INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.
PUTTING RUNGS ON THE LADDER:
PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION, RETURN
MIGRATION AND THE RESTRUCTURING OF NORTHERN RURAL SOCIETY

by

Julianna Acheson

Copyright © Julianna Acheson 1990

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of
ANTHROPOLOGY
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1990
STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at The University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the copyright holder.

SIGNED: Julianna Ackson

APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

Thomas K. Park
Professor of Anthropology

Date
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank a number of individuals for their help during the process of researching and writing this thesis. I am grateful to my advisor Tad Park for his support throughout the progress of this thesis and for his inexhaustible ability to make the opaque clear. Robert McC. Netting assisted me in many ways. His insight on the complexities of households and agriculture and his integrity as a human being and a scholar are a role model for any student. Timothy J. Finan has had many years of experience in Portuguese agriculture and I thank him for his alliances in Portugal. I would also like to acknowledge Mark Langworthy who helped me with analysis of the data. I would like to thank both the Tinker Foundation and the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology for financial support during the summer of 1989.

Various people were a great deal of help to me in Portugal. Brian O'Neill was supportive to my study. I am indebted to the people of the Minho who assisted me. In the freguesia of Refoios de Lima I thank: Sr. Thomas Lima and his son Carlos, Dona Lolinha, Sr. Joaquim Fernandez, Sr. Ze Fernandez. I would especially like to thank my guide Manuel Barbosa and his mother Rosa Barbosa.

Other individuals who helped me throughout this process are: Catherine Besteman, Thoric Cederstrom, Caroline Brettell, M. Estellie Smith, Maria Rodrigues, Margaret Holtsoi-Williams, Amy Todd, Damiana Pareira de Miranda, and Aida Silva and her family in Carcavelos. I would like to thank James Amaro Blades and his family for sharing all that was Portuguese to them with me. I am grateful to my father James Acheson and his wife Ann Acheson for their financial support. Ann Acheson introduced me to many aspects of methodology and my father was a constant source of inspiration. Finally I would like to thank my mother, Carolyn Mendros Bellerose for her reminders to be ethical at all costs. I also thank John Field for his editing, field assistance, and encouragement.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**LIST OF TABLES** ................................................................. 5

**ABSTRACT** ........................................................................... 6

**Chapter 1. Introduction** .................................................. 7
Portuguese Emigration: A Review of the Literature .................. 14

**Chapter 2. Historical Reasons for Minhoto Emigration** ........ 26
Why Emigrants Return ......................................................... 43

**Chapter 3. Emigrants and Land Acquisition** ....................... 48

**Chapter 4. Cohort Analyses of Two Generations** ................. 68
The Second Generation ....................................................... 81
Alternatives to Emigration ................................................... 88

**Chapter 5. Cohort Analysis and the Present State of Agriculture in Transition** .......... 93
Traditional Agriculture ...................................................... 94
Land Use and Emigrants .................................................... 102
Recent Recommendations .................................................. 110

**Chapter 6. Perspectives of Emigration and the World Systems Paradigm** .............. 115

**Chapter 7. Conclusions** .................................................. 130

**Chapter 8. References** ................................................... 133
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Characteristics of Freguesias.................50
Table 2. Emigration History of Freguesias..............50
Table 3. Refoios de Lima........................................51
Table 3A Percentages of Total Parcels in Survey.....52
Table 3B Percentages of Total Land Area in Survey...52
Table 4. Parada do Monte.......................................54
Table 4A Percentages of Total Parcels in Survey.....54
Table 4B Percentages of Total Land Area in Survey...55
Table 5. Sao Torcato..............................................59
Table 5A Percentages of Total Parcels in Survey.....59
Table 5B Percentages of Total Land Area in Survey...59
Table 6. Santa Cruz do Douro.................................65
Table 7. Land Tenure.............................................66
This thesis examines the impact of emigration and return migration on sending communities of northwestern Portugal. Literature about recent trends in Portuguese emigration to central Europe is reviewed. Historical, political, economic and social factors are considered "push" and "pull" forces for both emigration and return migration. I demonstrate that emigration has resulted in altering the traditional social structure. Fieldwork in the Minho exposed two cohort groups, first and second generation emigrants. The economic interests of these two groups are significantly different and should be considered by policy makers especially with relation to agricultural design in the face of the EC. This thesis also contributes to the dialogue about the World Systems Paradigm by demonstrating that emigration to a "core" has long term, substantial gains for the "periphery".
1. INTRODUCTION

Emigration from Portugal has been occurring for centuries. Migration has both institutionalized a stagnant class structure in the countryside, as well as partially eliminated it. During years ruled by the Dictator Salazar, who took pride in the stagnation of this country, emigration relieved population pressure which in turn maintained the status quo. (Brettell, 1979:285). Emigration during the beginning and middle parts of this century was to colonies like Angola, Macao and to the ex-colony Brazil. Emigration from the 1960s on has resulted in large scale return migration and significant changes in Portuguese rural society. Due to poor living conditions for the majority of inhabitants of the province of Minho, many individuals opted to migrate to central Europe. The demand for labor in central Europe created an alternative for many rural landless peasants of Portugal. Thus both the existing
stressful environment of landless peasants coupled with the need for labor in countries like France resulted in massive emigration from Portugal to countries like Germany, Switzerland and for the most part France.

Like those from many places in the Mediterranean, the hands of Portuguese laborers, built up this "core"—France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. Given the status of "guest workers", the Portuguese toiled for decades keeping in mind their return to Portugal—these builders remained with "saudades" (longing or missing) for Portugal. Both the ideology of return (Brettell, 1979; Tuan, 1977:149) and recent decline in need for foreign labor in France have resulted in high rates of return migration to sending communities.

Present trends in return migration have resulted in profound changes in sending communities. The most significant change in communities can be demonstrated by an analysis of emigrant investment in land. I contend that land is directly related to social status. The majority of emigrants from Minho were landless peasants, who after returning, bought land—the single most important indicator of upward social mobility. While many scholars hold that emigration and return migration have had little impact on the sending community, I argue that is has resulted in
significant changes in the social structure.

