households, accounting for about 30 percent of the total land area cultivated, were producing primarily for subsistence (Plano 1977-80:30). Moreover, even as emigration allowed for some property concentration and purchase, it also resulted in a significant artificial aging of the rural population which further hampered agricultural production. Thus, in 1968, 45 percent of the active rural population was over the age of fifty-five (Ibid.: 6). While recent shifts away from traditional grain production to the production of fruits and dairy products may be taken as a positive sign, the continued inertia of Portuguese agriculture continues to act as a drag on the national economy and has in fact, nullified advances made in other sectors.

The Contribution of Agriculture to the National Economy: 1950-1970

The sluggish performance of Portuguese agriculture during the post-war period is clearly demonstrated by its decreasing contribution to Portugal's gross national product. In 1954, agriculture accounted for approximately 29.2 percent of Portugal's GNP, while in 1964 it had declined to 20.5 percent. In 1965 this figure had declined further to 18.8 percent, and by 1968 it accounted for only 17.4 percent of the GNP. Viewed another way, the average growth rate of the agricultural sector between 1958 and 1968 was only one percent and declined to .08 percent between 1968 and 1970 (Almeida and Barreto 1976:111, Rosa 1977:23).

Moreover, as a result of the growing inability of Portuguese agriculture to meet the needs of its own population, agricultural imports expanded steadily during the 1950s and 1960s which in turn exacerbated balance of payments problems and contributed to inflation. Between the years 1963 and 1974, imports of primary food products grew at an average rate of 19.7 percent per year, while imported processed foods increased at an average rate of 19.1 percent per year (1977 prices). By the late 1960s, this trend had deepened considerably so that agricultural food imports represented increasingly larger shares of all foods consumed in Portugal. In 1969, imported food products (meat, cereals, potatoes, sugar) constituted 18.3 percent of food products consumed, while in 1974 this figure rose to 33.6 percent of all food products consumed in Portugal (Rose 1977:21).

Similar patterns are illustrated by indicators of labor productivity during the 1950s and 1960s. From 1953 to 1973 the national average of productivity per worker nearly tripled and grew from 17.4 to 53.6 (in thousands of escudos at 1977 values). During this same period,

productivity for those involved in agriculture increased considerably less: from 12.2 in 1953, to 2.8 in 1973. These low figures for labor productivity in agriculture became even more pronounced when compared to all other non-agricultural workers whose productivity expanded from 21.5 in 1953 to 65.3 in 1973. Thus, between 1953 and 1973, it is estimated that agriculture contributed only 9 percent of this growth (Plano 1977-80:27). Although Portuguese agriculture remained sluggish by any standards during the 1950s and 1960s, its continued inertia becomes greatly magnified when compared to the temporary expansion of the industrial sector during the 1960s.

Industry

Post-war trends in the Portuguese industrial sector are similar in some ways to those present in agriculture; with the exception of a brief period between the late 1950s and mid-1960s, Portuguese Industry has been characterized by underdevelopment and relatively low levels of growth and production and thus has been described as an "incipient" industrial sector. As described in the previous chapter, the incipient character of the Portuguese industrial sector has been tied to the continued dependence of the national economy upon its colonies as well as upon industrialized European countries, and the evolution of the Portuguese class structure, which has been characterized by an absence of a strong intermediate bourgeoisie. It was only under the Salazar regime during the late 1930s and early 1940s that plans were made for the long term development of the Portuguese industry, plans which will eventually pave the way for the country's entrance into the European Economic Community Organization as a "supranational" capitalist state. To this end, the tiny Portuguese financial elite bourgeoisie was

encouraged to expand its interests in both Africa and Portugal and to invest in modern industries.

"These monopolistic combines were nurtured hot-house fashion by the Salazar dictatorship, acquired vast interest in Portugal's African colonies, and established a whole spiderweb of joint ventures and connections with the...bourgeoisies of Europe and America" (Sweezy 1975:3-4).

By the 1950s, with considerable infrastructural development in place, with revenues beginning to flow in from Africa and with the post-war expansion of the northern European economies, the Portuguese financial bourgeoisie and the government began charting Portugal's economic development. In 1953 the first of three growth plans was established, which marked a departure away from "self sufficiency" and financial stability.

Essentially, the goals of the growth plans were to develop the Portuguese economy by generating rapid expansion in a limited number of protected industries while ignoring other industrial sectors and especially ignoring agriculture. As is known, the rapid, quantitative and uneven expansion which took place within the industrial sector during the last 1950s and early 1960s set off a series of perturbations throughout the Portuguese economy which in turn exacerbated a wide range of contradictions already present within Portuguese society. One major result of this uneven development cycle was the accelerated depopulation of rural areas which ultimately was transformed into emigration movements out of the country.

The commencement of the African colonial wars, while temporarily fueling the growth of the industrial sector, as well as other sectors of the national economy, also generated a strong inflation which soon began to feed back upon the economy. In their attempts to sustain economic

growth after 1960, policy makers rapidly abandoned Salazar's policy of relative self-sufficiency and increasingly turned to foreign capital, a decision which only deepened Portugal's dependency relations. By 1965, industrial growth had reached its structural limits and began to constrict rapidly. With rising inflation and the continued stagnation of agriculture, the Portuguese economy began to decline rapidly after 1965. Not surprisingly, emigration rates attained their highest levels during the late 1960s.

Private Enterprise and State Intervention in Portuguese Industry

Portuguese industrial growth during the 1960s was strongly conditioned by policies of the "Nova Estado" regime which emphasized extensive state intervention ("condicionamento industrial") coupled with a belief in "private initiative as the most fecund instrument of progress in the national economy". Although state interventionist policies fluctuated considerably from control to laxity between 1950 and 1970, they nevertheless remained consistent in facilitating the interests of the Portuguese financial elite. By the late 1950s, Portuguese industry was dominated by a small number of protected and large conglomerates such as CUF, Quina, Espiritu Santo, Champalimaud (see Table 3.0).

The concentration and protection of these monopolies was brought about by a series of governmental policies which implemented wage and price controls, strong protective tariffs, the elimination of free labor syndicates and the indirect channeling of public funds into the chosen industries. Moreover, internal competition was constrained by the government through its control over authorization for new factories, renovations, machinery alterations and location changes (Almeida and Barreto 1976:132).

TABLE 3.0
EVOLUTION OF PORTUGUESE INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION 1953-1970

Sectors	Millions of Escudes		% of total		annual rate of growth
	1953	1970	1953	1970	
Extractive Industries	543	606	3.7	1.1	0.8
Manufacturing Industries	11,532	42,809	77.2	80.8	8.6
Foods, Beverages and Tobacco	1,925	5,065	13	8.8	5.9
Textiles, clothing and Shoes	2,991	9,987	20	17.3	7.4
Lumber, Cork and Furniture	1,292	3,150	8.7	5.4	5.4
Paper, Printing and Publishing	507	2,704	3.4	4.7	10.3
Chemicals and Petroleum	1,079	5,882	7.2	10.2	10.4
Stone, Tile and Glass	939	3,312	6.3	5.8	7.8
Extractive Metalurgy	188	1,518	1.3	2.6	13
Metalurgy Processing	2,110	12,963	14.1	22.3	11.2
Light Manufacturing	427	2,228	2.9	3.8	10.,2
Construction	2,093	6,608	14	11.4	7.1
Electricity	755	3,816	5.1	6.6	10.1

Source: C. Medeiros, Portugal (Lisbon: terra Livre, 1976):89

Through the above "conditioning" measures, therefore, the Portuguese financial bourgeoisie and policy makers succeeded in cultivating the growth of the concentration of a select but small group of modern, capital intensive industries. While these industries were almost totally responsible for significant economic growth increases felt in the national economy, structural limits imposed by the shape of Portuguese society not only ultimately constrained the expansion of these selected industries, but were themselves severely disarticulated by the uneven growth within this sector. Thus, the temporary expansion of the Portuguese industrial sector during the 1950s and 1960s resulted not only in intrasectoral and intersectoral imbalances but also strained broader configurations of Portuguese social structure to their limits.

Industrial Growth and Agricultural Stagnation:
Inersectoral Imbalances 1950-1965

During the early post-war years, the Portuguese economy continued to be influenced by Salazarist policies aimed at maintaining financial stability and at the integration of the African Colonies. During the early 1950s, the rate of growth of the GNP was 4.5 percent, while that of OECD member states was 4.6 percent. Rates of investment during this period were also relatively low (14 percent) and were directed primarily towards infrastructure development and towards areas of low productivity (see Table 3.1). During the years 1954-1959, industry grew at an average rate of 6.5 percent per year while agriculture expanded at a rate of only about one percent per year, creating a gap between industry and agriculture which would only increase in the following years. Low levels of economic growth at this time were also reflected in high rates of unemployment, underemployment and large reserves of cheap labor. The average daily wage for an industrial worker in 1950

was thirty escudos, while in 1956 an agricultural worker earned only nineteen escudos a day (Ibid.:44). Against the backdrop of this generalized economic sluggishness of the 1950s, Portuguese emigration rates had already returned to pre-depression, pre-war levels. While emigrants continued to be directed towards the traditional destination of Brazil, there were already indications that this pattern was changing.

TABLE 3.1

GNP BY SECTORS OF ACTIVITY: 1956-67

<u>Sectors</u>	<u>1956</u> <u>% of GNP</u>	<u>1965</u> <u>% of GNP</u>	<u>1967</u> <u>% of GNP</u>
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	29.8	21.4	18.4
Industry and Construction	31.7	38.6	40.2
Services	38.5	40.0	41.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: C. Almeida and A. Barreto, Capitalismo E Emigração Em Portugal (Lisbon: Prelo Editora 1976:39, Table 6)

The years between 1957 and 1965 were characterized by significantly higher rates of growth in the Portuguese economy and reflected a previously described policy switch from financial stability to an expansion orientation. At the center of this change of direction was an emphasis upon the development of specific industries to the exclusion of other areas of the economy. Between 1957 and 1965 the Portuguese GNP grew at an average rate of 5.7 percent per year which surpassed the average growth rate of 4.4 percent maintained by OECD member countries during the same period. The surge of certain areas of the Portuguese industrial sector however, only widened the inter-sectoral gap already existing between agriculture and industry. During the period under question

therefore, the annual average growth rate for agriculture remained approximately one percent while industry grew at an average rate of about 10 percent per year (Almeida and Barreto 1976:38).

One important side effect of industrial expansion at this time was the increased rates at which rural proletarians, already constituting over 50 percent of the national active rural population, began abandoning agriculture in search of better paying jobs in coastal areas. Given the nature and type of industries undergoing expansion at this time however, only a small fraction of the large volume of workers arriving in urban areas would be absorbed. More often than not, migration to urban coastal areas became a stepping stone for emigration out of the country completely. Thus, between 1951 and 1960, approximately 880,000 individuals left their concelhos of origin of which some 710,000 eventually emigrated out of Portugal (Freitas, Almeida, Cabral 1976:48). While these figures suggest a broad internal migration movement which anticipates and appears to be linked to the emigratory surge of the 1960s and 1970s, a direct causal relationship has in fact not been established and remains unclear. As a 1970 OECD Report points out,

"In all villages there are two competing trends: traditional internal migration to urban areas, which dates back to the 1950s at least, and migration abroad, which is often a new development...and increased significantly between 1960 and 1965...It would in any case be a mistake to relate the two movements to one and the same category and to regard emigration abroad as merely a form or extension of urbanization processes" (OECD 1970:10).

By 1960, the percentage of the active population involved in agriculture had fallen to 41.6 percent of the national total, and by 1967 this figure had fallen to about 33.5 percent. In contrast, by 1965 those workers associated with the industrial sector represented some 31.5 percent of the total labor force. Two years later in 1967, this

figure has risen to 35.5 percent of the national work force (Almeida and Barreto 1976:38, Freitas, Almeida, Cabral: 1967:48).

Not suprisingly, industrial expansion and its associated population shifts also occurred in the major urban areas, especially in Lisbon and Porto. In 1957, approximately 85.7 percent of the economically active population in the District of Lisbon was working in either the industrial or service sectors. By 1967 this figure had risen to include about 90.3 percent of the active population in that administrative district. A similar pattern emerges in the District of Porto during this decade. In 1957, 79.1 percent of the economically active population was working in the industrial and service sectors, while in 1967, this number had increased to 88 percent of the total active population in that particular district. Similarly, by 1964, the Districts of Lisbon and Porto together accounted for some 68 percent of the total commercial activities undertaken in Portugal (Almeida and barreto 1976:155).

The beginning of the African Colonial Wars in 1961 had a strong effect upon the Portuguese economy and perhaps was the single most important factor shaping its development throughout the 1960s. Although the colonial wars undoubtely stimuated growth within some areas of the industrial sector, they were also instrumental in generating strong inflationary trends. Increasingly larger amounts of public expenditures were directed towards non-reproductive military requirements. Inflationary trends were also aided by increasing monetary influxes from tourism and emigrant remittances which, while greatly increasing liquid cash flows and purchasing power factors, were not matched by the domestic manufacture of desired consumer goods. By the late 1960s, inflation was outstripping wage levels which had risen some 35-40 percent during the

previous ten years, but remained only 1/7 to 1/5 of the average wages paid in OECD countries.

As expenditures and growth continued to expand during the early 1960s, and as the exigencies of the colonial wars increased, the central government increasingly turned to foreign capital in an effort to consolidate the national economy and to bring about economic stability. The response on the part of U.S., French, German and British interests was rapid and soon deepened Portugal's dependency relations. In 1960, foreign capital represented only about 2 percent of all investments in the private sector. In 1965, foreign investments accounted for 20 percent of all investments in Portugal and by 1971, approximately 32 percent of all manufacturing industries had the participation of foreign capital. Viewed another way, by 1971, 41 of the largest 100 industries in Portugal were operating with the assistance of foreign capital (Medeiros 1976:88). Foreign firms which took advantage of conditions in Portugal included ITT, Timex, Ford, Renault, Grundig, British Leyland, Plessey and Heinz.

Economic Decline and Accelerated Emigration: 1965-1975

By the mid 1960s, the expansion of the Portuguese industrial sector and the Portuguese economy as a whole began to fall off sharply, signaling a decline which became especially severe after 1968. In 1965, the average growth rate for the industrial sector fell from 15.2 percent recorded for the previous year, to 10.2 percent. In 1966, this figure declined to 6 percent and by 1969 it had fallen to 5 percent, thus returning to early post-war levels of growth. Especially affected by this decline were the textile and metalurgy industries (Almeida and Barreto 1976:52). Inflation rates, already high during the early 1960s,

rose considerably after 1965, further complicating a deteriorating situation. In addition, although receipts from the tourist industry and remittances from emigrants formed an increasingly important external source of financial stability as industrial growth declined, they also continued to fuel inflationary trends.

The contraction of the industrial sector therefore, brought growth rates of the national economy down and agriculture remained essentially stagnant. In 1966, agricultural production fell below levels recorded in 1947, and between 1968 and 1972 the average growth rate for the agricultural sector was only .08 percent. Not surprisingly, emigration rates attained their highest levels after 1965 and averaged approximately 130,000 departures per year between 1965 and 1970.

By 1970, the temporary expansion of the Portuguese economy, generated as it was by the rapid surge of certain areas within the industrial sector, had come to an end. Growth rates of the economy during this period returned to early post-war levels, making it increasingly difficult to deal with such problems as the expenses of the colonial wars, rising inflation, deepening dependency relations and the massive drain of labor power through emigration. As is known, the Portuguese economy continued in this instability until the April Revolution of 1974, and then worsened due to the political confusion and loss of the African colonies. The sharp decline in emigration rates after 1975 due to the down-turn of the world economy and subsequent restrictions imposed by labor importing countries, coupled with the return of almost 700,000 ex-colonists added further to Portugal's economic problems.

Major trends in the post-war Portuguese economy, therefore, characterized primarily by the rapid expansion and then decline of the industrial

sector and by the continuing inertia of agriculture, can be seen as being especially influenced by three basic factors: the colonial wars, Portugal's integration into the EEC, and emigration. During the 1960s, the African colonial wars exerted perhaps the strongest influence on the development of the Portuguese economy. While initially helping to generate growth in some areas of the industrial sector, the colonial wars were also instrumental in causing a runaway inflation which eroded gains made by the Portuguese economy. At the same time, long term military conscription played no small role in helping to accelerate emigration flows out of Portugal.

The earlier integration of Portugal into EFTA also had a major impact on Portuguese economic development during the 1960s in at least three major ways. First, the rollback of major protective trade tariffs allowed cheaply made and more "prestigious" European commodities to enter Portugal, which subsequently displaced many domestic industries unable to compete for markets. Second, the establishment of European firms in Portugal forced the central government to enact organizational changes within the industrial sector which allowed for accelerated concentration in order to better compete with the foreign companies. The result of this process within the Portuguese industrial sector was the elimination of many small and medium-scale firms and heightened intersectoral/intrasectoral imbalances within the economy as a whole. Third, against the backdrop of the intensification of the colonial wars and rapid economic growth, Portugal's entrance into EFTA also greatly facilitated a strong and rapid inflow of foreign capital which aggravated Portugal's external dependency problems.

Finally, emigration, while representing the attempt by Portuguese citizens to gain access to a more secure existence in the face of underdevelopment, agricultural stagnation, unemployment, and low standards of living, also came to have a significant feedback effect on the Portuguese economy during the period under question. Thus, the ever-increasing flows of remittances sent back to Portugal, (traditionally constituting 30 percent of foreign earnings) while undoubtedly improving living conditions for recipients and eventually constituting an important external source of revenue for the balance of payments, also helped to fuel a rampant inflation which seriously eroded Portuguese standards of living after 1965. Emigration outflows became so great in some rural areas that entire villages became dependent upon remittances while agriculture continued to decline. Similarly, emigration during this period was such that by the late 1960s, severe labor shortages began to be felt, especially skilled and semi-skilled labor, in many areas of the economy.

Thus, although the Portuguese economy experienced considerable statistical growth during the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was essentially an uneven expansion and many areas of the national economy remained underdeveloped. That is, the temporary growth of the industrial sector did not transform other sectors of the economy and was ultimately constrained by the over-arching structure and weight of the Portuguese economy and society as a whole.

CHAPTER IV

PORTUGUESE EMIGRATORY PATTERNS: 1960-1975

Although Portuguese emigration movements between 1960 and 1975 maintained historical continuity with previous population movements from Portugal, changing national and international economic conditions together with the acceleration of the scope and intensity of many traditional facets of Portuguese emigration, combined to distinguish this latest population movement from its historical predecessors. No entirely new forms of emigration appeared during this period, but the rapid expansion of illegal emigration to France clearly marks this particular phase of Portuguese emigration. Moreover, while some Portuguese emigrants have always found their way to northern Europe, the sudden and massive shift of Portuguese emigration to northern Europe and away from Brazil also sets this latest emigration phase apart from previous population movements. Other aspects for Portuguese emigration during the years 1960-1975 such as regional origins, demographic composition and occupational statuses of emigrants, while not breaking completely from patterns established early in this century, nevertheless show significant shifts reflecting the particular conditions surrounding the "national exodus" of the 1960s.

Forms Of Emigration

The renewed acceleration of emigration from Portugal which began during the post war era and continuing through the early 1970s, assumed two basic forms within which degrees of variation occurred depending upon circumstances. These two general forms of emigration include what are

called by Portuguese government agencies, scholars, and journalists, "legal" emigration and "illegal" or clandestine emigration. Essentially, legal emigration is a process whereby emigrants hold passports and work permits and move through official emigration/immigration channels in both Portugal and in the receiving country. Illegal emigration, in contrast, is a process whereby emigrants leave Portugal and enter other countries without passports and proper documentation. (As we shall see, however, such categories are not always clear cut. Because of conditions created by the Portuguese and French governments in 1963, many Portuguese who had emigrated illegally to France were allowed to return to Portugal to normalize their official status. Such post-arrival legalizations were recorded as legal emigration between 1963 and 1969 and resulted in considerable confusion and errors in both Portuguese and French migration statistics.)

In contrast to legal forms of emigration, regulated and monitored by both Portuguese and non-Portuguese government agencies, illegal emigration has eluded systematic measurement, an unfortunate development given the extent and impact of this particular form of Portuguese emigration. In recent years, a number of Portuguese scholars (cf. Ferreira 1976, Almeida 1972, Serrao 1977, et al.) as well as Portuguese government agencies, have attempted to calculate figures for illegal emigration. Although these estimates vary considerably, and at times are contradictory depending on the primary sources, their consideration is central for an understanding of patterns of emigration from Portugal between 1960 and 1975. They are especially relevant for the three communities studied in this project because illegal emigration forms the principal mode of emigration undertaken by those community members.¹

Illegal emigration from Portugal consists of a process in which emigrants leave Portugal, cross national frontiers, and enter other countries (primarily France) without the benefit of passports and working permits. For a majority of illegal Portuguese emigrants, this process has involved the clandestine crossing over land of at least two international boundaries: that between Portugal and Spain, and that between Spain and France. Such illegal crossings were not taken without considerable risks. During the 1960s under an agreement between the Salazar and Franco regimes, those Portuguese apprehended in Spain attempting to make their way to France were sent back to Portugal where they often faced prosecution and imprisonment. In response to such risks, illegal emigrants devised a variety of means to transport themselves to France some of which included hiding in automobiles and trucks, trekking long distances through isolated areas of rugged terrain, and traveling by train and by ship. Indeed, during the peak years of illegal Portuguese emigration to France, transporting emigrants became a lucrative if highly exploitative business. Thousands of Portuguese were willing to pay exorbitant sums to Passadores, (those who transported illegal emigrants) who were to deliver them to France. During this period, the Portuguese media and especially the press, carried stories and accounts describing the trying and arduous conditions endured by illegal emigrants in their salto or "jump" to France. In this context, some Portuguese scholars have criticized the Portuguese press of overplaying the dramatic and tragic aspects of illegal emigration which in their view had tended to present it as a historical continuation of the Portuguese people's "adventurist spirit" (cf. Ferreira 1976, Almeida and Barreto 1976, Serrao 1977).

In their attempt to find employment opportunities by leaving Portugal, potential and actual illegal emigrants were also exploited by networks of corrupt functionaries, police, con artists, forgerers, and other middlemen both within and outside Portugal. As recent statistics indicate however, for most Portuguese attempting illegal emigration, the desire for better employment opportunities far outweighed the risks and ordeals.

The sudden and extensive surge of illegal emigration during the 1960s and 1970s was due only in part to socio-economic conditions. One additional factor which eliminated the legal means of emigration for many Portuguese and therefore expanded illegal emigration, was the limited and often arbitrary issuance of passports (Almeida and Barreto 1976:185). Similarly, illiteracy and limited educational levels of many Portuguese also selected against many individuals who would have emigrated through legal channels (Ferreira 1976:71). In addition, the colonial wars in Africa expanded during the 1960s. The need for men in the armed forces resulted in increased restrictions upon emigration which further limited legal channels for leaving Portugal. Finally, the flight from military conscription itself, which almost always meant at least one if not more tours of duty in Africa, contributed significantly to the flow of illegal emigrants who left Portugal during this period. Indeed, in 1960 the number of illegal emigrants estimated to have left Portugal was approximately 2,841. The following year, the year armed struggle broke out in Angola, this figure jumped to 5,189 (Ibid.:72). Between 1960 and 1967, 92 percent of Portuguese who entered France under the age of twenty-one entered that country "unofficially", 64 percent illegally, and 28 percent with a limited tourist visa (Almeida and Barreto 1976:204).

Although limited numbers of illegal Portuguese emigrants can be found throughout Europe and the American, for a variety of reasons, the vast majority chose France as their destination. Aside from the economic growth and increased employment opportunities present in France during the 1960s, other factors which made France the major importer of Portuguese labor included geographical proximity of Portugal, its relatively relaxed enforcement of restrictions upon foreign labor, the easy accessibility of work permits for foreign workers, and broad cultural similarities between France and Portugal.

The relative close proximity of France to Portugal was not an unimportant factor which conditioned the flow of illegal Portuguese emigrants to that country during the 1960s. In contrast to transatlantic emigration, where illegal emigrants could more easily be discovered due to the limited and closely monitored arrival points, and where air or ship fares were often prohibitive for many potential illegal emigrants, overland emigration to France was possible through a variety of means and was considerably less expensive.

The relatively lax enforcement of legal restrictions upon foreign labor in France together with the easy accessibility of work permits also were attractive to potential illegal emigrants from Portugal. Similarly, illegal emigration to France became even more appealing to many Portuguese when in 1963 the Portuguese government, in co-operation with French authorities, created the conditions by which those Portuguese who had emigrated illegally to France previously could return to Portugal to legalize their status. After 1963, these post facto legalizations jumped markedly and continued to rise until 1968 when they began to gradually taper off (Ferreira 1976:54).

Broad cultural similarities between France and Portugal, while not as close as those between Portugal and Spain, also encouraged the movement of illegal Portuguese emigrants to France. Although language differences posed problems for the majority of Portuguese workers in France, other cultural institutions, not entirely dissimilar from many of those found in Portugal, no doubt eased the culture shock experienced by those Portuguese living and working in a foreign country. Especially familiar to many Portuguese workers in France, in particular those working in small and medium scale enterprises, were the personalistic and paternalistic relationships between employer and laborer, a fundamental social pattern in Portuguese society.

Despite the exodus of some half million Portuguese by illegal means during the 1960s and early 1970s, relevant statistical data concerning this form of emigration from Portugal until very recently has been inconsistent and inaccurate. Such shortcomings have resulted from a number of converging factors, some purely statistical in nature while other factors are strongly conditioned by political decisions. In more recent attempts at calculating illegal emigration from Portugal, efforts have been made to adjust for such biases.

First, illegal Portuguese emigration has been difficult to measure: in crossing national frontiers without passports or working papers, illegal emigrants have systematically circumvented governmental monitoring which normally records the flow of migrant laborers. Second, for years the governmental agencies in Portugal responsible for documenting emigration recorded only legal migration, and often camouflaged and ignored illegal emigration movements. Until 1948 for example,

emigration to France did not appear in the Boletim Anual of the Junta da Emigração but rather was recorded as "Emigration to Europe: Other Countries". Similarly, it was not until 1949 that official French immigration statistics specified Portuguese workers, having previously classified them as "Other Nationalities". Statistical data concerning illegal Portuguese emigration appear in the Boletim Anual of the Junta da Emigração (now changed to the bulletin of the Secretaria de Estado da Emigração) beginning only in 1960 and have been criticized as being inaccurate during the years 1963 and 1968 (Ibid.:61).

Third, while Portuguese governmental agencies have relied heavily upon official French immigration statistics (primarily those from Statistiques du Travail et de la Securite National and those from the Office National d' Immigration) to estimate illegal emigration flows from Portugal, systematic errors in the French data coupled with the differing statistical systems utilized by both French and Portuguese agencies, have further compounded problems in the full assessment of illegal Portuguese emigration. As Ferreira points out, until 1963 French immigration statistics counted the Portuguese workers residing in France but failed to include their families living with them (Ibid.:26).

Fourth, inaccuracies in the computation of illegal Portuguese emigration to France were also compounded by post-arrival legalizations allowed by the Portuguese beginning in 1963. That is, after having allowed former illegal emigrants to return to Portugal to legalize their status, Portuguese governmental agencies then recorded them as legal emigrants in the year they returned to Portugal. This practice not only resulted in systematic errors between 1963 and 1968, but resulted in conflicting figures between the Junta da Emigração and the Instituto

Nacional de Estatística. Similarly, while French immigration statistics regularly distinguished between legal (Introduit) and legalized (regularieses/controlee) forms of immigration, data was not collected for the legalizations which took place in Portugal until 1969 (Ibid.:56).

Finally, other problems in the accurate assessment of illegal emigration from Portugal stem from the fact that many Portuguese workers in France never received proper documentation while others moved on to other countries after they spent time in France. Despite such problems however, in recent years attempts have been made to estimate the extent of illegal emigration to France after 1960 by the Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Secretaria de Estado da Emigração, and by various Portuguese scholars. Among calculations made by Portuguese scholars, those of Eduardo Ferreira appear to be the most accurate thus far. By correlating and correcting for the different statistical systems used by French and Portuguese agencies beginning in 1960, and by adjusting for systematic errors present in the Portuguese data after 1963, Ferreira arrived at a more accurate if considerably greater estimation of illegal Portuguese emigration to France (see Table 4.0).

The growing importance of illegal emigration as a viable strategy to escape deteriorating socio-economic conditions and to gain access to improved employment opportunities for many Portuguese workers and peasants is evident from Ferreira's estimates. While showing gradual increases during the decade of the 1950s, illegal emigration doubles between 1960 and 1961 and nearly doubles again between 1962 and 1963, and again between 1963 and 1964. By 1967, illegal emigration from Portugal was outstripping legal emigration, a pattern which continued until 1972.

TABLE 4.0

LEGAL AND ILLEGAL EMIGRATION FROM PORTUGAL: 1960-1975

<u>Year</u>	<u>Legal Emigration</u>	<u>Illegal Emigration</u>	<u>Totals</u>
1960	32,318	2,841	35,159
1961	33,526	5,189	38,715
1962	33,539	8,747	42,286
1963	37,883	16,256	46,630
1964	42,954	31,719	74,673
1965	48,937	43,000	91,937
1966	65,320	45,000	110,320
1967	46,599	46,085	92,684
1968	39,727	52,981	92,708
1969	70,165	83,371	153,536
1970	64,927	113,705	178,632
1971	50,400	100,797	151,197
1972	54,084	50,892	104,976
1973	79,517	60,502	120,019
1974	43,397	26,976	70,273
<u>1975</u>	<u>24,811</u>	<u>20,107</u>	<u>44,918</u>
Totals	768,104	688,068	1,448,663

Source: E. Ferreira, Origens E Formas Da Emigração (Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1976) 76, table 12, and Secretaria de Estado de Emigracao, Boletim Anual (Lisbon, 1975) p. 7, table 1.2

Note: Figures for 1960-1970 are drawn from the Boletim Anual while those for 1971-1975 are taken from E. Ferreira.

Destinations of Portuguese Emigrants

Emigration movements from Portugal underwent a substantial reorientation between 1950 and 1975, and especially after 1960; emigration to North America and especially to Northern Europe became increasingly commonplace, while population movements to the traditional destinations of Brazil and to a lesser extent to Argentina and Venezuela fell off sharply. During the late 1950s, the sustained post-war economic growth experienced in North America and Northern Europe which would eventually develop into veritable economic booms during the 1960s, began to draw increasing numbers of Portuguese workers. By the 1960s, accelerated economic growth in European industrialized countries demanded larger work forces. These countries were experiencing declining birth rates and were unable to fill the demand with their own populations. As early as 1956, the German Federal Republic listed approximately 220,000 unfilled jobs (Ward 1975:22). Thus began the great intra-European migrations of the 1960s; industrialized countries looked to the large labor reserves present in southern Europe, North Africa, and the Adriatic region for workers.

The Treaty of Rome, which was signed in 1963 and by which the EEC was established, contained stringent provisions requiring the free movement of labor within the Common Market countries, thereby facilitating both the continued economic expansion of and large-scale migration to industrialized European nations. By the late 1960s, a number of bilateral agreements between countries of immigration and countries of emigration became common. Treaties were signed for example, between France and Algeria, and between West Germany and Turkey. Later, Portuguese workers also received "favored" status in France.

In 1969, the European countries hosting the largest numbers of immigrant laborers were France, West Germany, and England with 3.2, 3.0, and 2.6 million laborers respectively. That same year, the most important sources of immigrant labor in Europe were Italy, Spain, Ireland (whose workers were employed primarily in Great Britain), Algeria, (whose workers were employed primarily in France), Yugoslavia, Portugal, Turkey, and Greece. By 1972, the number of immigrant workers in France had reached 3.8 million, of whom some two million were workers, and the remaining number were dependents. By 1975, there were some four million immigrant workers present in West Germany, 2.5 million of whom were laborers, with the remaining number constituting dependents (Ibid.:22). During this same period, the U.S. and Canada also benefitted from immigrant workers arriving from the countries mentioned above.

By the late 1960s, emigration from Portugal had been rerouted almost entirely towards Northern America and especially Northern Europe, while the traditional destinations of Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela became increasingly less important. With respect to Portuguese intra-European population movements, France absorbed by far the greatest number of Portuguese emigrants who gradually replaced Spanish and Italian workers in the country. Between 1950 and 1975, approximately 760,000 Portuguese had emigrated to France alone, with the vast majority entering that country after 1960 (Boletim 1975:26, Ferreira 1976:76). In 1970, the peak year of Portuguese emigration since 1960, 135,667 Portuguese entered France both legally and illegally. Emigration to France dropped off sharply however, as did intra-European migration as a whole, during the years 1974-1975 as economic downturns began to be felt in the industrialization labor importing countries (see Table 4.1).

TABLE 4.1

DESTINATIONS OF EMIGRANTS BY CONTINENT AND COUNTRY 1950-1975

YEARS	AMERICAS				
	Brazil	Canada	United States	Venezuela	Other Countries
1950	14 143	7	938	3 077	2 791
1951	28 104	14	676	1 416	2 348
1952	41 518	23	582	1 668	1 966
1953	32 159	275	1 455	3 504	865
1954	29 943	980	1 918	5 508	911
1955	18 486	1 147	1 328	5 718	641
1956	16 814	1 612	1 503	3 773	647
1957	19 931	4 158	1 628	4 324	939
1958	19 829	1 619	1 596	4 073	1 044
1959	16 400	3 961	4 569	3 175	617
	237 327	13 796	16 193	36 236	12 769
1960	12 451	4 895	5 679	4 026	529
1960	16 073	2 635	3 370	4 347	679
1962	13 555	2 739	2 425	3 522	1 060
1963	11 281	3 424	2 922	3 109	618
1964	4 929	4 770	1 601	3 784	378
1965	3 051	5 197	1 852	3 920	333
1966	2 607	6 795	13 357	4 697	503
1967	3 271	6 615	11 516	4 118	594
1968	3 512	6 833	10 841	3 751	533
1969	2 537	6 502	13 111	3 044	653
	73 267	50 405	66 674	37 318	5 880
1970	1 669	6 529	9 726	2 927	488
1971	1 200	6 983	8 839	3 500	237
1972	1 158	6 845	7 574	3 641	177
1973	890	7 403	8 160	4 294	183
1974	729	11 650	9 540	2 550	119
	5 646	39 410	43 839	16 912	1 204
1975	1 553	5 857	8 975	1 903	119
TOTALS	317 793	109 468	135 681	92 369	19 972

TABLE 4.1
(Continued)

DESTINATIONS OF EMIGRANTS BY CONTINENT AND COUNTRY 1950-1975

YEARS	EUROPE							
	West				United			
	Germany	France	Holland	Luxembourg	Kingdom	Sweden	Switzerland	
1950	1	319	4	..	20	..	2	
1951	2	67	2	..	22	..	2	
1952	4	261	2	..	32	4	1	
1953	..	414	3	..	67	..	1	
1954	4	568	4	..	93	..	6	
1955	..	985	4	1	67	2	7	
1956	6	772	8	..	97	4	4	
1957	5	3 102	8	1	60	..	14	
1958	2	4 694	6	..	103	4	9	
1959	6	3 542	2	2	76	..	8	
	30	14 724	43	4	637	14	54	
1960	54	3 593	3	2	84	5	8	
1960	277	5 446	55	20	137	1	49	
1962	483	8 245	70	4	163	12	20	
1963	1 039	15 223	152	115	239	27	53	
1964	3 868	32 641	297	328	331	21	193	
1965	11 713	57 319	480	363	421	62	171	
1966	9 686	73 419	1 308	462	587	267	205	
1967	2 042	59 415	401	205	631	284	191	
1968	4 886	46 515	467	215	537	118	176	
1969	13 279	27 234	420	361	783	99	276	
	47 327	329 050	3 653	2 075	3 923	896	1 342	
1970	19 775	21 962	393	269	506	227	362	
1971	16 997	10 023	338	175	303	103	344	
1972	14 377	17 800	149	529	309	23	527	
1973	31 479	20 692	394	2 870	586	22	1 246	
1974	3 049	10 568	278	2 123	666	8	735	
	85 677	81 045	1 552	5 966	2 370	383	3 214	
1975	1 072	2 866	44	649	630	19	123	
TOTALS	134 106	427 685	5 292	8 694	7 560	1 312	4 733	

By 1979, estimates of the number of Portuguese residing in France ran as high as between 800,000 and one million (Journal de Noticias 23, March 79).

Although the German Federal Republic received more immigrant workers overall during this period, it holds a distant second place among the principal European destinations for Portuguese emigrants between 1950 and 1975. By 1975, West Germany had received approximately 134,106 Portuguese workers, most of whom entered that country between 1965 and 1973 (Boletim 1975:25). Although West Germany absorbed its greatest number of legal Portuguese emigrants (31,479) as late as 1973, Portuguese entering that country the following year fell off sharply (to 3,049) as the world-wide economic recession set in. Other major European destinations from Portuguese emigrants during this period include the following countries in order of their importance: Luxembourg, Great Britain, Holland, Switzerland, and Sweden (Ibid.:25). As in the case of France and West Germany, Portuguese emigration to these countries also declined substantially after 1974 and has remained low as industrialized European nations have imposed legal restrictions upon further immigration.

The U.S. and Canada, sharing with European countries in the economic growth of the 1960s, also received and benefitted from large contingents of Portuguese workers during this period. The U.S., like other industrialized countries, has always drawn fairly large number of Portuguese to its shores, but the number of Portuguese who entered the U.S. during the decade of the 1960s (approximately 67,000) represents a considerable increase. Between 1950 and 1975, U.S. immigration officials recorded some 136,000 Portuguese as having entered the U.S. (Ibid.:24). Although

Canada was not a major destination for Portuguese emigrants prior to World War II, its importance grew steadily during the post-war period and through the 1960s. Between 1960 and 1970, over 50,000 Portuguese entered Canada and during the five year period between 1970 and 1975, another 45,267 individuals emigrated to that country (Ibid.:25).

In marked contrast to the North American and European patterns, Portuguese population movements to the traditional destination of Brazil dropped dramatically between 1950 and 1975. While approximately 238,000 Portuguese had emigrated to Brazil during the decade of the 1950s, this figure had fallen to about 73,267 between 1960 and 1970. During the first six years of the decade of the 1970s, only 7,199 Portuguese were recorded as having entered Brazil. Similar patterns can be seen for both Argentina and Venezuela (Ibid.:25).

Regional Origins of Portuguese Emigrants

The regional origins of Portuguese emigration movements between the years 1960 and 1975 were little changed from patterns which began early this century and included large contingents of emigrants from the northern and central provinces. During this period, the major regional sources of emigration included the following administrative districts, each accounting for between 70,000 and 90,000 legal departures: Lisbon, Braga, Porto, and Leiria. Again, with the exception of the district of Lisbon, these districts are all located in northern areas of Portugal (Boletim 1975:16). Other districts with high rates of emigration between 30,000 and 60,000 legal departures recorded for the period 1960-75) included those of Aveiro, Bragança, Castelo Branco, Coimbra, Guarda, Santarem, Viana do Castelo, Vila Real and Viseu, districts which comprise the central and northern provinces of Portugal. It should be

emphasized, however, that these figures do not include illegal emigration, which closely parallels regional patterns of legal emigration. If data concerning illegal departures were considered in this context, the above figures would undoubtedly be much higher (see Table 4.2).

Additional insights into the regional origins of Portuguese emigration movements between 1960 and 1975 can be attained by examining legal emigration rates as percentages of the natural population increases recorded by administrative district. When this is done, a clearer understanding of the impact of emigration on a regional basis emerges, one which underscores the importance of the northern and central areas of Portugal as the principal sources of emigration movements during the 1960s and early 1970s. Between 1957 and 1967, in four administrative districts (Bragança, Castelo Branco, Faro, Guarda) emigration rates surpassed 100 percent of natural population increases (Almeida and Barleto 1976:308). During this same period six other districts, those of Coimbra, Leiria, Santarem, Viana do Castelo, Vil Real, and Viseu, lost between 50-99 percent of natural population growth to emigration.

When considering emigration frequencies per thousand of the resident population by administrative district, Portugal itself appears neatly bisected in half with marked differences between northern and southern administrative districts. This much discussed north-south dichotomy reflects not only differing patterns of emigration for Portugal, but also parallels differences in land tenure, agricultural systems, class structure and political ideology. In sum, although emigration movements have been drawn from virtually every administrative district within continental Portugal, between the years 1960 and 1975, years of accelerated intra-European migration, Portuguese emigration movements had as

Table 4.2

REGIONAL ORIGINS OF EMIGRANTS:
AVERAGE ANNUAL LEGAL DEPARTURES BY ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT
FROM CONTINENTAL PORTUGAL 1950-1975

DISTRICTS	1950-59		1960-69		1970-74		1950-75	
	Emigrants	Average Annual	Emigrants	Average Annual	Emigrants	Average Annual	Emigrants	Average Annual
Aveiro	36,830	3,683	42,821	4,282	21,592	4,318	102,901	3,958
Beja	619	62	7,015	701	7,398	1,480	15,182	584
Braga	20,715	2,071	60,215	6,021	20,848	4,170	102,694	3,950
Bragança	21,673	2,167	24,451	2,445	6,148	1,230	52,412	2,016
Castelo Branco	4,895	489	33,447	3,345	6,297	1,259	44,940	1,728
Coimbra	16,449	1,645	18,343	1,834	12,117	2,423	47,549	1,829
Evora	329	33	2,427	243	2,534	507	5,335	205
Faro	7,720	772	23,886	2,387	7,882	1,576	39,786	1,503
Guarda	23,186	2,319	37,538	3,754	6,436	1,287	67,511	2,596
Leiria	13,633	1,363	49,555	4,955	22,526	4,505	87,056	3,348
Lisboa	7,439	744	52,400	5,240	31,457	6,291	95,381	3,668
Portalegre	529	53	2,384	238	1,017	203	3,968	153
Porto	35,909	3,591	55,295	5,529	25,074	5,015	117,238	4,509
Santarem	6,668	667	24,517	2,452	10,829	2,166	42,632	1,640
Setubal	1,114	111	11,305	1,130	8,253	1,651	21,094	811
Viana do Castelo	15,901	1,590	36,432	3,643	8,887	1,777	61,909	2,381
Vila Real	18,990	1,899	25,122	2,512	11,735	2,347	56,683	2,180
Viseu	36,300	3,630	30,607	3,061	17,878	3,576	85,402	3,285
CONTINENT	268,899	26,890	537,760	52,776	228,908	45,782	1,049,673	40,372

SOURCE: Secretaria de Estado da Emigração, Boletim Anual (Lisbon, 1975) p. 16, table 2.4

their origins, those areas located primarily in the central and northern regions of the country, representing the continuation of a pattern which began during the early 1900s.

Composition of Emigration Movements by Gender

Historically, emigration movements from Portugal have consisted primarily of adult males, a pattern which continued to predominate throughout the post-war period and well into the decade of the 1970s. During the period 1960-1975, legal emigration among Portuguese males continued to outdistance that among females each year with the exception of 1960, 1967, 1968, 1974, and 1975 when female participation in emigration flows roughly equalled that among males (Boletim 1975:28). However, despite the higher proportions of males in legal emigration movements during the period under question, it should be pointed out that female participation in emigration flows from Portugal has been characterized by gradual but steadily rising increases in absolute numbers (see Table 4.3). Nonetheless, adult males continued to comprise the bulk of those Portuguese emigrating legally between 1960 and 1975, and in 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1970, and 1973 they accounted for approximately 66 percent of the total population outflow (Ibid.:28).