Return migrants, "like swallows", come back to their birthplace after a life abroad to enjoy the profits of their labor and to be buried there. I will discuss in detail the changes in land tenure in four *freguesias* (roughly translated as administrative district or parish) in the province of Entre-Douro-e-Minho by comparing returned emigrants with non-emigrants. These four *freguesias* demonstrate regional variations. I will discuss various trends in emigration and rural urban migration coinciding with each *freguesia*. The acquisition of land by returned emigrants prevails in this analysis and I believe this change from landless to landed farmers coincides directly with a permanent change in social structure.

I conducted ethnographic fieldwork during the summer of 1989 in these four *freguesias*. Such fieldwork furthered my understanding of the emigration and return migration process. I learned about the similar experiences abroad many shared as well as their attachment to land in their home community. Moreover two patterns of emigration emerged in this fieldwork—first generation emigrants had similar experiences to each other which are distinct from their children, the second generation emigrants. Henceforth, I will distinguish between these two groups of cohorts as
first and second generation emigrants respectively.

Children of emigrants have many alternatives including education, employment and in terms of their returning to Portugal or not. Many return, some only on vacations, and others remain in the core of Europe—which they consider home. Second generation attitudes toward returning to Portugal, has not left them ambiguous about their attitude toward land acquisition. Although the very objective of their parents' emigration was to buy land, second generation emigrants do not share the same value on land. They consistently report, that there are no returns from the work invested in agriculture. They do not see land as reliable, or profitable, or related to status and wealth like their parents do. Land to these people is the symbol of poverty—a symbol of the oppression caused by a rigid class system, that their parents fought to end. I will discuss the roles second generation emigrants play in rural Minho through a variety of life histories. I will demonstrate the significant differences between the two generations of returned emigrants. The two distinct groups of cohorts should be considered separately by scholars in future analyses of return migration in the Minho and perhaps in the Iberian Peninsula.
While many have studied different aspects of Portuguese rural society (Cutileiro, 1971; Brettell, 1986; Pina Cabral, 1986; O'Neill, 1986) few have addressed the broad issue of changes due to emigration in Portuguese rural society. Students of emigration like Brettell (1986) fully address the history of emigration and its influence on demography in Portugal through time. They have paved the way for this study which focusses on the far-reaching implications of emigration. I hope to look at the general impact of emigration on Portuguese society. On a permanent basis, a strict class structure has been altered, lessening the distinctions between the poor and the rich. Emigration has brought opportunity for both the first and second generations of northern Portuguese people, giving them choices their parents and grand-parents never imagined. Both the change due to first generation investment in rural land, and the abandonment of the land by their children are making significant contributions in altering Portuguese rural society. I believe that for some districts in Portugal, the changing ownership of land from upper class estate owners, to emigrants and then the subsequent abandonment of the land by the second generation emigrants will lead to profound changes in land management. Furthermore, with the entrance of Portugal into the EEC in
1986, I expect to see further changes due to low levels of interest in land acquisition by second generation emigrants.

The Minho has been the loci of several development studies. I believe that my analysis of emigration makes a contribution to any further studies here with relevance both to the present condition and interests of the labor force as well as management of agriculture. Northwestern Portuguese agriculture is presently in a state of transition--from traditional small-scale diverse cultivation for both household consumption and local markets, to more specialized farming for export. Some recommend that rural farmers take advantage of the new market they have accessed in 1986 for the sales of their delicious sparkling wine, vinho verde. However, another approach, might stress some of the negative aspects which may occur from a new dependence on large-market systems and the coinciding dependence on outside sources for staple crops. The Minho has enjoys relative autonomy because of its traditional multiple-crop agriculture. Shifting to more specialized agriculture is advantageous in terms of competing in the EC economy. But, it may also have some negative consequences for individuals who are dependent on the staples from their fields. I will discuss some recommendations for this region in terms of agriculture and how my thesis might help to enlighten policy
makers about the role of returned emigration in this region.

Finally, this essay would not be complete without a proper orientation into the World System theory. Most studies about Portuguese emigration to central Europe, during the later half of this century, use Wallerstein's notions of "core" and "periphery" regions in the world economy. They compare Portugal to a peripheral area and use the World Systems paradigm as a model to demonstrate that this "peripheral area" has not benefitted from emigration to the "core". Like all peripheral regions, these scholars have noted that Portugal has received no great gain from its role as and emigrants nation in the world economy. Scholars such as Rhoades (1978) and Brettell (1979) have suggested that the massive rural exodus to the urban-core of Europe has not resulted in positive, net change for the peripheral sending communities. However, articles on this subject, date a decade or more. It is evident that an update on the relationship between the core and peripheral sending communities is greatly needed. I argue that due to the emigration-return emigration process, "rungs" have been added to the "ladder" of the Portuguese social hierarchy. This is a permanent process which has profound ramifications. The landless, rural poor, who emigrated, worked abroad, saved and invested in land have changed their
lives and set a new pathway for their children. In a rural society, such as that of the Portuguese northwest, land is the strongest indicator of status, stability and wealth. Therefore, those who bought land where they never had any before, demonstrate benefits for some individuals in the 'sending community'.

Portuguese Emigration: A Review of the Literature

A vast body of literature concerned with Portuguese emigration exists. These sources contextualize Portuguese emigration within a historical framework. Literature on emigration stems from studies in demography, history, anthropology, agricultural economics, and political science.

Emigration is not a new phenomenon in Portugal, but an old one. It is as old as her Golden Age, the great age of discovery when Portuguese ships explored the coasts of India, Asia, and America. Portugal's leadership in pulling Europe out of her so-called 'crisis of feudalism' was, as Wallerstein (1974) noted quite logical, given the country's geographical location and her relative internal stability compared with other European nations at the time" (Brettell, 1986:73).
"A diaspora portuguesa pelo Mundo
principiou com conquista de Ceuta
(1415), seguida, pouco depois, da
colonizacao da Madeira (cerca de 1425),
e logo ...o descoberto o Brasil (1500)"
(Serrao, 1982:87)

"The dispersion of the Portuguese to the
rest of the world began with the
conquest of Ceuta in 1415, the
colonization of Madeira in 1425 and next
with the discovery of Brazil in 1500"

Between 1855 and 1973, more than three million people
legally emigrated from Portugal (Serrao, 1982:37).
Estimations which include illegal emigration figure closer
to four million. In modern times, emigration can be
divided into two periods: before 1950 in which case
emigration was permanent and primarily destined to Brazil
and post 1950, when emigrants left for France and planned on
returning. For example, between 1919 and 1930 only 3.5% of
those who left, returned to Portugal. (Serrao, 1982:39).