Ferreira (1976) has suggested that the composition of emigration movements by gender may reflect the particular form and destinations of such movements, and affirms that the nature of both the European labor markets and economic expansion together with the proximity of industrialized European countries Portugal selected at least initially for adult males (Ferreira 1976:88). That is, conditions associated with European economic growth during the 1960s demanded a flexible labor market and a relatively high degree of mobility within the labor force. As previously

TABLE 4.3
COMPOSITION OF EMIGRATION MOVEMENTS BY GENDER
1950-1975

YEARS	MALES		FEMALES		TOTALS
	Emigrants	%	Emigrants	%	
1950	14 962	68.3	6 930	31.7	21.892
1951	23 406	69.5	10 258	30.5	33.664
1952	31 236	66.4	15 782	33.6	47 018
1953	23 976	60.4	15 710	39.6	39 686
1954	25 681	62.6	15 330	37.4	41 011
1955	18 250	61.2	11 546	38.8	29 796
1956	15 822	58.5	11 195	41.5	27 017
1957	23 118	65.4	12 238	34.6	35 356
1958	21 133	62.1	12 897	37.9	34 030
1959	18 034	53.9	15 424	46.1	33 458
	215 618	62.9	127 310	37.1	342 928
1960	17 531	54.2	14 787	45.8	32 318
1960	19 590	58.4	13 936	41.6	33 526
1962	19 843	59.2	13 696	40.8	33 539
1963	25 149	63.6	14 370	36.4	39 519
1964	38 559	63.3	17 087	30.7	55 646
1965	59 139	66.4	29 917	33.6	89 056
1966	72 234	60.0	48 005	40.0	120 239
1967	48 117	52.0	44 385	48.0	92 502
1968	37 413	46.5	43 039	53.5	80 452
1969	40 505	57.7	29 660	42.3	70 165
	378 080	58.4	268 882	41.6	646 962
1970	43 332	65.3	23 028	34.7	66 360
1971	29 225	58.0	21 175	42.0	50 400
1972	30 585	56.5	23 499	43.5	54 084
1973	51 660	65.0	27 857	35.0	79 517
1974	22 357	51.5	21 040	48.5	43 397
1975	12 287	49.5	12 524	50.0	24 811
	189 446	59.5	129 123	40.5	318 569
TOTALS	783 144	59.9	525 315	40.1	1 308 459

Source: Secretaria de Estado da Emigração Boletim Anual (Lisbon, 1975)
p. 28, table 2.12

mentioned, such a flexibility was called for and codified in the Treaty of Rome. Moreover, illegal emigration movements from Portugal, which assumed vast proportions during the decade of the 1960s, also consisted primarily of adult males, a development more than likely due to the risks and uncertainties involved in this particular form of emigration. Nonetheless, although not entirely evident from official figures concerning legal emigration, it is known that women have increasingly participated in emigration movements in recent years, in most cases following men after employment and residence has been established in labor importing areas.

Composition of Portuguese Emigration Movements by Age

Portuguese emigration movements during the years 1960-1975 were essentially youthful population movements whose departures strongly affected Portuguese demographic composition. Perhaps the most serious result of mass emigration during the 1960s was a rapid and artificial aging of the resident population which was especially pronounced in rural areas. Between 1960 and 1975, the single largest category of emigrants with respect to age was composed of individuals between the age of fifteen and thirty-four, a pattern which represents among other things a substantial transfer of economically active labor power from Portugal (Boletim 1975:32). During this period, this age group accounted for over half of the total legal emigration from Portugal and if accurate figures for illegal emigrants were added to this category, this percentage would be much higher.

Emigration statistics concerning age are difficult to assess due to the rapid acceleration of illegal emigration during the 1960s. But, broad trends among legal emigrants can be extracted from the available statistics, which may then be applied to estimates of illegal emigrants.

One such trend includes an apparent decline in the relative percentage of legal emigrants between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine during the years 1960 and 1967, which is then followed by a rise in the proportion of this age group in emigration movements between 1968 and 1975 (see Table 4.4). While admitting that the expansion of illegal emigration resulted in a decline of legal departures between 1960 and 1970, Almeida and Barreto (1976) suggest that such declines were primarily the result of restrictions imposed upon emigration by the Sakazar regime in order to maintain a large pool of adult males needed for military conscription (Almeida and Barreto 1976:203). Moreover, in their view a more dramatic drop in the 15-29 year age group did not appear in official statistics because of a gradual rise in the absolute number of female emigrants during this period. (Legal emigration among the 15-29 year age category declined from 42 percent of the total in 1960 to 32.5 percent in 1967) (Ibid.:203).

Ferreira (1976), however, argues that Almeida and Barreto focus too closely upon the draft registration age group of 18-19 years (hence, their emphasis on the decline of emigrants between the ages of 15 and 29) and ignore the commonplace extensions of military service at that time which affected men well into their thirties. More importantly, however, Ferreira suggests that it was illegal emigration among a broader group of draftable age males, and not legal restrictions upon emigration together with tours of military duty which accounts for the apparent statistical decline of the 15-29 year age group in emigration flows between 1960 and 1967 (Ferreira 1976:93). A more accurate picture of emigration during this period, therefore, would include figures for illegal emigration and would more than likely show not a decline in the

TABLE 4.5

EMIGRATION BY AGE GROUP AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL: 1960-75

YEAR	AGE GROUPS					
	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60+	
1960	28.3	42.0	20.4	7.4	1.9	100
1961	23.8	47.0	19.8	6.9	2.5	100
1962	23.5	44.1	22.7	7.0	2.7	100
1963	21.4	42.6	26.2	7.4	2.4	100
1964	19.4	37.7	34.0	7.4	1.5	100
1965	21.5	37.6	33.8	6.2	0.9	100
1966	25.8	35.2	30.9	7.0	1.1	100
1967	32.5	32.7	25.9	7.2	1.7	100
1968	35.8	30.9	23.0	8.6	1.7	100
1969	27.4	34.5	28.6	8.2	1.3	100
1970	19.1	37.0	35.4	7.5	1.0	100
1971	29.7	35.4	29.8	4.0	1.1	100
1972	31.3	39.4	23.6	4.9	0.8	100
1973	23.5	45.9	25.7	4.3	0.6	100
1974	37.6	38.9	17.2	5.7	0.6	100
1975	37.6	36.9	16.1	8.1	1.3	100

Source: C. Almeida and A. Barreto, Capitalismo E. Emigração EM Portugal (Lisbon, Prelo Editoras, 1976):203, table 57., and Secretaria de Estado da Emigracao, Boletim Anual (Lisbon, 1975) pp. 32-33, table 2.15.

NOTE: Figures for 1960-1967 are taken from Almeida and Barreto while figures for 1968-1975 are drawn from the Boletim Anual.

percentage of those of the 15-19 age group in emigration movements, but rather a steady increase in this group between the years 1960 and 1967.

Similarly, when placed in the context of the above considerations, a second statistical trend which shows a marked increase in the proportion of legal emigrants between the ages of 15-29 after 1968, would not appear as a sudden surge but also would represent a continuation of increasingly higher levels of both legal and illegal emigration which began in the early 1960s. Thus, the expansion of legal emigration among this age group after 1968, while not as great as previously thought, was conditioned by a number of factors including: 1) the continued growth of illegal emigration from Portugal (illegal emigration exceeded 100,000 in 1970 and 1971), 2) increased "post arrival" legalizations of illegal emigration, 3) a gradual rise in the absolute number of women participating in emigration movements, and 4) growing numbers of families emigrating from Portugal after 1968.

A third major trend evident in official emigration statistics is a steady rise in the percentage of those fourteen years old and younger in legal emigration movements. Between 1960 and 1968, the participation of this age group in legal emigration movements grew from 28.3 percent to 35.8 percent. While the percentage of this category's contribution to legal emigration fell briefly between 1969 and 1971, it rose sharply after 1971 and reached 39.1 percent of the total in 1975 (Boletim 1975:32). The participation of this age grouping in illegal emigration was considerably less than other "older" age categories due perhaps to the risks in incumbrances involved in illegal emigration. Hence, statistical data concerning legal emigration in this group probably

remains fairly accurate and more than likely represents adult family members, both legal and "legalized" emigrants, sending for family members after securing employment and housing outside of Portugal.

In sum, between 1960 and 1975, approximately 78 percent of all legal emigrants departing Portugal were thirty-four years of age and younger. This figure represents not only a rapid artificial aging of Portugal's demographic structure and a massive transfer of economically active labor power from Portugal, but also signifies a considerable loss of future labor power as well.

Emigration Among Families

The post-war years are characterized in general by a gradual tendency towards increase in the number of families emigrating from Portugal, with the exception of the period 1959-1965 when legal emigration among complete families declined somewhat, and between 1965 and 1969 when emigration among families accelerated rapidly. As previously mentioned, it is now generally understood that the drop in the emigration rate of families during the 1960s probably represents the termination of Brazil as the traditional destination for most Portuguese emigrants, and above all signifies the beginning of massive Portuguese intra-European migration which was dominated by adult males and was directed primarily towards France. It is also suggested here that the rise in the number of families in emigration movements after 1965 is associated with adult males sending for their families after having secured employment and housing outside Portugal.

According to Almeida and Barreto (1976:205), the emigration of families from Portugal has followed two basic strategies. One strategy consists of the departure of the family unit as a whole for a given

destination (at times, however, one or more children may be left behind with relatives, but most of the family will leave together). This particular form of family emigration, while traditionally comprising a relatively small proportion of total emigration from Portugal nevertheless, showed stable rates prior to the 1960s and was associated with emigration to Brazil.

A second and more commonly practiced form of family emigration, commonly referred to as "step migration", consists of a two-stage process in which an individual, often but not always the male head of household, leaves Portugal and after finding employment and housing sends for members of his family. This particular strategy, undertaken by most of those emigrants who desired to eventually reside with their families outside of Portugal, is also associated with illegal emigration. Thus, while it can be assumed that the majority of emigrant families left Portugal through legal channels, a high percentage of these families were probably reunited with family members who had initially left Portugal illegally and then had legalized their official status both in Portugal and in the host country.

Examining statistical data concerning the legal emigration of Portuguese families between 1960 and 1975, therefore reveals three broad patterns. Two of these trends, discussed above, show an overall increase in the absolute numbers of families emigrating from Portugal together with a temporary drop in family emigration during the 1960s which signifies a shift away from Brazil and a response to labor markets in northern Europe. A third pattern, consisting of a renewed acceleration of emigration among families during the late 1960s, more

than likely is associated with the two phase process described above where both legal and "legalized" emigrants call for family members they initially left behind in Portugal.

Occupations of Emigrants

Official data concerning the occupations of legal Portuguese emigrants by sector of the economy yield no surprises considering the developing and semi-peripheral status of Portuguese society and economy. By and large, contingents of Portuguese emigrants who left their country during the 1960s were composed of those involved in agriculture and who had little or no education. With respect to the occupations held by those Portuguese emigrating legally, a relatively high proportion of emigrants were drawn from the primary sector until about 1976. Among this group, most were involved in agriculture as laborers or as small scale agriculturalists. Between 1960 and 1970, however, the proportion of legal emigrants associated with the primary sector declined somewhat, reflecting perhaps the needs of the European labor markets, the appeal of emigration to skilled and semi-skilled Portuguese workers in the secondary and tertiary sectors, and the increased numbers of veterans entering the Portuguese labor force (Ibid.:204). During this same period, the percentages of those Portuguese drawn from the service and industrial sectors increased significantly.

It should be emphasized, however, that the system utilized for recording occupational status among legal emigrants by the various Portuguese governmental agencies makes a confusing distinction between those emigrants "with economic activity" and those "without economic activity", a distinction whose major short-coming is that it classifies a very large proportion of economically active emigrants as being non-active.

To adjust for the misrepresentations present in the official Portuguese statistics, Ferreira (1976) has calculated percentages of legal emigrants previously misclassified as those "without economic activity". In his estimates, Ferreira refers to those legal emigrants previously misclassified as without having economic activity, as "active with occupation", while those originally grouped as economically active are called by him, "active with profession". While Ferreira's adjusted figures still do not include data for illegal emigration, they nonetheless present a more accurate picture of the proportions of economically active populations within legal emigration flows between 1960 and 1970 (Ibid.:96-7).

Between 1960 and 1970, some 28 percent of the active population who emigrated legally from Portugal were previously involved in the primary sector. During this period 1970-1975, however, this figure dropped to approximately 17 percent, perhaps reflecting increases in emigrants associated with the service and industrial sectors (Boletim 1975:400).

In contrast, while including a relatively minor segment of those economically active emigrants during the 1950s, the secondary sector became increasingly represented among those leaving Portugal legally during the 1960s and especially after 1963. Thus, between 1960 and 1970, approximately 20 percent of all legal economically active emigrants leaving Portugal were associated with the service sector, and during the period 1970-1975 this figure increased to 29 percent, by far outstripping percentages among those associated with the agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy.

As in previous decades, a relatively small percentage of those economically active Portuguese who emigrated legally between 1960 and 1975 were drawn from Portugal's industrial sector. Between 1960 and 1970, emigrants associated with this sector of the Portuguese economy comprised an average of only 6.6 percent of all economically active emigrants, representing a slight decline from the decade of the 1950s (Boletim 1975:40). Although low, this figure may reflect both the smallness of scale of Portugal's industrial sector as well as the period of temporary economic growth which resulted from Portugal's attempt at rapid industrialization during the 1960s. During the period 1970-1975, however, the percentage of emigrants associated with the tertiary sector rose to 9 percent of the total, a figure which perhaps reflects the increasing attractiveness of foreign labor markets to Portuguese workers as Portugal's rapid growth strategy began to collapse.

It should be pointed out, however, that the sharp economic downturn which began after 1967 and has continued to the present has had the effect of keeping Portugal's industrial development at a level far below that of northern European nations. Hence, increases in emigration rates among workers from the industrial sector were proportionately greater and more damaging than population outflows experienced in other sectors of the Portuguese economy. Indeed, as early as 1968, documents of the government's Third Growth Plan (Plano do Fomento) cited as a serious problem "Impasses due to the lack of specialized workers" (Ferreira 1976:100).

During the post-war period and through the decade of the 1960s legal emigration movements from Portugal were composed principally of small-scale agriculturalists and rural workers. By the end of the 1960s

and the early 1970s, however, emigration rates among those drawn from the primary sector began to decline as those among populations linked to the service and industrial sectors began to rise. While difficult to assess, a consideration of sectoral participation and occupation levels of illegal emigrants during this period would probably not alter this general pattern to a significant degree.

Return Migration

The return of emigrants to Portugal on a permanent basis during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s was virtually undetectable in the face of massive population outflows. While still not reaching the proportions it has attained in other labor exporting regions of the Mediterranean, permanent return migration to Portugal has, however, grown significantly since the mid-1970s and promises to expand further as the downturn in the global economy continues and as industrialized labor importing countries close their doors to immigrants.

Official figures representing "definitive returns" in the Boletim Anual therefore, in contrast to actual trends, show declining rates of permanent returns to Portugal since 1970 and show virtually no such returns in 1974 and 1975 (Boletim 1975:7). The gross inaccuracies in these figures are due in part to the fact that only returns made via maritima or by ship have been reported, a practice which ignores almost the total emigration process since 1960. As will be demonstrated in much of this work, although perhaps just beginning on a large scale, permanent return migration to Portugal has already reached significant proportions.

In sum, although Portuguese emigration movements during the 1960s and 1970s maintained the historical continuation of a variety of attributes traditionally associated with emigration from Portugal, the quantitative proportions attained by these characteristics clearly set this most recent emigration apart from earlier population movements. Thus, with some 1.5 million estimated departures from the limited fifteen year span under question, Portuguese emigration between 1960 and 1975 undoubtedly constitutes the single largest population movement experienced in the history of that country. Second, although illegal emigration is nothing new in the history of emigration from Portugal, the proportions reached by this particular form of emigration marks a unique development and indeed has touched virtually every aspect of contemporary Portuguese society. Third, the speed with which the reorientation of destinations from Brazil to northern Europe occurred for Portuguese emigrants between 1960 and 1975 also clearly sets this particular emigration wave apart from previous emigration movements from Portugal. Fourth, while the regional origins of the majority of Portuguese emigrants during this period do not break from patterns established earlier this century, the continued and intensified rates of emigration from the northern provinces also identifies this "national exodus" of the 1960s. Fifth, the composition of Portuguese emigration movements between 1960 and 1975 by age and gender also do not shift sharply from previously established patterns. They were relatively youthful population movements composed primarily of adult males. However, when the magnitude of these emigration movements is considered together with the brief time span in which they occurred, the serious implications of these patterns become self

evident in terms of Portugal's demographic structure, and present and future economically active populations.

Finally, the occupations held by those Portuguese who left their country during the 1960s and 1970s, while initially showing large percentages involved in agriculture, by the 1970s were comprised increasingly of individuals drawn from the service and industrial sectors. Thus, one of the major problems created by mass emigration movements from Portugal during the period under question was the shortage of labor and especially skilled labor which developed by the mid-1960s, a problem which further hampered Portugal's attempts at economic development, the lack of which has been a root cause of emigration for centuries.

CHAPTER V

THE SETTING: BUCELAS, GANDRA, SANDIAS

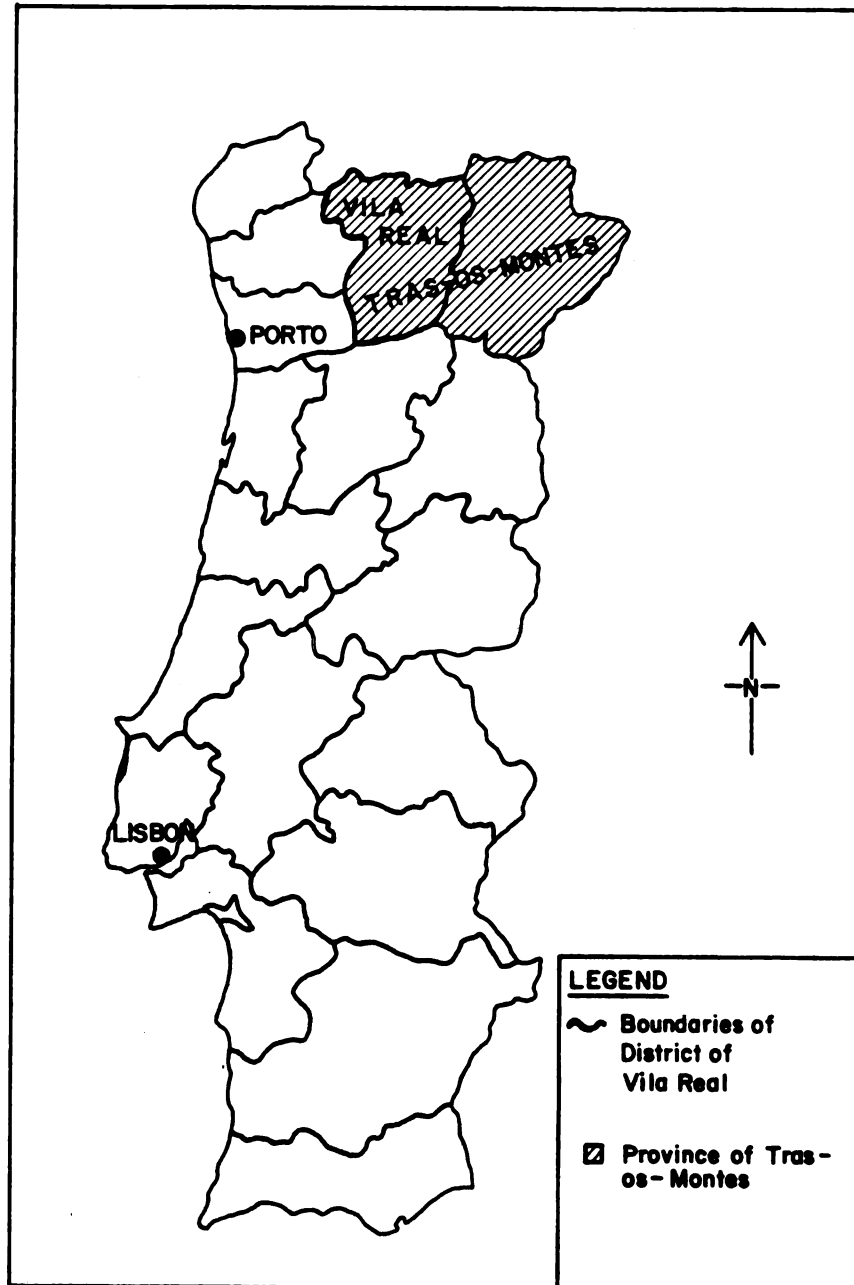
The Region

The communities of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes are located in the western most portion of Tras-os-Montes Province. Although this is still recognized in Portugal, this province has been superceded in government policy making by Administrative Districts. The boundaries of Tras-os-Montes Province correspond closely to two administrative districts, Vila Real, which encapsulates the three communities studied, and Braganca, to the immediate east. As shown in Figure 5.0, Tras-os-Montes Province encompasses the northeastern portion of Portugal and is bordered on the north by Spain and on the south and west by the provinces of Beira Alta and Minho respectively.

The name Tras-os-Montes (literally, "behind the mountains"), aptly characterizes this region's position with respect to the rest of Portugal geographically, economically, politically and socially. Dominated by low lying mountains whose elevations range from between 800 and 1500 meters, Tras-os-Montes remains isolated in many ways from mainstream Porguguese life and is sometimes popularly referred to as Portugal's "forgotten province". Transportation has been and remains a key problem in the integration of this region into the national economy. The almost total lack of industrialization in this province also has inhibited its development. The vast majority of the resident population of Tras-os-Montes Province still wrest a living primarily from minifundia agriculture which is carried out in the valleys, the veigas, and the plateaus situated between the mountains and hills.

FIGURE 5.0

TRAS-OS-MONTES PROVINCE

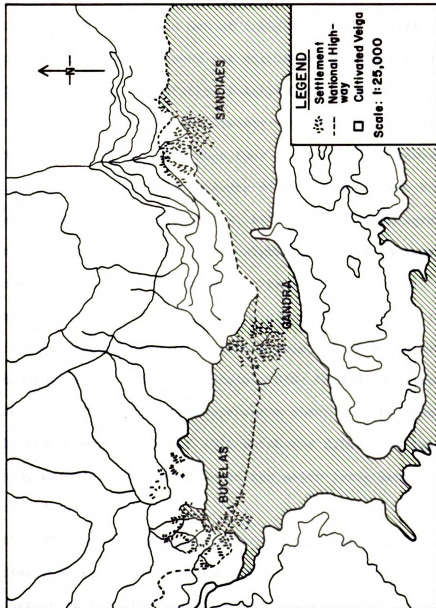


The Districtos of Vila Real and Braganca therefore, continue to lag behind most other administrative districts in per capita income, agricultural production, electrification, education, living conditions, health, infant mortality and other measures of socio-economic well being (cf. Plano 1977-1980). The results of government planning surveys recently were confirmed by an EEC study carried out in 1978 which recognized Tras-os-Montes Province to be the most underdeveloped region in western Europe. Not surprisingly, emigration rates from Tras-os-Montes Province have been among the highest in Portugal during the post war period.

The Communities

Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, situated in the western portion of Tras-os-Montes lie some thirty-five kilometers south of the Portuguese-Spanish frontier. The communities are strung out along a six kilometer stretch of national highway which in this region consists of a narrow and twisting two-lane macadam road which skirts the base of low lying mountains as they descend to a series of connected valleys and veigas. When approaching the communities from the east, going first through Sandiães and then Gandra, each appears as a tumble of traditional, grey-brown, granite block buildings interspersed with brightly painted, modern style houses. They seem to cascade away from the edge of the road down to the floor of the veiga. Along the road which runs above these tightly nucleated aldejas or villages, are located additional new and brightly painted houses, virtually all constructed in recent years by emigrants, some of which at the time of research were in various stages of completion.

FIGURE 5.1
BUCELAS, GANDRA AND SANDIÃES



Upon approach, the narrow valley of the town or vila of Bucelas widens to a veiga of approximately one kilometer in width, which allows for a considerably dispersed settlement pattern. Thus, the town of Bucelas is comprised of four somewhat separated clusters of buildings: the vila or town center and three additional bairros or neighborhoods connected to each other by a web of cobbled lanes and dirt cowpaths. On a ridge overlooking the town but within its boundaries, is located the Bairro de Noruege (literally, Neighborhood of Norway) a cluster of prefabricated units housing some twenty-five families who arrived in Bucelas between 1975 and 1977 when they were forced to leave Angola and Mozambique following the independence of those two former Portuguese colonies. These Retornado families, still not fully integrated into the three communities, named their neighborhood after Norway, whose government donated the plywood housing units.

The population of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães at the time of research consisted of some 1,569 individuals, distributed among the three communities as follows: Bucelas, 812; Gandra, 319; and Sandiães, 438. These figures represent a sharp decline from the total shown in the General Census of 1970 which was 2,102. As will be discussed, extensive outmigration is the major force behind this population decline.

Although functioning as a local, regional, administrative, and commercial center, the town of Bucelas was established fairly recently in comparison to the villages of Gandra and Sandiães. According to the Guia de Portugal (1963) as late as the early nineteenth century, the site of the present center of town was merely a rest stop for travelers who were served by a few scattered households located near the road.

The closest village like settlement at that time was situated approximately one-half kilometer north of the road and was dominated by buildings associated with the house of a member of the royal Bragança family. This settlement today forms one of the four separate bairros integrated within the town's limits. The original house of the now long departed aristocratic residents remains standing, inhabited, and still bears the coat of arms (brazões) of the Braganca line which are carved in granite.

The Concelho (administrative unit roughly equivalent to the county in the U.S.) of Bucelas was designated as such in 1863, when it was partitioned off from a larger cultural-historical region called Barroso. Indeed, while serving as the seat of the concelho for many years, the town of Bucelas only received the status of freguesia (basic Portuguese administrative unit) in the mid-1950s when it was transferred from Tercena, the original settlement which is now a neighborhood of the town. In contrast, the villages of Gandra and Sandiães are generally recognized as being much older communities whose current location is unchanged or little changed from pre-kingdom days. Evidence of a continuous settlement on or near the present location of these two villages takes the form of circular ruins (castros) of Celtic settlements, which are situated with the freguesia of Sandiaes.

With respect to administrative organization, each community holds the status of the aforementioned freguesia which commonly but not always corresponds to a single village or town. Each freguesia is administered by two general governmental bodies, the Assembleia de Freguesia and the Junta de Freguesia. The Assembleia de Freguesia is primarily a deliberative body made up of individuals placed in office as a result of local elections. The number of representatives elected varies with

the population of the freguesia. This representative body is presided over by a president and two secretaries elected from within the assembleia. Although the election for the assembleia is a local one which focuses upon freguesia issues, most candidates make their political party affiliation known.

In contrast to the Assembleia de Freguesia, the Junta de Freguesia has the power to make and carry out decision in the local communities. Comprised of a presidente and a number of other representatives or vogais, the Junta de Freguesia, in consultation with the assembleia, undertakes a variety of local projects and enacts local ordinances. Unlike the Assembleia de Freguesia, the president of the Junta gains office when his party receives the most votes during elections. The vogais however, are elected from within the Assembleia de Freguesia. The physical dimensions in hectares of the areas encompassed by the three freguesias studied, including communally held baldio lands, are as follows: Bucelas, 1,125; Gandra, 1,003; and Sandiães, 2,003.

Each community holds the status of freguesia. The town of Bucelas is also the seat of the concelho, an administrative unit of wider geographical scope and political power. Two governmental bodies preside over the Assembleia Municipal and the Câmara Municipal. Like the Assembleia de Freguesia, the Assembleia Municipal is essentially an opinion generating group made up of the presidents of the Juntas de Freguesia together with the Colegio Eleitoral, a council comprised of local political party leaders and activists.

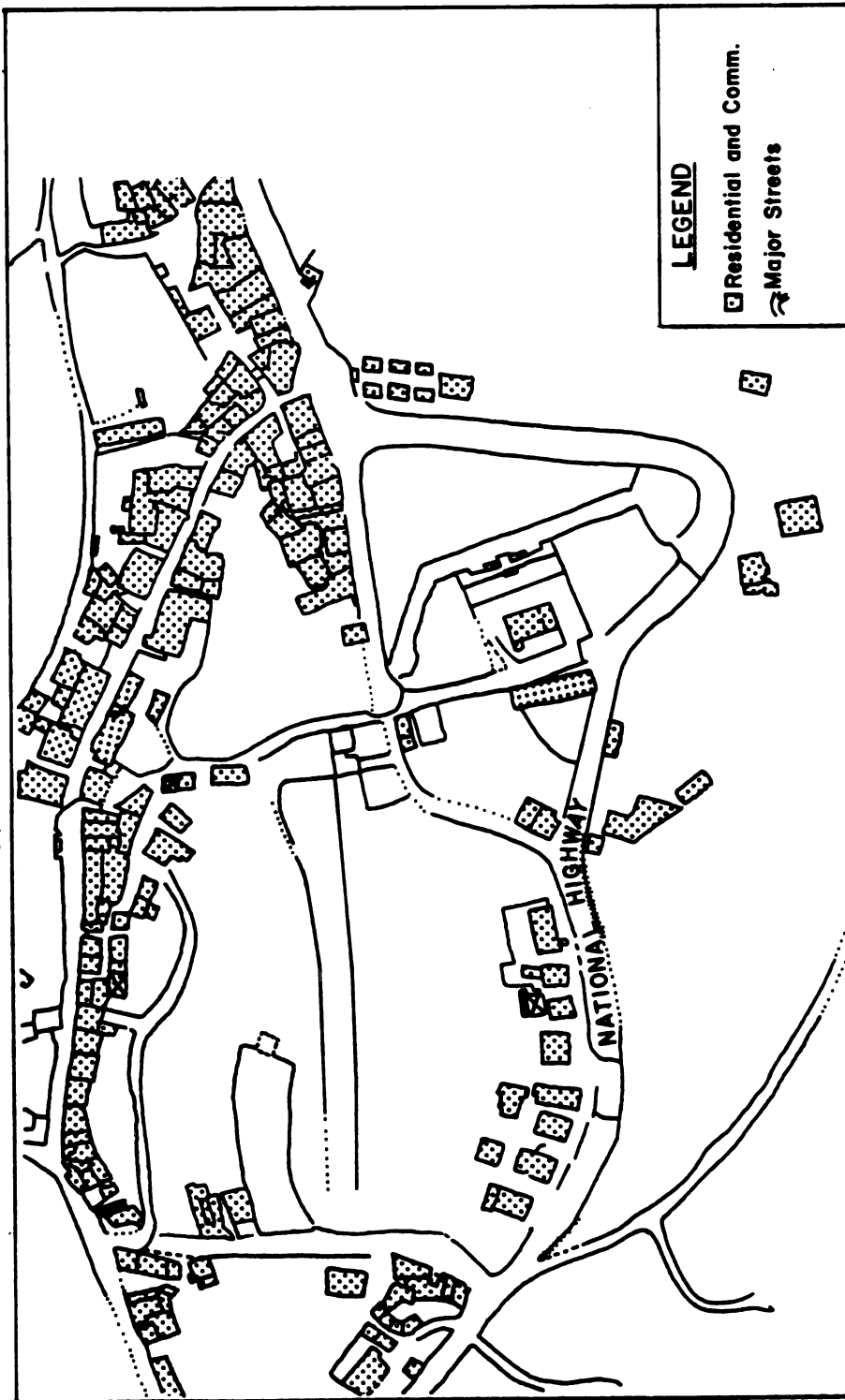
The locus of real power at the level of the concelho however, rests with the Câmara Municipal, an organization made up of a president and two vereadores or counselors, all of whom are placed in office when their

political party receives the greatest number of votes in the general election. As the seat of the Câmara Municipal, the town of Bucelas also contains offices of the local court of law or Tribunal. At the level of concelho, the Tribunal is referred to as the Comarca, a legal body which treats lesser criminal acts and all civil actions.

Thus, although roughly the same size as Gandra and Sandiães, the town of Bucelas, as the center of the concelho, is a small hub of commercial and administrative activity, a function which is reflected in its general physical layout and organization. The aldeias of Gandra and Sandiães consist principally of irregular clusters of houses criss-crossed by narrow cattle paths and cobbled alleys, most of which cannot accommodate autos. The vila or town of Bucelas, in contrast, contains a number of brick streets, a clearly defined but tiny commercial sector and of course buildings which house the small bureaucracies of the various government agencies. The center of the town straddles a 300 meter stretch of roadway as it begins its sharp ascent to the alturas or highlands which are located a few kilometers to the immediate west. In this context, Bucelas is often referred to as the "Gateway to the Barroso", a cultural-historical sub-region associated with peasant mountain adaptation.

The recent construction of a new building which houses the Câmara Municipal, the Tribunal, and the department of finances (a local branch of the Ministry of Finances) has added to the status of Bucelas as a vila or town as has the recent construction of a volunteer fire department facility, a primary school, secondary school, a school cantina and a dormitory. Similarly, the opening of a small branch bank in the center of town also has enhanced the image of Bucelas as a vila rather than as an aldeia.

FIGURE 5.2
CENTER OF BUCELAS



The small businesses and shops in Bucelas include dry goods stores, shoe repair and sales stores, furniture shops, appliance stores, a hardware shop, a butcher shop, clothing shops, two barber shops, three tascas (wine taverns), a welding shop, two cafe-bars, a grocery store, a tinsmith, three boarding houses and a restaurant. Mixed in with these establishments are small offices of the local agricultural co-operative, the Casa do Povo (a welfare type organization), a small medical clinic, a dental technician, and offices of the Ministry of Agriculture and, a post office.

The organization of the church also parallels this commercial/administrative concentration. The town of Bucelas has its own parish and resident priest which draw parishioners from the nearby village of Gandra. In contrast, although the village of Sandiães has a chapel, it is served by a visiting priest. Similarly, although each community is protected by a particular patron saint which is honored in annual religious festas or celebrations, the annual festa in the town of Bucelas is considered to be a concelho-wide celebration and draws people from many villages scattered throughout the concelho.

Most of the population of Bucelas, like that of Gandra and Sandiães, is composed of small scale agriculturalists; Bucelas also serves as residence for the comerciantes, bureaucrats, teachers, agricultural agents, doctors and legal officials. Hence, social class relations are to a degree reflected in residence patterns; the town of Bucelas houses members of the local rural and petty bourgeoisies while Gandra and Sandiães are populated almost exclusively by minifundia agriculturalists. The locally held image of Bucelas is that of an "urbanized" town rather than a village and in recent years the image has been enhanced

by emigrants and returning emigrants who have chosen to construct their new modern style houses there, a decision which also adds to their status and prestige in the local communities. Despite these cosmetic changes of recent years, the town of Bucelas remains a very small agrarian community, whose physical layout and function approach that of the quiet "county seat" found in many rural areas of the south and midwest U.S.

Local Ecology

Considerable variation exists in local ecology throughout the province of Tas-os-Montes and varies according to such factors as elevation, water sources and soil composition. The eco-zone encapsulating Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, however, is by and large relatively uniform in its influence upon the communities. Each community is located on the margins of a small valley or veiga which is well fed by three small streams and numerous springs. Intensive cultivation is carried out on the floor of these veigas; scrub and pine dominate the hills and small mountains which border them. The elevation of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães varies between approximately 500 and 575 meters above sea level. The granitic peaks which enclose the small valleys reach heights of between 800 and 950 meters.

The composition of soils in the region varies considerably between the higher elevations and the floors of the veigas but in general is composed of a mixture of precambrian and silurian granite and micaschists. The most fertile soils are in the veigas and are composed primarily of silurian schists. By and large, the soils are relatively acidic and lacking in both calcium and phosphorus but do contain relatively high levels of potassium.

The climate of the region conforms to the broad Mediterranean pattern of hot, dry summers and cold, wet winters but is also greatly affected by Atlantic littoral influences which move from the coast inland. Indeed, villages located at higher elevations near the three communities studied are referred to as terras frias (cold lands) and always receive snow during the winter months. Residents of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes often characterize their climate as consisting of "Tres meses de inverno, e nove meses de inferno (three months of winter and nine months of hell). The hot, dry season normally begins in May and continues through early September. In 1975, the average temperature recorded for the region surrounding Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães was 19.4 degrees centigrade with 33.5 degrees and 4.0 degrees constituting maximum and minimum temperatures respectively. Beginning in late September the temperature moderates somewhat and by November cools considerably with the arrival of the chuvas or rains. The average temperature for September, October and November in 1975 for this region was 11.8 degrees. The maximum temperature was 26.9 and the minimum was -2.2 degrees. The winter months December, January and February are characterized by considerable rain, fog, and period frosts (geadas) and snowfalls, especially at villages at higher elevations. The average temperature in 1975 for this period was 6.8 degrees with a high of 17.9 and a low of -4.1. In late February and early March, temperatures again begin to moderate, although rainfall continues. During this period in 1975, the average temperature in and around the three communities was 10.1 degrees with a high reading of 24.8 and a low reading of -2.1. The total precipitation recorded for the region surrounding Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães in 1975 was 683.3 mm with the greatest amount (243.5 mm) recorded during

December, January and February and the lowest rate of 21.2 mm recorded for June, July, and August (Estatísticas Agrícolas 1975:3).

Principal Crops

The potato is clearly the single most important crop cultivated in Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães. In the years following World War II, cultivation of the potato intensified considerably throughout northern Portugal as strains were being developed in North America and northern Europe. Most potatoes grown in and around the three communities therefore are either imported varieties or descendants of them. Unlike villages situated at higher elevations where much of the cultivation is geared towards potato seed production, most of what is cultivated in Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães is consumed in the household. Potatoes are generally planted in March and harvested almost entirely by hand during September. Small surpluses are sold, however, both to the local agricultural cooperative as well as to traveling middlemen or intermediarios.

In recent years, considerable controversy and protest has emerged with regard to the government's role in the production and distribution of potatoes. The Ministerio de Agricultura e Pecuaria had made promises to purchase potatoes at a previously agreed upon price through local cooperatives and then failed to do so. These kinds of actions, coupled with an overall trend towards rising seed prices and declining purchase price, generated a furor. During the period of research, farmers and peasants blocked off road entrances to a nearby city in protest.

Thus, in its attempt to eliminate price gouging, profiteering, and middlemen by establishing distribution circuits and by setting prices, the government has on numerous occasions only forced medium and small-

small-scale producers to turn to those same middlemen. Although most minifundia cultivators in Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães desire the top price for their small surpluses, they are somewhat insulated from these broader trends because most of what is produced is consumed in the household. Indeed, potatoes form the core element of virtually all meals and for many impoverished families comprise the total daily diet. Potatoes also constitute the principal food of the few hogs which are kept by most families, and potato peels are normally fed to chickens.

Although its significance has declined steadily during the past two decades, rye continues to be an important staple crop and one which supplements potatoes in the diet of the local population. Rye is almost totally consumed in the household and is used in making a coarse heavy bread. The use of rye continues to decline in the face of stable corn production and a shifting preference for trigo or white bread.

The cultivation of corn, while remaining more or less stable during the course of the past two decades, has increased in relative importance. Between 1965 and 1975, the production of corn, although miniscule in comparison to the cultivation of potatoes, surpassed that of rye perhaps for the first time. Small amounts of cultivated corn are utilized for feeding cattle, hogs and chickens. A lower percentage of corn is used together with rye in the making of bread.

The production of wine in Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães, although important to community members, has declined more than any other local product over the past two decades. Depopulation and the subdivision of medium sized properties account for some of the decline, although the extent to which viniculture has dropped off remains unclear. Constrained primarily by local climatic conditions, the claret-like wine produced

locally from a variety of grapes has a relatively low alcohol content and as such cannot be marketed at the national level. Hence, the region surrounding Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães is not included within the government's demarcated wine producing zones. Soaring inflation rates and the high prices of most agricultural products renewed interest in viticulture during the period of research. Although it is not marketable at the national level, local wines were in great demand by cafes, tascas, and restaurants in and around the three communities.

Some small vineyards exist in favorably situated areas in Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiaes, but most agriculturalists, unable to afford grape cultivation at the expense of subsistence crops, grew grapes atop the everpresent stone walls which divide land parcels or along wires strung between the concrete posts which also serve as barriers between cultivated lands. In this way, many agriculturalists are able to produce a few barrels of wine for their own needs.

A variety of other vegetables and fruits are cultivated in small gardens or hortas. Although they are utilized only on a seasonal basis they are very important for total household consumption. The most common vegetables produced in this manner include: kale, cabbage, beans, carrots, lettuce and peas. Fruits picked from small orchards or individual trees include apples, pears, figs, cherries, and to a lesser extent olives.

Most cultivators in Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães own a pair of oxen which are utilized primarily to plow and disc fields, but are also invaluable for hauling a wide variety of materials including crops, firewood, fieldstone, and hay.

The region surrounding the communities is traditionally known for its beef cattle, but land is used for garden crop cultivation whenever possible rather than for raising livestock. Small herds are concentrated in villages at higher altitudes where garden crop cultivation is less successful and where larger tracts of both communal and privately owned lands are more readily accessible for grazing. Although it is true that the number and sizes of herds have decreased in recent years, the cattle market in the town of Bucelas (part of a larger market held there twice a month) continues to draw significant numbers of potential buyers and sellers of both draft and beef animals.

A similar pattern holds true for sheepherding. Once an important source of income for many local villagers, the incorporation of vast areas of formally communally held lands into the National Forest Service during the 1950s has greatly reduced grazing areas. At the time of fieldwork, only a handful of local villagers maintained small flocks which grazed on the scrub covered slopes bordering cultivated areas.

In contrast, virtually every agricultural household in the three communities owned a pair of hogs which were fattened during the course of a year or more and were slaughtered in the autumn in an informal celebration of feasting and drinking called as matanças (the slaughters). Smoked cured ham (presento) is also made from hogs, and is a local product which has a national reputation in Portugal and is in great demand on the part of urban dwellers. The sale of presento sometimes provides a little extra income to minifundia agriculturalists.

Recent Emigration from the Concelho of Bucelas

Early post-war migratory flows from the concelho of Bucelas were directed almost exclusively towards Brazil, a trend so pronounced that

the government classified destinations of Portuguese emigrants simply as "Brazil" and "Other Countries" until 1957 (see Table 5.0). Until the mid-1960s the reality of growing intra-European migration was still ignored in official figures; destinations were classified as "Other European Countries", a practice which continued until 1966. By that time however, the massive outflow of clandestine emigration was such that official figures for emigration from Portugal reflected a mere shadow of actual emigratory movements.

Nevertheless, official figures for legal emigration from the concelho of Bucelas between 1953 and 1973 do yield patterns which parallel actual trends at the national level. Thus, for Portuguese emigrants leaving the concelho of Bucelas, Brazil was still the traditional destination until 1963. Moreover, the relatively sudden surge in the number of emigrants traveling to France, which occurs in 1965, also follows a broader shift which occurred at the national level during this same period. Finally, the great increase in both the total number of legal departures from Portugal, as well as legal departures to France, while representing only a fraction of the actual emigration flow, nonetheless parallel the clandestine surges from the concelho which took place during these years.