By 1960, clearly a shift in the destination of
emigrants is notable. Only 20% opted for Brazil, while the

---

1 Translation done by this author.

2 According to Serrao, (1982:43) between 1855 and 1960
Brazil received on average 80% of all legal emigrants from
Portugal.
remaining 80% migrated to European countries. While Holland, Germany and other European countries received these emigrants, France received the most—55.4% of all emigrants from Portugal and about 80% of all emigrants who migrated within Europe (Thomas, 1982:41). Since France has been the largest receiver of Portuguese emigrants of any country in Europe, this essay will mostly refer to France as the primary receiving country.

The shift in destination from Brazil to France, has also coincided with a change in ultimate destiny of the emigrants. Because of geographic and economic constraints, early 19th and 20th century migration to Brazil was for the most part permanent. (Brettell, 1986). However, emigration to central European nations corresponds with a high rates of return migration. 4

"The tremendous economic expansion which marked the industrial economy of most countries of western Europe following World War II was especially noticeable in Germany, Italy, and France. Industrialization created many new jobs where the manpower following the devastation

3 Capitalismo e Emigração em Portugal by Almeida and Barreto (1976) suggest slightly lower rates of emigrants to France. This seems largely due to the fact that they do not account for clandestine emigration as having the same magnitude as does Serrao.

4 In June, 1977, the French government set up a system for aiding immigrants return home. Portuguese immigrants in France received far more French aid for this purpose than any other nationality of immigrant. 31,898 Portuguese received aid to return home. (See Thomas, 1982:54)
suffered during the war. The European Economic Market encouraged an economic pannationalism by removing barriers which had formerly inhibited the free movement of workers from one country to another. External migration (across national borders) became as common as internal shifts from, say, rural to urban areas. For the more affluent countries this meant an influx of workers from southern and eastern Europe, though this is not to argue that workers from those same affluent countries did not themselves seek to find greener grass elsewhere” (Smith, 1974:2)

The emigration phenomenon during the later half of the twentieth century can be characterized as having a tremendous impact on sending communities largely because it has resulted in massive return migration. The emphasis of Portuguese emigration researchers has been quantitative. The history of emigration then has concentrated on a head count of emigrants, their receiving countries, and other characteristics related to employment abroad. Until recently, little work has focused on Portuguese return migration. This will be discussed further in chapter six.

Agricultural economists of northwestern Portugal study emigration as one of a multitude of factors affecting strategies of land use. Bentley (1987), Fox and Finan (1987) and Avillez, et al. (1989) have given considerable attention to the relationship between emigrants (off-farm income) and farm labor. As well they have studied investment in agriculture, and the actual economic investment emigrants have made contrary to others who hold
that emigrants do little by way of long term investment (Serrao, 1985). The role of emigration in agriculture will be discussed in chapter five.

Recent ethnographies written on Rural Portuguese society do not focus on the issues of emigration, return migration and changes due to these processes. Brian O'Neill's ethnography on a hamlet in the province of Tras-os-Montes, leads a strong discussion about intra-hamlet inequality. O'Neill battles to deconstruct the image of the harmonious rural community by focusing on aspects of inequality and social hierarchy such as matrimony, patrimony, and rules of inheritance. O'Neill proves his point well—that small-scale Iberian communities are full of social inequality. He refers to the massive emigration out of the hamlet studied:

"Following 1964, a massive wave of emigration surged from this region as a whole--large groups of villagers from Fontelas and other neighboring hamlets emigrated are evident in the hamlet today. New houses are being built with emigrants' remittances, more cash is in circulation within the community, and patterns of conspicuous consumption and extroverted dress styles dominate the month of August each year when most emigrants return temporarily to Fontelas. While an important recent development, emigration has nevertheless not entirely overturned Fontelas' social hierarchy" (1987:38-39).
O'Neill holds that the most substantial impact of emigration on the hamlet he studied has been the removal of a large number of people from the hamlet "with a consequent relaxation of the delicate balance between population and the land." O'Neill does not discuss return migration or its role in changing social groups and sees it relatively unrelated to his thesis. However, he states:

"The absence of conspicuous moves to partition any of the commons, or of disputes over collective rights, are an indication of the current lack of population pressure and the contraction of arable farming. This may be a relatively recent trend, brought about by the emigration of large numbers of villagers to France and West Germany in the 1960s." (1987:53).

It is obvious that O'Neill is interested in proving the disparity between social groups; that hierarchy does exist. O'Neill writes that emigration has resulted in: (1) remittance activity which has created capital gains for individuals and (2) a decrease in population which has played a role in lessening competition over arable land. His thorough discussion sets a basis on which to discuss change from emigration on traditionally stratified communities.

Pina Cabral, another well-known ethnographer who has studied the province of Minho (northwestern, Portugal) wrote
that people emigrated from the community he studied, but he pays very little attention to the impact this emigration has had. His ethnography is of British tradition in nature and concentrates on a synchronic Portuguese community. Chapter headings are indicative of his focus; they relate to pollution, religious function, and witches. Changes in values due to emigration, for example, are not considered although he makes short reference to the fact that emigration has an impact on rural society. Other ethnographies are involved with the description of popular rural tradition such as fairs, festivals, kinship, marriage and social structure (Lima de Carvalho, 1986; Jenkins, 1979). Such books, like others, do not distinguish much between "migration (to an arbitrary urban center)" and emigration (to France), or return migration (to the sending community) and fundamental transition of society.

Studies which focus on the sexual division of labor contribute much on the impact of emigration. Besteman's article (1989), Jeffery W. Bentley's article (1989) and Caroline Brettell's book (1986) as well as a recent PhD.

5Pina Cabral, in fact, based his ethnography on a "freguesia" (administrative district) located only 10 km from Refoios de Lima, where I worked. Because Pina Cabral does not stress emigration as playing a large role in his ethnography, I was surprised when people from Refoios de Lima insisted that much emigration takes place in the freguesia studied by Pina Cabral.
dissertation by Heidi Kelly (1988) are all works relevant here. While Brettell’s book is a richly detailed historical account of emigration from a freguesia (administrative district), she does not reveal changes in the society due to return migration. This is probably due to the fact that her primary concern was to document historical trends in emigration (mostly to Brazil) and not to describe contemporary rural society. The other authors qualify the emigration experience. Kelly clearly explains, for example, how the orientation of villagers is slowly shifting from being peasants toward being landlords due to male wage labor (from emigrant work) and how this coincides with an emergence of female farmers, female heads of household, and female investment/property care-takers. (1989:10).