Recent Emigration and Depopulation

Two decades of extensive outmigration from Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães, did not result in scale the kind of large scale population abandonment found elsewhere in northern Portugal, but it did result in a population decrease. (See Table 5.1.) After nearly a century of gradual growth between 1864 and 1960, the population of the concelho of Bucelas fell sharply between 1960 and 1970. During this decade, the

TABLE 5.0
 DESTINATION COUNTRIES OF EMIGRANTS DEPARTING LEGALLY FROM
 THE CONCELHO OF BUCELAS BETWEEN 1953 AND 1973

Year	Brazil	Other Countries	Total
1953	101	11	112
1954	120	6	126
1955-6	64	26	90

Year	Brazil	U.S.	Canada	Other European Countries			Total
				Africa	Holland	Gt. Britain	
1957	103	16	10	1	1	0	131
1958	95	3	1	0	1	0	100
1959	84	16	5	0	0	0	105
1960	75	40	12	0	2	0	129
1961	79	32	13	0	5	0	129
1962	74	24	5	0	10	0	113
1963	81	47	13	0	7	0	143
1964	41	17	12	0	7	0	77

Year	Brazil	U.S.	Canada	France	Germany	Holland	Gt. Britain	Other European Countries	Africa	Total
1966	15	139	21	183	12	1	0	3	2	376
1967	18	78	6	194	0	0	1	0	0	297
1968	23	42	17	121	2	0	1	0	1	207
1969	21	76	4	141	9	4	0	1	1	259
1970	9	63	4	30	5	0	0	2	2	115
1971	7	61	7	10	8	0	1	2	0	96
1972	18	33	12	26	8	0	0	2	0	99
1973	11	46	8	43	22	0	0	1	0	131

TABLE 5.1

POPULATION OF BUCELAS, GUNDRÁ, SANDIÃES: 1864-1979

	<u>1864</u>	<u>1878</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
Concelho of Bucelas	9,388	9,933	10,133	10,982	10,937	10,338	11,156	11,786	12,247	13,247	11,368	X
Freguesia of Bucelas	644	737	823	1,022	924	867	1,042	964	1,212	1,081	1,121	812
Freguesia of Gundrá	409	448	421	490	457	395	440	439	513	445	531	319
*Freguesia of Sundiães	787	798	788	817	852	755	764	797	974	1,286	854	438+

* includes village of Couto within freguesia of Sandiaes

+ does not include village of Couto within freguesia of Sandiaes

resident population of the concelho dropped from 13,247 individuals to 11,368 individuals. It should be pointed out however, that the General Census of 1970 is well known for its inaccuracies and in particular for its overcounting of rural households, many of whose members had emigrated but were included in census figures. In this context, the depopulation trend which occurred during this period, was greater than the official figures indicate. Official figures show that during this decade the combined population of Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães fell from 2,812 in 1960 to 2,506 in 1970¹. Similarly, a household census conducted during the period of research, nearly ten years after the 1970 census, shows the combined population of Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães had fallen to 1,569 individuals (not including the village of Couto), a drop of some additional 300 residents.

Clearly, migration from the communities to other areas of Portugal and especially emigration out of the country have been responsible for population decline in the three communities. According to household census data, some 17 percent of the 446 family households in Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães indicated that at least one member of the unit had migrated to and remained in other areas in Portugal (outside the boundaries of the concelho of Bucelas). More striking however, are figures for emigration which show that at the time of fieldwork, some 34 percent of all family households in the three communities reported that at least one member of the household was still working outside Portugal. A village by village breakdown of the percentages of the total populations of Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães working outside Portugal at the time of research are as follows: Bucelas, 10 percent, Gandra, 12 percent, Sandiães, 12 percent.

Seen another way, the 311 (former) family household members recorded as working outside Portugal at the time of research (175 males and 136 females) comprise a group equivalent to 20 percent of the resident population of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. In this context, the village of Gandra appeared to have the greatest number of its former community members (87) living outside Portugal at that time, a figure which was equal to 27 percent of its resident population. Similarly, figures for former household members in Bucelas and Gandra (132 and 86) are equivalent to 16 and 20 percent of their resident populations respectively. In all three communities, former male household members who had emigrated, outnumbered female household members who at that time were living and working outside Portugal. Figures for the number of both male and female emigrants respectively from each of the three communities include the following: Bucelas 76/56, Gandra 50/37, and Sandiães 45/41.

Contributing to the depopulation of the 1960s and 1970s in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes were internal migratory movements directed primarily to the cities of Lisbon and Porto. At the time of research therefore, it was found that 139 (former) household members were living and working elsewhere in Portugal. Of this figure, the largest single grouping of individuals (64 or 46 percent) had migrated to Lisbon. A broader picture of the effects of migration from Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes may be seen when figures for internal migration are added to those of emigration. When this is done we see that the remaining 446 family households in the communities at that time reported a total of 447 former members as living outside the concelho of Bucelas, a figure equal to almost one third (29 percent) of the resident population. It

should be pointed out however, that this figure may be a somewhat conservative one since numerous entire families which left the communities were not included within the household census.

Household census data also show, that like Portuguese emigrants in general, a sizeable majority of former household members reported as living outside Portugal at the time of research, had emigrated to France. (See Table 5.2.) Thus, among the total of 308 individuals recorded as still working outside Portugal, 209 or 68 percent were at that time residing in France. In a far distant second place with respect to destination countries was Brazil, which accounted for 29 individuals or 9 percent of those remaining outside Portugal. Closely behind Brazil but insignificant in comparison to France as a destination of emigrants was the U.S., which was the destination of 21 individuals or 7 percent of former household members reported as remaining abroad. Other destination countries included West Germany, Canada, Great Britain, Spain, Holland, Venezuela, Luxembourg, South Africa, Belgium, Angola and Mozambique.

In addition to the population loss experienced by Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes through the out-migration of large contingents of economically active adult males (and in recent years growing numbers of adult women) have been shifts in the composition of the local population in terms of age and sex. Principal among these changes include: 1) the artificial aging of the resident population, 2) an increase in the proportion of the youngest segments of resident groups, and 3) the proportionately higher numbers of women among the local population of the three communities. That is, the relatively sudden departure of sizeable groups of adult males from Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães during

TABLE 5.2

DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANTS FROM BUCELAS, GANDRA, AND SANDIÃES
REMAINING OUTSIDE THE CONCELHO OF BUCELAS AND PORTUGAL IN 1979

France	209
Brazil	29
Belgium	1
Canada	13
U.S.	21
Luxembourg	2
Spain	5
West Germany	14
Holland	3
Great Britian	6
South Africa	2
Angola	1
Mozambique	1
Venezuala	1
Elsewhere in Portugal	<u>139</u>
TOTAL	447

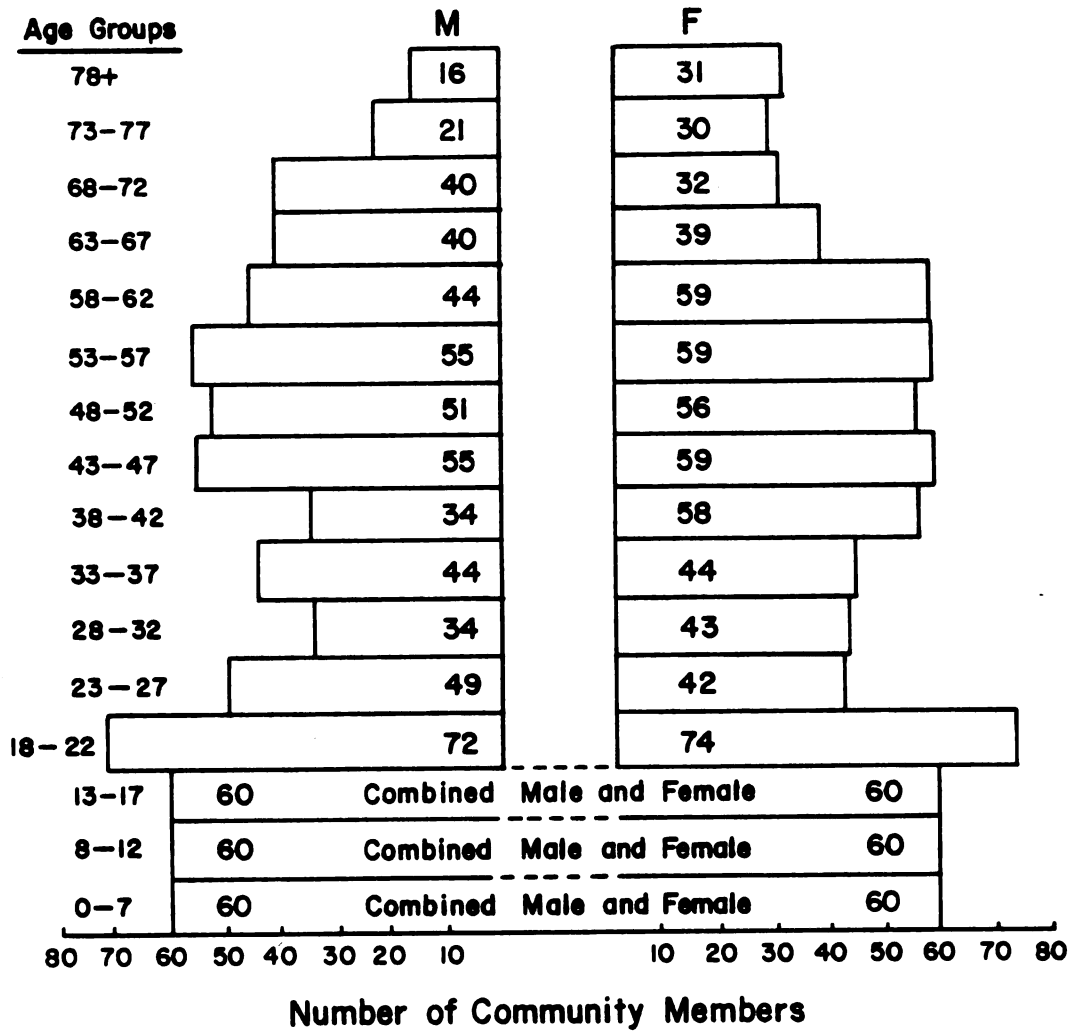
the decades of the 1960s and 1970s has left behind a population marked by comparatively elevated numbers of elderly, the very young, and women, a pattern which in turn has had a significant impact upon local social and economic organization.

The effects of the loss of large numbers of economically active males may be seen in the reduced numbers of males between the ages of 23 and 42. (See Figure 5.3.) Similarly, to a degree, this pattern is replicated in the smaller numbers of women residing in the communities between the ages of 23 and 37, a trend which underscores the increasing participation of women in emigration movements in recent years. Because of the reduction of economically active adult males and females in the communities between the ages of 23 and 42, the numerical importance of villagers between the ages of 43 and 62 has increased considerably. Moreover, although declining somewhat relative to other age groupings, the number of both males and females 63 years of age or older in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães (249 individuals) nearly equals that of all adults between the ages of 23 and 37 years (256 individuals), a pattern which clearly illustrates the "aging" of the resident population of the communities as a result of emigration.

Also evident from household census data, is the comparatively large segment of the combined populations of the three communities comprised of those persons twenty-two years of age and younger, a grouping which totals some 359 individuals or 23 percent of the local population. Although the departure of large numbers of "middle aged" individuals from the communities has skewed the importance of this age grouping, practices carried out by many emigrants with respect to their children also have increased the number of the young present

FIGURE 5.3

Distribution of Population by Age and Sex:
Bucelas, Gandra, Sandiões



in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. Similarly, the sending of children back to Portugal from labor importing areas, primarily for education in the Portuguese language, has also added to the large segment of the local population which is comprised of the young.

In the case of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, this segment of the resident population was also supplemented with the sudden influx of some twenty-five families who returned from Angola and Mozambique between 1975 and 1977, many with little more than the clothes on their backs. As with many emigrant families, among nearly half of the retornado families, one or both parents had left their children in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes and traveled elsewhere in Portugal or out of the country entirely to seek employment so that their children might be supported.

As may be inferred from the previous discussion, one other visible shift in the structure of the population of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães includes the greater proportion of women present in the three communities at the time of fieldwork. Although emigration among women has come to equal that of adult males in recent years, the generalized effects of decades of outmigration of men from the communities was still detectable in the greater numbers of women found, with few exceptions, in each age grouping. (See Figure 5.3.) Hence, while the numbers of males and females found within the age range of 23-37 years are roughly equal, women outnumber men by almost two to one in the age categories comprised by those between the ages of 38 and 62 years.

CHAPTER VI

THE EMIGRANT FESTA COMPLEX

The effects of emigration upon the communities of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães were discernible throughout the year, but were brought into sharp focus during the summer months, especially during August. In August, hundreds of emigrants returned to their home communities to visit with family and friends, to work on the construction and renovation of houses, to purchase property and above all, to participate in local religious celebrations or festas. This annual summer influx forms part of a much wider population movement to Portugal from northern Europe and North America in which emigrants return to their communities of origin to spend their summer holidays.

Although the vast majority of religious festas during this period are ostensibly held in honor of a specific local patron saint, it is generally understood among both emigrants and local community members, that these celebrations are also held to honor emigrants (and in fact are often largely paid for by emigrants). Indeed, these celebrations are now popularly referred to as festas dos emigrantes or "emigrant festas". This recognition of emigrants is also reflected at the national level in the form of a major legal holiday held in June, when "Emigrants Day" (Dia dos Emigrantes) is celebrated on "Camoës' Day (Dia de Camoës), a national holiday honoring the fifteenth century epic poet and explorer Luis Camoës. Celebrating a national holiday which pays tribute to both widely dispersed emigrants and to a hero of Portugal's discovery period is a parallel not lost on the Portuguese media and public.

The Emergence Of The Emigrant Festa Complex

The emergence of an emigrant festa complex during the post-war period constitutes a clear example of local change resulting from broad modernizing trends attendant upon large scale emigration from this region. Local religious festas are deeply rooted traditions. In the past they were normally modest in scope, but recently they have not only expanded but have also become arenas for conspicuous display, for the demonstration of status mobility and for the reaffirmation of an "ideology of emigration".

The recent expansion of traditional religious festas throughout many areas of northern Portugal has resulted from two primary impulses: first, from the growing participation of emigrants who return each summer to visit their home communities and second, from the increasing financial inputs into local festas made by emigrants. Festas do represent strong local tradition, but in the wake of massive emigration, they have become reoriented toward and underwritten by emigrants, and in doing so have undergone a kind of revitalization. This revitalization occurs when the traditional ideas and functions associated with festas such as ritual purification, the making of promessas,¹ ensuring the protection of the community, petitioning for a good harvest and the reaffirmation of beliefs in hierarchy and authority, are joined by an emergent reciprocal exchange relationship which has developed as a result of growing emigrant participation in the festas. In this exchange, which encompasses a wide series of transactions, recognition which is desired by emigrants is exchanged for financial/material resources which are desired by local community members and the Church. In this sense, the festa functions as a mechanism of exchange whereby emigrants receive

social status and prestige from the local community while the local community in turn receives financial/material resources. In sanctioning and sponsoring this exchange relationship (which is accomplished by incorporating emigrants and emigrant themes into traditional religious ceremonies), the local parish gains both status and material benefits.

In Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, the Festa of Our Lady of Salvation clearly illustrates the revitalization of the local religious celebration due to and in conjunction with extensive international labor migration. This particular festa, which takes place during the third week of August in the town of Bucelas, has grown from a modest celebration drawing participants from adjacent villages, to one which now attracts several thousand celebrants from around the Concelho and beyond. According to most accounts the recent expansion of this particular celebration is due almost exclusively to the resources contributed by and participation of visiting emigrants.

Annual Summer Return Visits

In the weeks immediately preceeding the festa of Our Lady of Salvation the number of people (primarily visiting emigrants) in and around Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães began to grow. Although this expansion of visiting emigrants had been felt during the month of June and more so in July, it was not until after the first of August that human activity and movement rose sharply. As the week of the festa drew near, the streets, shops, cafe-bars and administrative offices in the three communities (but primarily in Bucelas) became increasingly filled with activity. Many emigrants returned to their home communities in newly purchased autos, but the annual August return to the communities was also marked by increased arrivals of chartered buses, whose itineraries almost always

originated in France. During the week prior to the festa, these buses arrived with baggage piled high on the roof and there was never a seat to spare. They would disgorge their rumpled but happy passengers who then made their way to families residing in and around the area.

The appearance of young adults and middle aged individuals of both sexes in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes at festa time provided a temporary balance to the composition of the local population, which throughout most of the year was marked by a seemingly high proportion of very young and very old members. This noticeable change served to underscore the extent to which demographic shifts have taken place in the region, a trend which will be discussed at length in Chapter Seven.

The festa also provided a context in which to see other emigration-related social changes. This view allowed for a preview of future trends which may take place when more emigrants return to their home communities permanently. For example, the most salient markers of socioeconomic change found among both emigrants and their family members who live in the communities studied, involved displays of material wealth which seemed to be aimed at emphasizing real or perceived status mobility. For the most part, signs of status mobility projected by visiting emigrants included the conspicuous consumption and display of consumer goods, clothing and other forms of material wealth. Thus, during the time of the festa, the streets of Bucelas in particular became filled with recent model Peugeot, Renault, Toyota and Mercedes autos, status items second in importance perhaps only to the ownership of a new house. Visiting emigrants during this period were also easily identifiable from local residents by their stylish clothes obviously obtained outside Portugal.

In addition to increased status associated with the ownership of foreign-made products, conspicuous displays put on by visiting emigrants also included the purchase of locally made products not available outside Portugal. Shopping sprees at local shops, and gregarious generosity in the form of buying "drinks on the house" at the local cafe-bar or tasca also formed part of an attempt on the part of visiting emigrants to convey an image of improved well being.

Many local residents often joked about the obvious displays but in general accepted them without much animosity. During this period, visiting emigrants who worked in France were called "Avecs" while those who resided in the U.S. were sometimes referred to as "Come-ons". In contrast, these displays drew bitter criticism from returned colonists, most of whom were forced to return from Angola and Mozambique to Portugal following the independence of those two former colonies with little more than they could carry. Most of these retornados enjoyed a high standard of living in Africa prior to their expulsion but now found themselves back in their impoverished home communities. Criticisms of emigrants made by these returnees included such comments as "The emigrants are just slaves for European masters", or "Emigrants live in shantytowns all year so they can show off here for a few weeks", or "They deserted their country just to make money".

Status mobility and sophistication (cultura) among visiting emigrants were also enhanced by their ability, or their children's ability to speak a foreign language such as French or English. On more than one occasion during interviews with emigrants, informants attempted to conduct the interview in English or French to the exclusion of others present. Similarly, on other occasions children with a knowledge of

French or English were trotted out to Fala Ingles (speak English) or Fala Frances (speak French), impressive feats in the presence of those with little or no formal education.

The weeks surrounding the festa of Our Lady of Salvation also formed an enjoyable time for many residents of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. As recipients of monetary remittances or gifts such as clothing, radios, cassette recorders to name only a few, many local families had already to some extent benefitted from the emigration of some of their members. In addition, some fortunate community members, who had moved into new or renovated houses (not always entirely completed) or who had access to additional parcels of land, had already experienced a modicum of improved living conditions.

For many visiting emigrants, the weeks surrounding the festa in Bucelas were also a time to carry out such activities as courtship, marriage and baptism. During the month of August, the number of baptisms recorded at the local parish in Bucelas jumped dramatically. Many emigrant parents preferred to have their children baptized in Portugal and often waited until the annual summer visit to do so. Similarly, a significant surge in marriage ceremonies took place at this time. During one fifteen day period, the Registo Civil in Bucelas recorded forty-one marriages, and on the Saturday before festa week, thirteen wedding ceremonies were performed in Bucelas, resulting in an almost non-stop stream of honking autos. Not surprisingly, most of the marriages which took place during this period involved at least one partner who was an emigrant. In most cases the emigrant partner was male.

The weeks preceding and following the festa also created a clearer picture of economic changes which have taken place in Bucelas, Gandra

and Sandiaes. Accelerated activity in a small branch bank in the town of Bucelas provided one indication of economic change. Each morning during this period, groups of individuals gathered in front of the bank to wait for its opening. Once its doors were open, the bank remained crowded and busy, often with lines of customers spilling into the street until it closed at six p.m. During these weeks, clerks could often be seen working well into the evening in an attempt to keep up with the paperwork. According to the manager of the bank, not only do the vast majority of transactions during the month of August involve those of visiting emigrants, but the very presence of the bank itself, which was opened in 1975, was in direct response to the growing number of transactions generated by emigrants each year. According to him, more than 75 percent of the bank's holdings are comprised of short-term savings deposits made by emigrants or their families residing in the communities.

In addition to the surge of banking activity during this time period, signs of economic change could also be seen in the various civil-administrative offices located in the town of Bucelas. These too were deluged with business throughout the month of August. According to those functionaries interviewed, common types of transactions carried out during this period included land purchases, acquisition of building permits, rezoning petitions, tax payments, inheritance proceedings and notarizations, all of which had to be channeled through the different administrative offices located in Bucelas. All of the local functionaries stated that the bulk of dealings which take place in August involve emigrants. The offices of the Registro Civil, Cartorio Notarial and Departamento das Finances all experienced a flood of activity in the weeks surrounding the festa as emigrants from villages throughout the concelho came

into town to take care of various transactions before their holidays were ended.

Most emigrants who plan eventually to return to Portugal (and who have the means to return) often state that their goals either are or were to construct a new house and to purchase additional parcels of land. These goals have generated among other things, a local construction boom and its associated cash flow. Thus, according to the chief functionary of the Department of Finances, more than 90 percent of all land sales which took place during the summer months involved emigrants. A similar estimate was given by the Magistrate working in the Cartorio Notorial, where such transactions are processed and notarized. According to the Magistrate, one pattern which emerged in these transactions was that in land sales between emigrants, those who had migrated to North or South America tended to sell parcels to individuals who had migrated to northern Europe, a pattern which may suggest a divergence in long term goals between transatlantic and intra-European migrants. Problems are already beginning to emerge from this rush for land which may have serious implications for the development of agriculture in this region in future years. These problems include a rapid spiral in the price of land parcels, increased fragmentation and dispersal of parcels in an area where minifundia cultivation has stagnated for decades, and, increasing levels of non-agricultural land use practices.

If the intense activity observed in the local administrative offices and in the bank point to potential long term economic problems in the future, the equally busy activity in the cafe-bars, tascas, stores and shops in the communities during the summer months underscore a contrasting pattern: the annual, short term commercial boom generated by visiting

emigrants. Indeed many comerciantes interviewed admitted that revenues obtained during the summer months, and particularly during the month of August, carry them through the remainder of the year. Many villagers however, complained that prices were deliberately hiked during this time because of the emigrants. One cafe proprietor perhaps best summed up the importance of festa related economic activity when he said, "I earn more in June, July and August than from the total of the receipts I receive during the remaining months of the year".

Although emigrants gained status from the display of various foreign-made goods, they did not completely forsake all their tastes and preferences for certain Portuguese products, especially those not available outside Portugal. Most of the little shops in and around the three communities did quite well, therefore, during this period as did many local residents who had a supply of these items, especially wine, on hand to sell. Also in great demand were household consumer goods needed by those emigrants who were in the process of constructing, renovating or finishing a home. Owners of two small furniture shops in Bucelas and Sandiaes indicated that they could not keep their inventories filled during the summer months because demand was so great. Other fast moving items in these shops included bathroom and kitchen accessories, ceramic fixtures and tiles. The demand for these goods was such that during the year spent in the communities, two additional furniture shops, albeit tiny ones, were opened in Bucelas. One of these was set up within an already existing general store while the other began to operate out of a garage.

Not surprisingly, construction materials of all types, especially cement, sand, bricks and roofing tiles were in constant demand and short supply. To the overall heightened activity levels present in the

communities therefore, was added a daily procession of trucks, grinding under heavy loads, as they slowly made their way up the steep incline of the road which runs through the three communities.

In addition to the temporary economic surge experienced by local commercial establishments during the time of the festa, a number of other local institutions and organizations, including the Church, the volunteer fire department and the soccer teams received financial resources from visiting emigrants as well. The parish of Our Lady of Salvation, the official sponsor of the festa, benefitted in a number of ways from contributions including those made to its festa committee, those made to it in the form of promessas and those received at the church auction or leilão. According to one member of the town festa committee, emigrant contributions accounted for over half of the funds necessary for the celebration which cost approximately \$10,000. Other sources of funding for the festa included grants given by the Gulbenkian Foundation, The Department of Tourism and contributions made by local residents.

Similarly, the local volunteer fire department, which serves some twenty-three widely scattered freguesias, and which has grown in seven years from a one-truck unit operating out of a shed to one with two trucks also benefitted considerably from emigrant contributions during festa week. Indeed, emigrant donations have, from its very inception, been instrumental in the growth of the volunteer fire department whose recently constructed facility also serves as a community center and includes an apartment, a bar, and a ballroom. According to the proud founder and chief of this organization (who is the owner of a small clothing store), volunteers collected more than 150,000 escudos during the weeks preceeding and following festa week. In addition, a leading emigrant

"broker", originally from the town of Bucelas (and now a naturalized U.S. citizen) claimed that from an association of emigrants organized by him in Ludlow, Massachusetts, \$3,000 had been sent to the volunteer fire department the previous year. Other associations of emigrants from Elizabeth, New Jersey and Milford, Connecticut and from France channeled additional funds to the fire department whose equipment by 1978 included a small Dodge pump truck, a Volkswagen back-up truck and a Peugeot ambulance.

Other local organizations which benefitted from contributions given by emigrants during the summer months included the soccer teams of Bucelas and Sandiaes whose equipment and uniforms were to a considerable degree paid for by these donations. Although the teams did not receive the degree of financial support obtained by the Church and fire department, the amounts accepted nonetheless went a long way towards supporting the teams. The continued support of certain favorite institutions and organizations by emigrants therefore, while lending a sense of control and involvement in their home communities, also underscores the growing dependence of the local communities upon financial inputs from them.

The Festa Of Our Lady Of Salvation In Bucelas

Local population and activity levels increased during the weeks prior to the festa of Our Lady of Salvation and remained elevated for some days following the celebration. However, the actual scheduled events and activities during the week long festa formed the framework within which the previously described exchanges took place and were concentrated.

The official opening of festa week was marked by a trap-shooting tournament (tiro os pratos) held on the cattle market grounds near the

center of Bucelas. Because the costs of the imported shotguns and rounds were expensive, the majority of local residents were unable to participate in this event. Hence, the competition was essentially the preserve of members of the petty bourgeoisie, the old rural bourgeoisie and a few visiting emigrants.

The next major scheduled event of the week took place the following day and consisted of a large banquet held in honor of the local soccer team of Bucelas and its supporters or "associates", many of whom were emigrants. The timing of this Confraternização (it was not the only reunion held during the course of the year for the team) was clearly aimed at generating good will and continued contributions from those present and especially from emigrant members.

The following afternoon, the third principle event of festa week took place and consisted of a type of miniature obstacle course for autos. It was held in the hot and dusty square or largo adjoining the church of Our Lady of Salvation. This event, the Gincana de Automoveis, like the trap-shooting competition, drew participants primarily from those able to afford autos, primarily those of petty bourgeois or landed agriculturalist background. (While a sizable number of visiting emigrants had driven to the area from various parts of northern Europe, most did not even consider risking damage to their autos and thus did not enter the Gincana). In the skeet-shoot, in the soccer banquet, and in this event, virtually all of the participants in this event were male. The appeal of this event was clearly wider than the previous two and drew a much larger and mixed crowd of approximately 500 townsfolk and villagers who laughed and cheered at the contestants churning through the small and dusty course popping balloons, balancing buckets of water and removing roadblocks in an attempt

to cross the finish line with the fastest time.

The following morning the day's major scheduled event, "The Placing of the Image of St. Christopher in the River" (Colocagem da Imagem de São Cristovão no Rio) took place near the church of Our Lady of Salvation. In this ceremony, a fifteen foot statue of St. Christopher, placed the day before in a dammed up stream bed near the center of town, was flooded to its waist whereupon participants launched toy boats containing dolls representing the Christ child.

Apparently, the Roman Church's recent removal of St. Christopher from the official register of recognized saints has had very little effect upon the belief that this particular sacred personality is the patron saint of travelers. Indeed, the dashboards of virtually every auto and truck in the communities displayed St. Christopher medals. Perhaps more importantly however, is the theme of this ritual event which symbolizes the new role of emigrants and migration themes in traditional rural festas.

Thursday's principal event took place during the evening and was billed locally as the Verbena do Emigrante or literally "Emigrants' Social". It took place in the largo or plaza of the church, now encircled with concession booths set up by local residents hoping to earn a little extra money. The Verbena do Emigrante cast visiting emigrants into the limelight. Those present spent the evening visiting with family and friends, strolling around the largo and town in new stylish clothes, listening or dancing to music played over loudspeakers and sampling the various foods available from the concession stands.

The major festa week event scheduled for the following day, Friday, was a traditional one; it was the feira or local market which takes

place twice a month in the town of Bucelas but on this particular day assumed special significance. The feira draws the participation of all merchants in Bucelas, but is also participated in by comerciantes from other localities as well as by a number of traveling merchants. Like the soccer matches, the feira is a major social event and normally draws villagers from around the concelho. The feira on this day however, the day before the procession already swelled by large numbers of visiting emigrants, was an event in itself which provided another setting for conspicuous shopping sprees, and consumption patterns. It lasted well into the evening.

Saturday was the highpoint of festa week. It was marked by the long anticipated procession which wound its way through the streets of Bucelas. The procession, an emotionally charged event, consisted of a series of statues of saints carried by men and boys (andares) interspersed by: two slow marching brass bands hired for the occasion, members of the volunteer fire department, and clusters of brightly costumed children (anginhos), each cluster representing a particular religious theme. As the statue of Our Lady of Salvation passed, which was at the end segment of the procession and covered with currency notes from numerous countries given by emigrants, observers tossed flower pedals from balconies or dropped to their knees. Finally, as the end of the procession passed by, participants on both sides of the narrow street merged in behind it and walked the return trip to the church.

Saturday evening was marked by more celebration; community members strolled about the streets and went from house to house where they sampled special holiday foods. Most festa goers also spent time at the largo of the church, now the center of activity, where music from the

bands, dancing and fireworks displays went on until early Sunday morning.

Sunday, while not as important as the previous day was still a festive day. Soon after Mass, a fund raising auction or leilão for the church was held in the largo. In the leilão, local residents and most noticeably emigrants, gave tabuleiros (offerings of food and wine) which were then auctioned off to those present. As was true on so many other occasions during the festa, emigrants often gained considerable prestige from their conspicuously generous offerings. Later, a folkdancing program (ranchos folclóricos) was held and was followed by a soccer match. Sunday evening, the previous night's activities of visiting, promenading, dancing, singing and fireworks were repeated and lasted well into the early morning hours of Monday, which was declared a legal holiday for the Concelho of Bucelas.

The festa of Our Lady of Salvation therefore, may be seen as facilitating a form of exchange whereby emigrants receive prestige, social status and recognition while residents and the parish of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães receive financial and material benefits. Although this reciprocity takes place on a broad scale during the summer months and indeed during the course of the year, the emigrant oriented festa intensifies, formalizes and legitimizes this exchange at a particular point in time and space.

Scheduled events like the Verbena do Emigrante, the placing of St. Christopher in the river, the church auction, the Confraternização and the procession together with the fact that emigrants now are honored together with patron saints confers considerable recognition and prestige to the emigrants in a public and formal way. Similarly, most of these events, in bringing emigrants into the limelight, also provide opportunities

for continued conspicuous display, and for spending and contribution-making which also enhances their public recognition. Despite the emulation of modern lifeways however, the festa of Our Lady of Salvation also functions to reaffirm a number of traditional values and beliefs among which the most significant include: the role and authority of the Church, respect for class hierarchy and the ideology of emigration.

While a complete examination of the institutional function and domain of the local church in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães cannot be undertaken here, it is suggested that through the annual festa, the traditional influence of the Church continues to be maintained; this occurs in the face of wider modernization processes and the decline of the Church elsewhere in Portugal. It is further suggested that the continued importance of the Church in the communities studied is bolstered significantly by this now revitalized annual celebration. Although local religious festas were never faced with extinction throughout northern Portugal in the post-war period, their rapid expansion and revitalization stemming from growing annual return visits by emigrants certainly has lent increased visibility and status to the Church as a whole. In the case of the festa in Bucelas for example, this celebration has grown from one limited by bounds of the community to one which now draws participants from around the concelho and beyond. Moreover, despite the secular reorientation towards emigrants, elaborate and traditional ritual and ceremony remain a central component of the festa. Indeed, in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, many emigrants delayed the baptism of their children so this rite could be performed during festa week in the home community.

In return for sponsoring a religious celebration which now includes emigrants, the parish of Our Lady of Salvation in Bucelas reaps previously

unheard of financial and material benefits. Substantial financial inputs received from the festa committee, from promessas made by worshippers and from other direct contributions have all greatly enhanced the visibility, influence and viability of the parish in Bucelas. Similarly, numerous improvements and renovations in church property have also come about directly as a result of the expansion of the festa in this town. Interior renovations, and the construction of both a new rectory and the largo adjoining the church itself for example, have done much to rekindle local interest in parish affairs.

Similarly, in serving as an area for conspicuous display and consumption, the festa of Our Lady of Salvation encourages the reaffirmation of values and attitudes surrounding traditional class structures in the communities studied. Despite the fact that emigration is viewed as an egalitarian opportunity structure by local villagers, upon returning to Portugal extreme effort is made by emigrants to orchestrate an image of social mobility and improved status. Hence, although ostentatious display occurs whenever emigrants return to their home communities, the calculated intensification of this type of behavior in the context of an annual celebration held in their honor, functions to reaffirm traditional notions of class hierarchy which form an integral component of world view in this region of Portugal.

Finally, by honoring emigrants and saints at the same time, the festa of Our Lady of Salvation, like summer festas throughout northern Portugal, bears witness not only to the material fruits of emigration, but to the viability of migration as a life strategy as well. In doing so, the Portuguese ideology of emigration, an important element of traditional rural world view for at least a century and a half, is annually and ritually reaffirmed in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC CHANGE

Emigration-related changes in the communities studied have not in general, included significant improvements. The changes contributed significantly to the stagnation of rural productive structures in two principal ways. First, depopulation, land tenure fragmentation and the growth of non-agricultural land use practices encouraged agricultural inertia. Second, an emigrant-sponsored suburbanization process, characterized by an accelerated housing boom, increased expenditures for consumer goods, service sector expansion and, growing state sponsored construction projects reinforced a continued agricultural decline. This suburbanizing trend can be seen as a major component of a broader force of change in the Mediterranean identified as "modernization" (Hansen et al. 1972). According to Hansen et al., modernization in contemporary Mediterranean Europe consists essentially of uneven and disruptive forms of change which, while emanating from urban-industrial centers in the form of ideologies, behavioral codes, commodities and institutional models, reinforce the continued dependence of underdeveloped regions upon the urban-industrial metropolises (Hansen et al. 1972:340).

While most of the features of modernization identified by Hansen et al. such as service expansion, decline of agriculture, depopulation suburbanization, state capital investment, construction booms and bureaucratic growth, were found to be present in the communities studied, it is emigration from this area which, in intensifying these processes, has been the major force of change in this particular region of Portugal. The present shape and direction of economic activities as well as

other modernizing trends in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, have been directly conditioned by emigration in two major ways: first, as a result of rapid population loss during the decade of the 1960s and second, by the nature and extent of emigrant investment and spending in home communities. In the absence of any industrial activity in the region surrounding the three communities, the impact of emigration upon the local economy has been felt in four principal areas including construction undertakings, agriculture, the local commercial sphere, and state capital investment in the form of public works projects.

In this chapter, I discuss emigration-related economic change in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. The change is seen as an accelerating urbanization or suburbanization process generated primarily by emigrants and is part of a wider modernization trend currently unfolding throughout the Mediterranean. The discussion is divided into seven sections. The first section focuses upon the disintegration of traditional agriculture, a result of population loss. The disintegration includes shifts in the division of labor, shifts in the age of agriculturalists and a dependence upon cash remittances all resulting in a stagnation of agricultural productivity. The second section, also concerned with the effects of emigration upon agriculture, looks at the continuing fragmentation of the traditional minifundia tenure system caused by sales, speculation and inheritance. The third section looks at the extent to which migrants have invested remittances in machinery used to improve commercial agricultural production. The fourth section discusses the nature and extent of the emigrant sponsored construction boom taking place in and around the three communities studied. Section five, touching simultaneously upon the expansion of construction and commercial activity

in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, examines emigrant demand for and spending on consumer goods and home furnishings in the local economy. Section six discusses first, the impact of depopulation and second, the expansion of the small commercial sector of the communities. Finally, the last section describes various infrastructural public works projects stimulated by the emigrant-generated construction boom.

Population Loss and Agricultural Productivity

Agricultural production in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, following a national trend during the post-war period, has been characterized by stagnation and slow decline. Throughout northern Portugal this stagnation or inertia has been linked to a variety of factors such as a low degree of mechanization, the lack of prepared seed usage, low levels of appropriate fertilizer utilization and the continuing fragmentation of land tenure, but, the loss of great numbers of economically active members of the population from the region due to emigration certainly has contributed significantly to the stagnation. Between 1960 and 1970, the economically active population of the District of Vila Real fell from 86,549 to approximately 54,000 (Freitas et al. 1976:47).

The exodus of large numbers of economically active segments of the population of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães during the 1960s affected local agriculture in at least three major ways. First, the departure of this group, consisting primarily of adult males, left agriculture in the hands of women and the elderly and thus altered somewhat the traditional division of labor. Second, with the inflow of cash remittances sent by family members working outside Portugal, many households found they could survive without extensive participation in agriculture and hence increasingly withdrew from cultivation activities. Third,

population loss through emigration greatly reduced the numbers of poor landless laborers thus significantly eroding a work force (and socio-economic class) formerly employed on the few medium sized farms in the region. As a result, not only has there been a decline in the area cultivated on these farms, but with the exodus of this labor pool, medium sized farm owners (propietarios) are increasingly subdividing their land for sale to land hungry emigrants, many of whom were former laborers.

The fairly rapid loss of well over one third of the economically active population from Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães during the 1960s and early 1970s had the effect of suddenly throwing the burden of arduous subsistence agriculture upon the shoulders of those remaining, made up to a considerable extent of women and the elderly. More often than not, they were unable to maintain previous crop yield levels. Although this problem was rectified somewhat in recent years with the return of a sizeable group of emigrants, women and the aged were still highly visible in agriculture at the time research was carried out and especially during the harvest of the three principal crops of the communities: grapes, potatoes and rye.

Although a fairly clear cut division of labor on the basis of gender was found in the three communities, with women's work being associated with household tasks and men's labor more closely linked with agricultural work outside the household, women traditionally in Tras-Os-Monte province have participated in a broad range of agricultural activities. That is, while having exclusive responsibility for running the household, women also have worked in the fields and especially during harvests (Willems 1969), (Fonte 1972:135). Through participation

in and observation of numerous grape, potato and rye harvests in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães however, it was learned that primarily as a result of emigration, women have come to play a greater role in both the grape and potato harvests and have become more visible in the cutting of rye as well.

Women were especially visible in the grape harvests (vindimas) which took place in late September and early October, harvests marked by considerable gaiety and singing. When asked why more men were not present in the grape cutting, the reply more often than not was "They are away working outside Portugal" (Estão a trabalhar no estrangeiro).

The vindimas in and around Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes were based, for the most part, upon labor exchange rather than upon wages and were also viewed as a kind of social event rather than mere work. Occasionally, payment in kind (usually in the form of barrels or pipas of wine) was also arranged. The relative lack of wage labor in the vindimas is shaped by a number of factors including the somewhat limited wine production carried out in the three communities. Due to ecology, climate and the importance of other subsistence crops, the region surrounding Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, while yielding a claret-like wine of low alcohol content, is not included in the government's demarcated wine producing regions and hence had commercial value only at the local level.

While some sizeable vineyards are located in favored eco-zones in the communities, typically, the vines are commonly supported by wire and poured concrete poles and sit atop the innumerable stone walls dividing the many small properties in the communities. But, because of the decline of rye and potato production, and because of a soaring inflation rate, wine production in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes is

rapidly becoming an important (albeit local) commercial crop; this is true, despite its non-demarcated status and recently declining production. Given the current high level of participation of women in viticulture activities, they could very well be the ones who will update the returning menfolk on the rising importance, prices and local market circuits of wine.

Women were also highly visible in the September potato harvests (arranca da batata). In contrast to the vindimas, potato pulling involved dirty and difficult stoop labor and was considered the least enjoyable of the harvests. Nonetheless, it was mainly women who could be seen bent over their hoes, shaking the dusty soil off the tubers in the early morning mists. Although men also participated in this particular task, in each case observed, they were greatly outnumbered by women and almost always were involved in the stacking and lifting of potato sacks.

As with the vindimas, when asked why it was mainly women digging up potatoes, the replies commonly cited the absence of a husband or brother who was working away from Portugal. As one woman put it, "My husband is in France but we still have to eat, right?" It is perhaps the high level of participation by women in the potato harvest, work which is physically taxing, dirty and "in the fields" which best illustrates the impact of emigration upon the division of labor in agriculture.

In contrast to the vindimas and the arranca da batata, the harvesting of rye (segada) was done by groups whose composition included a rough balance between men and women. This balance however, probably represents an increased involvement of women. Moreover, in each of the

segadas observed, most participating males appeared to be middle-aged and older, a fact which also testifies to the effects of depopulation upon agriculture in the three communities.

Although cutting the rye with hand held sickles and stacking it into bundles is difficult work, the segada is a time for singing and joking. Like potato harvests the segada often involved payment of a daily cash wage (jorna) which at the time of research was approximately 600 escudos or \$13.00 U.S. for a dawn-to-dusk workday. Nonetheless, both payment in kind and labor exchange, primarily among close friends and family, were still fairly common. In the case of all three harvests, workers expect from their patoao do dia (boss for the day) at least two substantial meals and a steady supply of wine in the fields. And as with both the grape and potato harvests, the highly visible presence of women in this particularly arduous agricultural activity together with the older ages of many of the men working the segada, reflects the effects depopulation has had upon the division of labor in agriculture in the three communities.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, emigration from the community of a sizeable segment of the economically active population resulted in an artificial aging of the remaining population, a process which not only has left its mark upon the face of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, but upon agricultural production as well. At the time of research, nearly one third of the residents of the three communities were over the age of fifty-five, a figure which, if adjusted for the economically active portion of the population, would no doubt approximate the national average of 41 percent for all those active in agriculture over the age of fifty-five (Plano 1978:42).

One highly visible feature of community life therefore, included the predominance of older lavradores working in agriculture who could be seen each day leading their oxcarts, walking among a small flock of sheep or slowly strolling to their fields with the everpresent hoe over their shoulders. On numerous occasions, extension agents working for the Ministry of Agriculture and for the local co-operative expressed exasperation in describing their dealings with many of the older lavradores in the concelho who they characterized as suspicious (desconfiados), conservative (conservadores) and backward (atrasados). Similarly, it was not uncommon to hear stories told by extension agents of verbal abuse, threats and hostility expressed by residents of some of the more isolated villages in the concelho. It was also learned that following the April Revolution, representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture offered favorable credit rates and easy access to agricultural machinery on the condition that land parcels be consolidated and stone walls be knocked down. This proposal was soundly defeated in a local referendum as being a plot of the Comunistas. Indeed, it was this broad group of small scale agriculturalists who after decades of passivity, organized themselves into The Movement of Agriculturalists of the Northern Region (MARN: Movimento dos Agricultores do Região do Norte) against the collective oriented agricultural policies of the Vith Provisional Government under communist general Vasco Goncalves.

Because of physical limitations, the adherence to old, time honored ways of doing things and an ideology which stresses property ownership, older agriculturalists, now comprising a larger segment of the economically active population in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, continue to reinforce the stagnation of agriculture.

Another way in which emigration from the three communities has contributed to the inertia found in local agriculture has been through a growing dependency of many local households upon cash remittances sent from family members working outside Portugal. With the increasing inflow of these remittances, many families in the communities are able to withdraw from agricultural activities, which means a shift upward in status in the eyes of many. This withdrawal results in increasing numbers of parcels in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães being taken out of cultivation, thus contributing to the continued decline of agriculture. It should be pointed out however, that while some local households have been able to disengage from agriculture as a way of making a living, not all agricultural lands go uncultivated; they are often rented to other community members. Thus, in the locality studied, while dependency upon cash remittances has undoubtedly contributed to the stultification of agriculture, it has not resulted in the total abandonment of vast tracts of agricultural land which has happened in other areas of northern Portugal.

Agricultural production in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães has also declined because of the mass exodus of the poor landless laborers from the area, a socioeconomic class which provided the bulk of the labor for the few medium-sized farms present in and around the three communities. With the departure of this group, many medium-sized farmers (propietarios), already cultivating less than in previous years, are not only renting out subdivided parcels of land to local community members but are increasingly selling smaller lots to land hungry emigrants willing to pay high prices.