Similarly, Besteman points out the relationship between off-farm employment (returns from emigration) and female operated farms. She states that "if employment opportunities remain as they are, the female-operated farm may be the Portuguese farm of the future"(1989:142).

Bentley, concerned with intra-household decision making, demonstrates how integral emigration is to household processes. He states "out-migration has been a theme of Portuguese life for centuries" and concentrates on explaining how individuals make decisions concerning
emigration and other household affairs.

Bentley, in his dissertation entitled *Ethnographic Study of a Rural Parish in Northwest Portugal* does not spend a large portion of his work on the topic of emigration or return migration, but he does pay it more attention than previous works. Bentley notes that people from the parish where he worked divided local history into two parts—"before emigration" and "after emigration". As well, he states that after emigration, a new social group has emerged in his parish.

This thesis will discuss emigration and return migration in six chapters. Emigrants during the last half of the 20th century, migrated to France and other industrializing "core" countries of Europe. These emigrants returned to Portugal and overturned a dichotomy between rich and poor that had lasted for centuries. Chapter two will discuss the forces that made emigration a practical option for many individuals. I discuss significant political, social and economic reasons for emigration as well as describe demand for foreign labor from countries like France.

In Chapter three, information about emigration from four freguesias (parishes) is described. I compare
characteristics of four freguesias, relationships between local industry, proximity to urban centers, and other factors. Data for this section stems from the Luso-American research team. In this chapter I demonstrate that emigrants have acquired land which has changed traditional sharecropping and land tenure patterns. This coincided with a change in social structure.

Chapter four concentrates on the emigration experience by means of cohort analysis. Life histories and ethnographic material demonstrate how two groups of cohorts, first and second generation emigrants have different objectives and values. Land acquisition (as discussed in chapter three) is the primary objective of first generation emigrants, because its acquisition is associated with upward social mobility and economic stability. For the second generation emigrants, small enterprise is favored. Topics in this chapter include experiences abroad, the risks involved, and the various objectives of the returned emigrants.

While the previous chapters concentrate on the impact of emigration and return migration on sending communities, the last two chapters examine this issue from long term and macro perspectives. Chapter five questions human ecological dynamics of the region. Given the information from recent
agricultural economic scholarship and the past discussion about emigrants, I hypothesize traditional farming systems of northern Portugal which allowed for relative regional independence may be modified in the near future. Given the recommendations of agricultural experts, along with the interests of second generation returned emigrants, I propose that an increasingly specialized agricultural economy may be worth careful attention. With fewer willing to work the land, specialization may be appropriate. However, this may entail risks for the independent and regional stability of the region.

Finally, I believe that the Portuguese case is interesting for scholars of migration theory and the World Systems Paradigm. In chapter six, I describe that emigration on the Portuguese countryside creates a clearer understanding of the use and shortcomings of this paradigm. Scholars, who have researched this topic, largely agree that peripheral areas in the European Economic "system" do not benefit from sending laborers to the "core". I argue the opposite is true in terms of social change—landless peasants became landowners or small-business entrepreneurs and thus increase their social status on a permanent basis. However, because of the many uncertainties about the outcome of agriculture in transition in the northwest, it is
difficult to ascertain whether or not increasing dependence on the EC will benefit the people of northwest Portugal.

This thesis has two functions. It sheds light on contemporary social dynamics in northwest Portugal. It also brings out new perspectives for studies in migration and return migration in general. Because I have made migration the focus of this study, rather than a peripheral topic, I have had the opportunity to discuss complexities that were overlooked by earlier works. The superior quality of recent scholarship on this region has paved the path for this investigation. The aforementioned scholars have given me the background work which allowed me to demonstrate how return migration has permanent gains for some individuals. While many studies show that cyclical migration in many areas of the world does not lead to overall change in the sending community, I show that a transition has occurred in northwest Portugal.
2. HISTORICAL REASONS FOR MINHOTO EMIGRATION

It is not sufficient to describe Portuguese emigration from the Minho to France as a case of inhabitants from a region of high unemployment to another area which lacks in supply of labor. Complexities are involved from both the supply of migrant workers and their communities as well as the demand for their labor abroad. As Park notes (1979) with regard to North African migration, no single theoretical approach can suffice to explain the genesis or development of urban centers. Park quotes Duchac and Bentohor, "Instead, any analysis of rural-urban migration must begin with a study of economic alternatives offered at the point of departure..." (Duchac and Bentahor in Park, 1979:158). In this case a brief description of some of the factors which account for the French demand of foreign labor will be followed by an account of social, political and economic factors in sending communities.

There are three main reasons for the demand for foreign labor to France. First of all, France was the first country of western Europe to pass through the "demographic transition" (the shift from high to low fertility). According to Brettell (1984:67), France has been preoccupied
with labor shortages for almost two centuries. Internal migration fed early industrial expansion during the nineteenth century. When the domestic labor supply was exhausted, France turned to foreign labor. The second reason for a need for foreign labor was a decline in the French population as a result of World War II. Algerians made up a significant portion of immigrants to France. However, a third reason is the impact of the war in Algeria during the late 1950s and 1960s. This war stopped the inflow of workers from Algeria and also occupied a great number of the young French men by means of military service. This resulted in a demand for foreign labor during the 1960s.