On numerous occasions, local propietarios were heard to reminisce

about the bountiful harvests of previous years and to complain that today "No one wants to work". If population loss due to emigration has eroded the traditional supply of cheap labor for many proprietarios, changes resulting from the April Revolution have also influenced the perception of this class held by many community members. Thus, among some of the more liberal lavradores, discussions of proprietarios often included the use of such terms as fascista (fascist) or burgues (bourgeois) or as one lavrador said, "You won't find me tipping my hat to him anymore".

The trend towards parcelization of medium-sized farms therefore, not only reinforces the continued fragmentation of land tenure in the area, but may result in the further retreat of agriculture. Some of the land parcels will undoubtedly be used, legally or illegally, as housing sites. As with the dependence of certain segments of the local communities upon remittances however, the break-up of medium-sized farms in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes is not resulting in the immediate parcelization of farms into gridworks of subdivided lots, but rather is taking place in a piecemeal fashion. The ultimate effect of this process however, remains the same: the removal of agricultural lands from cultivation and the erosion of an already limited but important base from which agricultural production might be potentially improved.

The continued decline of agriculture in the region surrounding Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes during the past two decades is illustrated with figures from the Estatisticas Agrícolas for both the production of principal crops and areas cultivated in the Concelho of Bucelas during the years 1963-1965 and 1975. (See table 7.0). In 1975, villages in the Concelho of Bucelas produced approximately 160.2 metric tons of

TABLE 7.0
 PRODUCTION OF PRINCIPAL CROPS IN THE CONCELHO OF BUCELAS: 1963-65, 1975

	Barley	Beans	Potatoes	Corn	Wheat	Rye	Wine	Olive Oil	Average metric tons per hectare
1963	.069	1.9	163.8	22.2	.025	28.8	10,075	27	.023 T/ha
1964	.051	2.2	170.6	24.4	.029	18.8	10,870	33	.028 T/ha
1965	.065	1.4	130.1	19.1	.023	23.0	9,162	24	.022 T/ha
1975	.045	.87	130.1	19.1	.121	13.0	477	8	.025 T/ha

Source: Instituto Nacional De Estatistica, Estatisticas Agricolas (Lisbon, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1975) pp. 38-41, table 11.

Note: All crops are measured in metric tons with the exception of wine and olive oil which are measured in hectoliters.

potatos, rye, barley, beans, corn and wheat, a drop of some 56.6 tons from 1963. Similarly, in 1975 a total of 6,522 hectares of land were in cultivation, a decrease of some 2,775 hectares from the 9,297 hectares cultivated in 1963. Seen another way, agricultural production in the concelho remained essentially unchanged. By 1975, the average yield of the above crops was .025 metric tons per hectare, an increase of only .002 tons per hectare from the 1963 figure. During this twelve year period, which corresponds closely to the time frame in which the bulk of emigration from the concelho took place, the gross production of all crops declined with the exception of wheat, whose cultivation increased very slightly. Perhaps the most significant decreases in agricultural production within the Concelho of Bucelas during the period under question were felt in the production of wine and olive oil. In 1963, some 10,075 hectoliters of wine were produced in the concelho while 27 hectoliters of olive oil were pressed. By 1975, the total amount of wine produced had fallen to only 477 hectoliters while the production of olive oil had also fallen to a mere 8 hectoliters.

Clearly, while the above figures indicate a gradual but continuous decline in agriculture rather than a sharp and sudden drop, they nonetheless represent significant decreases between 1963 and 1975 which no doubt have resulted in large measure from the departure of numerous economically active residents from the Concelho of Bucelas.

Land Tenure

Among all factors constraining agriculture in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, the evolution of a highly fragmented and dispersed minifundia land tenure system has been central to the gradual demise of agriculture. Through generations of quit-lease arrangements and through partible

inheritance, land tenure in the three communities as well as throughout northern Portugal has come to be characterized by extreme parcelization, dispersal and a subsistence orientation.

By 1954, as shown in the results of the Inquerito as Explorações Agrícolas (Inquiry into Agricultural Enterprises) carried out in that year, the District of Vila Real occupied second place out of a total of eighteen administrative districts on the continent with respect to the extent of land fragmentation. Following only the district of Bragança, located immediately to the east, nearly half (48 percent) of all agricultural units in the District of Vila Real were comprised of six or more parcels of land. (As described in Chapter Three, a high number of parcels usually corresponds to both a small area per parcel as well as a limited total area of all parcels.) Moreover, in the Concelho of Bucelas, this figure was substantially higher, with 68 percent of all agricultural enterprises consisting of six or more parcels. Even more striking however, are figures recorded for the percentage of agricultural units having eleven or more pieces of land. Within this category, the 1954 study found that the Concelho of Bucelas led all concelhos in the District of Vila Real as 46 percent of all agricultural units within its borders contained eleven or more parcels of land (Martins 1975:292). The implications of this tenure system for agriculture have been far reaching and pervasive. By 1954, some 54 percent of all agricultural undertakings in the Concelho of Bucelas were described in the Inquerito as being empresas familiares imperfeitas (imperfect family enterprises), agricultural units whose production was insufficient to sustain the household, thus resulting in the need for family members to seek employment outside the agricultural unit (Ibid.:143).

By 1968, despite laws aimed at halting the continued fragmentation and dispersal of agricultural land in northern Portugal, and despite massive emigration and the decline in the number of agricultural units with less than one hectare of land, fragmentation and dispersal of parcels in the north continued much the same and in some areas was accelerated. In their analysis of data obtained from the National Inquiry into Agriculture carried out in 1968, Freitas et al. (1976) found that family-run enterprises with six or more parcels of land increased from 33 percent of the total of all agricultural units in Portugal in 1954 to 35 percent of the total in 1968 (Freitas et al. 1976:131).

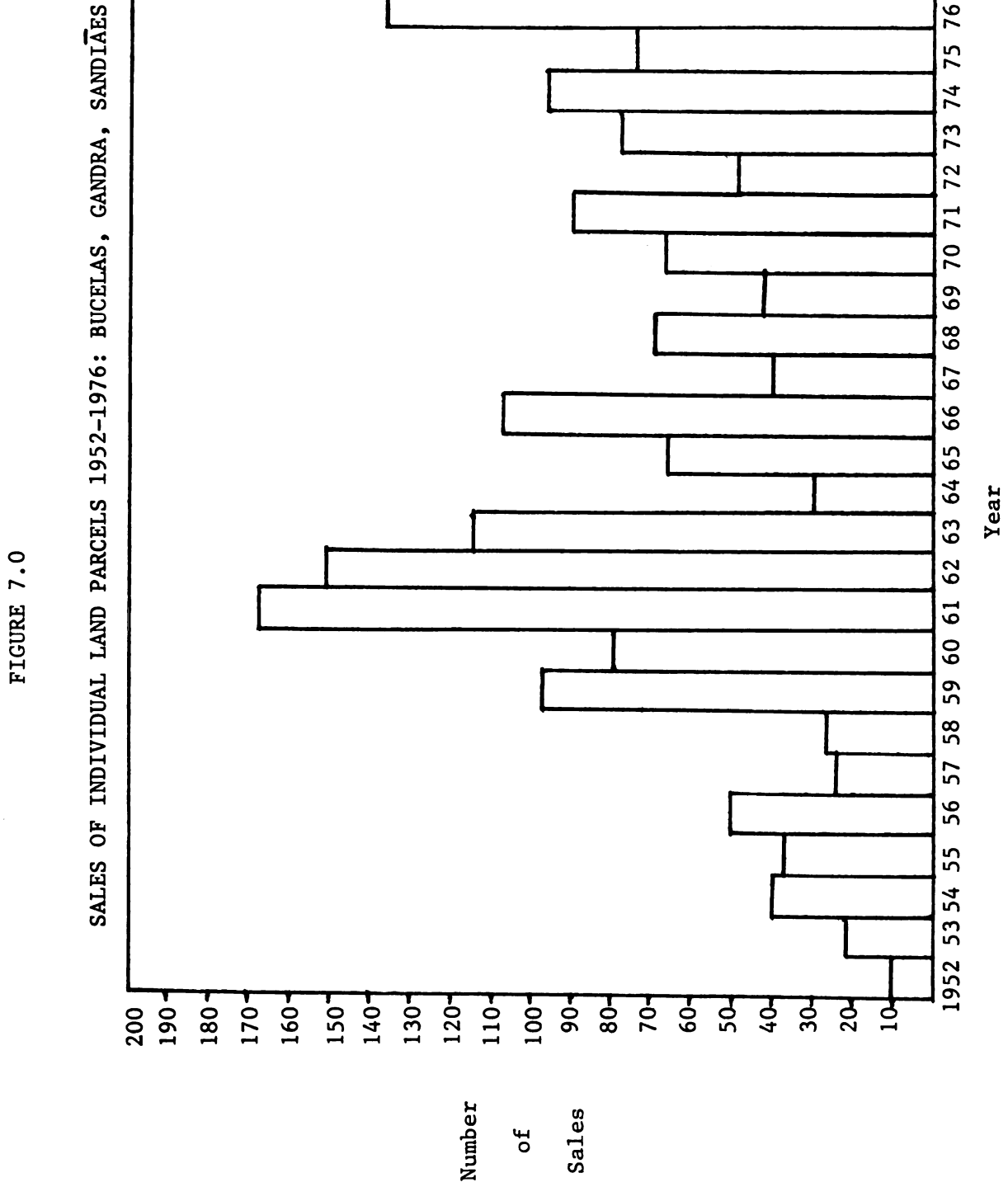
In addition, it was found that in 1968 some 60 percent of all agricultural units in Portugal contained an area of five hectares or less while 23 percent of the total had less than .5 hectares. Moreover, it was learned that in 1968 approximately 72 percent of all agricultural units in Portugal still were oriented primarily towards subsistence agriculture (Plano 1978:28-9). Similarly, in the District of Vila Real, the rate of fragmentation and dispersal has remained high. In 1968 therefore, the average agricultural enterprise in this district contained 8.06 separate parcels of land whose average individual area was less than .5 hectares (.470 hectares) each (Freitas et al. 1976:89).

Although Freitas et al. suggest that emigrant remittances during the 1960s and 1970s have resulted in a decline in the number of agricultural units holding less than one hectare as well as an increase in the number of units containing between 20 and more than 100 hectares, their data point to the continued fragmentation of land tenure as well. Thus, in the District of Vila Real, the number of agricultural enterprises containing between 1-5 hectares and 5-20 hectares increased from 16,477

to 17,920 and from 3,333 to 11,115 respectively between 1954 and 1968 (Ibid.:76-9). Moreover, if data from and observations of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães are indicative of broader trends in land tenure patterns, then the rise in the number of agricultural households with one parcel of land in the District of Vila Real between 1954 and 1968 (from 6,125 units to 7,154 units) may be due to the growing number of emigrants who are purchasing land for housing sites. (Ibid.:87).

Data collected through interviews, observations and from land tenure records (contribuição predial) in the three communities show that through the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, land tenure structures in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães have continued to be fragmented and dispersed as increasing numbers of emigrants and returned emigrants acquire land in their communities of origin. (See figure 7.0). It should be remembered that 86 percent of visiting emigrants interviewed in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães during the summer months already had or indicated a desire to acquire land or new housing in their home community.

One major way in which land tenure and use in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães was found to be adversely affected by emigrant demand for property, has been through a fairly rapid and elevated spiral in the price of land (estimated by some community members as having risen some 500 percent during the past decade). This trend is increasingly putting prices beyond the reach of many local community members. That is, many emigrants and returned emigrants who desire land and have the necessary cash, have been instrumental in driving up land values not only in the local communities, but throughout the region as a whole, thus contributing to an already high inflation rate (approximately 40 percent annually in 1978) at the national level.



More importantly however, is the fact that this inflationary trend has put the price of land beyond the means of most local lavradores who depend on agriculture for a living and who cannot, as do many returned emigrants for example, fall back in times of need on savings, social security or a pension acquired outside Portugal. These inflationary trends, in discouraging potential local buyers and by selecting for emigrant purchasers, also is linked to the growing non-agricultural use of land in the area, a trend which has not gone unnoticed by many local community members.

According to local agricultural extension agents, agrarian reform laws passed after the April Revolution (Lei do Arrendimento Rural) specify that those agriculturalists who own parcels of land adjacent to land being put up for sale, have preference in the purchase of that property. With prices out of their reach however, most lavradores are prevented from consolidating parcels. They then remain fragmented and dispersed and given the recent emigrant-induced housing construction boom in the area, may or may not be used for agriculture.

A second effect of emigrant pressure for land in the three communities has involved the parcelization and sale of communally held lands (baldios) into individual private plots which are then utilized as lots for housing sites. At the level of the local community, these lands traditionally were and still are held by the junta de freguesia. While baldio areas in general do not include large tracts of prime agricultural land, but rather consist of both brush and pine forests, for generations they have been an important source of firewood, grazing lands, timber and game for much of the local population. Of special importance with respect to the traditional use of the baldios for many local

villages, especially those in higher altitudes with poorer agricultural lands, were grazing areas for large flocks of sheep which were often cared for in a collective rotating system called vezeiras.

In the late 1940s however, vast areas of baldio lands came under the direct administration of the National Forest Service (Serviços Florestais) and were thus lost to many villages in the Concelho of Bucelas. This resulted in both a sudden reduction in flock sizes as well as the elimination of a major source of income. According to Fontes (1972:63), the incorporation of baldio lands was responsible for generating the first waves of emigration from this area of Portugal during the post-war period. The parcelization and sale of communally held lands is particularly troubling because in most cases, baldio lands in this region of northern Portugal represent a small fraction of their former size. Currently, approximately 70 percent of the area of the Concelho of Bucelas is administered by this particular division of the Portuguese government. Although the National Forest Service has in fact reforested large areas in and around the communities of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, considerable local resentment still persists against this department which, through its own police force, prevents local residents from utilizing a traditionally important local resource.

Indeed, stories of clashes between villagers and Forest Service guards were not uncommon in the communities. When a forest fire destroyed some 4,000 hectares of pine (out of a total of 22,080 hectares in the concelho) local speculation was that the arsonists were either embittered villagers, retornados or communists. Currently, former baldio lands now administered by the National Forest Service account for the following percentages of the areas contained in the freguesias of the three

communities: Bucelas 70 percent, Gandra 60 percent, Sandiães 33 percent. Perhaps a more persistent reminder of this continuing anti-forest service sentiment was seen in slogans painted on various buildings in the three communities: "Down With The Forest Service!" (Abaixo Com A Floresta!)

Interestingly, the practice of selling communally held lands, a relatively recent development which was in direct response to emigrant pressure for land upon which to construct their new houses, became illegal in 1976 when under the policies of the Vith Provisional government legislation was passed to set up conditions for the expansion of co-operative and collective agriculture.¹ With Decree Laws 39 and 40, passed in 1976, not only was the sale of baldio lands prohibited but authority was given to local freguesias to retroactively annul previous sales of these lands. These laws exempted however, those parcels upon which houses had already been constructed. Most local officials and community members however, being politically conservative and strongly anti-communist, simply ignored and continue to ignore the laws.

Although the sale of communally held lands has given many emigrants the opportunity to build new houses in their home communities a number of problems have already emerged. In the village of Sandiães for example, care was taken to not subdivide cultivable baldio lands for residential purposes. The president of the junta de freguesia did however, arrange for rocky areas along the highway above the village (highly visible, hence desirable lots from the standpoint of emigrants constructing new houses) to be divided into parcels. Many new emigrant owned houses have been constructed on this site but rest upon outcroppings of solid granite. Thus, many of these houses, despite their sparkling tiles, colorful paint jobs and modern style, are without a water supply and conditions suitable

for drainage and sewer systems. To these homes, many of which are imitations of French homes, water must be carried by hand from nearby wells while modern style bathrooms and kitchen fixtures become unusable show-cases. More importantly however, the conversion of communally held lands into residential areas not only removes from the local community still another local resource, but also forecloses the possibility of future co-operative or collective community-wide development of these lands.

A third major side effect of suburbanizing trends associated with the growing emigrant demand for land has been the continued de facto subdivision of properties. This subdividing is taking place through the circumvention of laws aimed at inhibiting this process. In 1966, measures were taken by the central government to halt the continued disintegration of a tenure system (already fragmented through generations of partible inheritance and unrestrained land sales). With the implementation of Fraccionamento Law number 47.344 and associated articles 1376-82, agricultural lands whose areas were above the specified figure (an area which varied with crops grown and the quality of the soil) could not be subdivided for the purpose of sale. One article attached to this act included a provision which allowed the parcelization of rural lands, called predios rusticos, only after they had been rezoned to an urban status (predios urbanos). According to Bucelas local functionaries in both the Department of Finances and civil registry however, these zoning changes were closely monitored and issued sparingly. In addition, the cost of taxes and fees associated with this process tended to inhibit land subdivision through zoning changes. One other article amended to Civil Code Act 1376 designed in principle to forestall continued land parcelization, has, in fact, provided a means for local residents, and especially

in more recent years emigrants, to purchase and subdivide parcels. This provision, while prohibiting the outright division of agricultural lands, does allow parcels to be divided into jointly owned pieces called "indivisible halves" (metades indivisas) or indivisible fractions (fracções indivisas). By law, indivisible halves or fractions must remain in agriculture and cannot be marked off or divided by walls or fences. But, because of the growing demand for land many co-owners of these parcels, who are often kinsmen, have utilized these properties separately, erecting the familiar stone walls of the region and even building on these lands. Enforcement of Article 1376 has been virtually impossible given the small number of those employed in the Finance Department, the widespread circumvention of the law, and the relatively large areas included within the concelho.

The same process was found with respect to the inheritance of land in the three communities, whose form has remained essentially partible inheritance. Again, under Civil Code Article 1376, while lands zoned for agriculture may not be subdivided outright, beneficiaries can receive indivisible fractions. According to the magistrate in Bucelas, like their counterparts who have purchased land under this arrangement, many beneficiaries ignore legal restrictions upon land use. Any attempt to evaluate the extent of land fragmentation in this region therefore, cannot be based solely upon recorded land tenure records, but must also include an examination of actual land use patterns which may in fact vary widely from figures contained in the contribuição predial. Moreover, it may be impossible to obtain a complete picture of land use due to the fact that many families, (a majority - according to local functionaries) suspicious of government and unwilling to pay inheritance taxes,

simply refuse to have land inheritance entered in the local tenure records. Thus, a purchaser of an indivisible fraction, desiring a deed to the property, will pay the necessary fees and taxes to have it registered with the Department of Finances. A family, on the other hand, barring internal feuding concerning the inheritance of property, may be content to keep land records as they are and therefore, has no need to record the division of property into indivisible fractions.

A fourth side effect of emigrant demand for land is a process linked to the process just discussed, the division of parcels into indivisible fractions. It involves the growth of a clandestine suburbanization through the illegal construction of homes on land zoned for agricultural use. As previously mentioned, according to zoning laws as they apply in the Concelho of Bucelas, construction of residential or commercial buildings can only take place on land classified as urban. Given the relative scarcity of vacant land with an urban classification and given the high costs of numerous taxes and fees assessed for zoning changes, increasing numbers of emigrants and some local residents in the three communities are bypassing rezoning codes and are constructing houses either on rural family owned lands, whose de facto parcelization and use has been kept off tenure records, or are building on indivisible fractions which have been either purchased or inherited. In recent years, houses constructed in this manner have gained increasing media attention and are popularly referred to as casas clandestinas or "clandestine Houses".

Although it is still in an early phase, the apparently widespread and growing practice of circumvention of laws governing land use, coupled

with the increasing number of illegally constructed homes in and around Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, continues to generate a type of clandestine suburbanization process which has serious repercussions for agriculture. That is, as emigrants continue to show interest in investing and obtaining land and new housing, and began returning to their communities of origin in greater numbers, not only many local land tenure arrangements continue to be fragmented and dispersed, but increasing amounts of cultivable land will be effectively removed from agriculture. Seen another way, through sales and inheritance registered between 1952 and 1979, parcelization took place on 87 hectares of lands in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. Moreover, given the fact that most families do not register the inheritance of land within the family unit, additional de facto parcelization through land use patterns will more than likely result in even higher figures of fragmentation.

In 1954, the Inquerito as Explorações Agrícolas found that community members of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães owned some 4,743 individual parcels of land in an area of some 3,795 hectares encompassed by the three freguesias for an average area per parcel of .800 hectares. By 1979, through the sale and inheritance of indivisible fractions and halves, tenure records show that the number of individual parcels in the three communities had grown to 5,347, which represents an average area per parcel of .709 hectares. Clearly, the hopes for improved land-man ratios expected by some economists which were supposed to occur as a result of emigration have not taken place in this region of northern Portugal (c f. Griffin 1976:335-39). In a context therefore, of continuing subsistence oriented agriculture, the absence of industry, poor transportation and ecological constraints upon the area of cultivable land in the three

communities, the ongoing fragmentation of land tenure, coupled with the growth of "rural" urbanization, may be slowly undermining the only remaining basis for genuine economic development in the area: that of agriculture.

Agricultural Machinery

In contrast to the considerable sums invested by emigrants in land and housing, it was found that in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, very little of emigrant remittances was spent on agricultural machinery. Many returned emigrants cultivated large gardens for household consumption and had access through sharecropping or rent to other staple crops on their lands, but they did not invest in agricultural machinery, an investment which could have improved agricultural production. Rather, most were content to live off rents, pensions, savings or from other types of economic activities. As a returned emigrant who had worked in France for eight years and is currently employed as an electric meter reader put it, "Emigrants become a little civilized and after their return, they don't want to walk behind a plow like they used to." Thus, while many emigrants often purchased a chain saw, a gasoline powered pump or a herbicide sprayer for their vines, very few made investments in machinery such as harvester/threshers or soil working attachments for tractors. For example, only two small threshers, owned by individuals in the village of Sandiaes, served a twenty mile radius of the three communities. One of these threshers, which is towed from village to village and whose service is paid for in cash or in kind, was purchased by a returned emigrant with savings earned in France.

Similarly, although eight of the twenty-one tractors in the communities were purchased with money earned from emigration, most were bought

without appropriate attachments and were purchased with the intention of doing contract work, which in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães commonly meant hauling associated with construction activity. Eleven of the twenty full sized tractors in the communities were sometimes hired to do plowing and discing but most of the fields surrounding Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes are too small to warrant the costs of hiring a tractor. Thus, the tractors usually paid for themselves by being put to use in construction activities. The majority of fields in the immediate area were plowed and prepared with horse and oxen teams and were harvested by hand.

Although Government subsidies were available to both individuals and the local co-operatives for the purchase of agricultural machinery, the terms of obtaining this assistance, coupled with the extremely high costs of imported agricultural machinery in general, made it almost impossible for those interested to purchase the machinery. These subsidies, channeled through the Instituto de Gestão Estruturação Fundiario (IGEF) paid up to 20 percent purchase price to individuals and up to 30 percent of purchase price to members of a co-operative. As previously mentioned however, few individuals or the co-operatives in Bucelas and Sandiaes could afford to invest in a significant way in agricultural machinery.

Housing Construction

As in other areas of northern Portugal, the almost singular desire on the part of many emigrants from Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães to own new or renovated houses in their home communities has generated in recent years a local construction boom which, from appearances, did not show signs of abating in the near future. While the sale of land in the communities has declined somewhat since the mid-1970s, examinations of

tenure records showed that it remains high in other villages throughout the concelho. Moreover, from interviews with emigrants spending their holidays in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, it was also learned that the intention to both renovate existing housing and construct new housing remains strong among many emigrants.

As early as 1972, interviews conducted by the International Catholic Migration Commission with returned emigrants in the District of Aveiro showed that almost 40 percent of emigrant remittances were spent on land and housing (Kayser 1972:49). Similarly, in his own research of emigrants attending festas in the District of Aveiro in 1971, Kayser found that after basic necessities were met, 72.5 percent of 120 visiting emigrants interviewed spent the bulk of their remaining savings on either house construction or renovation (Ferreira 1977:20). A very similar pattern was found in Andalusia by Rhoades (1979) who studied return migration of Spanish workers from West Germany. Thus, from observations of and interviews with emigrants in the three communities, it would appear that Poinard's assessment of Portuguese emigrants a decade ago still holds true for those emigrants from Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães; most believed "The possession of a house is the best investment one can possibly make." (Kayser 1972:49).

When passing through the villages along the road which connects them, one is immediately struck by two principal sights: first, the presence of many brightly painted, modern style houses in and around the communities and second, the signs of ongoing construction: partially completed structures, piles of bricks, gravel and sacks of cement.

For a variety of reasons, including a lack of space in the tightly compacted villages and the recent subdivision of baldio lands, most

casas dos emigrantes have been built in open areas away from the nucleated settlement clusters of the communities. This trend is gradually altering the shape of settlement patterns in the communities. However, far from being undesirable, such housing sites are usually favored by emigrants, especially if they are located along the highway, a highly visible location. These new emigrant homes are quite conspicuous, but what is perhaps equally as conspicuous is the contrast between the new or renovated emigrant houses in the original village (often pink, orange, red, mauve or chartreuse) against the greys and browns of the lichen covered traditional houses. However, if the incongruous style and color of emigrant houses loudly proclaim new found success the message is mixed; many of the owners are still working and living outside Portugal. From a household census conducted in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, fifty-two empty houses, some renovated, others new and others old, were counted.

In addition to the somewhat glaring presence of newly constructed or renovated houses, evidence of continuing construction was everywhere in the three communities including evidence of the many public projects ongoing at the time of research. Many houses, at various stages of completion, remained that way for most of the year and progressed primarily during the summer months when their owners returned to work on them. According to both local residents and emigrants, in the past, the construction of new houses often took as long as five years or more. More recently however, principally as a result of soaring construction costs, efforts are made to build them as rapidly as possible. During the summer of 1978, for example, the shells and roofing for a number of houses in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães were completed, leaving only the final finishing work. By many accounts, the average cost of a new two story

house in 1978 was between 1,000 and 2,000 contos (\$20,000-40,000 U.S.). In anticipation of escalating costs of construction materials, many emigrants purchased as much of the materials needed as they could in advance, a practice which no doubt has contributed to both shortages in supply as well as to rising prices. Stacks of bricks, tiles, and bags of cement could often be seen under tarps or plastic sheets which were stored either at the construction site or at the home of a nearby family member. Despite such precautions however, it was not uncommon for emigrants to run out of funds before completion of all work.

By and large, many of the new emigrant houses in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes reflect, as they do throughout much of northern Portugal, imitations of middle class suburban homes found in northern Europe. According to one local functionary of the Câmara Municipal, a number of these houses were built from plans brought directly from France and West Germany and were in the "maison" and "chalet" styles; styles which emigrants had been constructing for northern Europeans. While emigrant owned houses throughout northern Portugal have been described by both Portuguese and non-Portuguese observers as "vulgarizing architecture", "clumsy imitations", "mimicry" (cf. Kayser, 1972), (Poinard 1977), and "tasteless" (Joliffe 1980), in the locality studied most houses have maintained at least one element of practicality carried over from the traditional rural house of the region: the use of the first floor for storage and the second floor for living space. Thus, it was common practice for many emigrants still working outside Portugal to allow family or friends to use or rent storage space in the cave or ground level of their new houses. Equally commonplace was the somewhat inconsistent sight of ox carts backed up to the door of a bright, new, modern style house

unloading firewood, grain or a barrel of wine.

Despite the fact that houses built by emigrants symbolize upward social mobility and often involve very real improvements in living conditions, they often are plagued with problems. Shoddy construction, for example, is commonplace and often results from efforts to cut costs as well as from lax enforcement of building codes and on-site inspections. On at least one occasion during the period of research, news was heard of an emigrant-constructed house which partially collapsed. Indeed, in order to obtain a building permit, one need only submit a plan, usually drawn up by a designador or draftsman which is then approved by an engineer or architect, to the Câmara Municipal. After the plan is approved, a fee is paid to the Câmara Municipal and construction begins. Little if any contact with authorities (including building inspections) occurs after the approval of a design, leaving ample room for modifications to take place.

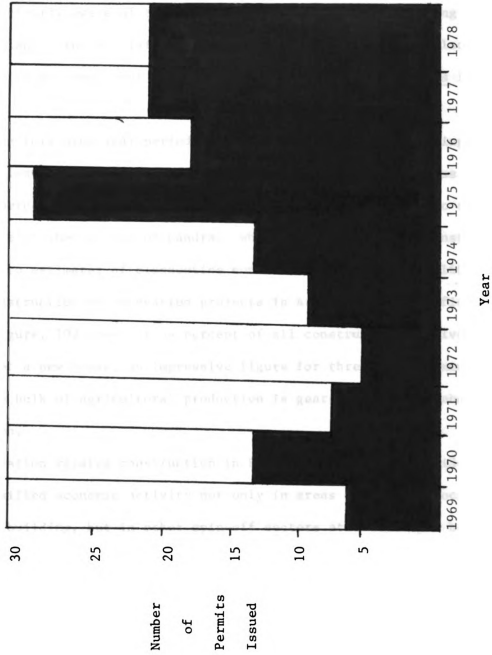
In one instance, a couple who had lived in a home in Sault Sainte Marie, Ontario where they worked for ten years, built a large and impressive home with a basement on the main road in the village of Gandra. Lacking any drainage however, the basement and first floor of the nearly completed house were immediately flooded with the first Spring rains. While most newly constructed houses in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes have access to both electricity and running water, many in other villages in the concelho do not. Moreover, a significant proportion of new houses in the three communities lacked indoor plumbing; many modern bathroom and kitchen fixtures in these houses remained unusable.

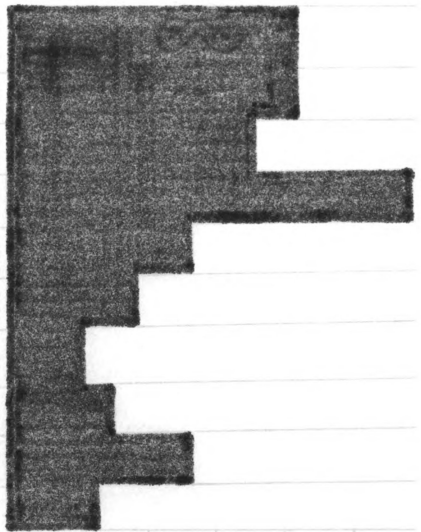
Although many casas dos emigrantes have been plagued with a variety of problems, it has been primarily clandestine houses, those constructed

illegally on agricultural lands, which have had a greater share of both structural and service problems. Because casas clandestinas are built illegally on land zoned for agriculture, they circumvent virtually all of the necessary permits, codes and initial design reviews. Or as the local magistrate in the town of Bucelas put it, "They exist in the air." Perhaps more importantly however, it is clandestine housing which is most often without electricity, running water and plumbing. With rapidly rising land values, clandestine construction continues to be appealing to many emigrants and returned emigrants who wish to own a home in or near their community of origin. While somewhat difficult to assess, from interviews and conversations with local community members, it is estimated that a minimum of twenty-one illegal constructions had been built during the past decade with thirty probably representing a more accurate figure. Of this number, at least ten have been constructed in the town of Bucelas while an additional eleven have gone up in and around Gandra and Sandiaes.

A clearer understanding of emigration induced construction in the three communities can be obtained from an examination of building permits issued for house construction and renovation. When they are combined with estimates of clandestine constructions, they yield a more accurate picture of the extent to which construction activities have taken place in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães during the past decade (See figure 7.1). From records of building permits issued by the Câmara Municipal, it was learned that between 1969 and 1978, some 139 permits were granted for the construction of new houses and for the renovation of existing structures. According to functionaries employed in the Câmara Municipal, most of these permits were issued to emigrants or returned emigrants. Of this

FIGURE 7.1
 PERMITS ISSUED FOR HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND RENOVATION: 1969-78:
 BUCELAS, GANDRA, SANDIÃES





figure, 81 permits or 58 percent of the total were granted for the construction of new houses (casas novas) while 58 or 42 percent were issued for proposed renovations (ampliações). During this period, a total of 78 permits or 56 percent of the total were issued to those building in the village of Sandiães. The president of the junta da freguesia of Sandiaes, clearly aware of this kind of movimento currently taking place in his village, proudly claimed, "They used to call Sandiães a place of hunger (terra da fome), but now we are one of the richest aldeias in the concelho".

During this nine-year period, 38 or 27 percent of all building permits were issued to those individuals planning to build in Bucelas while 23 or 17 percent of the total were obtained by those intending to construct or renovate in the village of Gandra. When figures for legal construction are added to estimates of clandestine constructions, a total of 160 individual construction or renovation projects is arrived at. Significantly, of this figure, 102 cases or 64 percent of all construction involved the building of a new house, an impressive figure for three rural communities whose bulk of agricultural production is geared toward household consumption.

Emigration related construction in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães has intensified economic activity not only in areas directly associated with home building, but in other spin-off sectors attendant upon house construction as well. Thus, recent years have seen an increase in the volume of sales of all types of construction materials, building supplies, home furnishings and consumer goods. In addition, some additional construction jobs have been made available to local residents who might otherwise have been unemployed.

It should be pointed out however, that despite appearances to the contrary, much of the intensified economic activity stemming from the housing boom in and around the three communities is more than likely temporary. Moreover, spending on home furnishings, consumer goods, and even construction materials and building supplies, does not occur in the communities from which the emigrants left (or to which they returned), but rather takes place in communities outside the concelho. In addition, while the housing boom has generated work for a number of local residents including a handful of small family style contractors, for the most part this work has been seasonal and has been limited by the fact that many emigrants, having worked in construction outside Portugal, do much of the work on their houses themselves. Also, permanent local investment responses to the housing boom have been few. Only two individuals, including one from the village of Sandiães who had worked in France, had invested in construction machinery. Machines owned by these two individuals include two backhoes, one bulldozer, two tractors and one small dumptruck. Similarly, in response to the demand for construction materials and in an attempt to cut transportation costs, two individuals (one a returned emigrant) from nearby villages have opened two small cement block producing facilities. These "cement factories", in actuality open air sites where blocks are made with a hand operated molding device, offer only part time and seasonal employment to no more than eight local men.

The data suggest therefore, that house construction during the past decade has continued to be a prime objective for many emigrants from Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. Yet, local economic activities resulting from the emigrant-sponsored housing boom, while highly visible, are essentially temporary kinds of activities and have done little to alter

the fundamental productive structures of the region.

Consumer Goods and Home Furnishings

In addition to obtaining improved housing and land, the acquisition of a variety of consumer goods and home furnishings was found to be a high priority for most emigrants and returned emigrants in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães; they often spent considerable sums both outside and within Portugal on these items. Highly popular goods desired and purchased by emigrants in the three communities included televisions, washing machines, sewing machines, stereos, tape players, refrigerators and a variety of furniture and other home furnishings. In this context, emigrants in the three communities follow trends documented elsewhere in Portugal, Spain and throughout the Mediterranean in general. According to surveys carried out in 1972 by the International Catholic Migration Commission in various locales throughout northern Portugal, some 32 percent of emigrant remittances were spent on consumer items and domestic appliances (Kayser 1972:49). More recently, in one of the few studies carried out specifically on return migration, Rhoades (1979) found that in Andalusia, Spanish returnees also spent considerable sums on household furnishings. Indeed, in describing the nature of Spanish spending patterns, Rhoades cites Veblen's telling phrase "conspicuous consumption run amok" to portray the Andalusian case.

While data concerning the specific proportions of emigrant remittances spent on these items were not collected for Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, through observation and numerous "tours" of emigrant owned houses, it was discovered that spending patterns of emigrants in the three communities correspond to broader trends documented throughout the Mediterranean. Moreover, it was also found that while emigrants were

clearly involved in blatant display of conspicuous consumption, many non-migrant community members and especially members of the local petty bourgeoisie were increasingly being drawn into this trend and at times even appeared to be attempting to keep up with emigrant displays.

Thus, a considerable variety of household appliances and consumer goods were visible not only in the newer casas dos emigrantes, but in renovated houses and even in traditional dwellings of families fortunate enough to have members working outside Portugal. On the whole however, the greatest concentrations of such items were found in the newly constructed homes of emigrants. In these houses, televisions of course, were quite common while stereos, radios and tape decks were also often prominently displayed. Although the government operated television stations as of yet do not broadcast in color, a few emigrants, anticipating this development have purchased color televisions and often watch fuzzy images of Spanish color telecasts. Other household appliances proudly brought out of boxes or pointed to during tours of emigrant houses included refrigerators, sewing machines, electric mixers, and washing machines to name only a few. On many occasions, visits to the homes of emigrants and returned migrants included a recitation of both the brand names and prices of various items. In one instance, an older woman who had worked in a New York hospital laundry for some five years, insisted on pulling back covers on every bed in the house to show the labels of mattresses purchased in "America".

With respect to home furnishings, most emigrants and returned migrants preferred to decorate their new or refurbished houses in the familiar Iberian or Mediterranean style rather than in contemporary northern European modes desired for example by Andalusian "Germophile"

returned emigrants (c f. Rhoades 1979). While traditional however, much of the furnishings purchased by emigrants were often quite plush. Dining rooms for example, almost always seemed to be furnished with massive wall-length buffets, long narrow dining tables with ornate high backed chairs and were usually complimented with a bright new chandelier. Normally, these dining rooms were used only for special occasions.

Living areas were also often well furnished with plush sofas and sitting chairs and as previously mentioned, bathrooms and kitchens in new casas dos emigrantes were almost always finished with colorful ceramic tiles and sparkling chrome fixtures. In addition, many new houses (and for that matter most houses, new, renovated or traditional) displayed a wide variety of tourist souvenir paraphernalia such as small flags, plaques, thermometers, plaster figurines, dolls, etc., from many different countries in northern Europe and North America. One noticeable change observed in newer emigrant owned houses was the decreased use of the traditional fireplace or lareira which in most houses of lavradores, while smoke-stained and soot covered, forms the focal point of family interaction, especially during the cold and damp winter months. Thus, while most of the new houses in fact were equipped with lareiras, they were used considerably less than in traditional houses because, as was commonly heard, "The smoke makes the house dirty."

Although emigrants and returned emigrants were involved in the most ostentatious displays of consumer goods and home furnishings, by no means were such displays limited only to this group. Members of the local petty bourgeoisie who only a decade ago were the only community members able to acquire such items, now seemed to compete with emigrants in conspicuous consumption and displays. More often than not however, members

of this class could match neither the purchasing power nor the variety of goods obtained by the newly rich emigrants. Not surprisingly, most of the derogative comments made towards emigrants came not from lavradores in the three communities, but rather from local merchants, functionaries, and other petty bourgeois individuals who refused to recognize the social mobility of former rural proletariats and peasants.

Indeed, emigration related commercial expansion in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, coupled with conspicuous consumption and display in the communities, also strongly influenced poorer residents, who with gift clothing, radios, wristwatches, or other consumer goods received from an emigrant family member, also attempted to demonstrate their modernity. During one interview, the wife of a local sharecropper went from cupboard to cupboard pointing to the glassware, clock, radio and other items she had received from her daughter in West Germany while in her new drip style coffee pot complete with filter paper, German instant coffee was brewing.

Local Commercial Expansion

Although depopulation resulting from emigration depleted the tiny commercial sector of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães including the loss of a centrally located restaurant, a bakery, grocery store, clothing store, dry goods shop and a tasca, in more recent years emigrant investment, coupled with that of local comerciantes responding to emigrant demand for consumer goods, has offset many of the initial losses. Nonetheless, the presence of a number of closed and empty storefronts in the commercial area of Bucelas still testifies to the impact emigration has had on the small commercial sphere of the local economy. Indeed, despite the overall expansion of the local commercial sector, the closing of small

businesses due to emigration occurred even during the period of research. For example, dissatisfied with meager earnings, the owner of the major cafe in the village of Sandiães packed up his family and left for the U.S., removing from the community its only centrally located gathering place. Overall however, more recent commercial expansion in the three communities, stemming from emigrant investment and that of local merchants responding to emigrant demand for consumer goods, has at least quantitatively (while perhaps not in variety) compensated for earlier losses. Most townsfolk in Bucelas, when asked about changes in local commercial sector, were in agreement that it is "stronger" than it used to be.

One highly visible addition to the tiny business community in the town of Bucelas consisted of an appliance store which opened during the period of research. Built from the ground up by the owner of a two-pump gas station, the appliance shop, which will double as a boarding house with rooms located on a third floor, was already doing a brisk business selling cooking ranges, washing machines, dryers and other electrodomesticos before it was even completed. According to the owner of the store, a local resident who had not emigrated, most of his customers were emigrants and returned emigrants.

As previously discussed, another example of local resident attempts to benefit from emigrant spending and demand was seen in Bucelas when two small furniture shops opened. According to one well known and prosperous comerciante, (who, according to local residents "buys and sells anything", on the black market and who has spent time in prison for his contraband activities) home furnishings have been the mainstay of his booming business. He too, confirmed that the bulk of his home furnishings

sales were made to emigrants. Indeed, in partial response to this growing demand, he constructed a small showroom/storage area on the side of his house and a shop which always seemed to be the scene of considerable activity, at times during the early hours of the morning.

Even as emigrant demand for consumer goods and home furnishing has elicited a response from some local shopkeepers, some emigrants, upon return to Portugal, have started small businesses of their own, primarily in service areas. Perhaps one of the more visible "success stories" in the town of Bucelas involved the owner of the town's largest cafe-bar who was able to add a third floor of rooms or boarding house.

Antonio, who is from a family of lavradores who reside in a village near the western end of the concelho, first left home in 1964 at nineteen to work as a construction laborer near Madrid for one year. In 1965, tiring of the hard work and relatively low pay, he then made his way illegally (as he did initially to Spain from Portugal) to France where with the help of friends, he found a job first as a chauffeur and then as an assembly line worker in a Peugeot plant. He remained in France until 1971. During his sojourn in France, Antonio was able to earn enough money to begin sending remittances to Portugal which he claims he did with each bi-weekly paycheck. In 1971, he returned to Portugal, came to Bucelas, and built a cafe-bar on a side street just off the central crossroads in town.

As so often happens with construction works started by emigrants, before his cafe-bar was completely finished, Antonio ran out of money. With the help of a cousin however, Antonio opened his unfinished cafe-bar and left Portugal once again. This time he traveled to West Germany where he worked in construction. Although the job paid well, Antonio

was angered at the segregated eating, living and sleeping quarters provided by his employers and at what he described as the racismo of the local resident population. After only nine months, Antonio returned to Bucelas to manage his fledgling business which was slowly gaining in popularity among the local townsfolk.

Impatient to have the cafe-bar completely "arranged" and not wanting to finish it slowly with returns earned from his business, Antonio left Bucelas a final time in 1972 and with the aid of relatives in the U.S., found construction work in Ludlow, Massachusetts. Disappointed with what he described as a low level of living and "weak conditions" in the Portuguese immigrant community in that city, Antonio returned to Portugal for good after only three months in the U.S. During his experience as an emigrant worker, Antonio said that he made return visits to Portugal on at least twelve occasions.

Since returning to Bucelas permanently, Antonio's cafe-bar has gradually become the most popular gathering place in the three communities. During the day, it enjoys the business of functionaries and comerciantes some of whom eat lunch in the back room dining area while at night, it regularly fills with adult males who come to watch television, play cards, checkers, chess, or an occasional game of pool. On Sundays, the cafe takes on a family atmosphere as entire families come to socialize. On the market day which occurs twice a month, Antonio's cafe-bar is filled from the early morning hours until midnight as it is during the weeks immediately surrounding the festa of Our Lady of Salvation. Only one other cafe-bar in Bucelas, opened in 1976 by two returned colonists from Angola offer Antonio any competition. Despite the fact that the other cafe-bar is located at the other end of town, feelings of such intense

rivalry exist between these three proprietors that they are not on speaking terms. Nonetheless, in recent years business has been such that Antonio has not only added a third floor to his building, but during the period of research, he also purchased an adjacent cafe-bar which was failing, and converted it into a tasca. Finally, that same year, feeling content with his businesses, Antonio now forty-four, married a woman of nineteen who bore him a son within the year.

Although Antonio emphasized the hard work involved in both jobs held outside Portugal as well as in his cafe-bar, and although he never painted a rosy picture of conditions in northern Europe and the U.S., to others, his success nevertheless represents a clear-cut example of the possibilities inherent in emigration. And like the construction of bright new houses by emigrants, Antonio's cafe-bar certainly must have influenced others in the community to consider emigration as a means to "arrange better conditions". Antonio's success however, has not been without its critics. While some townsfolk characterized him as being esperto (clever), others, especially after his purchase of the old cafe-bar, accused him of being burgues (bourgeois) and as being a monopolista (monopolist). Although taking some pride in these accusations, Antonio defends himself with a classic "rags to riches" type of explanation. As Antonio states, "I left with 1,500 escudos in my pocket and now, after much hard work and with money made here in Bucelas and not as an emigrant, I am now worth many millions of escudos".

A similar, if not as glowing story, was told by Alfredo, proprietor of a newly acquired tasca (also opened during my stay in the communities) in the town of Bucelas who, together with his wife Teresa, spent eleven years working in Paris. Prior to his departure, Alfredo had supported

Teresa and his two sons by cultivating a half dozen plots in Bucelas. In 1967, tired of what he described as a "miserable life", he and Teresa decided to leave Portugal. They left their two sons with Alfredo's sister and with the aid of friends already working in Paris, and a payment of 5,000 escudos to a local passadore who transported them to southern France, they then made their way to Paris.

When asked about working papers, Alfredo jokingly remarked that the only document he had was a passaporte do coelho (literally, "rabbit passport") a popular term given to the imaginary passport carried by those who make the salta or jump across the Spanish and French frontiers. According to Alfredo, he was "obliged" (obrigado) to leave Bucelas because of the previously mentioned miserable life as well as a "lack of conditions" (falta dos condições). Through their contacts in Paris, Alfredo and Teresa both found employment as custodial workers at Orly Airport, work which Alfredo described as vigoroso (vigorous). They remained working at Orly for eleven years until 1978 when Alfredo, who was in poor health and "full of France and cold weather" decided to return to Portugal. According to Alfredo and Teresa, they sent cash remittances to Bucelas on a monthly basis at first by mail and later through a branch of a Portuguese bank. According to Alfredo, a good portion of their remittances was utilized in the support of their sons while the remainder was deposited at the local bank. Gradually, as both their earnings and savings increased, Alfredo began renovating his house in Bucelas during the summer visits which he and Teresa made each year.

Soon after returning to Bucelas in 1978, Alfredo and Teresa rented an old storefront to house their tasca. Although small, damp and without windows, the former produce shop has a good location because it is

situated on a curve in the main road which is used as a bus stop for the seven or eight buses traveling each way through Bucelas daily. In addition, on market days, this relatively open area is occupied by the produce section of the market and thus draws customers to Alfredo's doorstep. Although not nearly as large or furnished as well as Antonio's cafe-bar, Alfredo's small business appears to fill a need in Bucelas for a conveniently located tasca where wine, beer and petiscos (snacks) of sandwiches, boiled eggs, and fried fish found a steady clientele, primarily among lavradores. The clientele swelled on market days, during bus layovers, and in the evenings when many local residents paused for a pre-dinner bite or for a copo (glass of wine). Alfredo's tasca also functioned as a distribution point for bread which was delivered by truck and then sold through him to townsfolk.

Having spent most of his savings on the renovation of his house and the opening of the tasca, and with poor health preventing him from returning to the rigors of agriculture, Alfredo is depending on the continued success of his enterprise which, when combined with small rents received from leasing out his agricultural lands, he hopes will allow him to live in decent conditions.

A majority of returned emigrants who have started small businesses in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, have for the most part been successful in their endeavors despite the fact that most of their investments have been in traditional, low profit, service types of enterprises such as cafe-bars, tascas and small stores. This success has been due in large measure to the need for these businesses; a need created by previous closings stemming from emigration and the small undeveloped nature of the commercial sphere within them. In this context, the case represented by

Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães presented somewhat of an exception to patterns of commercial development found elsewhere in Portugal and in Spain where many overlapping emigrant owned businesses are present in the same small communities. When this occurs, these small, low profit and highly competitive undertakings, which are often burdened with building debts and the lack of experience of their owners, often have a difficult time surviving. From all appearances, the need for additional cafe-bars, tascas, and boarding houses has been met in the three communities and especially in the town of Bucelas. In order to avoid the problem of duplication in these businesses, emigrants returning in the near future and desiring to start a business would be well advised to invest their hard earned remittances in other areas and perhaps not in commercial/service spheres at all, but rather in agriculture. Experiments carried out by extension agents with strawberries and sugarbeets for example, show considerable promise and have national markets. Unfortunately, past trends indicate that emigrants will continue to turn away from agriculture and will invest in shaky, redundant and service oriented undertakings.

As previously described, in contrast to new businesses started by returning emigrants, commercial undertakings initiated by local non-emigrant individuals in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães were found to be not the traditional cafe-bar or grocery store, but rather businesses which, if not geared entirely towards the growing demand on the part of emigrants for consumer goods, were aimed at other areas lacking in the communities. Thus, in the decade or so prior to the study, local community members had established a photography studio, a chicken hatchery and a truck based fish vending operation rather than in cafe-bars. Moreover, each of the

three newly opened furniture shops and the one new appliance store, all but one opened during my fieldwork in the communities, were aimed primarily at emigrants and were owned by non-emigrant members of the population. One possible explanation for the differences in investment patterns discovered between emigrant and non-emigrant community members is perhaps found in class background. That is, each of the local, non-emigrant community members who had recently started a business or had shifted the emphasis of an already ongoing concern were members of the local petty bourgeoisie and had previous business experience. Owners of the newly opened appliance store and two new furniture stores in Bucelas already had commercial experience with running a gas station, dry goods shop and grocery store. In contrast, Antonio and Alfredo, returned emigrants who had started tascas and a cafe-bar, were from agricultural backgrounds.

Local commercial expansion in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães stemming from both direct investment on the part of emigrants as well as from the response of local comerciantes to emigrant demand for certain goods, has occurred during the past decade. Replacing some but not all of previous small businesses closed as a result of emigration, the new undertakings include:

cafe-bars	5
boarding houses	3
<u>tascas</u>	2
furniture shops	3
appliance shop	1
photography studio	1
barber shop	1
chicken hatchery	1
fish vendor	1
bank	1
grocery shops	4
dry goods shop	2
butcher shop	1

Of these small businesses, the majority or eighteen, were started in the town of Bucelas, where a physical layout and status as the center of the concelho offers more advantageous conditions. Nonetheless, three new small businesses were started in the village of Gandra during this period while five were started in the village of Sandiães. Significantly, of the twenty-seven new businesses started in the three communities during the previous decade, eleven were initiated by emigrants.

Moreover, perhaps serving as an indicator of growing return migration, each of the small businesses started by emigrants was initiated within five years of the period of research.

Emigration therefore, both directly and indirectly, has had a significant impact upon the tiny commercial sector of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. It should again be emphasized however, that much of this expansion is based upon seasonal, tourist-like business generated by visiting emigrants during the summer months, which not only distorts the local economy on a cyclical basis, but contributes to inflationary trends as well. Finally, the nature of commercial investments made by many returning emigrants, when coupled with the small size of the commercial sector of the three communities, may cause other business-minded returning emigrants in the future to encounter "saturation" and "duplication" problems found elsewhere in Portugal.

Emigrant and State Capital Investment in the Local Communities

Direct investment in community projects on the part of emigrants and returned emigrants in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães for the most part has been limited to a few highly visible "showpiece" undertakings rather than in less obvious but sorely needed infrastructural and public service projects. Nonetheless, it was learned that primarily as a result of emigrant

investment in housing and commercial endeavors, community demand for basic public services has grown in recent years which in turn has been important in motivating local officials to petition the central government for funds to complete such community works.

During the time of research, at least ten community projects, financed primarily by the central government, and to a lesser extent by the Câmara Municipal and the local freguesias, were either in progress or were completed in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. These include: 1) the construction of two new feeder roads in Bucelas, 2) the completion of a new building for the Câmara Municipal, 3) the construction of a new Volunteer Fire Department facility, 4) the renovation of an old schoolhouse to be used as a dormitory for students coming from outlying areas in the concelho, 5) the installation of a sewer system in the village of Gandra, 6) the installation of public laundry tanks in Bucelas, 7) the improvement of the largo or square of next to the church of Our Lady of Salvation, 8) road improvements in the village of Gandra, and 9) the construction of a soccer playing field in Sandiães. When viewed together with other projects recently completed in the three communities as well as with the ongoing housing boom generated by emigrants, this construction activity gave the appearance of fairly vigorous development and growth.

According to the president of the Câmara Municipal, the flurry of public construction activity occurring at the time of research was due to the commencement of both projects delayed by the April 1974 revolution, as well as the start of those initiated in its wake. These various projects, when taken together with recently expanded social services such as pensions, health and life insurance for small scale agriculturalists,

underscores the role of state capital investment in the model of modernization elaborated by Hansen et al. for Mediterranean Europe.

According to the president of the Câmara Municipal, the emigrant related housing boom in the communities in recent years has had considerable influence in generating local projects such as road construction and improvement, sewer installation and the extension of electrification. That is, while not contributing directly to these types of projects, many emigrants, having constructed houses or a small business, nonetheless often bring pressure to bear upon local elected officials to make improvements in infrastructure or public service areas. In turn, once these improvements are made, new areas become opened up for additional housing and commercial development. Thus, even as the president of the Câmara Municipal was hearing complaints about the lack of water to newly constructed casas dos emigrantes, the construction of two new roads in the town of Bucelas stirred rumors of further possible expropriations by the Câmara Municipal along these roads for additional housing sites, rumors which the president could not entirely rule out.

Other kinds of community projects in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães were also influenced by considerations associated with emigration and return migration. By 1975, house construction by emigrants as well as the need for other facilities in the communities prompted the Câmara Municipal to contract an architect to formulate a "master plan" for the town of Bucelas. Although this plan was far too grand and costly for the limited resources of the concelho to bear, according to the president of the Câmara, projected house construction by emigrants as well as rates of future return migration were considered in planning for residential areas and new schools. The sudden influx of over one hundred Retornados

to the communities from Angola and Mozambique between 1975 and 1977 also added a sense of urgency to the formulation of this community plan. In this context, the installation of lights and the partial paving of the largo of Our Lady of Salvation, together with the construction of a new bandstand on that site, also represents an example of the pervasive if secondary effects emigrants have had upon public construction in the three communities. That is, while ostensibly representing improvements of a public square, in reality work carried out on the largo was done in direct response to the growing need for facilities to handle the crowds attending the feira of Our Lady of Salvation, itself dominated by and paid for by emigrants.

Although they did not invest either labor or money in public works such as road improvements, the construction of schools or sewage systems, emigrants and returned emigrants in the communities have nevertheless contributed to a few highly visible projects undertaken in them. As discussed in Chapter Six, the recently completed Volunteer Fire Department building in the town of Bucelas, almost lavish in its recreational facilities (the building also functions as a community center) benefited greatly from direct cash contributions from emigrants. Of central importance in this context were the Filantropicos Bucelenses (philanthropic organizations comprised of emigrants from the town of Bucelas) of Ludlow, Massachusetts and Elizabeth, New Jersey which not only channeled large donations towards the construction of the new fire department, but also arranged for the purchase of a small Dodge pump truck which was shipped to Portugal. Similar contributions were funneled from associations of emigrants working in France. Moreover, if emigrant contributions assisted with the costs of the new building itself, they were responsible to

a much greater extent for furnishing the facility with fire-fighting and emergency equipment including a Peugeot ambulance and Volkswagen back up pump truck.

Similarly, monetary contributions by emigrants were not only instrumental in preparing the playing fields for the futebol clubs of Bucelas and Sandiaes, but also went a long way towards purchasing much of the team equipment and uniforms. That is, while local community members were responsible for wrangling parcels of land from the Câmara Municipal and the Freguesia of Sandiães, costs for the clearing and grading of the playing fields as well as for the construction of two small locker rooms have been covered to a considerable degree with funds received by emigrant associate members of the team. Another example of direct investment in community works on the part of emigrants was seen in Vilar, a village located some seven miles from the town of Bucelas. In Vilar, the major contribution to the community from its emigrant members consisted of a remodeled chapel in its central square. Perhaps the most striking feature of the renovated chapel was the replacement of its single bell with an electronic chime system which blares each hour from loudspeakers perched atop the chapel. As the emigrant investments in Bucelas and Sandiaes therefore, direct contributions to Vilar also took the form of a showcase type project.

Observations and data suggest therefore, that direct investment in community-wide projects on the part of emigrants have been limited to a few highly visible undertakings. However, it was also discovered that emigrant investment in housing and small businesses has also functioned to stimulate demand for improved basic services in the local communities. To an extent, this demand has been met with state capital investments in

the form of public works projects. Indeed, many local residents seemed to be quite proud of the changes taking place in their communities and often talked about the arranca (take-off) or melhoramento dos condições (improving conditions) in the immediate area. Others however, while acknowledging the need for many of the recently completed public works, often emphasized the backwardness of agriculture and wondered aloud why money was spent on the new Câmara Municipal building and not on a factory of some sort near the communities. (See Table 7.1)

The combination of emigrant spurred housing construction therefore together with public works projects recently completed in the communities, while visually impressive, consist to a considerable degree, of cosmetic changes. Moreover, the nature of the few "public" investments made by emigrants in their home communities, far from being practical, only adds to the illusion of "development" in them. One need only look a few yards beyond the sparkling white walls of the new Câmara building or Fire Department to the patchwork of tiny fields to see where the real issues of development lie.

Emigration-related economic change in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães was found to have not contributed significantly to the genuine and autonomous development of the community, a process which would have necessarily meant either the establishment of industry or extensive structural changes in agriculture. Rather, economic changes taking place in the three communities are those associated with a cosmetic suburbanizing trend which bring highly visible trappings of modernization instead of real improvements in the local economy. In Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, this process was found to be generated primarily by an emigrant sponsored housing boom, parallel state capital investment, growing demand for

TABLE 7.1

RECENTLY COMPLETED PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS IN
BUCELAS, GANDRA AND SANDIÃES

BUCELAS:	sewer system (not yet functioning)	1973
	<u>Camara Municipal</u> building	1978
	primary school (grades 1-)	1973
	primary school (grades -)	1977
	<u>cantina</u> primary school	1978
	medical clinic (conversion/renovation)	1976
	Fire Department Facility	1978
	road construction	1978
	dormitory (conversion/renovation)	
	<u>Retornado</u> housing sites	1976
	<u>bandstand</u>	1978
	<u>largo</u> improvements	1978
	community laundry tanks	1978
	community laundry facility	1978
GANDRA:	sewer system	1980
	primary school	1976
	road improvement	1979
	water main	1980
SANDIAES:	road improvement	1977
	soccer field	1978
	co-operative mill	1976
	renovation primary school	1976

consumer goods and increased commercial - and especially service - expansion. Agriculture, already hampered by population loss, its minifundia tenure system and a generalized lack of interest, continues to be eroded by the above suburbanizing trends and especially by the construction boom, land speculation, growing land parcelization and the subdivision of communally held lands.

Finally, the above socioeconomic trends, all of which form processual components of modernization, when placed in the broader context of current global economic downturn and increased return migration to Portugal, do not suggest a very promising future with respect to economic development in the communities studied or throughout northern Portugal in general. Indeed, the continuation of current trends more than likely will only bring about developments foreseen by Kayser during the early 1970s,

"It is therefore at a time when the country is...drained of workers, when craftsmanship is dying out and when agriculture is in retreat that urbanization is taking shape in the districts that had long remained in the periphery. But what will happen to these struggling villages, when the decline of their hinterland has deprived them of all raison d'etre? The use of emigrants savings therefore is no better a solution in Portugal than elsewhere to the economic and social problems which arise. Not only does it not seem to open the way towards a solution but it even aggravates these problems and creates new ones." (Kayser 1972:50).

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL STRUCTURAL CHANGE

Rural social class structure in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, while clearly affected by emigration, was found not to have been transformed in a fundamental way as a result of out-migration. Various class segments underwent shifts of the relative proportions of the local population included within them due to depopulation and limited social mobility stemming from emigration. But, the basic class structure subsuming the three communities has remained essentially unchanged from its pre-emigration configuration. Those changes which have taken place were brought about through four major processes, all of which were ongoing to differing degrees at the time of fieldwork. These include: 1) depopulation, 2) the acquisition of land by families of emigrants and returning emigrants, 3) the inflow of cash remittances received from emigrants working outside Portugal, and 4) return migration.

Population loss of course has affected local social structure in that certain class segments experienced a greater degree of shrinkage due to out-migration than other class segments. Similarly, the purchase of agricultural lands by emigrants, by their resident families and by returning emigrants has also realigned the balance of local class relations. For example, it has allowed a form of limited social mobility involving the movement of former landless laborers, into the relatively more stable self-sufficient peasant class segment. That is, the purchase of land with money earned outside Portugal has conferred increased control over the means of production and hence a degree of "horizontal" class mobility. At the same time, the acquisition of additional lands among already self-sufficient agriculturalists has functioned to strengthen

the position of this peasant class segment.

The role of cash remittances in the realignment of rural class relations is a somewhat ambiguous one for two principal reasons. On the one hand, while cash remittances or savings often facilitate considerable status mobility through the purchase of a new house, auto or consumer goods, they do not by themselves signify class mobility. On the other hand, in many rural households the utilization and dependence upon cash remittances and savings is essentially hidden and thus contributes to the appearance of self sufficiency or autonomy when in fact this may not be the case. In this context, therefore, a fairly widespread dependency upon cash remittances and savings has more than likely led government surveys in the concelho of Bucelas to overestimate both the number of self-sufficient family agricultural units as well as the decline of non-autonomous family enterprises. In class terms, the undetected dependence upon emigrant remittances has resulted in government overestimates of the autonomous peasant class segment and underestimates of the size of the rural semi-proletariat class.

Social class structure in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães has also been affected by return migration, a trend which has only recently begun to gain momentum in Portugal. Although many of those who spent long periods of time outside Portugal experienced some degree of class mobility, primarily when they returned to make commercial investments and to purchase agricultural lands others, who returned may reside in a new house or own modern consumer goods, but had no desire to return to agriculture even if it meant unemployment. This group is difficult to locate with respect to traditional class structure. It is suggested however, that the formation of this small "post-migration" group is an

essentially temporary phenomenon. In due time, the group will at least economically be absorbed into the various class segments because its members will be forced to reintegrate into local economic life as savings are used up, inflation continues and continued emigration opportunities fade.

In response to the above processes therefore, quantitative and proportional shifts identified within the framework of traditional class relations in the three communities include the following trends: 1) a decline in the absolute number of rural proletarians, 2) a shrinkage (although not as great as government figures suggest) in the size of the rural semi-proletariat class segment, 3) the continuity and maintenance (again, perhaps not as great as government figures suggest) of the mini-fundia peasant class segment, and 4) the continuation and slight expansion of the rural petty bourgeois segment.

This chapter addresses shifts in the social class structure of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães in six parts. The first part consists of the identification of five major class segments documented and observed during the period of research. The second part traces the dissipation of the rural proletarian population between 1950 and 1979 through two principal processes: depopulation and the agricultural enfranchisement of former landless laborers. Included within this section are brief case studies of three former rural proletarians who upon their return from northern Europe, experienced limited class mobility through their participation in agriculture and in local commerce. The third section discusses the parallel constriction of the rural semi-proletariat class in response to the same forces described for the rural proletariat. The decline of this particular class segment during the period under question

is also illustrated with abbreviated case studies collected from former members of this social class. The fourth part assesses the continuity in the fact of extensive out-migration of the local class segment comprised of self-sufficient minifundia agriculturalists or peasants and includes a discussion of the role of remittances in distorting the size of this particular class segment. The fifth section focuses upon the recent but minor expansion of the local rural petty bourgeoisie. The final part discusses the position of the social class structure of status conscious but unemployed returned migrants.

Social Class Structure: Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães

Social class structure in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães may be categorized into five principal segments which, while framed in a regional cultural-historical context, nonetheless comprise segments of a broader rural class structure encompassing a large proportion of the national population. Local segments in the communities studied include the following: 1) a tiny rural bourgeoisie comprising less than one percent of the economically active population, 2) a small petty bourgeoisie which accounts for roughly five percent of the local population, 3) a class of small holding, self-sufficient peasants making up the bulk of resident groups, 4) a class of rural semi-proletarians, and 5) a greatly reduced rural proletariat.

In the communities studied, as with rural Portugal in general, social class relations tend to parallel settlement patterns. That is, while peasants, rural proletarians and rural semi-proletarians reside in both villages (aldeias) and towns (vilas), they almost always comprise the vast majority of the population of villages. Members of the rural bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie normally reside in towns. The villages

of Gandra and Sandiães therefore, were populated almost exclusively by small-scale agriculturalists, rural proletarians and semi-proletarians while Bucelas, although comprised primarily of these segments, was also the residence for members of the local bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

Social class differentiation among the resident population of the three communities while readily distinguishable among the rural bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois segments, is considerably less obvious among the bulk of the population that makes its living from minifundia agriculture. Historically and culturally, class differences among lavradores (agriculturalists) and trabalhadores agrícolas (rural workers) have been and continue to be blurred by village endogamy, nucleated settlement patterns and especially by an ideology of community egalitarianism. This ideology is reflected in previously described village-wide practices such as labor exchange (jornas), communal ovens (forno do povo), communal lands (baldios), collective flock and herd tending (vezeiras), communal mills (moinhos), community bulls (boi do povo) and weekly meetings or (juntamentos). Although most of these practices were found to be in a state of decline, vestiges of this ideology were observed on a number of occasions in a variety of social settings. In this context, perhaps the most commonly heard phrase underscoring this world view was, "Somos todos iguais" ("We are all equal"). Similarly, another often heard phrase emphasized the respeito (respect) which all lavradores must have for each other.

The perception of ideal equality among villagers within the boundaries of the local community is in marked contrast to the view of those of high socioeconomic status and position. Indeed, one need only observe local lavradores with hats in hand and in lowered voices, attempt

transactions with an impatient functionary or bank teller whose first question often is "Can you read?", to recognize how deep concepts of class position and authority are rooted in rural Portuguese lifeways. Moreover, class differences between those who labor in agriculture and those who do not (especially members of the rural bourgeoisie) are also reflected in forms of address. Those with any education at the university level and professionals are addressed as Senhor (a) Doutor (a). Similarly, those in positions of authority or members of the rural bourgeoisie for example, are addressed by the local population as O Senhor or A Senhora while the familiar Tu form is dropped.

In the eyes of many local villagers therefore, professionals, the rural bourgeoisie and even some members of the local petty bourgeoisie were seen as outsiders and were often referred to as os ricos (the rich), os grandes (the big ones), os burgueses (the bourgeoisie) or simply as eles (them). In contrast, most members of the local community, comprised of small-scale agriculturalists, referred to themselves as os pequenos (the little ones), os pobres (the poor), lavradores (small-scale agriculturalists), or simply as a gente (the people).

The Rural Bourgeoisie

At the time of research, rural bourgeoisie in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães was extremely small and was represented perhaps by six families who still controlled relatively large tracts of land (in actuality, medium sized plots by national standards). Most of these families had long histories of local political activity and dominance which went back many generations. One now deceased member of a notable family in Bucelas was, until the mid 1960s, a cacique of regional importance in the national assembly. His bust now stands in the small park in town. Another

family, also from Bucelas, owned among other businesses, a fleet of buses which served the area. The company was nationalized soon after the Revolution. While clearly diminished in importance, most of these families still send their children to the university at Coimbra where they become physicians, lawyers, engineers or architects.

Most of these families reside in large, old and sometimes crumbling homes and appeared to be living from family wealth sometimes supplemented with income generated from renting out parcels of land or from the occasional sale of land to an emigrant. None of these families, despite their relatively extensive holdings, were directly involved in commercial agriculture.

Not surprisingly, members of the rural bourgeoisie together with certain accepted petty bourgeoisie families maintained restricted patterns of association and marriage although Compradrezgo (ritual co-parenthood) ties were extended to favored servants or tenants. Despite the apparent decline of these families, many local community members felt they still wielded considerable-albeit behind-the-scenes power in the Concelho of Bucelas. While having the resources to travel throughout Europe and North American, very few members of this class segment had emigrated from Portugal.

Rural Petty Bourgeoisie

The local segment of the rural petty bourgeoisie in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, considerably larger than the declining rural bourgeoisie yet quite small compared to the bulk of the local population, is comprised of some one hundred individual heads of households who earn a living as merchants, cafe proprietors, bureaucrats, teachers, commercial farmers and Republican Guards. Members of this class segment, like the

rural bourgeoisie, reside primarily in the town of Bucelas. Although most members of this class own agricultural lands, very few were involved directly in commercial agriculture. Instead, they had their parcels cultivated by other lavradores in the community either through renting or sharecropping. Through these arrangements this class obtains staple foods together with rents and a small surplus of goods which may be sold.

While considerable variation in status and wealth exists within this class segment, especially with the recent appearance of returned emigrants who are starting small businesses, patterns of association and marriage tend to stay within this socioeconomic group. The exception is again, that some members of this class segment are linked to the rural bourgeoisie through ties of friendship and marriage. Thus, although some petty bourgeois families with the appropriate wealth and status have contact with the rural bourgeoisie, others, such as recently returned emigrants-turned-comerciantes of poor background, cannot enter into such relationships.

Few children of the petty bourgeoisie pursue education at the university level. Traditionally, the education of children from these families did however, go beyond the pre-revolutionary minimum of the quarta classe (fourth grade). This continuation often included finishing studies at the ciclo (roughly equivalent to upper secondary level in the U.S.) and the liceu (approximate equivalent to high school in the U.S.). Additional status was gained by sending children to private liceus or colegios in the cities of Braga, Porto or Guimarães for example. Of course, a family's status in the community is greatly enhanced by having a son or daughter study at a university, a trend which has become somewhat

more commonplace since the revolution. In general however, after studies at a ciclo, liceu or colegio, most children of local petty bourgeois families return to their home communities, marry someone of the same socioeconomic background, and eventually assume responsibility for the family business or otherwise become integrated into a non-agricultural position.

Prior to the exodus of the 1960s and early 1970s, it was members of this class, together with the rural bourgeoisie, who could afford such luxuries as radios, phonographs, autos and other modern consumer goods and who as late as the mid-1950s, could afford to pay for gasoline powered generators to light their homes. Indeed, the term burgues (bourgeois) is often used by poorer members of the communities to describe not only this class segment, but also to refer in a derogatory sense to those of recent and new found wealth. The owners of the two cafe-bars, a number of functionaries, and some recently returned emigrants for example, were often described in this manner. Not surprisingly, few members of this particular class segment had emigrated from Portugal. Nonetheless, the size of this socioeconomic group has been maintained and even expanded somewhat due to the return of emigrants who have successfully started small businesses in the communities. Yet, it is non-migrant members of this class who have been most vociferous in their criticisms of emigrants and returned emigrants who now are able to put on far more impressive conspicuous displays. During the period of research, it was found that more often than not, it was members of this class who were imitating the consumption habits of emigrants rather than vice-versa.

Self-Sufficient Peasants

The largest proportion of the resident population of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães is made up of a class of small-scale cultivators who produce primarily for subsistence, but who are also able to cultivate enough of a surplus to bring a small amount of cash into the household. While tenancy (arrendimento) and sharecropping (aparceria) are not uncommon in the three communities, by and large this socioeconomic grouping is comprised of minifundia cultivators who grow potatoes, rye, corn and grapes on parcels they own. The National Agricultural Survey of 1968 showed that in the Concelho of Bucelas, less than 8 percent of all agriculturalists cultivated lands exclusively through tenancy arrangements while 80-90 percent of all agriculturalists owned the parcels they cultivated. Similarly, the same study showed that some 13-19 percent of lavradores in the Concelho of Bucelas worked lands on the basis of a combination of the above arrangements (Freitas et al. 1976:184-86). According to the president of the Department of Finances, there has been a slight increase in the number of tenancy arrangements during the past decade as more lands have become available with the departure of emigrating community members. Most of the economically active population of the three communities may be described in terms of a class of peasant cultivators, but government figures in the Concelho of Bucelas that estimate at least 76 percent of all households fall into this category are probably inflated by some 10 percent. As previously mentioned, this overestimation of the 1968 figures stems from the failure to assess the extent to which agricultural households are dependent upon remittances and savings earned outside Portugal.

Referring to themselves as lavradores or agricultores, peasants in

Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, like those throughout Portugal in general, have endured harsh living conditions, poor nutrition and health, illiteracy and political and clerical domination for generations. Despite the April 25 Revolution, small scale cultivators in the three communities have remained politically conservative. Discussions of politics or the economy were often punctuated with references to better conditions No tempo de Salazar ("In the time of Salazar"). To this conservative political view is added the influence of the Church which, while diminished somewhat in importance in recent years, still remains a very strong force. Despite the hardship and exhaustive labor associated with minifundia agriculture, many members of this class, in showing their rough and caloused hands also would point with pride to barrels of wine, stacks of potatoes or chests filled with rye and state that they were fortunate because they worked Por conta propria ("For my own account"). More telling perhaps, is that a high percentage of these heads of household had at one time been migrants themselves. Plus cash remittances and savings from sons and daughters go towards the support of these agricultural households.

Rural Proletarian

In spite of their arduous labors and poor living conditions, the peasants are able to produce for subsistence as well as for a small marketable surplus. In contrast, are the conditions associated with the rural proletariat class segment of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. According to the Inquerito Agricola carried out in 1952, some 42 percent of the economically active population in the Concelho of Bucelas made their living exclusively from selling their labor power and were classified as assalariados agricolas (salaried workers) (Martins 1973:127-293).

While socioeconomic conditions in the Concelho of Bucelas have been and continue to be seriously inadequate for the vast majority of those involved in agriculture, who lack access to anything but perhaps a small garden plot (horta), rural proletarians traditionally have had to sell their labor to others. This marginal income in turn was supplemented with seasonal migration to potato producing regions in the north of the concelho as well as to the Douro wine producing region to the west. Despite an increase in the daily wage paid agricultural workers after 1960 (in large part a direct response to labor shortages resulting from emigration) wage levels remained very low compared to those in other European nations.

By 1960, census figures indicate that the segment of the economically active population in the Concelho of Bucelas comprised of assalariados agrícolas had fallen to approximately 20 percent of the total working population, a decline brought about primarily from the emigration of large contingents of this particular class. At the time of fieldwork, the rural proletarian class segment in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães was found to be even further reduced as a result of emigration.

The Rural Semi-Proletariat

Situated between rural proletarians and self-sufficient peasants is a class of rural semi-proletariats. Although involved in agriculture this class must also participate in wage labor in order to sustain itself. That is, while these rural semi-proletariat households cultivate lands either through aparceria, arrendimento or ownership, production is not sufficient to ensure the sustenance of the family unit, making it necessary for family members to sell their labor outside the household. Although indistinguishable in many ways from the bulk of the self-reproducing

minifundia cultivators (who make up most of the population in the three communities), rural semi-proletarian households traditionally have and continue to comprise a sizeable class segment in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães.

In these communities, wages in semi-proletarian households historically have been obtained by working in agriculture or public works and by working as domestics. After landless rural proletarians, rural semi-proletarian households comprise the least stable and secure rural class segment and also represents a final phase before complete proletarianization. As such, this class segment, like the rural proletariat, experienced heavy participation in emigration movements during the 1960s and early 1970s. Although government figures show a 39 percent decrease in the number of households making up this class segment in the Concelho of Bucelas between 1952 and 1968, it is suggested again, that while it is true that emigration depleted the class, rural semi-proletarian households may not have declined as much as official figures indicate because of the "carrying" function of cash remittances and savings. During the period of fieldwork, numerous households were encountered whose former requirements for wage labor were not underwritten with remittances and savings earned outside Portugal.

The Exodus Of The Rural Proletariat

Ethnographic data collected in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães confirmed the departure en masse of the rural proletarian population during the 1960s and 1970s. Although emigration has included all agriculturalist class segments in the three communities, it was discovered that the rural proletariat, landless and dependent upon the cash wage, has been the most receptive to the lure of emigration because it poses a solution

to unemployment, underemployment and chronic poverty. It was also found that significant numbers of the landless workers who did not emigrate are increasingly becoming involved in non-agricultural endeavors (primarily construction work) rather than in traditional agricultural activities.

The extent to which the rural proletarian segment of the local population has been part of emigration movements from Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, and indeed from the concelho as a whole, is illustrated with data obtained from emigration records kept for the Câmara Municipal of Bucelas between 1969 and 1978. These records, which include the sex, age, home community, marital status, education, destination, family members and conditions surrounding the departure, are especially important because they also include the occupations of those emigrating. Although most entries in these records represent individuals who registered with the Câmara Municipal after an initial illegal passage out of Portugal, the occupations of emigrants listed are those held prior to the first departure.

Between 1969 and 1978, therefore, records of emigrating community members show that of the 603 migrants from the Concelho of Bucelas (405 males and 198 females) who registered during this period, 343 or 57 percent gave as their occupation trabalhador agrícola or agricultural worker (see table 8.0). This group was comprised of males between the ages of 13 and 81. When figures found in the Câmara's records for additional occupational categories (which may be considered rural proletarian) are added to that of trabalhador agrícola, this segment of the local population increases to 355 individuals or 55 percent of the total. These categories include: construção civil (construction laborer), jornaleiro

TABLE 8.0

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS
FROM THE CONCELHO OF BUCELAS
WHO REGISTERED WITH THE CAMARA MUNICIPAL BETWEEN 1969 AND 1978

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
<u>trabalhador agrícola</u> (agricultural worker)	343
<u>empregada</u> (domestic)	185
<u>carpinteiro</u> (carpenter)	3
<u>empreiteiro das obras</u> (contractor)	4
<u>construção civil</u> (construction laborer)	2
<u>negociante do gado</u> (cattle merchant)	1
<u>estucador</u> (plaster worker)	1
<u>jornaleiro</u> (day laborer)	1
<u>negociante</u> (merchant)	1
<u>proprietario</u> (medium property holder)	1
<u>molheiro</u> (miller)	1
<u>pedreiro</u> (mason)	2
<u>alfaiate</u> (tailor)	4
<u>motorista</u> (driver)	2
<u>trolha</u> (skilled construction worker)	1
<u>operario</u> (machine operator)	5
<u>batefolha</u> (tinsmith)	1
<u>agricultor</u> (agriculturalist)	5
<u>guarda</u> (forest service guard)	1
<u>modista</u> (seamstress)	1
no occupation	<u>38</u>
Total	603

(migrant agricultural worker), operario (machine operator) and trabalhador (worker). If the occupational category of empregada (maid) is included within the rural proletarian class segment present in the concelho, then the figure for all rural proletarians among emigrants who registered with the Câmara Municipal between 1969 and 1978 increases dramatically. That is, of those 603 emigrants reporting to the Câmara Municipal during this period, 185 individuals or 31 percent of the total stated that their occupation prior to emigration was empregada or maid. When this figure is added to the number of other rural proletarians who have emigrated from the Concelho of Bucelas, the number soars to 540 individuals or 90 percent of the total who reported to the Câmara Municipal. Seen another way, among those 603 emigrants who registered with the Câmara Municipal during this period, 204 or 34 percent were made up of male heads of household rural proletarians.

The high rate of emigration among rural proletarians in the Concelho of Bucelas was closely paralleled in the three communities of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes. Among the 96 emigrants who registered with the Câmara Municipal between 1969 and 1978, 55 individuals or 57 percent of the total gave trabalhador agrícola as their pre-migration occupation. This figure is identical to that for the Concelho of Bucelas as a whole. Similarly, when figures for additional rural proletarian occupations are added to that of trabalhadores agrícolas (including that of empregadas) a total of 86 emerges, a figure which represents 90 percent of those emigrants who reported their departure during this period (and again replicates exactly the percentage found at the level of the concelho). Again, seen from the vantage point of male heads of household, it was found that 41 adult males or 43 percent of all reporting emigrants from

the three villages gave pre-migration occupations which may be characterized as trabalhador agricola. Additional occupations included within the rural proletarian class segment include those of domestica (maid), trabalhador (worker) and operario (machine operator). Other rural non-proletarian occupations given by registering emigrants during this period include: empreteiro comercial (commercial proprietor), pedreiro (stone worker), motorista (truck driver), guarda de floresta (forest service guard), and alfate (tailor). Three children, all under the age of 12, were recorded as not having an occupation.

Data from emigration records of the Câmara Municipal underscore the high proportion of rural workers present in emigration movements from the area surrounding the communities studied. Indeed, while evidence of the exodus of the rural proletarian class segment was anticipated, greater figures for the emigration of small scale agriculturalists were also expected to emerge from these records but did not materialize. Nonetheless, if the trends present in this data for the period 1969-1978 are also indicative of patterns for the previous decade, then discussions of the exodus of the rural proletariat are not misleading.

The shrinkage of the rural proletarian class segment due to emigration is also identifiable-albeit with a degree of inaccuracy-from government agricultural and population surveys of the Concelho of Bucelas. In addition, against figures of these surveys, data collected in a household census of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes in 1978 may also be compared, a comparison which shows the continued dissipation in the area of the rural proletariat population during the past two decades.

According to the Inquerito Agricola of 1952, approximately 42 percent of the economically active population in the Concelho of Bucelas

was classified as trabalhadores por conta de outrem (agricultural workers on the account of others), a category which includes all those paid a cash salary either by the day, week, month, year or by commission (Martins 1973:74). Using roughly comparable data from the 1960 general census, it can be established that by 1960, the number of economically active members of the local population in the Concelho of Bucelas who could be classified as trabalhadores por conta de outrem had fallen to 2,827 individuals or approximately 20 percent of the total active population.²

By 1979, data collected in a household survey of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, while not precisely comparable to official figures (because they focus upon household heads in the three communities rather than on all economically active individuals at the level of the concelho) nonetheless also suggest what appears to be a sharp decline in the number heads of household who may be identified as trabalhadores agrícolas. Thus, out of 456 household heads surveyed in the communities of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, only 28 individuals or 6 percent could be described as earning a living exclusively from wage labor associated with agriculture. Moreover, the probability that this figure represents a significant decline in the number of rural proletarians increases when it is compared to figures representing the emigration of trabalhadores agrícolas reported between 1969 and 1978. That is, while only 6 percent of all heads of household in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães were identified as trabalhadores agrícolas in 1979, 43 percent of emigrant household heads from the communities who reported to the Câmara Municipal between 1969 and 1978 gave as their pre-migration occupation the same category.

The departure of large numbers of rural proletarians from the communities, while not recognized by community members in explicit class terms, did emerge in indirect ways of conversations, discussions and interviews. Many emigrants and returned emigrants for example, commonly mentioned the fact that they "owned nothing" prior to their departure from their communities. Similarly, on numerous occasions local community members referred to the poor conditions experienced by the many pobrezin-hos (poor ones) who used to live in the communities before the emigration movements of the 1960s. During the festa in August, one former emigrant observing the celebration commented dryly, "Look at them now, drinking, singing, dancing, no one wants to remember how it used to be...why Joao over there didn't even have money for a pair of shoes before he emigrated." This particular informant, explained that he had "not forgotten how it used to be".

Emigration caused depopulation in the communities but the numerical decline of the local rural proletarian population has been linked to other processes as well, most of which involve limited or "horizontal" class mobility of former rural workers into other class segments. In Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, a shift in the class position of former rural workers has commonly emerged when they purchase agricultural lands. These lands are rarely sufficient for the complete economic reproduction of the household, but nevertheless mean mobility into the "landed" rural semi-proletariat or perhaps self-sufficient peasant class segments. Less common but by no means rare, has been the mobility of returned emigrants or families of emigrants (former rural proletarians for example) into the local petty bourgeoisie. This occurs as a result of successfully starting small shops and businesses upon return to the communities.

One example of the limited social mobility of returning emigrants and their families is illustrated in the case of Manuel, a 26 year old former trabalhador agricola who worked four years in France as an agricultural laborer, janitor and construction worker prior to returning to his home village of Sandiães in 1976. Before leaving for France, Manuel had completed a tour of duty in Angola in which he was wounded. According to Manuel, who is one of four children (he has two brothers and one sister), life for his family when he was younger was duro (tough). Although his family had access to a few small garden plots, Manuel, his two brothers and father supported the household primarily by working for day wages in and around the communities but also by participating in the potato harvests to the north. They also traveled to the grape harvests in the Douro region. Manuel's mother contributed to the household by working as a domestica in the home of a local shopkeeper.

Upon completion of military service in 1972, Manuel remained in Sandiaes only three months before joining his brother-in-law in a clandestine crossing into France. According to him, his military life in Luanda, the capitol of Angola had "opened his eyes" to possibilities of a better life and he could no longer toss estrume (manure/straw mix) around for a living anymore. Working first as an agricultural worker near Contrexville, (France), Manuel found a better paying job as a janitor in a small office building some nine months later. He remained there for approximately one year.

After gaining employment as a janitor, Manuel was able to begin sending remittances to his parents on a regular basis, something he continued to do until his return in 1976. Manuel returned to Sandiães each summer and eventually was able to purchase three parcels of land which

his parents began to cultivate. In 1974, tiring of what he described as continuously cleaning toilets, Manuel obtained a job working as a construction laborer for a small firm near Contrexville, an opportunity provided with the assistance of a friend who came from a village that was near his in Portugal. The summer of that year, he married a woman from Sandiaes who he planned to bring to Contrexville within a year. By 1975 however, the heavy labor associated with construction work was aggravating his wound. During his summer visit of 1976, Manuel decided to remain in Sandiaes.

At the time of fieldwork, Manuel was providing for his family (including his parents) by cultivating the newly purchased parcels as well as three other lots he rents from a family who had recently left for the U.S. To the very small amount of cash he receives from selling potatos, Manuel adds money that he earns from working part time and seasonally in the construction of houses. His wife Suzana and his mother contribute to the household with wages hearned as a domestica . At the time of research, Manuel had partially completed renovations and an addition to his parents' house, improvements paid for with earnings he sent back from France.

While expressing disappointment that he was not able to stay in France longer, so that he could have saved enough money to build a new house and purchase more land, Manuel nonetheless talked enthusiastically about improvements he was making on the house of his parents. Because one brother and one sister are still working and living in France, and because his younger brother is in the military, there was a little extra room in the newly expanded house. His remaining savings and occasional checks sent from his brother and sister, allowed Manuel to maintain a

margin of safety beyond the small amounts he receives from the sale of potatoes.

It was very common to find people like Manuel who emigrated to northern Europe but for a variety of reasons were not able to either remain for extensive periods or accrue much in the way of savings. For these individuals, emigration has not worked miracles. Although they can no longer be considered landless agricultural workers, day to day village life rhythms have changed little for these newly enfranchised families of emigrants or returned emigrants. Yet, the influences of the urban-industrial areas in which they have worked have changed forever the expectations and identities of these former emigrants, a development which surely conflicts with their slightly improved living situations in Portugal. It is precisely this type of rural household represented in the case of Manuel, one that is self-sufficient with respect to subsistence, but appears to be autonomous because of housing improvements and other amenities, which has often been recorded in government surveys as a self-reproducing and autonomous family farm.

Emigration And The Decline Of The Rural Semi-Proletariat

Although almost indistinguishable with respect to rural lifeways and world view, from the bulk of minifundia agriculturalists in the communities, the rural semi-proletariat class segment, while difficult to assess empirically, nonetheless was identifiable. As previously described, consisting of individuals and family households whose agricultural production is insufficient to adequately sustain the unit (resulting in the need for family members to participate in wage labor), the rural semi-proletariat in some areas, represents a final stage before complete proletarianization in the face of the expansion of capital.

Given the precarious balance struck by rural semi-proletarian households between agriculture and wage labor, the high rate of emigration among members of this rural class segment is not surprisingly second only to that of the rural proletariat. Through out-migration, the decline of rural semi-proletariat segment of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, like the rural proletariat, has been reduced as a result of two major processes. These are depopulation and the movement of some of its members into more stable social classes such as self-sufficient agriculturalists and, less commonly, the petty bourgeoisie.