Caroline Brettell (1986) stresses the unique characteristics of Portuguese emigration which complement to a degree, the demand for labor by the French. The massive rate of emigration from northern Portugal during the 1950-1970s has unique characteristics. Emigrants endured tremendous personal sacrifice in France. Living conditions were poor, cramped and people usually did not improve their living arrangements over time. Twenty years of work in a factory in Paris was generally accompanied by very few visits home. Instead, emigrants saved what they earned to spend it on a better life in Portugal.
Castles and Kosack in their book *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe* (1985) discuss the living conditions of immigrants to France. While many have written on the topic of "guest workers" in Germany and France, Castles and Kosack depict most concisely this experience for people who work abroad. They state:

"France, the country with the most severe housing shortage in Western Europe, the types of accommodation available to immigrant workers and their families on the private housing market are even worse than in the other countries. The single furnished room is rare. ... A type of accommodation almost exclusively for immigrant workers and their families is the so-called "hotel meuble" or "hotel garni". They are somewhat cheaper than normal tourist hotels, but the facilities offered are usually very poor indeed. For many Africans or Portuguese a place in such an "hotel" is the only alternative to putting up a hovel of their own on some waste land on the outskirts of the cities" (1985)

According to Castles and Kosack life for families in "hotels" is particularly bad. Here each family (in some cases this included extended families) lived in one room. They note that overcrowding has had effects on the psychological development of children. Washing and cooking were often not permitted in the rooms, and people lacked privacy. The worst product of the housing shortage was the "bidonville" or shantytown. In 1966 there were 75,346
persons living in "bidonvilles" throughout France. At this time there were 15,311 Portuguese people living in Parisian shantytowns alone and they made up 20.6 of the people living in Bidonvilles in France (A. Trintignac, cf Castles and Kosack, 1985:295). These emigrants could have spent their wages to improve their quality of living while in France. Instead, they saved their wages in anticipation of their return to Portugal. Thus the goal of Portuguese emigration was not to earn money to live well in Paris but to return to Portugal with as much wealth as possible.

A question that becomes pressing from studying works such as Castles and Kosack's, is what is it that instigates migration from a home community to France. Even though the conditions sound poor, does this experience allow for improvements in the long term? The answer lies within the limitations for economic well-being, the intricate relationship between land and individual and the lack of land for many individuals. I will discuss some of the primary reasons for emigration as well as the variation of reasons for emigration that characterize household decision-making. For during the last half of this century, Minhotos have not emigrated because they sought a better life abroad, but Castles and Kosack (1985) demonstrate, they emigrate with the goal of returning--to invest their life's savings
in Minho.

One of the primary reasons for emigration from the Minho stems from a dense population and its subsequent encroachment on scarce resources. Bacalhau (1984) describes regional differences which are associated with different rates of emigration. Since the northern regions have the highest density in population, Bacalhau states that emigration is a natural consequence of a low standard of living. Brettell (1986) also notes demographic reasons for emigration from this region. She states:

"Historians of Portugal have repeatedly observed that the province of Minho (the districts of Porto, Braga, and Viana do Castelo) has been the center of emigration for several centuries. This corresponds with the fact that Minho has been the most densely populated region of Portugal since the founding of the country as a nation in the twelfth century" (1986:87).

Furthermore, Bacalhau states that this region is marked even during recent times is marked with:

"progressive depopulation; a high rate of unemployment, accelerated since 1970; a low rate of urbanization; lack of communication network (transportation); a productive structure dependent on agriculture, with low productivity of the soil and of manpower and the highest index of division of property in the country; underutilization of natural resources (minerals); almost total absence of processing industries; very low standards of living reflected in poor housing conditions, lack of schooling, and lack of means of"
communication which are difficult to establish; a family income and purchasing power very low; and a high infant mortality" (1984:61).

The situation described by Bacalhau seems to have pervaded in the northwest countryside for at least one hundred years. Brettell has researched emigration to Brazil in the nineteenth century sums up reasons for emigration during this period. I believe that the underlying reasons for which emigration has pervaded through the twentieth century are due to minimal wages for farm labor, a lack of access to property and a great degree of unemployment. While the following newspaper was printed in 1888, it describes the situation in the Minho until quite presently:

"The scarcity in our fields, the high prices of agricultural products without compensation to those who cultivate, and all the economic ills resulting from the agricultural crisis can be attributed to emigration...Why do farm workers leave? Certainly because agriculture does not remunerate them for their work; they leave in the greatest misery...How much do they earn? The salaries of day laborers are between 280 and 360 reis per day. It is therefore natural that the worker procures in other areas of the kingdom or in foreign countries a remuneration which will rid him of the misery of slavery...It is necessary to address, with respect to emigration, the development of the population and the division of rural property..."(Aurora de Lima October 1, 1888 c.f. Brettell, 1986:77).
Furthermore, demographic pressures were growing into economic crises. Land in the upper Minho was subject to severe price speculation and increasing fragmentation. "In 1862, throughout the upper Minho, there were revolts against the second ministry of the Marquis of Loule and the taxes which the bourgeoisie wanted to impose upon rural work" (Brettell, 1986:78). In 1867 a new Civil Code was enforced which decreed that all forms of privileged inheritance among the rural aristocracy be abolished and for a strict partibility in the inheritance of property. The partibility of inheritance proved to impoverish the landowning population of the region. "Many poor peasants were forced to sell in order to eat or simply because what they had was not enough to support them" (1986:78).

While there is no economic index which would indicate overall poverty before the massive waves of emigration to France in the 1960s, I believe that the same problems existed for Minhotos as were described by Brettell in earlier decades. The life histories in chapter four explicate the severe poverty in this region. Lack of housing, land, work, food and buying power indicate economic crisis. Furthermore, an avoidance of going to combat in the wars of Independence in the 1960s, probably increased outflows of men from this region (Brettell, 1986, 1984,
1979) to Europe.

The social structure in the Minho was conducive to high rates of emigration. The province of Entre Douro e Minho is characterized by its mountainous terrain and fragmented land structure. Most peasants live in hamlets (lugares) scattered across the hillsides which are composed of from five to eighty households. A number of hamlets are centered around a cemetery and a church to form a parish. Under the name frequesia, the parish is the smallest administrative unit which the government recognizes (Firstenberg Riegelhaupt, 1979:168).

Social scientists have depicted the two most northern provinces as having fragmented agricultural landscapes (Finan, 1989). The social structure is congruent with this agricultural system. Land is fragmented but large parcels are divided up between two groups of people: large landholders and small land-holders or latifundistas and minifundistas respectively. To one degree or another, vestiges of feudalism have existed in this mountainous region since ancient times.