The reduced size of the rural semi-proletariat in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, more often than not has resulted from the movement of these marginal agriculturalists into the relatively more secure class of self-reproducing minifundia agriculturalists. This happens as they acquire additional lands with remittances and savings accrued outside Portugal. (Some decline is associated with emigration). For many rural semi-proletarian households therefore, obtaining additional cultivable lands has meant a decreased reliance upon wage labor and a strengthening of control over the means of production, a shift which again often signifies a type of horizontal class mobility. Of course, social mobility among former rural semi-proletarians has also included those who with remittances and savings, have successfully been able to open small shops or otherwise go into business for themselves upon returning to the community from northern Europe or North America.

It is suggested however, that although this particular class segment has no doubt been affected by emigration and has decreased in size during the course of the past two decades, its decline probably has not been as great as official figures suggest.

The Inqueritos Agrícolas of 1952 and 1968 remain the principal sources for assessing shifts in the rural semi-proletarian population of the three communities. As previously stated, according to the protocols of these surveys, rural semi-proletarian households are derived from the category of empresas familiares imperfeitas (imperfect family farms), those family agricultural units which are unable to support themselves entirely from agricultural production and whose members therefore, must work for cash wages to sustain the household. In 1952, the Inquerito Agrícola showed that some 54.6 percent of all family farms in the Concelho of Bucelas fell into this category and hence comprised the bulk of the rural semi-proletariat class segment. The Inquerito carried out in 1968 however, showed that in a span of some 16 years "imperfect" or "non-autonomous" family agricultural units had fallen 39 percentage points and in that year comprised only 15 percent or less of all family run agricultural units in the Concelho of Bucelas. (Martins 1973:293, Freitas et al. 1976:190). Thus, even if we assume that as much as half of those rural semi-proletarian households were miscounted during this period, we are still left with a decline in the number of these households present in the Concelho of Bucelas of some 20 percent, a decline for the most part resulting from emigration.

The case of Avelino, a small-scale cultivator from the town of Bucelas, illustrates the limited class mobility which together with population loss, has resulted in the shrinkage of the rural semi-proletarian class segment in the three communities. Prior to his departure for France in 1969, Avelino struggled to make a living by combining tenancy arrangements of approximately six hectares of land with wage labor earned on his landlord's holdings and on other farms in and around the communities.

PLEASE NOTE:

Page 225 seems to be missing in numbering only as text follows.

University Microfilms International

While Avelino felt that he was relatively fortunate and better off than many of his neighbors during the years prior to his departure, he also stated that he was not adequately providing for his wife and five children.

In 1964 therefore, he and his 19 year old son, along with a few neighbors, hired a local passador who drove them through Spain to the French city of Angouleme where they were reunited with other members of the community and found work as construction laborers. Within the year, Avelino and his oldest son were joined by another son and a daughter. Although he returned to Bucelas permanently after only three years, Avelino was able to save enough money to purchase three parcels of river bottom land in the town of Bucelas which, when combined with the parcels he rents (and hopes to buy with the aid of his children) now more than fill the subsistence requirements of his wife, himself and his daughter. In this sense Avelino, like many other community members, has experienced a degree of social class mobility with the purchase of agricultural lands made possible through emigration. That is, in gaining increased control over the primary means of production (cultivable lands), Avelino has left the ranks of the rural semi-proletariat and has become, at least temporarily, an autonomous minifundia lavrador. Adding to his margin of security are the occasional cash inputs from his four children now working in France. However, if he were to lose access to the parcels he rents, Avelino would be thrown back into that group which must turn to wage labor to ensure its continuity.

In sum, while undoubtedly diminished as a result of emigration related processes, the number of rural semi-proletarian households in the Concelho of Bucelas is probably higher than government surveys suggest.

However, like other laboring rural class segments in the area, the rural semi-proletariat remains in a state of flux and could very well change in the face of a worsening national economy, the winding down of emigration from Portugal, and the drying up of savings and remittances. The face remains however, that as a rural class of marginal and non-autonomous minifundia agriculturalists, the rural semi-proletariat in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes has participated extensively in emigration movements. And having done so, like other compatriots, their expectations, views of the world and identities have been changed permanently.

Emigration And The Maintenance Of The Self-Sufficient Peasantry

In contrast to the rural proletarian and semi-proletarian class segments present in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães whose numbers declined between 1950 and 1979, the class of self-sufficient minifundia agriculturalists, also considerably involved in emigration from the area, expanded. Despite massive out-migration from the three communities, the continuity of this socioeconomic group was maintained through two general processes. First, with remittances sent from emigrant family members, the economic security of this class segment became enhanced whether or not additional land parcels were purchased. Indeed, in some cases, family production was allowed to fall off as cash remittances increasingly came to underwrite household expenses formerly covered by other family generated resources. Second, the continuity and expansion of this class segment has been sustained because it has absorbed former members of the rural proletariat and rural semi-proletariat classes who, with savings and remittances earned outside Portugal, have gained access to agricultural lands in the local communities.

Although the hidden dependency upon remittances has resulted in an

overestimate of this particular class segment, in fact numerous former rural workers and marginal agriculturalists and their families have acquired cultivable lands sufficient for providing for household consumption. Through the purchase of agricultural lands, together with the cultivation of parcels owned by those working outside Portugal, a sizeable number of individuals in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães have in effect joined the autonomous agriculturalist class. This trend was confirmed by the chief functionary of the Department of Finances who, in noting the rise in the number of rendeiros (tenants) working land owned by emigrants said, "Just about everyone has a parcela to cultivate now".

The continuity of the autonomous agriculturalist class segment in the three communities during the past three decades is supported by the occupational distribution of male heads of household residing in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães in 1979 (see Table 8.1). According to household census data, some 249 individuals or 56 percent of the total stated their occupation as lavrador or agricultor. It should be emphasized however, that although relatively high, this figure is distorted somewhat by the occupational structure of Bucelas, which because it is a commercial and administrative center, has a higher proportion of male heads of household involved in non-agricultural activities. A more representative figure for those male household heads who earn a living from small scale agriculture can be obtained by examining data from the villages of Gandra and Sandiaes only. When this is done, we find that some 70 percent of all male heads of household in those two communities stated lavrador or agricultor as their occupation.

It should be pointed out however, that the terms lavrador and agricultor are popular terms and do not distinguish between "autonomous" and

TABLE 8.1

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD
 BUCELAS, GANDRA, SANDIÃES

agriculturalists	249
agricultural laborers	28
non-agricultural laborers	35
functionaries	40
shopkeepers	25
fish vendor	1
chicken farmer	1
physician	2
taxi driver	5
republican/forest service guard	7
seamstress	3
carpenter	3
mason	10
cattle merchant	1
construction contractor	3
butcher	2
mechanic	4
commercial farmer	4
tractor driver	5
lumberyard owner	1
electrician	2
teacher	8
dental technician	1
pharmacist	1
tin craftsman	1
painter	2
truck driver	1
priest	1

"non-autonomous" family agricultural units, a distinction which is the basis for defining self-sufficient peasants and rural semi-proletarians in government studies. A fairly accurate estimate of autonomous peasant heads of household may be obtained however, by applying the percentage of self-sufficient family-run agricultural units in the Concelho of Bucelas (76 percent) to figures obtained for the undifferentiated agriculturalists in the household census of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. When this is done, we find that in 1979, 43 percent of all male heads of household in the three communities may be identified as self-sufficient minifundia agriculturalists. When only Gandra and Sandiães are considered, this figure rises to 53 percent. While considerably lower than the average for the concelho as a whole, these figures represent the relative concentration of non-agricultural occupations in and around the town of Bucelas.

The extent to which emigration has influenced the maintenance of the smallholding peasantry in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães can also be assessed by re-examining the degree of participation of the local population (and in particular the heads of household of the self-sufficient peasant class) in out-migration movements. At one level therefore, we find that 33 percent of all family households in the three communities at the time of research still had at least one family member residing outside Portugal. More significantly however, is the fact that approximately 94 of the 224 autonomous minifundia lavradores or 42 percent, indicated that they had worked outside Portugal in the past. Together, these figures clearly illustrate not only the broad based participation in emigration movements from the three communities, but also suggest wide past and present sources of remittances, much of which has been spent in

the acquisition of agricultural land.

Emigration related class shifts involving the continuity and expansion of self-sufficient minifundia agriculturalists between 1952 and 1968 are also evident from government survey figures for the Concelho of Bucelas. Between 1950 and 1960 for example, the percentage of agriculturalists termed Isolados (those small scale agriculturalists who neither sell their own nor purchase the labor of others on a regular basis) grew from 31 to 39 percent of all family-run farms. By 1970, this figure had reached well over 40 percent of all economically active residents of the concelho (General Population Census of 1970. Martins 1973:293). The continuity of the small holding peasantry in the Concelho of Bucelas between 1953 and 1968 may also be extrapolated from trends of the survey category "perfect (autonomous) family enterprises". Thus, in the Concelho of Bucelas, the percentage of autonomous family farms grew from 46 percent in 1952 to more than 76 percent of all family-run units in 1968, a sizeable increase of some 30 percent (Martins 1973:293, Freitas et al. 1976:189). As previously described however, the magnitude of increases in the number of self-sufficient minifundia households more than likely is not as great as official figures indicate due primarily to the misclassification of and failure to identify marginal agricultural households. Yet, the data do indicate that to a lesser extent, feedback processes associated with emigration have reinforced and expanded the autonomous peasant agriculturalist class in the three communities. Nonetheless, it should be kept in mind that the above described shifts in social class structure remain essentially fluid and temporary given the decline of emigration from the area, the growth of return migration, the downturn of the Portuguese economy, and the changed

identities and expectations of peasants who have lived and worked in industrial metropolitan centers.

Emigration, Commercial Expansion And
The Growth Of The Local Petty Bourgeoisie

After an initial decline due to out-migration during the 1960s, the local petty bourgeois of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães has expanded in recent years as a result of two basic processes. First, using remittances or savings earned outside Portugal, a number of families of emigrants and returned emigrants has initiated small businesses during or upon their return to the local communities and thus have joined this class. Second, emigrant demand for a variety of modern consumer goods, services and construction materials has not only allowed members of this class segment to expand their undertakings, but in some cases has allowed other non-migrant residents with the capital to also take advantage of emigrant demand for specific goods and services. In other words, as a result primarily of return migration and emigrant demand for consumer goods, the local petty bourgeoisie, in expanding, has also facilitated increased commercial activity in the three communities.

Although most families of emigrants and returning emigrants in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães were absorbed into the other rural classes, a small but significant number of returned emigrants and their families experienced a relatively greater degree of social mobility with their entrance into the local petty bourgeoisie class. With few exceptions, most of these individuals have facilitated their improved class position by starting small businesses during or after their return to Portugal. As discussed in Chapter Seven however, most emigrants have chosen to initiate traditional businesses such as small variety shops, tascas, and cafe-bars, highly competitive and low profit undertakings whose long term viability

may be problematic. In contrast, very few returning emigrants found employment for example, as bureaucrats, teachers or Republican Guards. Nevertheless, although it includes a relatively small portion of the total local population and although marked by considerable variation in wealth and success, the local petty bourgeoisie class has expanded in recent years and has surpassed its pre-emigration dimensions despite substantial losses experienced during the decade of the 1960s. As one comerciante put it, "Our commercial sector is still weak but as you can see it is growing fast."

The probability of future short term growth of this particular class segment remains fairly strong as most returning emigrants have little or no interest in participating in full time minifundia agriculture but rather hope to support themselves in a non-agricultural occupation of some type. As described previously however, the traditional commercial sector in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães is rapidly approaching saturation and reduplication with respect to traditional businesses such as variety and grocery stores, tascas and cafe-bars. Hence, the future growth of the local petty bourgeoisie through small scale commercial expansion, while still possible to a certain degree, has definite limits. According to one local merchant, some eleven emigrant-owned businesses have been started in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães during the course of the past decade.

As the local petty bourgeois class segment was gradually becoming supplemented with returning emigrants who were successfully initiating new commercial undertakings, some already established merchants were strengthening their socioeconomic position by expanding and opening businesses oriented specifically toward emigrant demand for consumer goods and household furnishings. As described in Chapter Seven, during the course of

fieldwork two furniture shops and one appliance store were opened in the town of Bucelas alone. Thus, despite seasonally distorted business cycles stemming from the return visits of emigrants, the local petty bourgeoisie at the time of research seemed to be expanding not only from the integration of returning emigrants in local commerce, but also from the opening of emigrant oriented shops.

The recent and modest growth of this rural class segment however, has not been without a certain degree of tension both between its members as well as between individuals of this group and other community members. Established comerciantes often expressed resentment towards the competition resulting from businesses recently established by returned emigrants. Competition was especially keen between owners of cafe-bars and tascas some of whom were not on speaking terms. Some community members were critical of both the expansion-minded merchants and the upwardly mobile former emigrant shopkeepers, both of whom were often referred to as os burgueses.

More importantly however, is the fact that much of the apparent growth and expansion of this class segment rests upon a tenuous commercial/service growth which is ultimately tied to the spending patterns and purchasing power of emigrants and returned emigrants. As such, the current resurgence of this class may very well be a temporary one. As previously stated, the niche for traditional small scale businesses may already be filled in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. Similarly, newly opened shops geared to the demand of emigrants for consumer goods may also turn out to be temporary undertakings because emigrant savings and remittances will inevitably be used up and will be slow in their arrival in the communities. In this sense, the growth of the local petty bourgeoisie, stemming both directly and indirectly from emigration, has taken place in the context

of a temporary commercial boom, itself greatly influenced by emigrant spending patterns. Thus, compositional shifts in the local petty bourgeois class segment, like changes experienced in other class segments present in the communities, may well be temporary and subject to broader forces unfolding at both the national and international levels. If current national and international economic and labor trends continue, this class segment may undergo yet another phase of shrinkage and decline.

Returned Emigrants And Social Class Structure

While many returning emigrants and families of emigrants in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiões may be described with reference to the traditional class structure discussed above, most perhaps are not as easily located within this framework. Among this group are those returning emigrants or family remittance beneficiaries who, while possessing a new or renovated house, land, or various consumer goods, rarely engage in traditional economic activities, but rather live primarily from resources earned outside Portugal. Older, permanently returned emigrants who have spent their productive years outside Portugal and who now reside in their home communities (living primarily from savings, pensions and social security) represent an extreme example of this group.

Most members of this group, having spent lengthy periods of time in urban-industrial centers, often stood out from the rest of the community in dress, mannerisms, and at times, in speech. In addition, many members of this group, through the acquisition of a wide variety of material goods, enjoyed relatively high social status in the eyes of the community. Similarly, most of these individuals have incorporated many of the values, norms, expectations and behavioral modes associated with an urban-industrial lifestyle which, when combined with their new modern-style houses, sets

them apart from the bulk of the local population. In short, many permanently returned emigrants in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães appear, behave, and in general, identify with northern European middle class lifestyles. Yet, the lack of employment and economic reintegration on the part of members of this post-migration group blurs their structural class position in the context of the local community.

Interviews carried out among individuals in this group indicate however, that their unclear position with respect to local class structure may be temporary and represents a pre-integration phase. Returnees commonly set aside a period of time to simply enjoy and savor their hard earned rewards before becoming involved in local economic activities of some sort. Among those interviewed, many had been living in their communities of origin for less than a year and often stated in various ways that they were resting or enjoying a holiday but planned eventually to engage in employment of some form in the near future. In this context, most of these individuals, when asked how they planned to support themselves and their families in the years to come, often described various combinations of agriculture, construction work, savings utilization, and small commercial undertakings.

One representative example of this post-migration social category is shown in the case of Carlos, forty years of age, who spent fifteen years away from Portugal. Twelve of these years were spent in Grenoble working at a pre-fabricated wood products factory while three were spent as an assembly worker at a Bosch auto parts plant in Stuttgart. At the time of research, Carlos had been reunited with his wife and two sons for nine months since his return to the village of Sandiães, a move prompted by the closing of the auto parts plant. For six of these nine months,

Carlos had received unemployment compensation benefits which he claimed paid better than his normal job. Like many other returnees in the three communities, Carlos had purchased a few parcels of land and had constructed a new house during the course of annual visits to Sandiaes between 1963 and 1977. Although the closing of his place of employment forced Carlos to return to Portugal somewhat sooner than he had originally intended, he stated that he had no intention of returning to France because he no longer wanted to be separated from his family.

Like others who had spent relatively long periods working and living outside Portugal, Carlos felt that he had changed personally in many ways as a result of his emigrant work experiences. While residing in what he called "average" (normal) living conditions in northern Europe, Carlos nevertheless claimed that he had learned much from "seeing how other people live and work". For him, "France is the best country in Europe" and the French are "much more civilized than the Portuguese". While enjoying fairly high wages and "very good conditions" during the two years spent in Stuttgart, Carlos expressed considerably less warmth for his Stuttgart neighbors who he described as being "cold", as having "sad faces", who "never showed their teeth" or "looked directly at you". Despite certain misgivings however, Carlos spoke in superlatives when describing socio-economic condições in France and West Germany.

When asked what he had been doing to earn a living since his return to Sandiaes, Carlos replied that he had not been employed or involved in any economic activities save for the cultivation of a large garden and a little potatoes and rye. When queried about future employment plans, Carlos said "Nothing is certain" and he probably would eventually cultivate his remaining land parcels and become involved in construction work.

At the time of the interview however, Carlos, like other returnees, did not appear to be very concerned about future employment opportunities because, as he put it, "I never dreamed I could live like I am now".

The evidence indicates however, that most permanently returned emigrants eventually will become reintegrated into local economic activities because savings will be used up and opportunities for remigration will gradually disappear. As this occurs, members of this group will gradually become more firmly located in local patterns of productive relations. However, the evidence also suggests that economic reintegration will be piecemeal, uneven and certainly not sufficient to permanently support the lifestyles adopted by many returnees.

In sum, it may be concluded that while emigration has resulted in realignments of a quantitative nature in local class relations, the continuity in structure of these social categories has remained essentially uninterrupted. Despite a highly visible overlay of material wealth in the three communities obtained through emigration, the underlying productive relations in them have not been transformed in fundamental ways. The quantitative and proportional shifts within the framework of local class relations, shifts perhaps best described in terms of limited class mobility, have been brought about through population loss, land acquisition, cash remittance inflows, and return migration.

Although population loss due to out-migration has touched virtually all class segments present in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, the rural proletariat, clearly the least secure and most impoverished social class, was extensively depleted as a result of emigration. In addition, the relative weight of this class segment was further diminished as former rural workers-turned-emigrants began to purchase land or, less frequently,

opened small businesses in their home communities.

The rural semi-proletariat class segment in the three communities, comprised of marginal peasant agriculturalists whose participation in wage labor is needed for sustenance, was also extensively depleted through depopulation and emigration-facilitated social mobility between 1950 and 1975. As suggested however, this class segment probably has not decreased to the extent official figures indicate, due to the hidden carrying function of cash remittances sent by emigrants to family members residing in Portugal. In other words, many rural semi-proletariat households, dependent upon cash remittances, but appearing self-sufficient because of them, have been erroneously classified as "autonomous" family-run agricultural units in various government surveys.

In contrast to the rural proletariat and rural semi-proletariat class segments, the social class comprised of self-sufficient minifundia agriculturalists, has expanded somewhat during the past two decades as a result of emigration. Although perhaps slightly overestimated with the inclusion of remittance dependent (marginal) agricultural households, it is clear that this self-reproducing subsistence-oriented class of agriculturalists has at least been strengthened with the acquisition of additional cultivable lands and cash remittances.

The local petty bourgeoisie also has experienced some growth during the course of the previous two decades. Although suffering depletion as a result of depopulation primarily during the decade of the 1960s, this particular class segment has, throughout the 1970s, regained much of its previous losses through two major processes. First, with the evolution of an annual summer festa cycle, emigrant demand for a variety of goods and services during their yearly return visits has not only allowed local

merchants to expand and reorient their businesses to this fluctuating but strong source of purchasing power, but has also encouraged other community members to set up small commercial undertakings as well. Second, the local petty bourgeoisie has also grown with the integration of returning emigrants who, not wishing to return to minifundia agriculture on a full time basis, have initiated small businesses in and around the three communities. As previously described however, much of this expansion is tenuous and perhaps temporary because it is contingent upon continued emigrant demand and spending, which must eventually decline.

Finally, shifts within the framework of social class relations in the communities studied are by no means permanent but remain in a state of flux and above all are attendant upon a range of local, national and especially international political-economic trends.

Moreover, if the current economic decline in Portugal continues and if opportunities for emigration remain minimal as they have for some years now, a widespread class shift in the form of downward social mobility more than likely will begin to take place. Given the elevated expectations of many rural Portuguese with migration experience and especially of "successful" returnees, the political tensions and repercussions of the threat of this declassing process could be manifested on the national level.

CHAPTER IX

PATTERNS OF MARRIAGE, FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND EMIGRATION

Although the traditional patterns of courtship and marriage in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães did not change in fundamental ways during the past two decades, they have been visibly modified as a result of extensive emigration. Similarly, although the rural family was a central institution of agrarian life in northern Portugal and was romanticized under the Salazar regime and considered the basic unit of rural Portuguese society it too has undergone change as a result of the dislocations and dispersal associated with emigration.

Emigration affected the institutions of marriage and family by acting as a selection mechanism in the choice of marriage partners. Emigration was also responsible for a seasonal reorientation and telescoping of both the courtship process as well as the incidence of marriage ceremonies and for the fragmentation and dispersal of families resulting in a heightened degree of matrifocality. Increased levels of stress and interpersonal problems were found among families touched by emigration and the penetration and emulation of a western style youth culture whose values, norms and behavioral modes contrast sharply with traditional rural lifeways were caused by emigration.

Major factors which have been instrumental in bringing about the above described trends in recent years include: 1) long distance geographical separation of family members over extensive periods of time, 2) the emergence of the annual summer return visit as a context in which a variety of social and economic activities are hastily carried out, and 3) the raising of expectations for socioeconomic improvement directly or indirectly through emigration.

This chapter discusses in five major sections, the impact of emigration upon the institutions of marriage, courtship and the family. Section one examines the role of emigration as a selection mechanism in the choice of marriage partners, primarily from the point of view of local women. Section two discusses the intensified and seasonal patterns of courtship and marriage resulting from the limited schedules of emigrants visiting their home communities during the summer months. A third section discusses the impact of long term and great geographical separation upon the wives of emigrants residing in the communities studied. Section four examines the mutual views and perceptions held by both emigrant and non-emigrant children. The final section focuses upon the emerging youth culture, the conflicts it generates and the implications it has for the continuation of traditional rural life in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães.

Emigration And The Selection of Marriage Partners

As late as the mid-1960s, a young woman may have considered herself fortunate to marry a man who either had access to, or stood to receive rights to agricultural lands sufficient to support a family and perhaps enough to yield a small cash surplus. By 1979, this traditional criterion for marital arrangements had been superseded by a range of additional considerations, many of which were contingent upon the emigration of one or both partners. Indeed, at the time of research, it appeared that very few young women in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães would consider marrying a young man whose only means of support was the cultivation of a few plots of land. Having seen the material fruits of emigration all around them, and having heard countless stories of better conditions, opportunities, and promise through emigration, most young

women in the three communities will no longer settle for a life of stoop labor associated with agriculture. It was not uncommon to hear young women (or men for that matter) to speak of their namorados who were working in France, West Germany or other labor importing countries.

This trend was supported in part with data extracted from marriage records in the Registro Civil in the town of Bucelas. Although many marriage unions still involve individuals from the same village (between May 1978 and June 1979, 38 percent of all marriages in the Concelho of Bucelas involved individuals from the same village) it was learned that out of a total of 68 marriages performed in June, July, August and January¹ in the concelho, only a small minority of couples had no emigration experience between them. Indeed, according to the local magistrate, over 90 percent of all marriages recorded during this period involved at least one partner (usually male), who previously or at that time was an emigrant worker.

While material wealth, often derived from emigration, continues to be a major consideration in courtship and marriage among many young people in the communities, it is by no means the only consideration. Status derived from the ability to speak a foreign language, for example, or knowledge of a foreign country also enhance one's stature in the local community. Familiarity with modern, urban-oriented lifestyles and behavior modes also adds to one's cultura (sophistication) and makes one more civilizado (civilized). Possession of agricultural land remains a highly valued source of wealth in the three communities, but a young man today must be able to offer more than a life of subsistence oriented agriculture to attract a potential bride. In recent years, this "something more", commonly in the form of decent housing, savings, additional

land, and modern consumer goods, has been obtained almost exclusively through emigration.

Courtship And Marriage Ceremonies:
Seasonal Variation And Intensification

If emigration has come to exert a strong influence upon the selection of marriage partners at the level of the local community, it also has greatly influenced the timing and duration of both the courtship process and the celebration of marriage, both of which are currently concentrated during the summer months and to a lesser extent, during the Christmas season. For many emigrants visiting their home communities, face to face courtship activities are commonly limited to a brief, one month period during the summer months or at Christmas. Similarly, marriage ceremonies are also concentrated during these vacation and holiday periods. Hence, the serious engagement stage of courtship (when couples formally declare that they are namorados) which traditionally has involved frequent visits in the context of a variety of local social functions, for many has become a segmented and long distance process where personal contact is substantially limited. Moreover, for many couples, the sense of urgency, haste, and excitement of an August wedding soon fades as they return to their respective and geographically separate routines, a condition which is tempered perhaps only by the knowledge of a future reunion under better socioeconomic conditions, either in Portugal or abroad.

The most striking example of this "telescoping" and seasonal orientation of courtship and marriage among emigrants in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães occurred in mid-August when in the course of one Saturday, thirteen marriages were performed. That same month, a priest from another

parish in the concelho claimed to have performed forty-one marriages in two weeks. Seen another way, the sixty-eight marriages registered with the Registo Civil in June, July, August and January (the vast majority involving at least one partner with emigration experience) comprised 61 percent of all marriages recorded for the twelve month period between April 1978 and May 1979. Although a greater proportion of marriages traditionally take place in the spring and summer months, the concentration of so many marriages during the summer months (the traditional time of vacation for northern European workers) is no co-incidence and clearly reflects time constraints upon emigrants visiting their home communities.

Women Remaining Behind In The Communities

Emigration among women increased significantly during the 1970s, almost equaling that among adult males by the middle of that decade, but by and large it has been women who have remained behind in Portugal, often for many years, raising children and working in agriculture while their husbands or brothers worked elsewhere in northern Europe or North or South America. Although the relatively close geographical proximity of Portugal to northern European nations and especially to France has allowed for increased return visits among Portuguese emigrants, the long term separation of married couples and families remains a major source of stress and interpersonal problems among families touched by emigration. All family members suffer from long term separation due to emigration, but married women and especially the wives of transatlantic emigrants seem to have been affected to a greater degree than have other categories of family members. Indeed, in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, it was not uncommon to find women who have spent most of their married lives separated from their husbands. In most of these cases, the

destination country of the husband was Brazil. Under these circumstances, return visits are usually far and few between. (Although emigration may sometimes facilitate a "functional" divorce between marriage partners, this kind of divorce occurs among only a very small percentage of married couples.)

One clear example of this pattern is illustrated in the case of Herminio and Deolinda, aged fifty-five and sixty respectively, who were separated for twelve years while Herminio worked as a butcher for a meat packing company in Rio de Janeiro between 1954 and 1966. During this period, Herminio did not make a return visit to his village of Sandiães in order to be with his wife and two children. Despite describing his job in Brazil as "good" and relatively well paying, Herminio explained that return visits would have eroded his hard earned savings which were set aside for the renovation of his house. Deolinda, while admitting that those years were extremely difficult because, among other reasons, her children did not even know their father, nonetheless accepted her situation because after all, "People have to work to better their lives".

A similar case is presented with Jose and Amalia, aged sixty-one and fifty-seven respectively, who spent a total of twenty-one years apart between 1950 and 1971 while Jose worked as a construction laborer, also in Rio de Janeiro. The case of Jose and Amalia was perhaps especially difficult because Jose left the village of Sandiães at the relatively advanced age of forty when he already had been married to Amalia for some fifteen years, and was the father of two children. Although Jose said he returned to Portugal for short visits on an average of every two years, he nevertheless spent the entire twenty-one years in Rio de Janeiro without his wife, who managed to raise three additional

children in his absence.

Although such long term separations create stress and other behavioral problems for all family members, interviews with both visiting emigrants and returned emigrants suggest that it is women remaining behind in the home community who experience greater degrees of stress. Thus, while both Jose and Herminio stated that they eventually returned to Sandiaes to be with their families, they, as well as many other male emigrants and returned emigrants interviewed, joked about or referred to girlfriends and "second wives" they maintained in the labor importing country. Through emigration therefore, men, already enjoying the benefits of a traditional male dominated society, gained even greater freedom from local community constraints of gossip, public opinion and the pressures of family and friends.

In contrast, wives of emigrants remaining behind not only remain subject to the norms governing womens' behavior, but are observed even more closely by neighbors and family who wait for infractions to take place in the absence of husbands. To the sense of loss and perhaps abandonment therefore is often added almost total responsibility for raising children as well as for taking over a greater share of many agricultural activities normally carried out by males. The view of many women towards their experiences with long term separation from their spouses is one characterized by a sense of resignation, acceptance and perhaps above all, necessity and is perhaps best summed up in a phrase A vida ē assim ("That's life"). This phrase, often heard among community members in discussions of emigration, was also commonly preceded or followed by remarks concerning the necessity of leaving Portugal in order to Ganhar a vida ("Earn a living").

Finally, the eventual permanent return of male heads of households after many years of absence does not signal the immediate resolution of interpersonal problems but in fact often results in the genesis of a new set of problems. The mutual adjustment of individuals who are while married, but may be strangers to each other, can be great. The returned emigrant must also try to reintegrate into rural lifeways after many years spent in an urban-industrial environment.

Emigrant And Non-Emigrant Children In Bucelas, Gandra And Sandiães

Relationships between parents and siblings and relationships between siblings were found to have been significantly affected by long term separation stemming from emigration. Similarly, the shuttling back and forth of children between Portugal and labor importing regions also was found to contribute to stress and behavioral problems among some children of emigrants. Numerous cases were discovered for example, of children left in the care of relatives, who have spent as much as the first ten years of their lives without regular contact with their parents. They see them primarily during the annual summer visits or occasionally on holidays. More commonplace however, were those children who have spent time alternating residences between Portugal and the destinations of their parents. In most of these cases, informants claim that children were sent back to Portugal to continue their studies, although economic considerations while mentioned less frequently, more than likely also figured into many of these return trips. It is these children, who have spent time living in a foreign country in an urban-industrial environment who were especially visible in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães and appeared to be set off somewhat from their peers who have remained in Portugal. Moreover, while younger children seemed to be considerably

more malleable and mixed well with their peers and non-emigrant siblings, older children and adolescents tended to stand out from their friends and family members in numerous ways. These observations were confirmed by teachers at the local ciclo or intermediate school in the town of Bucelas who also spoke of observable differences between local children and those who had lived outside Portugal. According to them, emigrant children were "more sophisticated", "less timid" and differed from their local peers in dress, language, behavior and mannerisms.

In order to gain additional insights into the views and perceptions of children of emigrants who had spent time with their parents outside Portugal, a brief open-ended questionnaire was administered (see Appendix A) in the classroom setting at the ciclo in Bucelas in which students wrote out their responses to questions. Although the questionnaire was oriented towards those students who had lived for a period of time in a foreign country, many non-emigrant students wrote answers to those questions which they felt pertained to them, particularly with respect to the view of their peers who had lived outside Portugal. A total of sixty-four students, twenty-six boys and thirty-eight girls between the ages of ten and fifteen, completed the questionnaires. Of the total who responded, twenty-two individuals (ten boys and twelve girls) or 34 percent of this group, had lived outside Portugal.

Not surprisingly, among those students with living experience in a foreign country, a majority (eighteen) had resided in France. Other destination countries included Canada, the U.S., Luxembourg and West Germany. The average length of time spent outside Portugal was 3.5 years, with six months constituting a minimum length of stay and ten years the maximum duration. At the time the questionnaire was administered, eleven

of these respondents stated that one or both of their parents were still no estrangeiro ("in a foreign country") while eleven said that at least one brother or sister was working outside Portugal. In contrast, only four individuals stated that no member of the immediate family was at that time residing outside Portugal.

When asked why they had returned to Portugal, a variety of responses were elicited. However, the most common response stressed the continuation of studies in Portugal. Eight individuals or 33 percent of this emigrant group stated that they had returned to their home community for this reason. Other responses to this question are presented in Table 9.0.

The desire of many parents to send their children back to Portugal to continue their studies grows primarily from a concern that they will gradually lose their Portuguese language skills and sense of cultural identity if they were to remain away from their homeland for too long. This concern, reflected in part in the answers to the question, "Why did you return to Portugal?" is also underscored in the ability of children in this group to speak a foreign language. Fifteen of the twenty-two emigrant children indicated that they spoke a foreign language. Of this grouping, thirteen stated that they knew how to speak French while two said that they spoke English.

The adaptability and flexibility of youth under these circumstances is highlighted by the fact that most students in this group responded positively to the question "Are you happy where you are living now?". Only two individuals wrote that they were not satisfied with their current living arrangements while one did not reply to this particular question. Interestingly, if most respondents indicated that they felt

TABLE 9.0

REASONS FOR RETURNING TO PORTUGAL GIVEN BY CHILDREN
WITH EMIGRATION EXPERIENCE IN BUCELAS, GANDRA AND SANDIÃES

1) parents wanted me to return	(2)
2) brother was arrested	(1)
3) mother wanted to return	(1)
4) father was fed up	(1)
5) everything we own is here	(1)
6) to visit my grandparents	(1)
7) parents could not make it in France	(1)
8) parents were homesick	(1)
9) deported	(1)
10) family is here	(1)
11) to visit a sick aunt	(1)
12) we did not have enough money	(1)
13) no reply	(1)

contente living in Portugal, most also responded affirmatively when asked if they would like to return to no estrangeiro to live. This somewhat contradictory response pattern is perhaps resolved in answers to another question which asked whether or not informants preferred living no estrangeiro or in Portugal. In response, fifteen students replied that they preferred living outside Portugal, which in most cases meant living in France.

Finally, a sizeable majority (eighteen) students responded negatively when asked if they felt somehow different from their friends who had never been outside Portugal. Given the sometimes marked differences between emigrant and non-emigrant youth in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães with respect to clothing, language, behavior and appearance, the extent of this negative response is somewhat puzzling. It is highly probable however, that many of these individuals are in fact aware of differences between themselves and local peers and recognizing the intent of the question, answered "appropriately".

The greatest single divergence between emigrant and non-emigrant youth which emerges from the questionnaire, involves mutually held perceptions of each other. Thus, while eighteen of the twenty-two emigrant informants wrote that they felt no different from their non-emigrant peers, the opposite response was elicited among the majority of the respondents who had no migration experience and who were asked whether or not they felt their friends who had lived outside Portugal seemed different from themselves. In reply to this question, twenty-three individuals or 55 percent of the non-emigrant group replied affirmatively while five students responded negatively. Fourteen students did not reply. The ten students who elaborated on why they felt their emigrant peers

were different from themselves most often mentioned better clothing. Thus, answers such as "They are better dressed than me", or "They are more in style" appeared in five out of ten written comments by non-emigrant students.

Following clothing differences, local students most often cited differences in language (including different accents) as setting their emigrant friends apart from themselves. Remarks concerning differences in language appeared in three of the ten written comments volunteered by members of this group. Finally, local students also referred to different behavioral modes and mannerisms held by their emigrant peers as a difference between themselves and the emigrant group. Of the ten written comments volunteered by non-emigrant students, references to behavior appear in five instances and includes such comments as, "They think they are more important", or "They are full of vanity" and "They seem more educated". (See Table 9.1) While underscoring similar observations made by teachers in the ciclo, this genre of written comment also suggests a degree of underlying tension between non-emigrant youth and those who have lived outside Portugal. This tension is present not only in peer groups, but also within family households and to a degree, parallels the perceptions some adults held towards emigrants.

The above data, although extremely limited, does underscore the extent to which emigration has touched all segments of the residents of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes. Like adults therefore, children in the three communities are very aware of changes and benefits associated with emigration from Portugal. Indeed, the evidence seems to suggest that in fact a socialization process continues to be at work which instills an ideology of emigration among the youth of the communities. However,

TABLE 9.1

ATTRIBUTES OF STUDENTS WITH EMIGRATION EXPERIENCE
AS STATED BY LOCAL NON-MIGRANT STUDENTS

1) They are better dressed	(5)
2) They speak differently	(3)
3) They think they are more important	(1)
4) They are full of vanity	(1)
5) They have more money	(1)
6) They are imperialists	(1)
7) They make judgments on people more often than others	(1)
8) They are more educated	(1)
9) They are conceited	(1)
10) They are more civilized	(1)

even as the material fruits of emigration appear more and more visible in and around the three communities and as the expectation to emigrate continues to be present among much of the youth, opportunities for emigration have fallen dramatically, a trend which during the next decade, may very well increase the levels of dissatisfaction among young people in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. Similarly, among the younger segment of the local population, perhaps it will be those young people who have already experienced condicoes boms who will become the most restless.

Emigration And The Transmission Of Western Youth Culture

In addition to changes in family organization resulting from the dispersal, long term separation, and shuttling back and forth of its members, are shifts more closely associated with changing values, norms and expectations. These changes do result largely from emigration, but have also been generated by rapid political and cultural changes in the wake of the April 25th Revolution. In short, ideological and world view changes introduced into Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes during the course of the past two decades through emigration and more recently with liberalizations following the April Revolution; have resulted in the penetration and emulation of youth culture patterns which emanate from northern Europe and North America. This growing trend, marked by adherence to values, behavior codes and expectations substantially different from traditional patterns in the communities, was often the source of conflict in many local households.

During the decade of the 1960s and early 1970s, changes in world view and expectations among the residents of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães were gradually introduced by emigrants who upon visiting their home communities recounted stories of life outside Portugal. In addition, the

attainment of formerly unheard of wealth and possessions by emigrants, together with the arrival of cash remittances into the communities, also contributed to changes in formerly held perceptions of the world as well as to raised expectations, especially on the part of the young. Interspersed with these trends were glimpses of western-style youth culture, which while present in Lisbon, Porto and tourist centers in the Algarve province, remained somewhat foreign to all but a few privileged youth in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. The political and cultural upheavals following the April 25th Revolution however, together with increased commercial penetration in recent years, has greatly accelerated the pace of change in world view on the part of the rural youth. Hence, superimposed upon already rising expectations of improved material and socioeconomic improvement among the young in the villages has been the growing demand for such youth culture items as jeans, t-shirts, rock music, stereo sets, drugs and discotheques to name a few.

The combination of raised expectations for socioeconomic improvement, together with the emulation of contemporary youth culture lifestyles among the young of the three communities, has contributed to a growing feeling of dissatisfaction and at times scorn for traditional lifeways associated with northern minifundia agriculture. Discussions of employment possibilities or future plans among youth in the three communities therefore, often were punctuated with derisive comments pertaining to the backwardness of the area, the lack of movimento (movement), and the boredom of rural life. In short, perhaps a majority of young people in the communities do not relish the idea of remaining in their home town or villages, but rather still entertain the idea of eventually leaving the Concelho of Bucelas. Above all, most have little or no desire to

become involved in agriculture as a means of earning a living, a trend which portends the continued decline of cultivation in the region. Indeed, on numerous occasions, young men expressed displeasure and at times embarrassment in having to help parents or family with agricultural tasks, an issue which sometimes formed the basis for family strife. Although most young males did participate in a variety of agricultural activities, it often appeared that many did so out of a sense of obligation to family or to earn a bit of spending money. Thus, while most youth recognized that with enough land, a simple but adequate living could be had from small-scale agriculture, most indicated that they do not want this simple rural life.

Even as the material benefits of emigration become increasingly visible in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes however, many local people have begun to express bitterness and resignation because they recognize the rapidly diminishing possibilities for emigration from Portugal. This awareness of constricting possibilities is augmented by the knowledge of continued economic decline in Portugal. Hence, many young members of the communities expressed the feeling of being trapped and unable to exercise control over their lives. At the time of research, many young males after finishing school, looked forward to the two-year mandatory military conscription as a means of getting out of the countryside. In the town of Bucelas, many of these young men could be observed passing time in the local cafe-bar, working intermittently and attending the occasional dance or festa while waiting to be inducted.

The rise in expectations and the impact of the emerging youth culture in the three communities has also had a strong effect on young women who perhaps experience even greater frustration because they remain

considerably more constrained than do males by traditional values and norms governing behavior. During the course of fieldwork, three young women, all under the age of eighteen, made attempts to flee the communities and make their way to the city of Porto. According to one Guarda Republicana, numerous other attempts were made throughout the Concelho as a whole because, in his words, "Parents won't let their daughters leave the house".

During the period of research, leading newspapers in both Lisbon and Porto carried articles concerning the growing influx from rural areas of young female runaways, who, failing to find regular employment upon their arrival, often end up in the clubs or on the streets of these two cities. Thus, with growing modernization in rural towns and villages, coupled with raised expectations, but steadily declining opportunities for emigration, an urban oriented youth culture perhaps may form the beginnings for a renewed cycle of internal migration.

Against the backdrop of five centuries of emigration, patterns of rural marriage and family organization have long been affected by the exigencies surrounding emigration from Portugal. However, the speed and scope of out-migration which took place during the 1960s and early 1970s, a population movement without precedent in the history of Portugal, was such that these institutions experienced substantial change despite the presence of a historically conditioned "emigration ideology".

Nevertheless, the nature of changes experienced in rural family organization, courtship and marriage patterns, while at times highly visible, for the most part have not resulted in the permanent restructuring of these institutions. In fact, many of the above described trends, contingent as they are upon continued emigration, appear to be

only of a temporary nature, but also show signs of reversal as emigration declines and return migration slowly increases.

However, even as the above emigration-related changes appear to be subsiding somewhat, the raised expectations of socioeconomic improvement, particularly among the youth, which continue to be stimulated by emigration-derived material displays, consumerism, and commercial expansion, show no signs of diminishing in the near future. To these local expectation raising agents, are added other broad political, cultural and commercial messages, disseminated through a liberalized post-revolutionary media, which also play upon the hopes and aspirations of rural populations. Clearly however, the continued disintegration of agriculture, a declining national economy and constricting opportunities for emigration, increasingly inhibit the delivery of socioeconomic improvement even as the media is becoming increasingly saturated with what Eric Wolf has referred to as the "Dance of Commodities". The frustrations and disillusionment resulting from this contradiction between the dazzling imagery of modernization and the lack of conditions necessary for attaining it can only serve to generate additional tension within familial, community and class levels of social organization in rural areas and may contribute to the resurgence in the near future of both internal rural-urban migratory flows and a resurgence of political activity.

CHAPTER X

RETURN MIGRATION

The growing incidence of permanent return migration throughout the Mediterranean region in recent years, has caused the intra-European migratory cycle to come full circle in its development. As Rhoades (1979) suggests, given the current global economic downturn, intra-European return migration may very well continue in its expansion in the coming decade, posing serious problems for government officials and policy makers in labor sending areas. While this process remains in its early stages in Portugal, perhaps due to Portugal's somewhat belated participation in intra-European migration flows, the permanent return of emigrants nevertheless has shown a marked increase since the mid-1970s. During the past five to seven years, numerous emigrants have also returned to Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães.

Lay-offs, production slow-downs, plant closings and rising unemployment throughout northern Europe and North America have forced many Portuguese emigrants to return to their homeland, but for many, this recent economic downturn simply has offered a convenient opportunity to return to Portugal permanently. Although large segments of both Portuguese and other circum-Mediterranean workers have returned to their homelands without attaining many of their desired material goals, many others, having worked numerous years in urban-industrial centers, had already reached such goals. Perhaps debating a permanent return, they now had a justifiable reason to depart for Portugal. In this context, a sizeable grouping of returnees in the communities studied, although referring to worsening economic conditions with respect to their decision to return to Portugal, often mentioned that they had already "arranged conditions"

in their home communities, and it simply was time to return home.

In Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, the recent acceleration of return migration, has intensified the hinterland suburbanization process. The appearance of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes continues to be altered and modernized and problems of reintegration such as employment opportunities, applicability of skills, inflation, continued agricultural decline and growing dissatisfaction with local conditions are rapidly surfacing even as emigrants continue to live from savings earned abroad.

Although preceding chapters in this work include general discussions of the impact of return migration upon Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães as part of a broad circulatory migration process, this form of the migratory cycle has been examined in conjunction with annual returns, cyclical visits and the socioeconomic changes brought about by the continued inflow of remittances, and has not been treated separately. Because of the likelihood of continued return migration through the decade of the 1980s and because of the continued influence of returnees upon the local communities, this chapter focuses upon the permanent return and reintegration of forty returned emigrants, most of whom arrived in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes after 1974.

Included within this chapter are four principle foci, three of which include aspects of each phase of the total migration process. The first describes a composite of various socioeconomic and demographic features of those returnees interviewed such as age, sex, marital status, birthplace and education. The second focus includes a discussion of the conditions surrounding the initial decision to emigrate from Portugal while a third includes an examination of the various dimensions of the experience of emigrants abroad such as living and working conditions, occupations

held, pay, return visits, destination countries and remittance sending. A final focus integrates a discussion of the return of former migrants to Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes and includes a consideration of the reasons for returning permanently, investment patterns, spending trends, post-migration occupations, future plans and perceptions of Portugal after migration.

Socioeconomic And Demographic Characteristics Of Returnees

Although a total of sixty-four returnees were interviewed in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, twenty-four individuals in this group are not considered in this discussion because they had spent less than five years working outside Portugal (the average length of stay among these twenty-four individuals is two years) and because most of these informants, having been involved primarily in seasonal and short term migration, were relatively less successful in altering their respective living situations than those who had spent longer lengths of stay outside Portugal. In contrast, the remaining forty returnees form a more representative group with respect to their economic impact upon the three communities studied. This group of returnees who spent at least five years working outside Portugal more or less continuously, had undertaken various improvements in their communities of origin. These improvements ranged from the construction of a new house to the purchase of various domestic and agricultural appliances and tools. Discussions of interviews therefore, will focus upon this group of "long term" returned emigrants, eighteen of whom resided in the town of Bucelas, six of whom lived in the village of Gandra and sixteen of whom resided in the village of Sandiaes.

Thirty-six of those interviewed were adult males, most of whom were heads of household living with their immediate families. Of the four

adult women interviewed, three could be classified as being temporary heads of household who had returned to Portugal with their children while their husbands continued to work abroad. One woman in this group, a 51 year-old widow who had spent five years living and working with her daughter in France, lived alone in the village of Sandiaes.

One obvious trend was that most of those interviewed were of middle age and older, a pattern which may be correlated with the longer lengths of stay abroad and relative success of this particular group. Despite considerable variation with respect to the ages of returnees, the average age of those interviewed was 46 years; a 23 year old male was the youngest informant in the group and an elderly male of 69 years was the oldest.

All but three persons in this group were born in villages within the Concelho of Bucelas. Thirteen informants gave as their birthplace the town of Bucelas, five said they were born in Gandra and sixteen indicated they were born in the village of Sandiães. At the time of the interviews, all but three individuals, two men and the widow, stated that they were married.

With respect to formal education, nine individuals or almost 25 percent of the total indicated that they had never received instruction. Similarly, twelve informants said that they had received two years of education while sixteen returnees stated that they had completed four years of formal instruction. In contrast, two returnees indicated that they had finished schooling at the level of the ciclo.

Emigrating From Portugal

Returnees were asked five open-ended questions aimed at eliciting information about various aspects of their contextual situation prior to

and at the time of their first trip outside Portugal. The questions focused upon the following areas: 1) the actual decision to emigrate from Portugal, 2) occupation prior to leaving Portugal, 3) marital status and family situation at time of departure, 4) degree of spouse/family participation in initial departure, 5) contacts utilized during migration, and 6) legal status of migration out of Portugal.

As with interviews conducted among emigrants visiting during the summer months, when asked "Why did you leave Portugal?", a considerable majority of returnees responded in ways which stress socioeconomic conditions present in the communities prior to and at the time of departure. Among those interviewed, thirty-six informants or 90 percent of the total responded in this manner. Among the more commonly stated responses were "There was misery here", or "There was no work here", "To earn a living", "To better my life", or "To earn money". Of those four responses which did not emphasize socioeconomic conditions, three included references to various family members who "sent" or "called" for the individual in question while one returnee simply stated that he left his village to "Try out emigration".

Similarly, responses emphasizing socioeconomic factors comprised an even greater percentage of the total number of responses volunteered in reply to this question. Hence, of the fifty-six total responses elicited from the forty returnees, fifty-one or 92 percent included references to socioeconomic conditions. (See Table 10.0). Indeed, the lack of hesitation and tone of many responses to this question seemed to confirm the importance of socioeconomic conditions. Moreover, the reference to the word "misery" (miseria), the single most common word to appear in the replies to this question, also underscores the importance of these factors.

TABLE 10.0

REASONS FOR EMIGRATING FROM PORTUGAL GIVEN BY RETURNEES

to improve my situation	3
to support my family	1
lack of work	4
no money here	1
poor conditions here	1
obliged to leave	2
there was misery here	6
to improve myself	1
to govern my life	2
to earn money	5
I had nothing	3
government gave no opportunities	1
jobs paid little here	1
there wasn't enough to eat	1
life didn't offer anything	1
to try it out	1
sister sent for me	2
there were no conditions here	1
I owned no land	2
I owned no house	2
wife sent for me	1
to earn a living	4
there were weak means to earn a living	2
daughter sent for me	1
it was necessary to leave	2
to improve my life	5
	<hr/>
Total	56

PLEASE NOTE:

Page 266 seems to be missing in numbering only as text follows.

The types of pre-emigration occupations held by returnees reflect broader regional and national patterns documented for Portugal in general, but also stresses the importance of poor socioeconomic conditions which bear upon the decision to emigrate. When asked to describe pre-emigration occupations thirty-three returnees or 83 percent of the total indicated that they worked either as trabalhadores agrícolas (agricultural workers) or as agricultores (agriculturalists). Viewed another way, prior to emigrating, sixteen informants were members of the rural proletariat class segment in the communities while seventeen other individuals made a living from subsistence agriculture as members of the semi-proletariat or peasant class segments.

The occupations held by seven other returnees prior to emigration consisted primarily of shopkeepers and craftsmen and included carpenters, a tinsmith, a stonemason, a clothier, a shopkeeper and a cooper. This pattern suggests that although depopulation due to out-migration has resulted in the depletion of the economically active population involved in agriculture, it has also brought about losses in both the number and diversity in the commercial sector as well as in traditional crafts.

With respect to marital status and family cycle position at the time of emigration, thirty-three returnees or 83 percent of the total number interviewed stated that they were married at the time of their first departure from Portugal, a somewhat higher figure in comparison to national trends. Of this group, nineteen men and one woman indicated that they had left their spouses and children behind during their initial trip away from Portugal, a pattern which is not surprising given the fact that a sizeable majority of those interviewed departed from Portugal illegally.

In contrast, eight returnees said that their initial departure from Portugal involved the emigration of their entire immediate families. Similarly, four men stated that after finding employment and living quarters in the labor importing region, they then sent for their wives and children. One woman interviewed said that her husband sent for her after an initial settling-in period in the destination country. In contrast, seven individuals indicated that they were unmarried at the time they migrated from Portugal.

Many returnees migrated from their home communities in the company of other family and kin members from the same region or communities, a pattern which is quite common among Portuguese emigrants. In six cases, informants stated that they departed from Portugal with kin members or friends. The family relative most often mentioned in this context was cousin, cited in three instances. The occurrence of this family category is followed by those of brother, father and brother-in-law, each of which was mentioned once while in four cases returnees said they left Portugal in the company of friends.

The social networks utilized by emigrants in their departures also became evident when returnees were asked if they were assisted by other Portuguese they knew in the receiving countries when they first left Portugal. Not surprisingly, thirty-five individuals or 88 percent of the total interviewed said that they were helped by such contacts who lived in labor importing centers. In response to this question, a total of seven categories of contacts were elicited from the informants. Six of these were comprised of family and kin categories while one included that of friends. The contact most often cited was "sister", which accounted for ten responses. The second most commonly mentioned category was

that of "friends", which was stated nine times. Other categories of contacts included: brother-in-law (7), cousin (4), mother (1), daughter (1).

As was true for most of those who emigrated from Portugal during the 1960s and early 1970s, a sizeable majority of returnees stated that their initial departure from Portugal was an illegal one. Thus, when asked about the legal status of their first departure from Portugal, twenty-five informants or 63 percent of those interviewed said they left Portugal clandestinamente (illegally). All of these individuals eventually acquired work permits and passports from French government offices and Portuguese consulates located throughout France both prior to and after finding employment.

Questions concerning the legal status and the nature of departures among these former emigrants invariably generated lively accounts and stories concerning illegal crossings. Common themes which emerged from these and other interviews with returnees and emigrants included running and hiding from border patrols, days and nights spent in the mountains on foot with little or no food and water, being dumped by passadores in the center of Paris or in a deserted rural area, and of course, of being sick from exhaustion and fear. Two informants interviewed were apprehended in Spain and spent time in prison. Both however, eventually succeeded in reaching France after being released. Although most returnees joked and laughed when discussing these illegal saltos, the fears, anxiety and difficulties experienced were also evident. As one agricultor, who lost his shoes during a mountain trek but stayed in France for six years put it, "Os passeos eram um cruz"; literally: "Those trips were a cross" (to bear).

Living And Working Outside Portugal

Returnees were asked a series of twelve open-ended questions aimed at eliciting responses concerning a variety of facets of working and living outside Portugal. The questions asked were concerned with the following areas: 1) destination countries of returnees, 2) length of stay away from Portugal, 3) return visits made, 4) occupations held in labor importing countries, 5) returnee descriptions of working conditions, 6) assessment of wages paid, 7) acquisition of training and skills, 8) accounts of living conditions, 9) remittance sending, 10) husband and wife employment patterns, 11) foreign language ability, 12) perceptions of members of the receiving society.

As in the case of Portuguese émigrants in general, most returnees interviewed had traveled to France in search of employment. Although a number of informants had worked in more than one country, most of these individuals had spent the greatest single amount of time in France. Thus, among those interviewed, twenty-six individuals or 65 percent of the total had either emigrated exclusively to France or had spent the greatest amount of their time away from Portugal in France. Following France, Brazil and West Germany lagged far behind as the principal destinations of those returnees interviewed. Among returnees, five informants gave Brazil as their principal destination while five returnees said they spent most of their sojourn outside Portugal working in West Germany. Other destination countries of returnees include: Canada (3), U.S. (2), Holland (1), Belgium (1), Great Britain (1), Northern Ireland (1). (See Table 10.1).

Seven informants indicated that their search for work had taken them to a variety of northern European and North American nations, a pattern

TABLE 10.1

DESTINATION COUNTRIES OF RETURNEES

France	20
West Germany	6
Brazil	5
U.S.	5
Canada	3
Holland	1
Belgium	1
Spain	1
Great Britain	1
Northern Ireland	1

which underscores the essentially open-ended and circulatory nature of intra-European migration. One individual, currently the proprietor of the largest cafe-bar in Bucelas, had worked in France, West Germany, Spain and the U.S. spanning a period of approximately ten years. Similarly, twelve returnees said that while they had migrated to one specific country initially, they subsequently traveled to other countries in search for employment. During the course of one interview, one individual proudly recited the numbers of the seven administrative departments in which he had lived and worked during his stay in France. Another informant claimed to have moved thirteen times during an eight year period. Similarly, one other returnee said he shuttled back and forth between France and Portugal every two or three months over the course of an eleven year period. Thus, while many of those interviewed migrated to one locality and remained there, more than half (twenty-one) migrated to more than one country, or, to a variety of locales within a country, or, returned to Portugal more than once a year, a pattern which again underscores the fluidity of intra-European migration.

The average length of time spent working outside Portugal was ten years. The greatest single period of time spent away from Portugal among individuals in this group was thirty-seven years. This was an individual from the town of Bucelas who worked twenty-five years in Brazil and twelve years in the U.S. As previously discussed, the minimum length of time among those interviewed was five years. Not surprisingly, most of those returnees who had worked in Brazil tended to be older than most individuals in this group and had emigrated from Portugal prior to the migratory surge which began in the early 1960s. The average length of stay spent in Brazil among returnees was sixteen years, more than twice the

average time span spent by former emigrants in northern Europe which was seven years.

The strong ties to home communities among returnees and among Portuguese emigrants as a whole, were reinforced with annual and cyclical return visits to Portugal. As in the case of the emigrants who I interviewed during the summer months, a strong divergence in return visiting patterns emerged between former transatlantic migrants and those who participated in intra-European migratory flows. That is, those returnees who had emigrated either to Brazil, the U.S. or Canada returned to Portugal far less often than those who traveled to northern Europe. Among those eight informants whose most recent destination included countries in North or South America, three indicated that they did not make a return visit to Portugal. One individual said he visited his home community one time during a ten year period while another returnee said he made two return trips over a twenty-five year span. Another informant stated that he returned to Portugal twice over the course of twelve years. Two other returnees, both of whom worked in the U.S., indicated that they had returned to Portugal five times in fourteen years, and every other year respectively.

In contrast, with one exception, each returnee who had worked in northern Europe said that a return visit was made to Portugal at least once a year, with numerous individuals stating that they returned to their communities of origin twice annually and in the case of one individual, four times per year. In most cases, as discussed in Chapter Six, return visits were made during the summer months and especially during the month of August in the weeks preceeding and following the festa in Bucelas. As suggested previously, the relatively high frequency of return visits

made by emigrants appears to play a strong role in the maintenance of community and family ties and in doing so also encourages a continued interest in the home community. This interest in turn reinforces the desire on the part of many emigrants to eventually return permanently to Portugal.

As was true for most migrants from the circum-Mediterranean basin, the types of employment which were secured outside Portugal by returnees interviewed may be characterized as those involving unskilled and manual labor. Most informants indicated that they had worked at only one occupation during their sojourn away from Portugal. Twelve individuals stated that they had worked at more than one job during their stay, and a number of informants said that they worked at as many as six or seven different jobs in labor importing areas.

As shown in Table 10.2, the most common form of employment undertaken by those returnees interviewed was manual construction labor, which accounted for twenty-two cases of all occupations held by former emigrants. As will be discussed, the harshest criticisms and comments made by returnees concerning working conditions were elicited from those who were involved in construction work. Unskilled work associated with auto-related industries comprised the next numerous type of employment experienced by returnees. Most other types of occupations held by former emigrants were also essentially unskilled types of jobs. Only three individuals within this group were involved in self-employed kinds of work from which a modest living could be earned. Occupations formerly held by these returnees include: taxi driver, clothier, and tourist stand operator. As was true for Portuguese migrants in general, the vast majority of occupations held by former emigrants were concentrated in the

TABLE 10.2

OCCUPATIONS HELD BY RETURNEES IN LABOR IMPORTING COUNTRIES

butcher	1
construction laborer	22
cafe waitress	1
truck driver	1
lumber yard worker	2
leather factory worker	1
janitor	1
auto and auto related worker	7
taxi driver	1
tourist stand operator	1
carpenter	1
miner	1
agricultural laborer	4
candle factory worker	1
meat packer	1
oil refinery laborer	1
steel mill worker	1
textile worker	1
cigarette factory worker	1
dock worker	1
chauffeur	1
stone mason	1
clothing store owner	1
cook	1
butler	1
hospital orderly	1
paper factory worker	1
bottling plant worker	3
shoe factory worker	1

 Total 62

industrial and service sectors of the labor importing economy. Agriculture related jobs accounted for only four cases of employment among those interviewed.

When asked about their working experiences in the receiving societies, responses tended to split into broad categories either positive or extremely positive replies on the one hand or broadly negative or very negative responses on the other hand. Only six individuals described their work experience in neutral or non-committal terms. Thus, among those interviewed, eighteen returnees described their jobs in labor importing regions in such terms as, "It was a good job", "It was easy", "It didn't cost anything" or "There were good working conditions". One woman for example, said that she enjoyed working at a pajama factory in New Bedford, Massachusetts because all she did was "Pack pajamas into boxes". Similarly, another returnee spoke highly of his job at a mineral water bottling plant in France because, "I just pushed buttons on a machine all day".

In contrast, some fifteen returnees described their work experience outside Portugal in negative or extremely negative terms. Comments elicited from this group include: "It was very difficult", or "The conditions were very poor", or "We worked like mules", or "It was slave labor". By and large, most of the negative comments concerning work outside Portugal were made by those returnees who had been employed as construction laborers. Interestingly, this genre of comment seemed to appear irrespective of the destination country. One individual for example, compared construction work in Rio de Janeiro to slave labor employed by Egyptian pharaohs in the construction of the pyramids. He said "Hundreds of workers climbing ladders with bricks and cement on their backs". Another

returnee described himself and his cohorts as they labored in the construction of a large home of a wealthy French businessman as burros while the "lazy" owner looked on with his neighbors. Among those six informants who described their work experiences in neutral terms, comments were elicited such as "The work was normal", or "It was hard work, just like in Bucelas", or "Everyone has to work, right?". Two returnees in this group worked as agricultural laborers in southern France.

Although it is difficult to assess the extent to which higher pay tempered the perception of work, the data do suggest that by and large, former emigrants held low status, unskilled manual labor types of occupations outside Portugal, jobs made palatable by conditions of continuous employment and the possibility of earning far more than could ever be earned in the home communities.

Despite the low status, and physically taxing nature of employment held by most Portuguese emigrants, a sizeable majority of returnees interviewed responded positively when asked if they felt their job outside Portugal paid well. In response to this question, twenty-five returnees answered in positive terms while seven individuals responded negatively. In contrast, nine former emigrants replied in a manner which was essentially non-committal. Although most emigrants are extremely aware of salary differentials in labor importing regions, a topic of frequent debate and discussion among visiting emigrants, most returnees seemed to take consolation in the fact that even if they did not earn the highest industrial wage, they nevertheless felt they earned far more than they could have ever earned by remaining in Portugal. In this sense, much of the positive commentary concerning wages earned abroad consisted of de facto comparisons with both past and current wage levels in Portugal.

Moreover, for many individuals, the change to be employed on a regular basis made emigration worthwhile, a perception which underscores the poor socioeconomic conditions in Portugal.

When discussing wages earned abroad many returnees, while admitting that they had worked for low wages, nonetheless often punctuated their comments with remarks such as, "The work paid little but it was necessary", or "I earned little but it was better than here", or "I saved enough to make a few improvements here". Despite considerable wage differentials, most of those returnees interviewed were able to make some measure of improvement in their personal living situation prior to or after their return, whether it took the form of a new house or less visibly the purchase of various household appliances. As might be expected, those who worked at jobs in the industrial sector of labor importing economies received somewhat higher wages than those who were employed in the service and agricultural sectors. Nonetheless, it is clear that while returnees both earned and saved more than they could have if they had not left Portugal, by national and international standards, most also worked at low paying, low status jobs which members of the receiving society preferred not to take.

As was true for migrants from throughout the Mediterranean region, returnees in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, with few exceptions, did not acquire new or specialized skills during their temporary sojourn away from Portugal. Thus, among the forty returnees interviewed, only one individual successfully learned a new skill while working outside Portugal. In this particular case the individual, a former agricultor, learned welding skills while working at construction in West Germany. Fortunately, upon his return this individual was able to set up a small part-time

welding shop in the town of Bucelas which at the time of research was doing a modest business, primarily in repair work.

Two other returnees said they were able to upgrade skills which they already possessed during the course of their work on construction sites in France. One of these individuals, a twenty-three year old man from Bucelas, improved his knowledge of plumbing systems while working in Angouleme. Another from Sandiães, a man forty years of age and father of three, received the equivalent of a journeyman's card in stoneworking while working in the Paris metropolitan area. At the time of the interviews, both of these returnees indicated that their primary sources of income were derived from working on the construction of casas dos emigrantes.

However, the fact remains that the remaining thirty-seven returnees interviewed said that they had neither learned a new skill nor upgraded a skill during their stay away from Portugal. When this local pattern is compared to similar trends currently being documented throughout the Mediterranean region, clear evidence emerges of the broad failure of "core" urban-industrial zones to deliver one of the most widely discussed "benefits" of migration, and, underscores the essentially unequal exchange underlying intra-European labor migration.

Somewhat surprisingly, a sizeable majority of returnees described their living conditions outside Portugal in essentially positive terms. Among comments elicited from returnees concerning the forty-four locales where the greatest amount of time was spent, thirty-one responses may be characterized as either positive or very positive. Specifically, thirteen former emigrants described their living conditions in the receiving societies in very positive terms while eighteen informants assessed

living conditions in less glowing but essentially positive tones. In contrast, six returnees characterized their personal living situation abroad negatively, one individual expressing particular bitterness. Seven returnees interviewed were ambiguous in their assessments of personal living conditions away from Portugal.

Most former emigrants described their housing in labor importing countries as consisting of rented apartment type units, including the special public housing set up for migrant workers in both France and Germany. A sizeable number also indicated that at various points during their stay outside Portugal, they shared their housing with family members other than those in the immediate family. Very few returnees however, said they had resided in single-family houses and among those four individuals who were able to rent houses, all stated that they had resided in them with other family members and relatives. Those who rented houses during their stay outside Portugal worked either in the U.S. or Canada. In contrast, two returnees, both of whom worked in West Germany, lived in workers barracks provided by the construction firm for which they labored. Similarly, four other former emigrants, all of whom worked in France, stated that most of their stay was spent in barracas or shanty towns. With few exceptions, returnees indicated that their residences were located in areas with sizeable Portuguese populations and with migrants from a variety of other countries.

An objective assessment of living conditions described by returnees is somewhat difficult for a variety of reasons. First, although it appeared that most returnees described their personal living situation in positive terms, comments were often laden with remarks concerning the wider socioeconomic conditions and services present in the receiving society

in general. Thus, mixed in with descriptions of housing types were comments concerning the supermarkets, highway systems, "modern atmosphere", regular garbage collection, health services, "normal life" and in general the overall abundance and availability of goods and services in the receiving societies.

Second, many of the returnees seemed to describe living situations which were present towards the end of their stays, long after the early struggles and initial adjustments were made, and after regular employment was found. Well over half of the returnees made mention of difficulties experienced during the early phases of their stay. Third, given the widespread poor living conditions present throughout most of northern Portugal, perhaps even crowded working class/immigrant communities in urban areas of receiving societies would seem to be an improvement for many emigrants. Hence, when one considers the baseline from which improved living conditions are assessed the relatively high percentage of positive remarks, in context, becomes understandable.

The pragmatic intent of many emigrants to earn as much as possible within a personally and culturally defined period of time, perhaps fueled by the desire to return permanently at some point in the future, was illustrated by the relatively high incidence of cases in which both spouses worked. The higher costs of living in most receiving societies, and given the fact that most emigrants worked at low paying jobs may have made husband and wife employment an essential component in this strategy. Among those interviewed, the incidence of husband-wife employment was found to be relatively high. Thus, of those fourteen returnees who had either left Portugal in the company of their spouses or later sent for them after arranging employment and housing, each individual indicated that their

respective spouse had been employed at some point during their sojourn abroad. (With one exception, this pattern involved husbands as the primary wage earner who sent for their wives). In four cases, husbands and wives were able to secure work at the same place of employment. In general however, the kinds of jobs held by the wives of emigrants tended to be equal to, or lower in status and pay to the husband's jobs. This pattern illustrates not only the broad based, low paying and low status type of employment accepted by emigrants in general, but also underscores the need of many migrant families to have as many members as possible working on a regular basis in order to accrue enough savings to make the trip worthwhile.

As previously discussed, the sending of remittances back to Portugal is perhaps the single most important resource inflow into the local communities and without a doubt has been the most significant factor behind change in them. Other variables such as the type of job held, wages earned, and length of time working outside Portugal of course, influence the amount and frequency of cash remittances, the goal itself of sending money back to Portugal under conditions of favorable exchange and interest rates, emerges as a consistent pattern. When asked if they sent remittances to Portugal during their stay in labor importing areas, thirty-five of the forty returnees interviewed responded affirmatively. Thirty returnees in this group said that they had sent remittances to Portugal on a regular basis once continuous employment was found while five individuals stated that they sent a portion of their earnings to Portugal "once in a while" (Vez ênquanto). Five other returnees indicated that they did not send cash remittances to Portugal. For virtually all returnees, the timing of sending regular remittances corresponded roughly

to paydays. Thus, most returnees said they sent money to Portugal on a monthly basis. A few individuals said remittances were sent every two weeks and one returnee stated that he had parts of his paycheck sent to Portugal almost each week. Most former emigrants said that remittances were sent only after steady employment was found and after living expenses were taken care of. Similarly, a number of returnees stated that money was sent to Portugal while their families remained there but was discontinued when they were joined by their wives and children. Most of those interviewed had emigrated illegally to France, and mentioned they sent money to Portugal through the mail until they achieved legal status. With few exceptions most returnees said that once their legal status was in order, they utilized Portuguese branch banks to remit their earnings.

Very few returnees had learned to speak the language of the receiving society with a modicum of proficiency. The ability to speak a foreign language does have considerable status in the eyes of most community members but in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, only six returnees said they could carry on a conversation in a language other than Portuguese. In this context, three returnees stated that they were able to speak French; three informants said they could speak English, Spanish and German respectively. Fifteen other returnees said they could speak "a little" of a foreign language. That is, they remembered a few phrases and words but could not carry on a conversation at length. As one individual, in chiding his friend said, "Fernando knows just enough French to show off at the right time".

In contrast, roughly half of returnees interviewed said that they never learned another language during their stay outside Portugal. When

asked why this was the case, the reply more often than not included a reference to working and living near other Portuguese or residing in a Bairro dos Portugueses (Portuguese neighborhood). In their eyes there simply was no need to learn another language. Not surprisingly, the inability to speak the language of the receiving society was often mentioned by returnees in conjunction with discussions of adjustment problems, reception by the "host" population and negative impressions of the receiving society in general. As one returnee put it, "I left Bucelas with friends and family, lived in Paris with other Portuguese and then returned to my country. Why should I have learned French?"

Seen another way, thirty-four of the forty returnees interviewed or 85 percent of the total spoke little or no foreign languages. This pattern, reflecting broader trends documented among Portuguese emigrants in general, is also linked to the lack of job training, the relative insularity of the migrant populations residing in receiving societies and perhaps above all, to the intention of most emigrants to eventually return to Portugal on a permanent basis.

Most returnees communicated a favorable image of members of the receiving society in which they resided and worked. A considerable number of returnees, when asked if they were well received in the various destination countries, responded affirmatively. Among those interviewed, twenty-four returnees or 55 percent of the total replied to the above question in positive terms and described for example, friendships, personal experiences, daily contact, cultural similarities, and instances of mutual good will and respeito (respect). For a variety of reasons, the greatest number of positive remarks concerning "host" populations were in reference to the French. Positive comments elicited from returnees

regarding the French include: "The French are more civilized", or "The French are popularly oriented people". The French received the greatest number of positive evaluations by returnees, but residents of other labor importing countries also were characterized positively. Other positive remarks made by returnees include: "Germans are very educated", or "Americans are more serious than Portuguese, but are good people", or "The British are very sophisticated".

Nonetheless, a significant number of returnees felt that they were poorly received by the residents of the labor importing society because they felt ignored, discriminated against, and in general exploited. In this regard, eight responses to the above question were essentially negative in nature. Among these eight negative responses, three involved descriptions of West German population, three characterized French citizens while two described U.S. and Brazilian populations respectively. Negative comments concerning the West German host populations include: "They are cold, closed-faced and far less outgoing than the Portuguese", or "The Germans kept great social distance between themselves and us", or simply "They are racist". In like manner, according to some returnees, The French were "Two-faced", "Aloof" and "Classistas" (class oriented). One returnee characterized Americans as being concerned only with work, money and as being unfriendly, while another informant described Brazilians as having "less culture" than the Portuguese. Only one individual however, was involved in physical violence stemming from clashes with members of the receiving society. This particular case involved the arrest of an individual when he came to a friend's assistance who was being beaten by others in a Paris cafe-bar. According to this returnee, anti-immigrant sentiments caused the altercation.

The Permanent Return To Portugal

The permanent return of emigrants to Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães forms part of a wider return migration flow currently taking place throughout the western Mediterranean, a population movement already well developed for example, in Spain, Greece, and in southern Italy. Because Portuguese participation in intraEuropean labor migration movements is comparatively recent, the large scale permanent return to Portugal has lagged somewhat behind return flows directed towards other Mediterranean countries and as such is not accurately represented in the official Boletim published by the government. The relatively recent nature of permanent return migration to Portugal was also evident in trends discovered in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães. Among the forty returnees interviewed, twenty-five had made their final return to Portugal after 1974 with many of these informants arriving between 1977 and 1979.

Against the backdrop of growing return migration therefore, returnees were asked a series of seven open-ended questions designed to elicit information concerning a variety of facets of their permanent return and subsequent reintegration in their communities or origin. Specifically, the questions were concerned with the following areas: 1) the decision to return to Portugal, 2) the ideology of return migration, 3) spending and investment patterns in the home communities, 4) returnees views of post-migration life in their respective communities, 5) the role of family members remaining away from Portugal, 6) post emigration occupations, 7) returnee plans, hopes and view of the future.

For many returnees, the decision to return to Portugal permanently involved concrete pragmatic concerns surrounding either the attainment of financial and material goals, retirement, or improved opportunities

in their home communities for living a comfortable life. Thus, when asked "Why did you return to Portugal?", the single greatest number of responses involved those which included references to improved economic standing.

Ten returnees made direct mention of the fact that they had returned either because they had saved enough money or had "arranged conditions" for a better life in Portugal.

The next most numerous response cluster elicited from returnees involved that which stressed a return to Portugal in order to retire or rest. Six individuals responded in this manner with such phrases as, "I can live from my social security and savings more easily here than in the U.S.", "I'm too old to work anymore", or "I returned to Portugal to retire", or "I came back to Bucelas to rest". Within this group, four returnees were receiving either some form of retirement pension or social security benefits. Three had worked in the U.S. and one had worked in France.

After pragmatic and material considerations, returnees cited family related factors as influencing their decision to return to Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes. In six cases former emigrants claimed that they had returned to Portugal either to "Be with my family" or "To be with my wife". One other category of response commonly mentioned involved that which stressed the need for children to be educated in Portugal or in the Portuguese language. A total of five returnees responded in this manner. Other reasons given for the permanent return to Portugal include:

- 1) poor health, 2) being "tired" of the receiving society, 3) deportation, 4) the hope for better conditions in post-revolutionary Portugal, 5) being laid off, and returning to "work for myself". (See Table 10.3).

TABLE 10.3

REASONS GIVEN BY RETURNEES FOR RETURNING TO PORTUGAL

1) to be with family	6
2) poor health	3
3) to start a business	2
4) low cost of living (retiree)	1
5) to retire	2
6) too old to work anymore	2
7) to rest (retiree)	1
8) to work for myself	2
9) daughter's education	3
10) son's education	2
11) hoped for improved conditions in post-revolutionary Portugal	1
12) to arrange a better life	3
13) I am Portuguese and belong here	1
14) deportation	1
15) I am tired	1
16) found a job equal to that outside Portugal	1
17) laid off	1
18) "sick" of receiving society	1
19) saved enough to return and live well	6

 Total 40

Despite the considerable variation in responses given by returnees for returning to Portugal to stay, with few exceptions most returned emigrants said that they had initially left their home communities with the intention of returning at some point in the future and maintained this intent during their length of stay outside Portugal. This pattern of a widely held "ideology of return migration" parallels findings uncovered by Brettel (1979) in the Minho Province of Portugal, a region with a higher population density and rate of emigration than Tras-os-Montes. When asked therefore, if they had always intended to return permanently to Portugal, a total of thirty returnees responded affirmatively. Many informants indicated that they had extended their lengths of stay away from Portugal, in some cases numerous times, but most said they never totally gave up the idea of eventually returning to Portugal. In contrast, only two former emigrants stated that they initially left Portugal with no intention of returning while eight returnees indicated that they were unsure of their future plans both at the time of their original departure and throughout much of their sojourn abroad. Among this group of informants, the ability to save money and in some cases the improved living and working conditions present in the labor importing regions were often cited as mitigating their decision to return to Portugal for good.

As discussed in Chapter Six, one indicator of the intention to return on a permanent basis to Portugal is the extent to which emigrants make investments in Portugal, usually in their home communities, while still working outside their homeland. The construction of a new house, the renovation of an old one and the purchase of land to varying degrees are linked to the desire to eventually return to Portugal. Most of those

interviewed, with few exceptions, began making these types of investments while still working outside Portugal.

The types of investments and spending patterns undertaken by returnees has been broadly described for Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. By and large, a sizeable proportion of savings and remitted earnings among those interviewed have been spent in the three communities primarily on new and renovated housing and land. Moreover, virtually all of those interviewed had to varying degrees, purchased household appliances and consumer goods (electrodomesticos).

Twenty-two returnees indicated that they had constructed a new house with earnings saved during their sojourns away from Portugal. Three individuals in this group, in addition to constructing new houses for themselves, had also purchased houses and apartments as income generating real estate investments. Similarly, seven informants stated that although unable to construct a new house, they were nonetheless able to undertake renovations of existing structures.

The acquisition of land also was found to absorb much of returnee remitted earnings. Eight individuals were able to purchase a few parcels of agricultural land, in addition to constructing or renovating houses. Only one returned emigrant said that he spent most of his savings on the purchase of agricultural lands rather than on housing.

In addition, four individuals said that they spent considerable portions of their savings in establishing small businesses. As previously discussed, returnees in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães who set up small commercial concerns tended to establish traditional rural types of enterprises. The kinds of small businesses which were started include: 1) a cafe-bar, 2) a tasca, 3) a butcher shop, and 4) a tinsmith/plastic

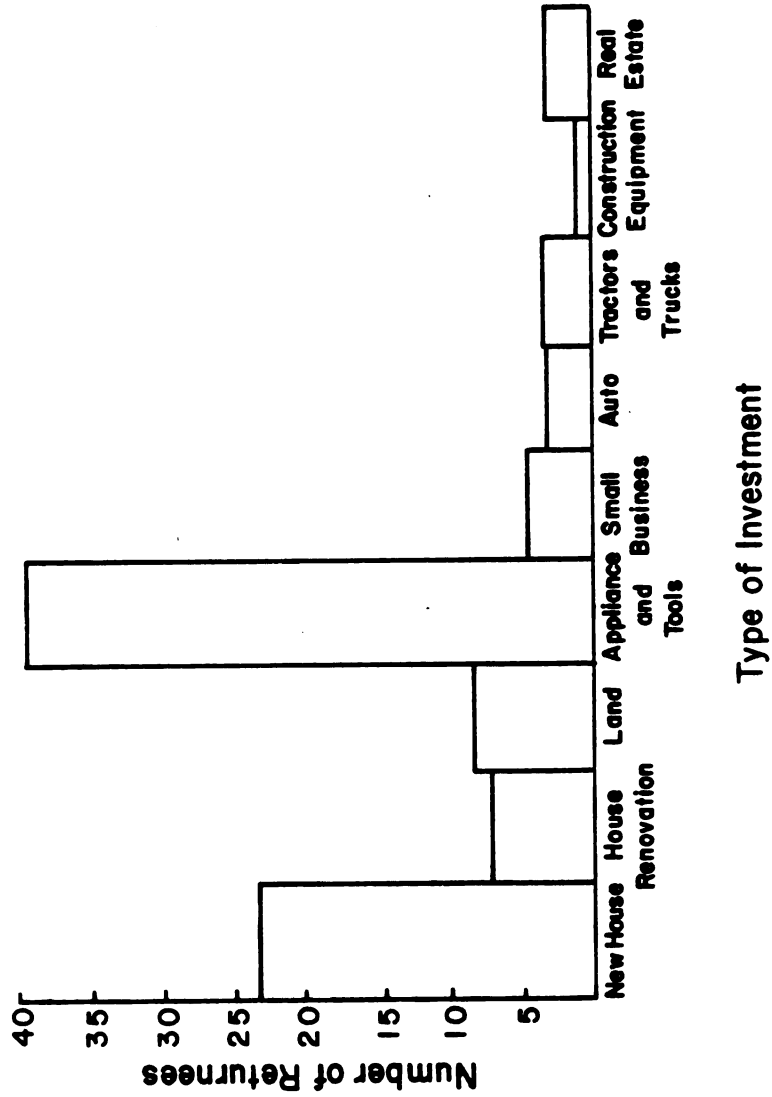
wares shop. (See Figure 10.0.)

Somewhat surprisingly, only three returnees had purchased an automobile with earnings saved abroad. However, one individual did purchase a Datsun flatbed truck while two other returnees purchased tractors, one equipped with a complete set of attachments for agriculture. Finally, one returnee who had worked in France purchased a backhoe, dump truck and other construction related equipment which at the time of research was in great demand for the preparation of housing sites. In contrast, seven returnees indicated that the extent of investments were for household appliances and agricultural power tools such as gasoline powered water pumps, chain saws and vine sprayers. Clearly, although a few returnees invested in small businesses, most individuals in this group, like their counterparts elsewhere in Portugal, spent much of their savings and remitted earnings on the construction of new houses and on the acquisition of agricultural lands but did not invest in the productive structure of their home communities.

Given the considerable and sometimes dramatic improvement in living conditions experienced by some returnees upon their return to Bucelas, Grandra and Sandiaes, it was not surprising to find that a sizeable segment of this group said they felt their lives were substantially better since returning to Portugal. When asked if their living situation was better than that which existed prior to emigration, twenty-nine returnees or 73 percent of the total replied affirmatively. In fact, nine individuals within this group responded very positively and emphatically to this question using such phrases as, "My life is 100 percent better now", or "I never dreamed I could be living like I am now", or "My situation is much improved", or simply, "There is no comparison". Eleven returnees

FIGURE 10.0

Returnee Investment in Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiões



responded to this question in somewhat less enthusiastic although clearly positive terms; eight returned emigrants said their lives had improved "a little" as a consequence of emigration.

In contrast, four returnees indicated that their living situations were essentially the same or unchanged after emigration, and two felt that their lives were worse than prior to emigrating. As might be expected, most of these returnees were not as successful in attaining material and financial goals as their counterparts in the three communities.

The potential for continued, migration related changes in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, was evident because of the high number of returnees whose children and other close family members were still working away from Portugal at the time of the interviews. Among those returned emigrants interviewed, nearly half said that their children were still working outside Portugal. Similarly, a total of twenty-eight returnees stated that their brothers or sisters were also residing and working abroad, a pattern which again underscores the probability of future changes in the communities stemming from circulatory migration.

Numerous returnees in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes have returned to some form of participation in minifundia agriculture since their arrival in their home communities. (See Table 10.4). Others have taken up occupations which differ from those held prior to emigration but also differ from work done in labor importing areas, a pattern which reflects at the local level what has been documented for Portuguese returnees in general. That is, very few returnees bring skills back to Portugal which may be applied to the rural economy.

Among those interviewed, the largest single group of returnees

TABLE 10.4

POST-EMIGRATION OCCUPATIONS HELD BY RETURNEES

Agriculturalist	9
Butcher	1
<u>Tasca</u> owner	2
Cafe-bar owner	1
Mail carrier	1
Tinsmith	1
Plumber	1
Truck driver	1
Construction worker	3
Shopkeeper	2
Construction machine owner/operator	1
Lumberyard worker	1
Republican guard	1
Welder	1
Retired	6
Unemployed	8
	<hr/>
Total	40

(twelve) was composed of those who said that they had become involved in agriculture upon their arrival back in their home communities. For most of these informants, although their identities, expectations and living conditions have been profoundly altered from emigration, day to day rhythms in many ways are similar to those which existed prior to emigration. Another segment of those interviewed (eight) indicated that they were not employed at all, but were living from savings accrued during their stay abroad. Most of these returned emigrants however, said they eventually planned to either arrange some type of employment or engage in agriculture to a limited degree. A number of these individuals said they were "resting" or "vacationing" before reentering local economic activities.

Of all returnees interviewed, twelve had returned to occupations which they held prior to emigrating from Portugal which in most cases (nine) meant a return to at least limited small scale agricultural production. Other formerly held occupations reestablished by returnees include: butcher, tinsmith, shopkeeper. Only two individuals were found to be working at jobs identical to those held while working outside Portugal. One of these individuals, who operated a tiny welding shop, spent most of his time working in agriculture while the other, a butcher who had slaughtered animals for a fee prior to emigrating, also devoted considerable time to the cultivation of a few plots of land. Not one returnee in this group had attempted to engage in commercial agriculture upon their return to Portugal. Other returnees tended to gravitate towards work in the service, construction or public areas of the local economy. Finally, although returnees described their post emigration occupations in terms of a specific position or slot, by and large most of them were involved in small-scale agriculture be it of a gardening scale

or that which produced a small surplus. This pattern in turn, underscores the continuation of the "polyvalent" nature of labor present in the region, a condition which reflects an adaptation to the persistence of underdeveloped conditions in this area of Portugal.

When asked about their plans for the future, many returnees simply shrugged, made a reference to "at least having decent living conditions", and stated that they would probably combine part time or seasonal work with cultivation of newly acquired lands. For those who have taken up minifundia agriculture upon their return, many simply indicated that they would continue na lavoura (in agriculture). Those returnees who were not working stated that they would eventually "arrange something", "do a little agriculture" or "work a little in construction". For many returnees interviewed therefore, owning a house and a few parcels of land and perhaps having money in the bank represented true security in the face of declining national and local economies. In other words, most returnees appeared to both recognize and accept poor employment opportunities in their home communities which after all had not changed very much during their sojourns. They were able to do this because they were able to now live in improved living conditions and to enjoy a degree of elevated status, a status reinforced precisely because they were no longer forced to work in agriculture in order to survive. Hence, for many returnees, "future plans" were predicated upon a polyvalent strategy which in some ways resembled a kind of early semi-retirement earned after long arduous years working outside their homeland.

Many returnees voiced personal satisfaction and feelings of pride concerning their improved socioeconomic position and status in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, but most also held essentially uncertain and pessimistic

views of the future of Portugal and of the future in general. Indeed, positive feelings of accomplishment and personal contentment expressed by returned emigrants often were linked to what may best be described as a type of "trench mentality" vis-a-vis wider economic and political conditions present throughout Portugal. In discussing their views of the future therefore, informants repeatedly described personal undertakings against a backdrop of continued economic decline and political confusion in Portugal.

This ambiguous view of the future and of the world in general was illustrated in a variety of comments and activities. Many returnees were accustomed to favorable exchange rates when they sent their earnings to Portugal, actively participating in the black market for currency, seeking to exchange escudos for dollars, marks and francs which they could fall back on "In case of an emergency". Informants often would show me their collections of foreign currency notes which they kept in secure places in their homes.

Similarly, visits and "tours" of newly constructed houses often included a look at the cave or lower level which in many cases contained wooden chests filled with rye, piles of potatoes and barrels of wine. On numerous such occasions, comments were often made to the effect that these goods were stored because "You never know what's going to happen". In like manner, when discussing family and friends remaining outside Portugal, some returnees indicated that they were welcome to live with these individuals in the event of "political confusion".

When asked to describe their views of the future, only eleven among those forty returnees interviewed responded in ways which may be categorized as essentially positive. Many of those who responded positively

were employed in and around the three communities and had either built or renovated houses. Comments elicited from these returnees include: "Life is getting better little by little" or, "Bucelas has really taken off in the last couple of years" or, "Conditions are gradually stabilizing".

In contrast, the remaining twenty-nine returnees responded to the above question in ways which emphasized the uncertainty and doubts concerning the future. In this context, national and local political and economic trends were most often mentioned by informants in negative terms. Examples of pessimistic comments volunteered by returnees include: "This country is going nowhere", or "The escudo is getting weaker and weaker" or "Nothing is ever going to happen around here (Bucelas)" or "Our economy is sinking".