Large land owners, especially before the economic changes associated with emigration controlled the majority of the land with "great agricultural houses" (grandes casas agrícolas). For the most part these have descended through
noble lines despite earlier ordinances which mandated that property be partible. In every freguesia, several such landowners controlled the land and the scattered rural population provided the agricultural labor from lugares. Land was worked by landless peasants. Caseiros or tenant farmers rented small subsistence plots, the production of which was shared with landowners under informal rental agreements. Tradition dictated that the children of tenants continued working the land which was farmed by their mothers and fathers and supplied seasonal agricultural labor for proprietarios (land owners). However, since population density was so high, the number of children with access to farm land, even in sharecropping agreements became increasingly limited. While Caseiros, or sharecroppers, made up the largest social group in this region, jornaleiros (day laborers) were also prevalent. Poverty in this region extended to both of these social groups until distinctions between sharecroppers, whose large families exhausted the supply of fields to cultivate, and jornaleiros who were unemployed because of the same population pressures, became virtually indistinguishable. A discussion of patron-client relations is helpful in contextualizing the social structure in northwest Portugal. However, definitions about these relations do not account
for the blurring between day laborers and sharecroppers as population and poverty increase. This should be kept in mind.

The *caseiro*-proprietario relationship is a patron-client relationship which as been the focus of much anthropological literature. Patron-Client relations are defined in an article in the *Journal of Peasant Studies* (1973: 507) where the relationship of the *caseiro* to the landowner is clarified. The origins of the patron-client relationship can be traced far back in history. With the growth of feudalism in Western Europe, personal protection and subordination between lord and peasant came to form a basis for social, economic and political organization.

"Under feudalism ties of patron-clientage formed a basic part of the system of land tenure and agricultural production and they persisted in rural areas such as the Iberian Peninsula and Southern Italy until long after the decay of 'pure' feudalism" (Hall, 1973:506).

Patron-client relationships have developed in rural areas where land ownership is heavily concentrated in the hands of a relatively small and powerful group able to monopolize wealth. The basis of the patron-client relationship is control over land. The patron, usually male, acquires land mainly through inheritance. The land is then passed down to his widow and children and so on. In
this type of land tenure situation, in which land is a mark of social status, sharecropping agreements may or may not prove substantial means of household support. If conditions are altered so that no more land is partible by sharecropping households, many are left with few alternatives. Becoming a day laborer, craftsman or migrating become the few alternatives in this region. (Very little industry existed until recently.) Hence both day workers and sharecroppers may be considered landless laborers and their inaccessability is a measure of their severe constraints and economic hardship. The Patron-Client arrangement transcended to inheritance patterns. Patrons have dominated nearly all of the land in the region, while clients have had no access to it. Only with the emergence of large scale emigration, and its subsequent return migration during the 1960s, has this situation been altered.

Large scale emigration of males from this region, resulted in a labor shortage, and consequently, the value of land decreased. At least during early periods of emigration, land was cheap and sold for emigrant remittances. Traditional systems of land use rights and day worker arrangements have been profoundly altered by the emigration process.
During the twentieth century emigration has mainly come from the central and northern regions of Portugal. The reasons for emigration are many and stem from a number of factors within a larger framework of Portuguese political history. At the start of the century, emigration was high, continuing the trend of the nineteenth century. From 1901 to 1910 there were 32,000 emigrants from Portugal dispersed throughout the world, and from 1911 to 1920 it was 42,000 (Rocha Trinidade, in Drane, 1979:166). The numbers have continued to rise since this time. High emigration between the years of 1900 to 1950 have been from districts in northern and central Portugal where the main activity is farming. "A cursory analysis of occupational sectors shows that during the first half-century the emigrants were mainly smallholders, farm laborers, artisans, and persons classified as "without profession" (Rocha Trinidade, in Krane, 1979:166).

Economic hardships were maintained by Salazar and were addressed head-on with the 1974 Revolution. Peasants of the northern countryside, who lived in "isolated" communities were not oblivious to the dictator Salazar but, studies show that they virtually ignored the Revolution and its propaganda of 1974 (Firstenberg Riegelhaupt cf. in Graham and Makler, 1979).
During the forty-eight years of Salazarism, a repressive social order divided the illiterate poor classes from the educated, wealthy lords and bureaucrats. Brettell states that "catonism" describes the Portuguese situation. Catonism refers to a repressive social order which supports those in power, represses new developments which would benefit the peasantry, and opposes ameliorative social changes (Moore cf. in Brettel, 1979:7).

Various measures were taken by Salazar to maintain "backwardness". For example, he organized a competition to select the most typical villages in the country, folk festivals, crafts and folklore. He is known for his attitude concerning the illiteracy and the poor. It is well known amongst the Portuguese that Salazar stated at an international convention that "Yes, in fact, ninety percent of the peasants are illiterate--gracas a Deus (Thanks to God). 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" (1979:6).

The repressive regime of Salazar did not go unchallenged. The Portuguese Revolution, sometimes known as the "peaceful revolution", made significant changes in the status quo: the class structure was effectively threatened
and a great deal of land reform was forced upon the estate system. But this reform greatly affected areas in the south of the country while in the north it had very little impact.  

People of the north, both rich and poor, were little affected by the land reform measures of the revolution. This is probably due to the very nature of the land tenure structure in the area. Farms of 500 hectares call for different measures of redistribution than the fragmented estates of the north where holdings were not as large or consolidated. All of the estates in the mountainous north are relatively smaller than those of the flat, fertile, south.

Moreover, Brettell claims the emigration in the north did little to add to the Revolutionary atmosphere of the country. In fact, she states that emigration perpetuated

6 In an article "Emigration and Its Implications for the Revolution in Northern Portugal", Brettell (1979:281) discusses how emigration by removing individuals from both national and foreign proletariats, reduces the tendency to class solidification and the development of class consciousness. She shows how "because of the international, rather than intranational, character of emigration and urbanization, emigrants from the north are, in fact, only minimally "part of" a proletariat and therefore are not exposed in any significant way to the 'politicization' which 'proletarianization' tends to imply" (1979:285). Brettell states that because of different systems of land tenure, there has always been more 'revolutionary potential' in southern Portugal as opposed to northern provinces.
the status quo. She says, "Emigration is not only a result of a rigid and stable system of stratification. It is also a cause of its perpetuation (because) it alleviates tensions by channelling out the frustrated" (1979:10). While Brettell says that emigration perpetuates the status quo, I contend that it is only a short term effect when return migration occurs. The long term effects of emigration in this case, as this thesis points out, are a slow but significant change in social structure. This will be further discussed in chapter six of this paper.

Joyce Firstenberg Riegelhaupt in her article "Peasants and Politics in Salazar's Portugal: The Corporate State and Village 'Nonpolitics'" (in Graham and Makler, 1979:167) discussed these issues. She examines the manner in which the Estado Novo controlled peasant participation in politics by effectively eliminating all possibilities for local-level participation in the political arena. "political calm (was) achieved...through the control of information, of education, of access to the Civil Service, and a nation-wide police network" (Ibid: 183). Salazarism virtually perfected a system which actively encouraged the political apathy of its population: political leaders rarely appeared publicly, the PIDE (secret police) held strict control by using informants, and for those who diverted from an "apathetic"
stance with action—the political prisons terminated their efforts.

In accordance with Firstenberg Riegelhaupt's article, Brettell states (1979b:289) a "non-political" stance was held by people she interviewed in a town in the district of Viana do Castelo (a city in the province of Alto Minho). While in the south, communistic fervor occupied the minds of many during the period directly following the Revolution, people in Viana do Castelo (one of the largest cities in the Minho) did not see communism as consistent with their own interests. They did not follow communism because they were afraid it might pose a threat to the "capitalist" spirit of emigration and self-improvement and acquisition. "One of the greatest fears among emigrants in France is that their new houses, built with the French francs they have spent years accumulating, will be taken over by the Communists or inhabited by Angolan refugees" (1979b: 288). The Revolution was described by one informant as follows: "Everyone thinks they can all be equal. But there always have to be rich and poor" (Ibid). In short, despite the political oppression of Salazar, and the revolutionary changes which were affecting the southern provinces of Portugal, northern peasants remained apathetic non-participants.
In light of this, the role of the northern patron to his clients becomes even more important. For it was the patron who had to represent his clients in any civil strife. Dependence upon a local elite, or a *patrão*, (landowner) was a key institution. The vestiges of feudalism truly were imbedded deeply within society of the rural north. Furthermore, the emigration of individuals played a more important role in overcoming strict class society than did a full-scale revolution.

In conclusion, the reasons for emigration from the Minho are five fold. Historically the region has been densely populated and given scarce resources such as land and work opportunities, the region was economically poor. An inability to access land by many resulted in few alternatives for landless peasants. An institutionalized repression of the peasants of Portugal by Salazar restricted peasant mobility both socially and intranationally. Household decision-making strategies (See Bentley, 1989) to emigrate coupled with an aversion to fight in the colonial wars of Independence (discussed by Brettell, 1986) resulted in high rates of emigration from the Minho. A demand for foreign labor in France paved a path from Portugal to France during this same epoch.
Why Emigrants Return

Brettell's paper "Emigrar para Voltar: A Portuguese Ideology of Return Migration" gives specific attention to return migration as an important element in the decision-making process to the migrant or migrant family prior to migration and as an important factor affecting their behavior once abroad. That is, "an important fact of the migrant's self image and of the individual or familial 'plan' of migration" (1979:1). Brettell quotes one individual which explains some reasons emigrants return to Portugal.

"Emigration happens like this, first one person goes. He lives very badly in France in order to save a lot of money and then he goes back in splendor for vacations. He throws his money around and everyone is jealous. He shows off, that he is richer now than when he was born. He wants to prove that he can be successful, but only by going away can he do so. He could improve himself if he lived there as he lives in France, but he is too proud to do so. The Portuguese have been oppressed for so long. The emigrant is like a handicapped person who all of a sudden loses his infirmity. He finds he can run, so he turns and runs to keep ahead of others" (1979:6).

The conspicuous consumption and demonstration of wealth discussed by Brettell may also be a reason for the
investment in new houses and land. "The house for these twentieth century emigrants, becomes a symbol of their success abroad" (Brettell, 1979:6). Brettell describes how almost all of her informants in Paris showed pictures of plans for their new houses and readily rattled off the price they had paid for the land and/or the house. "These new houses, sheathed in bright colored stuccoes, fancifully tiled and visibly modelled upon those which Portuguese bricklayers are building throughout the year around French urban centers" (Brettell, 1979:6).

We see from this return ideology and the demonstration of new wealth that through emigration, Portuguese migrants look beyond their own social system for a way to gain prestige and social mobility within their own system.7

An ideology of return is certainly not the only instigator of return migration of Portuguese emigrants. French policy toward the hiring of foreign labor changed substantially. French policies consisting of "aide au retour" can be split into three phases. In 1974, the office

7Other authors have discussed return ideology such as M. Estalie Smith. She discusses "retro-migration" or the cyclical nature of emigration in which many emigrants return to sending communities, go back to work abroad when in economic need, and return again to the sending community, ... (Personal Communication, 1990). Also Yi-Fu Tuan has written on emigrants' attachment to their homeland (1977:149).
of the Secrétaire d'État issued 25 directives concerning immigration with the intent to "allow either a complete integration into the national community of those foreign workers who so desire...or to encourage the preservation of socio-cultural links with their country in view of the prospective return home" (Lebon:1984:153). Cabinet meetings were arranged to establish training programs for immigrants so that they might return home with skills to aid in resettlement. Free transportation home for needy foreigners was provided but very few received this form of assistance in this early phase.

A second phase, after 1977, intended to encourage immigrants to return to their homelands by (1) establishing unilateral financial assistance and (2) an expressed interested in cooperating with countries concerned. At this time, official aide au retour consisted of 10,000 francs in exchange for an emigrants return. By October, this agreement was extended to all, including unemployed foreigners, whether they received unemployment assistance or not and to all employed foreign workers who had worked in France for at least five years. As a result, Spanish and Portuguese immigrants represent roughly 55 percent of all foreigners who benefitted from aid to return and almost 70 percent of those who have actually returned. Portugal was
by far the greatest receiver of return assistance outnumbering Spain by twice the number of applications processed and 12,000 individuals affected. Consequently, aide au retour was modified to exclude both Black African states and Spain and Portugal. This modification is the third phase (Lebon, 1984:155).

A breakdown by nationality in an article by Lebon (1984) demonstrates that while Portuguese immigrants outnumbered all others, they benefitted the least from training programs. In 1979, Portuguese immigrants numbered 823,000, followed by Algerians at 792,000, and next by Spaniards 507,300. However Portuguese workers received less training than seven other nationalities (Lebon, 1984:159).