In sum, most returnees, while taking pride and enjoying their often greatly improved socioeconomic conditions, tended to view the long term future in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães with uncertainty. For many returnees, the best source of security against fluctuating political and economic conditions is to be found in owning a decent house, agricultural lands and, if possible, having a savings account. Employment opportunities, while of course highly desired, are accurately recognized as being scarce and uneven and as supplementary to the security of the previously mentioned factors.

For many returnees therefore, the post-migration strategy is essentially a polyvalent one consisting of a combination of limited cultivation, full or part-time wage labor and savings utilization. Indeed, the clear awareness of post-revolutionary political and economic decline in Portugal seemed to magnify the importance of assets such as a new house or

lands for example. Yet, although returnees desire a stability which would allow them to enjoy the fruits of their labor, it is precisely the profound shift in identity resulting from emigration which may in fact contribute to future sociopolitical flux in northern Portugal. Having experienced and assumed urban-industrial lifeways and values as their own, and having waited many years to fully enjoy improved living conditions and status in their home communities, most returnees are acutely aware of political-economic conditions and trends which threaten their post-emigration rewards. Indeed, given the "trench mentality" described above, and given the fact that returnees have not hesitated to place pressure upon local officials for services such as roads, sewers, running water, electricity and other necessities of modern living, the potential for their wider political participation and activity seems probable if socioeconomic conditions continue their present rate of decline in Portugal. Both the returnee identity and its role in potential political developments in northern Portugal are discussed at length in the conclusions of the following chapter.

CHAPTER XI

WORLD VIEW, THE IDEOLOGY OF EMIGRATION AND THE IDENTITY OF RETURNEES: THE COMING CRISIS IN NORTHERN PORTUGAL

Throughout this work the interplay of historical-structural forces at regional, national and international levels has been emphasized as being instrumental in shaping emigratory flows from Portugal for some five centuries. Similarly, in documenting the specific effects of circulatory migration as a modernizing trend, considerable weight has been placed upon changes in the economic and material realms. While these processes remain central in this work, the world view at all phases of the migration process held by both migrants and non-migrants alike must also be examined if the impact and meaning of emigration and modernization is to be better understood. In other words, the economic and material manifestations of emigration and modernization cannot be adequately understood apart from changes in outlook and world view which accompany them among both migrant and non-migrant groups.

Indeed, in the case of "post-migration" rural Portuguese society, it is the disjunctures between the ideational and material arenas, discontinuities which have been at the center of the migration process from its beginning, which continue to have a strong impact and which merit close inspection. Hence, tensions between tradition and modernization, between the emigratory expectation and falling labor demand, and between modernized emigrants and their countrymen are but a few discontinuities currently being generated throughout northern Portugal. Given the current direction and shape of post-colonial,

post-migration and post-revolutionary Portugal, it is precisely these and other disjunctures which must be observed closely if we are to understand future developments in rural Portuguese society.

This chapter will address this general problem in five sections. In the first section, the major elements of traditional world view in Tras-os-Montes Province will be outlined as they relate to social change and to the possibilities for emigration. The second section discusses the ideology of emigration as well as its links to traditional world view. The third section discusses what is termed the ideology of return migration as a central component of a general ideology of emigration in Tras-os-Montes Province. Section four focuses upon the changes in outlook among returnees in the communities studied and examines this change in terms of a profoundly altered identity. The final sections draws together key parts of this work as a conclusion and posits some possible outcomes of modernization and circulatory migration in northern Portugal.

The World View of the Transmontano

Although conceptions of authority, hierarchy, class and the Church have strongly influenced world view among rural populations in northern Portugal, other aspects of traditional ideology have their origins in locally evolved beliefs associated with a peasant mountain adaptation. However, influences such as relative isolation, circumscribed cultivable areas, and local village homogeneity also shape this particular world view. Similarly, self-sufficient subsistence agriculture, while precarious for most of the population also gives rise to the image of the "rugged individual" and reinforces conservative lifeway strategies which discourage against change. In this context,

the strong value and emotional attachment to land ownership, however small and fragmented land parcels may be, is well documented for northern Portugal. Indeed, the only large scale political violence to occur in this region in decades took place in 1975 and was directed towards the Communist Party whose policies under General Vasco Goncalves of the Fifth Provisional government, were seen as a threat to private property ownership. In Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, discussions and comments were often heard concerning the plan of the Communistas to expropriate land. In a variety of ways, therefore, peasant conservatism in northern Portugal has historically been influenced by local conditions associated with a peasant mountain adaptation which have given rise to values of self-sufficiency, land ownership, suspicion of outsiders and resistance to change.

In addition to local cultural-historical influences upon rural ideology in northern Portugal, the Church has for centuries exerted a strong influence on the world view of peasants. Although always strong in northern Portugal, the collusion of Church and State under the Salazar and Caetano regimes has enhanced the Church's ideological and political power over rural populations. Local priests often assumed political power to back up their moral and spiritual influence. During this period, under pain of moral and civil condemnation, the virtues of obedience, authority, hierarchy and humility, shared both by the Church and the Novo Estado (New State), were rigorously communicated to rural population. Under the Salazar regime, for example, the testimony of clergy in a court of law could not be questioned. In Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiaes, numerous stories were heard

concerning padres facistas (facist priests) who informed on community members to authorities. Indeed, as late as the period of research, rumors were heard of one local priest who allegedly called community political leaders into his home to tell them how to vote in the upcoming election.

Perhaps more important with respect to world view, however, has been the Church's centuries long role in cultivating concepts of fate, authority, hierarchy and obedience. With the predominance of these ideas in traditional world view, not only have northern Portuguese peasants been characterized by conservatism and passivity, but virtually all strategies for social change have been blocked, leaving departure from the country as the only remaining option for socioeconomic improvement.

In addition to the roles of the Church and local traditions in shaping world view among peasants in northern Portugal, have been the realities of a rigid stratification system and a highly centralized state apparatus. As Brettell notes,

"Portugal, until quite recently, was a country dominated by a rigid social structure which denied educational or occupational mobility to the lower classes of Portuguese society. (It) has been characterized for centuries by a strong division between the poor, illiterate classes and the wealthy, educated lords and bureaucrats of the upper classes." (Brettell 1979:6).

Such cleavages are, perhaps, especially pronounced in rural areas where the bulk of the population, made up primarily of minifundia peasants, have been dominated by a small but powerful rural bourgeoisie. As in the case of the Church, the long history of this rigid system forms an important component of traditional peasant world view with regards to conceptions of power, authority and hierarchy.

Moreover, under the Salazar regime, this system was not only strengthened and sustained, but was encouraged through an ideological campaign as well. Salazar followed two main lines: the first, while maintaining strong control over rural populations, was to essentially leave them alone economically, socially and with regards to human services. Educational opportunities were purposefully restricted almost exclusively to rural and urban elites, a political decision which not only ensured the continuity of a mass of illiterate, insulated and conservative peasants, but also made their ideological manipulation easier.

The second line was to mount an ideological campaign which encouraged a pastoral and romantic image of rural life. As Brettell notes, this approach, called "Cantonism" by Barrington Moore, was analyzed by Sjobert (1964) with respect to the Salazar regime.

The concept refers to a repressive social order which supports those in positions of power, prevents new developments which would favorably affect the peasantry, and opposes ameliorative social changes. Cantonism assumes a romantic view of the past to further its purposes, stressing the 'organic' and 'whole' nature of peasant culture and of the peasants' attachment to the soil (Moore 1961:491).

According to Moore, the celebrated attachment to the soil becomes "the subject of much praise but little action". The culmination of this approach emerged during the 1950s when Salazar organized a contest to find the "most typical peasant village" in Portugal.

As Brettell suggests however,

The attention bestowed upon the countryside during the competition was an excuse to do little else to improve the social conditions for most of the Portuguese people. 'Backwardness' was a virtue. The pastoral ideology was designed to suppress any feelings of class antagonism or animosity, aiming instead to promote a sense of admiration and respect for the rich and an implicit acceptance of class differences, attitudes which have deep roots within Portugal (Brettell 1979:7).

In short, traditional world view among residents of Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães, like that present throughout most of northern Portugal, is dominated by attitudes and beliefs associated with minifundia subsistence agriculture. Many of these attitudes, geared towards ensuring survival in this system are necessarily conservative and stress continuity, stability and discourage change. In the case of northern Portugal, many of these traditional values have been reinforced and supplemented with concepts of authority and hierarchy on the part of the Church, ruling elites and government policy. The end product of the combination of these elements, at least during the course of the past century, has been the development of a world view in which virtually all forms of social change are discouraged, leaving emigration out of the country as the only possible channel for socio-economic improvement for peasants in northern Portugal. Backing this world view of course, has been the reality and power of various institutions, especially during the Salazar and Caetano regimes, when corporativist state institutions penetrated and co-opted potential change organizational forms down to the level of the local community.

Within this conceptual framework therefore, the decision to emigrate can be seen as a rational and logical one as are behaviors involving conspicuous consumption, display, spending and investment

patterns. Thus, while socioeconomic conditions were usually stressed by emigrants in response to the question "Why did you emigrate from Portugal?", numerous responses such as "I had no other alternative", or "there were not other choices", or "There were not other hypotheses" also bear out this rational if severely constrained decision process.

The Ideology of Emigration

If the decision to emigrate must be seen as a logical and rational one for Portuguese peasants, shaped by a world view containing a severely constricted opportunity structure, the idea and perception of emigration has also been incorporated into traditional world view during the course of the past century. As Brettell notes,

While the history of emigration spans several centuries it was really only during the latter half of the nineteenth century that significant numbers of rural peasants became involved in emigration. At this time, the brasileiro de torna viagem (the returned Brazilian) emerged as a kind of national archetype of the Portuguese emigrant.... Brasileiro refers not only to a native born Brazilian, but also..to a native born Portuguese who emigrates to Brazil, makes it rich, and then returns to Portugal to display his wealth. Substantial evidence for the vitality of this archetype can be found in writings on Portugal--historical, philosophical and literary. Every peasant family was thought to produce at least one Brasileiro (Ibid.:2).

Although the roots of a Portuguese emigration ideology may be traced to migratory flows to Brazil during the nineteenth century, with the international labor migration surge of the 1960s and 1970s, the concept of Brasileiro has been joined by those of o frances and o americano, referring to those who emigrated to France and the U.S., made good and returned to Portugal. Indeed, Martins (1971) has described this anticipation to emigrate as a "permanent emigratory expectation", an idea which now forms an integral component of world

view among rural populations throughout northern Portugal. According to Martins, this emigration consciousness not only provides the sole channel for upward social mobility for peasants, but also is substituted conceptually for other forms of change in response to a desire for an open and more egalitarian society.

Clearly, if the emigratory perspective is ever present, the calculus of social and political action is altered; even while physically present, one is already a potential non-member of society...in this sense, emigration provides a functional equivalent to the belief in openness which, however contrary to fact (in Portugal) mitigates class in other societies (Martins 1971:86).

If the decision to emigrate should be understood as a logical one within a world view characterized by constraints against social change, so too should other behavioral patterns exhibited by emigrants such as conspicuous consumption, the rush for land and specific kinds of investment patterns be seen as not contradicting traditional world view. That is, while appearing "irrational" from a strictly economizing, development standpoint, the particular resource utilization patterns exhibited by returned emigrants for example, are nevertheless consistent and to a considerable extent reinforce traditional values and norms present in rural communities throughout northern Portugal. Moreover, in addition to being understandable in these terms, much of the economic behavior of emigrants, while reflecting traditional economic activities, constitutes a pragmatic and accurate assessment of the limitations and possibilities present in their home communities.

The rush on the part of emigrants for land for example, not only is clearly tied to the deeply rooted value on property ownership but also affirms traditional attitudes towards social class. In a

similar way, the desire to enter into commercial undertakings rather than into agriculture is also linked to beliefs about manual labor, class and social status; beliefs which continue at the level of the local community.

Yet, while reflecting traditional world view, some of the behaviors on the part of emigrants and returnees may be viewed as being pragmatic and "rational" in and of themselves. Given the continued decline in both the regional and national economies, for example, emigrant purchases of a new house or land would be judged as sound investments by most economists and in fact do parallel trends in urban-industrial societies as the global economy continues to decline. This pragmatism is particularly evident among those few returnees who have invested savings in income generating real estate such as houses, apartments and cultivable lands. On another level, emigrants understand that agriculture in their communities more than likely will continue to decline and that short of a violent, externally imposed agrarian reform, land tenure, agrarian structure and attitudes towards property ownership will not change greatly in the near future. Hence, commercial, non-agricultural and real estate investments will continue to be popular.

Much of what has been described somewhat critically as conspicuous display on the part of emigrants and returnees, while certainly channeling resources away from the local communities, may also be understood in the context of traditional world view and in particular with reference to values and attitudes associated with the rigid class structure which continues throughout most of northern Portugal. Thus, with emigration constituting the only socially acceptable means of attaining social mobility for peasants, highly visible signs of socioeconomic improvement,

usually in the form of conspicuous display and consumption, take on an exaggerated importance for emigrants who hope to communicate their success to community members.

Moreover, in orchestrating an image of success and social mobility with its emphasis on modernity, aversion for manual labor and conspicuous display, traditional values and attitudes towards class position are maintained rather than altered. As Brettell suggests, "Under these conditions, emigration...is not only a result of a rigid and stable system of stratification. It is also a cause of its perpetuation" (Brettell 1979:17). The persistence of rigid class relations in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães and in the Minho region as Brettell found, is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that no amount of conspicuous display on the part of the emigrants gives them recognition from the old rural bourgeoisie and even segments of the petty bourgeoisie. Under these conditions therefore, the spending and consumption patterns on the part of both emigrants and returnees are perhaps understandable.

The Ideology of Return Migration

The ideology of return migration is influenced by sentiments surrounding ties to community and homeland as well as to family. In the communities studied, the influence of such views were present in such comments made by returned emigrants as, "I returned because I missed my family", or "I am Portuguese, I belong here" or, "This is my land". At the core of the return migration ideology is a cognitive model which views migration as a pragmatic means toward an end, a temporary activity which theoretically involves an eventual permanent return to the home community.

That is, one emigrates so that one may return successful and wealthy. The presence of this view was manifested often in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães by many non-migrants who would calculate together with friends, how many years of work in France, for example, it would take to be able to construct or improve a house or to purchase land.

Central to this cognitive model are the values and attitudes surrounding traditional concepts of class and social mobility. Almost paradoxically, emigrants leave Portugal to escape low status, only to be workers of low status and with little opportunity in foreign countries for rapid social mobility. However, upon their return to Portugal, an immediate shift takes place whereby they enjoy elevated status. The continuity of this status mobility may be attained with a permanent return to the home community, reinforcing northern Portuguese class structure.

In conclusion, I have found that: a) the ideology of return migration is the core element of the Portuguese ideology of emigration in the world view of rural populations throughout northern Portugal; b) the ideology of return migration is at the center of the broad based Portuguese emigration ideology and strongly influences the total migration process in all of its stages and c) the documentation of changes brought about by returning migrants and those intending to return to Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães demonstrates the force of this cognitive model.

The Identity of Returning Emigrants

Having disussed the continuities with the past, I now turn to the discontinuities produced by emigration.

Although growing numbers of returning emigrants are re-establishing residences in their home communities throughout northern Portugal, the nature of productive structures, class relations and corresponding life-

ways in the region cannot fully accommodate their complete reintegration. Having worked and lived in a variety of urban-industrialized settings, the outlook on the world, the values and the expectations of emigrants have been profoundly and permanently changed. While many emigrants remain Portuguese citizens and romanticize about pastoral lifeways in their home towns and villages, they no longer identify with peasant relatives and neighbors but rather with the working and middle classes of northern Europe and North America. This shift is manifested in innumerable and conspicuous ways which have been documented earlier. In short, returning emigrants have undergone a profound change in identity which in many ways is incongruous with lifeways still present in their home communities.

During their sojourns in developed, urban-industrial regions, most emigrants are constrained by a variety of social and economic factors from actualizing this shift in their identities. Once back in Portugal, however, most returnees are able to fully and conspicuously demonstrate their new status and identity. Moreover, as modernization continues to spread throughout post-revolutionary Portugal, it is precisely this image and identity which is being held up in the media as an ideal for Portuguese society in general, despite the growing inability of most non-migrant Portuguese to acquire the means to reach this goal.

It is in this sense that numerous discussions concerning the return of emigrants to various parts of the Mediterranean contain such descriptive phrases as "lack of fit", "ambiguous role" and "no place in the social structure" with regards to their socioeconomic reintegration in their home communities. Such comments however, not only underscore the changed identities of returnees but tell us something about the relationship between traditional rural class structure and modernization.

Seen another way, returnees comprise a growing class of workers and consumers who no longer fit either the production structures or class relations which continue to dominate most of rural northern Portugal. They will increasingly generate a new disjuncture in the social relations of production. The greatly altered lifestyles, expectations and outlook of returnees cannot be satisfied in their home communities as they were in developed urban areas, despite the changes returnees are affecting in them by their presence and various undertakings. Indeed, in the communities studied, numerous cases were encountered of returnees who again departed their home villages for more "civilized" concelho towns, regional cities and even for Lisbon or Porto because they felt bored and hemmed in by village life.

More significant though are those returnees who pursue their post-migration lifestyles because it is unclear that they will be able to sustain this new mode of living. This is due to a declining economy and to the agricultural reorganization schemes called for by the EEC. Even as the lure of modernization penetrates virtually all areas of Tras-os-Montes Province, the possibilities for re-emigration in order to support such continued participation have all but disappeared. As these trends reach crisis levels, returned emigrants, threatened by a loss of status, purchasing power and by the possibility of losing control over their newly purchased lands, will in all likelihood play a new and significant role in making their grievances known.

Conclusion: The Coming Crisis in Northern Portugal

Discontinuities and contradictions normally associated with modernization could very well be compounded in northern Portugal by a range of developments which have intensified since the April Revolution of 1974. These trends include: 1) a continued deterioration of national and regional economic conditions, 2) widespread change stemming from imminent EEC agricultural policies, 3) the accelerating spread of modernization and 4) the closing off of emigration opportunities due to the global economic downturn.

During the African Colonial Wars, much of Portugal's relative economic autonomy was sacrificed to pay for the wars and to attempt rapid industrialization. With the independence of the colonies following the April Revolution, Portugal was left to stand alone as a small, dependent and underdeveloped nation. The costs of absorbing some 600,000 former colonists coupled with the costs of sweeping social and economic reforms following the Revolution strongly disrupted economic institutions, created a rampant inflation and in general induced severe instability in the national economy. These trends have continued into the 1980s with great consequences for all segments of Portuguese society.

Under a variety of political and economic pressures, Portugal has turned to the EEC for assistance in resolving its economic woes. Some 70 million dollars is being made available from EEC countries for a road linking Porto with Bragança in the north while approximately 100 million dollars are now being made available by the World Bank for agricultural development. The political, economic and social costs of EEC membership however will be very high and more than likely will deepen Portuguese dependency. Indeed, the stringent conditions laid down for Portuguese

entry may very well exacerbate all of the above described trends, at least in the short term, at national and local levels. Of special interest for northern Portugal and the communities studied will be the implementation of EEC agricultural policies. In other areas of Europe, for example, steps have been taken to phase out inefficient small holdings and replace peasant cultivators with farm managers. The perceived threat of similar action in 1975 under the Sixth Provisional Government mobilized thousands of peasants and farmers in northern Portugal after decades of passivity. By any standards however, the implementation of a variety of EEC policies aimed at Tras-os-Montes Province will bring about incalculable change in the lifeways of this region.

Ironically, it is at a time of economic decline and rapidly constricting possibilities that modernizing trends have accelerated throughout northern Portugal. While the vision of commercial expansion, consumerism and modern lifestyles increasingly attract northern Portuguese, fewer and fewer of them can afford to partake. Emigrants of course have contributed greatly to modernizing trends throughout northern Portugal yet even they now see their hard earned savings and other post-migration rewards are threatened by deteriorating conditions in Portugal. Indeed, having assumed a modern identity and lifestyle, emigrants already are considerably bound up with modernization and potentially have much to lose if they cannot hold on to their gains or re-enter the emigration flow. This is because of sharply reduced opportunities for emigration from Portugal due to down-turns in the world economic system. I suggest that this current interruption in emigratory flows is markedly different than earlier disruptions. The institutionalization of emigration as the sole means of socioeconomic improvement for most rural Portuguese has now been served.

These events can only contribute to a growing sense of discontent and frustration among both migrant and non-migrant groups in northern Portugal.

The trends just discussed were acutely felt in Bucelas, Gandra and Sandiães during the period of research. In particular, declining economic conditions were the topic of daily conversation. Soaring prices of all goods and services and especially of food products, were bitterly denounced by all segments of the communities. Moreover, a growing lack of interest in agriculture, coupled with shrinking cultivation due to land parcelization and suburbanization, was visibly hastening the decline of agriculture. In addition, a rampant inflation in the costs of production, together with prohibitive interest rates for agriculture credit and loans discouraged those who were still attempting to earn a living from agriculture.

It was a severe cost-price squeeze however, together with government duplicity, which elicited a direct response from agriculturalists in the locality studied. In the spring of 1979, farmers and peasants blocked off roads and rail lines to a nearby city for several days in protest of a government retreat from a previous price agreement for potatoes. The willingness of traditionally passive agriculturalists to undertake such a drastic action and persevere until results were obtained, points to the potential severity of developing trends in northern Portugal. Indeed, against the backdrop of considerably wider and more violent demonstrations carried out in 1975 by the northern smallholders movement, the above mentioned strike perhaps represents a foreshadowing of events to come if current conditions continue on their present course.

In a similar vein, far from welcoming the implementation of EEC agricultural policies with open arms, many agriculturalists and extension agents in Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães, already resentful of a probing EEC survey carried out in 1976, were suspicious of such programs. During the period of research, numerous rumors were heard among those aware of EEC plans, about imminent crop changes, price mechanisms, wage changes, import/export agreement and other policies which were often as not viewed as threats rather than aids to local agriculture. Above all however, it was a rumor concerning EEC backed land consolidation which aroused the most suspicion among some local agriculturalists in the communities studied. As shown in the results of a 1976 local referendum in which favorable agricultural credit, offered by the government in exchange for land consolidation, was strongly rejected as a communist plot, it is clear that local agriculturalists will resist any attempt to tamper with land tenure. Widespread support given to the northern smallholders movement in 1975 by local agriculturalists also underscores the tenacity of minifundia cultivation in the communities studied. In many ways therefore, EEC agricultural policies targeted for northern Portugal may very well provide the catalyst for triggering widespread reaction throughout northern Portugal.

In the midst of these trends, the communities of Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães have undergone more facelifting, expansion and modernization than previously ever experienced. With a few notable exceptions, many of these changes have been brought about directly and indirectly by emigrants. On numerous occasions, returned emigrants have brought pressure to bear upon local officials to build a road, install electricity, put in sewers and otherwise improve conditions so that they are

appropriate for the new houses being built by them. The overall effect of modernization in the communities studied then, has been to raise the expectations of emigrants, returnees, and local residents alike.

The means for continued participation in modernization are being eroded, however, even as expectations for it remain high, due to declining economic conditions. In this context, the group having the most to lose is perhaps that which is comprised of returnees whose newfound material rewards and improved social status cannot be continued under these circumstances without recourse to reemigration. In Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiaes, the halting of house construction before completion, and lowered consumption levels among some returnees for example, was already evident at the time of fieldwork. Indeed, a kind of hoarding behavior and "trench mentality" described for many returnees in the communities underscores the impact of current conditions upon the plans and expectations of many returned emigrants. Having already shown a willingness to put pressure upon local officials, returned emigrants also constitute a potential political force to be reckoned with as their post-migration material rewards and status continue to be threatened by fluctuating economic conditions and government policy.

The impact of a sharp decline in opportunities for emigration was also felt in the communities studied. Most immediately affected by this fairly rapid downturn are returned emigrants who have adopted modern lifestyles and who are in the midst of various construction and renovation projects. For many in this group, it was assumed that newly acquired consumption habits, improved living conditions and the status which accompanies them could, if necessary be maintained through periodic reemigration. The halting of labor importation by industrial nations, however, has already thwarted this expectation for many returnees.

Also frustrated in the rapidly shrinking opportunities for emigration are those who still entertained the idea of leaving Portugal as a means of improving their socioeconomic conditions. For these individuals, the inability to emigrate comes at a time when the material rewards stemming from migration are more visible than ever before. Similarly, while many residents of Bucelas, Gandra, and Sandiães admitted that they probably missed a great opportunity by not emigrating, they nonetheless hoped that their children could improve their lot from working outside Portugal. As one agriculturalist from the town of Bucelas put it, "I was a burro for not emigrating. I was too busy walking behind a plow and now it is too late for me. But what about my children? There is nothing for them here anymore and now they cannot emigrate." The closing off of emigration for a region as dependent upon it as is northern Portugal, therefore can only create a growing sense of discontent and frustration among its rural populations. And to have this occur at a time of economic uncertainty and perceived threats from planning agencies merely hastens the coming crisis in northern Portugal.

In conclusion, given the convergence and direction of broad economic, emigratory and modernizing trends currently unfolding in northern Portugal, an approaching crisis or series of crises seems unavoidable. While it is difficult to speculate on possible catalyst events, outcomes and the specific ways in which divergent groups and political-economic forces will come into play, the history, politics and social organization of this region do allow for a degree of predictability. Thus, under the present circumstances, it is highly likely that the implementation of certain EEC agricultural policies in certain areas of northern Portugal will mark the beginning of crisis in this region.

The attempt to reorganize land tenure in order to streamline agricultural production will certainly draw strong resistance from both peasants and small farmers who may again turn the MARN (small holders movement of the north) as they did in 1975 to communicate their grievances to a national audience. This time, however, they will more than likely be joined by growing numbers of returned emigrants, most of whom have purchased agricultural lands in their home communities and who also feel threatened by agricultural reorganization plans. For many returnees, land consolidation and other similar projects would threaten what is viewed as a hard earned base of security, a final hedge against political and economic uncertainty. Indeed, aside from the ownership of a home, land ownership and the ability to cultivate on a limited basis represent a last protection against the economic deterioration and political instability which is already eroding the position of the returnee. In this context, the resistance of returned emigrants to various EEC agricultural programs may very well equal that of peasants and small farmers.

The coming crisis or crises in northern Portugal therefore, will be dominated by essentially conservative reactions and manifestations of its resident populations. In all likelihood, protest and discontent will be directed primarily towards the central government. Ironically, the current ruling party in Portugal is the center-right PSD (Social Democratic Party) which supports Portugal's entry into the European Economic Community. Similarly, the right-wing CDS party (Christian Democratic Party), which has broad based support in the rural towns and villages of northern Portugal, also backs Portugal's integration into the EEC. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), highly unpopular in the

north will more than likely continue to be ineffectual in this region and will continue to be the target of considerable scapegoating despite its opposition to Portuguese participation in the EEC.

In brief, long neglected northern Portugal and especially Tras-os-Montes province, Portugal's "forgotten province", are now entering a period of considerable disruption and change. Emigration, while causing a debilitating depopulation of the region, has also generated highly uneven and cosmetic modernization trends which continue to raise the expectations of much of the rural population residing there even as real opportunities for further emigration have declined and as national economic conditions worsen. Return migration, while placing an incongruous class of urban-industrial consumers in an antiquated rural class structure, has nevertheless reinforced the hierarchical nature of that class system. In a climate of national political and economic uncertainty however, it is the impending agricultural development policies of the EEC which more than likely will exacerbate a variety of tensions and contradictions in the region as agriculturalists cling to minifundia cultivation and as emigrants attempt to protect their hard earned investments.

Thus, while rural populations in northern Portugal may very well "take to the barricades" as their countrymen in southern Portugal have done, it will be for vastly differing reasons under a political ideology diametrically opposed to that which dominates the southern provinces. Clearly, the coming integration, modernization and crisis in northern Portugal will be fraught with ironies as is the history of this small nation as a whole. It is in this sense perhaps that Marvin Harris has referred to both present and past Portuguese society in terms of a "vast sadness".

FOOTNOTES

NOTES

CHAPTER III

1. Although service sector expansion has come to play an increasingly important if not dominant role in the Portuguese economy, the aggravated intersectoral imbalances between industry and agriculture during the post-war period clearly inhibited the growth of the national economy as a whole and had a strong impact on emigration. This chapter therefore, will focus more closely upon developments in Portuguese industry and agriculture during the period under question.

CHAPTER IV

1. The major sources of statistical information which have been utilized in recent analyses of Portuguese emigration fall into two broad categories: Portuguese and non-Portuguese sources. Principal Portuguese sources include the Junta Da Emigração (now incorporated into the Secretaria de Estado da Emigração), Anuario Estatístico (Institute of National Statistics) and Estatísticas Demograficas (Institute of National Statistics: INE). While a variety of non-Portuguese sources have been consulted in the analysis of emigration from Portugal, because illegal migration from Portugal has been channeled almost exclusively to France, official French data have been important for an understanding of this process. These sources include: Statistiques du Travail et de la Securite National (Ministere du Travail) and the Office National d'Immigration (Statistiques de l'Immigration). In addition to the official agencies of labor importing countries, other international sources consulted by those studying emigration from Portugal include those of OECD and the Catholic Migration Commission.

CHAPTER V

1. These figures include one additional village, that of Couto, which forms part of the freguesia of Sandiães. This village was not included in the present study.

CHAPTER VI

1. These are promises made by individuals to a saint or saints, to carry out actions such as contributions or pilgrimages for example, in return for a desired end such as a good harvest or safe travel.

CHAPTER VII

1. In the North, despite its conservatism, baldios and other examples of collective community traditions such as communal ovens (fornos do povo), the above mentioned vezeiras, community held bulls (boi do povo) and other traditions such as labor exchange, were hoped to form the basis for the expansion and consolidation of co-operative and collective agriculture practices.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Occupations such as carpinteiro (carpenter), molheiro (miller), pedreiro (stone worker), trolha (skilled construction worker) and estucador (plaster worker) are considered skilled and semi-skilled positions.
2. For the purpose of comparing somewhat different census data, the parameters of the rural proletarian class here are limited to those active members of the population who work in agriculture and do not include other wage labor occupations outside the realm of agriculture.

CHAPTER IX

1. After the summer months, the end of December and early January comprise the second most important period for emigrant return visits to their home communities.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS WITH MIGRATION EXPERIENCE
IN THE CONCELHO OF BUCELAS

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS WITH MIGRATION EXPERIENCE
IN THE CONCELHO OF BUCELAS

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Birthplace
4. Current address
5. In which country (countries) did you live?
6. In which city (cities) did you live?
7. How long were you there?
8. Do you speak another language?
9. Did you attend classes in which Portuguese was spoken?
10. Why have you returned to Portugal?
11. Will you return to country soon?
12. Are either of your parents still working outside Portugal?
13. Do you have brothers or sisters working outside Portugal?
14. Did you like living in country?
15. Are Portuguese people treated well in country?
16. Are nationals very different than Portuguese people?
17. While in country did you live in a neighborhood where there were many Portuguese?
18. Do you have many friends in country?
19. What did you like the most about country?
20. What did you like the least about country?
21. Would you like to return to country?

22. Do you like living here in your home town?
23. Do you have many friends here?
24. Which do you prefer, country or Portugal?
25. Having lived in another country, do you feel somehow different than your friends here in your home town?
26. Of your friends who lived outside Portugal, do they seem somehow different than yourself?
27. With whom do you live currently?

APPENDIX B

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RETURNED EMIGRANTS
IN BUCELAS, GANDRA AND SANDIAES**

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RETURNED EMIGRANTS
IN BUCELAS, GANDRA AND SANDIAES

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Birthplace
4. Education
5. To which country (countries) did you emigrate?
6. How long did you stay?
7. Did you emigrate with family members?
8. Why did you leave (Bucelas, Gandra, Sandiaes)?
9. What was your occupation(s) in country?
10. How would you describe your working conditions in country?
11. Did your job(s) pay well? (How much?)
12. Did your spouse also work in country?
13. What was your spouse's occupation(s)?
14. How do you think your spouse would describe her/his working conditions?
15. Did your spouse's job pay well? (How much?)
16. Did you send remittances to Portugal?
17. How often did you send remittances back to Portugal?
18. Did you use Portuguese or foreign banks?
19. What was your marital status at the time you first emigrated?
20. Did you know other Portuguese in country before you emigrated?
21. Did you emigrate from Portugal legally?
22. In general, how would you describe life in country?

23. Describe your personal living situation and arrangements in country?
24. How would you describe the people of country?
25. Do you speak a language other than Portuguese?
26. Did you return to Portugal many times while working in country?
27. Why did you return to Portugal to remain permanently?
28. What have been your largest investments and expenditures here in (Bucelas, Gandra, Sandiaes)?
29. Would you say your living conditions are better now than prior to your emigration?
30. Do you have a pension or other form of retirement benefits?
31. Do you have any sons or daughters currently working outside Portugal?
32. Are you a Portuguese citizen?
33. Are your wife and children Portuguese citizens?
34. What do you do for a living now?
35. What was your occupation before you emigrated?
36. How do you feel about the future in Portugal?
37. Would you like to reemigrate?

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Adams, W. and Dennis Van Gerven and Richard Levy
1978 The Retreat from Migrationism. In Annual Review of Anthropology 7:483-532.
- Almeida, Carlos and Antonio Barreto
1976 Capitalismo E Emigração Em Portugal. Lisbon: Prelo.
- Baucic, I.
1972 The Effect of Emigration from Yugoslavia and the Problems of Returning Emigrant Workers. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Bennett, Brian
1978 On Intra-European Migration. Current Anthropology 19 (1):217.
- Bernard, Russell
1978 Greek Return Migration. Current Anthropology 19: 3.
- Bohnig, W.R.
1975 Some Thoughts on Emigration from the Mediterranean Basin. International Labor Review 3 (3):251-277.
- Boxer, C.R.
1969 The Portuguese Seaborn Empire. London: Hutchinson.
- Brettell, C.
1979 Emigrar Para Voltar: A Portuguese Ideology of Return Migration. In Papers In Anthropology. Robert Rhoades, ed. Vol. 20, (1): 1-20. Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma.
- Cabral, M.V.
1978 Agrarian Structures and Recent Rural Movements in Portugal. Journal of Peasant Studies 5 (4):411-445.
- Castles, S. and Godula Kosack
1973 Immigrant Workers and Class Structures in Western Europe. London: Oxford University Press.
- Cerese, F.
1967 A Study of Italian Migrants Returning to the U.S. International Migration Review 3 (67):74.
- Ferreira, Eduardo
1976 Origens E Formas Da Emigração. Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais.

- Ferreira, Eduardo
 1977 Actualidade e Perspectivas da Emigração Portuguesa no Contexto Europeu. In A Emigração Portuguesa E O Seu Contexto Internacional. Eduardo Ferreira, ed. Pp. 9-28. Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais.
- Figueiredo, Antonio
 1976 Portugal: Fifty Years of Dictatorship. New York: Holmes and Meier.
- Foerster, R.F.
 1919 The Italian Emigration of Our Times. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Fonte, B. and Lourenço Fontes and Alberto Machado
 1972 Usos E Costumes de Barroso. Chaves: Fonte, Fontes and Machado.
- Fontes, A.L.
 1972 Etnografia Transmontana. Vila Real: Fontes.
- Forman, Shepard
 1975 The Brazilian Peasantry. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Freitas, Eduardo and J. Almeida and M.V. Cabral
 1976 Modalidades de Penetração do Capitalismo na Agricultura. Lisbon: Editorial Presença.
- Friedlander, S.
 1965 Labor Migration and Economic Growth: A Case Study of Puerto Rico. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Friedl, E.
 1974 Kinship, Class and Selective Migration. In Family in the Mediterranean. J. Peristany, ed. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Fundacao Calouste Gulbenkian
 n.d. Guia de Portugal (5v.). Lisbon.
- Gallagher, Tom
 1977 Peasant Conservatism in an Agrarian Setting: Portugal 1900-1975. Iberian Studies 6 (2)58-68.
- Graves, Nancy and Theodore D. Graves
 1974 Adaptive Strategies in Urban Migration. In Annual Review of Anthropology. Bernard J. Siegal, ed. Vol. 3 Pp. 117-151. Palo Alto: Annual Review.
- Griffin, K.
 1976 On the Emigration of the Peasantry. World Development 4 (5):353-361.
- Guerra, Eduardo
 1967 Evolução da Economia Portuguesa. Lisbon: Seara Nova.

- 1968 A Economia Portuguesa Em 1967. Seara Nova 46 (1473):218-223.
- Guillet, D. and Douglas Uzzell
 1976 New Approaches to the Study of Migration. D. Guillet and Douglas Uzzell eds. Vol. 62. No.3. Houston: Rice University Studies.
- Hansen, Ed and Jane Schneider and Peter Schneider
 1972 Modernization and Development: The Role of Regional Elites and Non-Corporate Groups in the European Mediterranean. Contemporary Studies in Society and History. 14 (3) 328-350.
- Hume, Ian
 1973 Migrant Workers in Europe. Finance and Development. 10 (1):2-6.
- INE (Instituto Nacional de Estatisticas)
 1963 Estatisticas Agricolas. Produção das Principais Culturas. Região III. Vila Real. Concelho de Boticas.
- INE
 1964 Estatisticas Agricolas. Produção das Principais Culturas. Região III. Vila Real. Concelho de Boticas.
- INE
 1965 Estatisticas Agricolas. Produção das Principais Culturas. Região III. Vila Real. Concelho de Boticas.
- INE
 1975 Estatisticas Agricolas. Produção das Principais Culturas. Região III. Vila Real. Concelho de Boticas.
- Joliffe, Jill
 1980 Darkest Portugal. The Guardian, September 7, 1980: 19.
- Kayser, Bernard
 1972 Cyclically Determined Homeward Flows of Migrants. OECD Report. Pp. 7-53. Paris.
- Kemper, Robert
 1979 From Culturalism to Historical Structuralism in the Study of México-U.S. Migration. In Migration Across Frontiers J. Camara and Robert Kemper, eds. Southern Methodist University Institute for Mexican-American Studies.
- Kenny, Michael
 1972 The Return of the Spanish Migrant. Nord Nvit 2:119-129.
- Kindleberger, D.P.
 1967 Europe's Post-War Growth: The Role of Labor Supply. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

- King, Russell
 1980 The Effects of Return Migration on a Gozitan Village.
Human Organization 39 (2):175-179.
- Lopreato, J.
 1967 Peasants No More. San Francisco: Chandler.
- Lowenthal, D. and Lambros Comitas
 1962 Emigration and Depopulation. Population Review 6 (2):83-94.
- Mangin, William
 1967 Latin American Squatter Settlements: A Problem and a Solution.
Latin American Research Review 2 65 98.
- Margolies, Luise
 1978 Rural-Urban Migration and Urbanization in Latin America.
Current Anthropology 19 (1):130.
- Marques, Oliveira
 1972 History of Portugal (2 v.). New York: Columbia University
 Press.
- Martins, J. Silva
 1973 Estruturas Agrarias Em Portugal Continental (2 v.) Lisbon:
 Prelo.
- Martins, Herminio
 1971 Portugal. In Contemporary Europe: Class Status and Power.
 M.S. Archer and S. Giner, eds. London: Widenfield and
 Nicolson.
- Medeiros, Carlos Alberto
 1976 Portugal: Esboço Breve de Geografia Humana. Lisbon: Terra
 Livre.
- Ministerio da Agricultura e Pescas
 1977 Plano de Medio Prazo: 1977-78. Lisbon.
- Ministerio do Plano e Coordenação Economica
 1977 Plano de Medio Prazo: 1977-78. Lisbon.
- Ministerio da Habitação Urbanismo e Construção
 1977 Plano de Medio Prazo: 1977-78. Lisbon.
- Moore, Barrington
 1961 Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant
 in the Making of the Modern World. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Nikolinakos, Marios
 1977 A Questao dos Efeitos da Emigração nos Países Exportadores de
 Mao-de-Obra. In A Emigração Portuguesa E O Seu Contexto
 Internacional. Eduardo Ferreira, ed. Lisbon: Iniciativas
 Editoriais.

- OECD
1970 International Migration of Labor and its Repercussions. OECD Observer, 47:9-12.
- OECD
1978 Les Problemes et les Politiques de Developpment Regional au Portugal. Paris: Organization de Cooperation et de Developpment Economiques.
- Paine, Suzanne
1974 Exporting Workers: The Turkish Case. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Pearse, Andrew
1975 The Latin American Peasant. London: Frank Cass.
- Poinard, Michel and Michel Roux
1977 Os Casos Portugues E Jugoslavo: A Emigração Contra O Desenvolvimento. In A Emigração Portuguesa E O Seu Contexto Internacional. Eduardo Ferreira, ed. Pp. 29-68. Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais.
- Poppino, Rollie
1973 Brazil: The Land and the People. London: Oxford University Press.
- Prado, Caio
1967 The Colonial Background to Modern Brazil. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rau, N.
1960 Large Scale Agriculture in Post-Medieval Portugal. Premiere Conference Internationale d'Histoire Economique. Paris: The Hague.
- Recenseamento Geral da Populacao
1960 População Residente Segundo A Condicao Socio-economica Tomo 5. Vol. 3: Lisbon.
- Recenseamento Geral da Populacao
1970 Predios, alojamentos, familias e população presente por freguesias. Lisbon.
- Rhoades, Robert
1977 Intra-European Migration and Development in the Mediterranean Basin. Current Anthropology 18 (3):539-540.
1978 Intra-European Return Migration and Rural Development: Lessons from the Spanish Case. Human Organization 37 (2):137-148.
1979 From Caves to Main Street: Return Migration and the Transformation of a Spanish Village. In Papers in Anthropology Robert Rhoades, ed. Vol. 20 (1):57-74. Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma.

- Rosa, Eugenio
1977 A Reforma Agraria Em Perigo. Lisbon: Editorial Caminho.
- Schiller, Gunter
1977 A Emigracao de Mao-de-Obra Como Problema do Desenvolvimento Economico. In A Emigração Portuguesa E O Seu Contexto Internacional. Eduardo Ferreira, ed. Pp. 231-246. Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais.
- Schreiber, J.
1973 The Decision to Migrate in a Province of Southern Italy. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley.
- Secretaria do Estado da Emigração
1975 Boletim Anual. Lisbon.
- Serrao, Joel
1970 Conspecto Historico da Emigração Portuguesa. Analise Social 3 (32):597-617.
1977 A Emigração Portuguesa. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- Simic, I.
1973 The Peasant Urbanites: A Study of Rural-Urban Migration in Serbia. New York: Seminar Press.
- Sjoberg, G.
1964 The Rural-Urban Dimension in Preindustrial, Transitional and Industrial Societies. In Handbook of Modern Sociology, R.F.L. Faris, ed. Pp. 127-160. Chicago. Rand McNally.
- SIPC (Servico de Intercambio Politico e Cultural)
1976 Um Guia Para O Processo. Lisbon: Editorial SLEMES.
- Swanson, Jon
1978 The Consequences of Emigration for Economic Development in the Yemen Arab Republic. Ph.D. Dissertation, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.
- Sweezy, Paul
1974 Class Struggles in Portugal. Monthly Review 27 (4):1-38.
- Sideri, R.
1970 Trade and Power: Informal Colonialism in Anglo-Portuguese Relations. Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press.
- Ward, A.
1975a European Capitalism's Reserve Army. Monthly Review. 27 (6):17-32.
1975b European Migratory Labor. Monthly Review. 27 (7): 24-39.

Weist, Raymond

1975 Wage Labor Migration and the Household in a Mexican Town.
Journal of Anthropological Research 29:180-209.

1979 Anthropological Perspectives on Return Migration: A Critical
Commentary. In Papers in Anthropology Robert Rhoades, ed.
Vol. 20 (1):167-187. Department of Anthropology, University
of Oklahoma.

Willems, Emilio

1963 On Portuguese Family Structure. International Journal of
Sociology 3:65-79.