Similar policies of return were installed by other nations such as Germany (Korner, 1984:175). The Federal Government Germany cut off recruitment of foreign workers as a direct result of the oil crisis in 1973 and limitation on immigrants became more regulated and the labor force participation rate of foreign residents fell markedly from 71 per cent in 1970 to 53 per cent in 1980 (1984:176).

Overall reasons for return migration during the 1970s are

---

8 Portuguese receivers of aid made up 40% of total aid and 35,633,631 individuals. Spain made up 26.5 percent of those concerned or 23,428 individuals. Tunisians were next in line with 7.8 percent of those concerned or 6,865 individuals. See Lebon in Kubat, 1984:163).
centered around the leveling off of economic expansion. Trends in European labor migration can be divided into two periods (Petras, 1984:251):

"Between 1960 and 1974 both unilateral and mutually agreed upon legislation governing immigration was established, resulting in a structural dependence on imported workers in Western Europe on the one hand and reliance on foreign worker remittances back home on the other. Between 1974 and 1980 deceleration of economic growth depressed labor demand and led to restrictive in-migration policies" Petras, 1984:251).

Thus, while a large body of literature explains economic decline in Western Europe and thus reasons for return policies, I think the above scenarios suffice to describe overall reasons for return migration to northern Portugal. Both the ideology of return by individuals and the policies promoting return migration from central Europe portray a pragmatic reasons for massive influx of individuals to their communities of origin.
3. **EMIGRANTS AND LAND ACQUISITION**

One of the underlying ideas of this thesis is that emigration resulted in a new social group of small-landholders in northwest Portugal. As was discussed in chapter two, for social, economic and political reasons, landless peasants remained on the bottom level of the social hierarchy since they had no access to land (or employment on land) and because social status is directly related to ownership of land. Opportunities unrelated to agriculture were extremely limited and even today in rural Minho there are very few alternatives for a large segment of the population.

This chapter will focus on the underlying idea that emigrants who returned, bought land and now have increased their social status—they are small proprietors instead of landless peasants. I will make brief summaries to demonstrate this point in four freguesias and also discuss variation which exists among the parishes.

The data used in this chapter is directly related to the research conducted by the Luso American Foundation
through the Instituto de Agronomia in Lisbon. Four freguesias were studied both by myself for ethnographic purposes and by the Luso-American Council to gather statistical information. Parada do Monte and Refoios de Lima are parishes where very high rates of landless laborers existed and where high rates of emigration occurred. (See Table 1) Today, however, many of the returned emigrants are small landowners. The second case is Sao Torcato and it may be characterized as having two forms of economic opportunity for landless laborers—some employment opportunities in local industry in the nearby city of Guimaraes as well as high rates of emigration. (Table 1) Finally, the third case is Santa Cruz do Douro which is interesting for this study since it has neither local industry nor does emigration seem to have occurred. Instead rural-urban migration is more typical from this parish.

I had access to this data from Dr. Timothy Finan at the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, University of Arizona. I am grateful to Dr. Mark Langworthy, Department of Agriculture Economics, University of Arizona for help in interpretation of this data.
Table 1. Characteristics of Preguesias

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE FREGUESIA/S TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE ALTERNATIVES EMIGRATION (PARISH)</th>
<th>EMPLOYMENT/ EMIGRATION RATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PARADA DO HIGH LANDLESS NO LOCAL HIGH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTE LABORERS INDUSTRY EMIGRATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFOIOS DE LIMA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAO TORCATO HIGH LANDLESS LOCAL HIGH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LABORERS INDUSTRY/ EMIGRATION NEARBY CITY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANTA CRUZ DO DOURO HIGH LANDLESS NO LOCAL URBAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LABORERS INDUSTRY MIGRATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Emigration History of Preguesias

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMIGRATION HISTORY</th>
<th>PARADA DO MONTE</th>
<th>REFOIOS DE LIMA</th>
<th>SAO TORCATO</th>
<th>SANTA CRUZ DO DOURO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% OF HOUSEHOLDS EMIGRATED</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVE YRS EMIGRANT</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Luso-American Survey, 1987)

***

Refoios de Lima is a wine-producing freguesia located seven kilometers from the concelho 10 center, Ponte de Lima. This concelho is located in the district of Viana do

10 A concelho is a smaller jurisdiction within a larger district.
Castelo. Rising from a lowland area along the River Lima to the south up to a mountainous region, this *freguesia* sits about 3500 meters high in altitude. It has several distinct agricultural zones and is one of the largest *freguesias* in the Minho (Finan: 1988). Refoios is a major wine producer in the *concelho*. White Wine (Vinho Verde) production is complemented by corn and cattle breeding.

Interviews conducted by the Luso-American foundation indicate that common emigrant duration in France was 13.6 years. Forty-three percent of the households interviewed had an emigration history and 84.4 percent of the emigrants were male. The rate of savings from emigrant employment was very high, and the clearest patterns of investment were in agricultural land and housing (Finan: 1988).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.</th>
<th>Refoios de Lima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parcels</strong></td>
<td><strong>EMIGRANT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bought:</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherited</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years Acquired:</td>
<td>1930-1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Value</td>
<td>128 contos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Area</td>
<td>1623 m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Luso-American Survey, 1987)

Table 3A Percentages of Total Parcels in Survey
Although there are fewer emigrants than non-emigrants in Refoios de Lima, population has played a much more important role in land acquisition. A significantly higher percentage of emigrants have bought land than non-emigrants (See Tables 3, 3A and 3B). In addition, emigrants tended to buy larger parcels of more valuable land than non-emigrants (Table 3). As the chart demonstrates, there is lower rate of rental contracts (caseiros) among emigrants than non-emigrants. One interesting facet about Refoios de Lima is that apparently much land has been acquired by both emigrants and non-emigrants through inheritance.
Parada do Monte is a _frequezia_ (parish) located in the district of Viana do Castelo in the province of Entre Douro e Minho. It is an extremely isolated community, no buses or trains run here. In fact, this parish until recently was connected to the rest of the world by means of a ancient Roman stone road. Agriculture in Parada do Monte occurs on terraces which cover the mountainous slopes. Most household parcels are not contiguous and in many cases the parcels are located some distance from the farmers' houses. Evidence of much emigration is prevalent--new granite houses are being constructed in abundance and many new houses are abandoned through much of the year--their owners working abroad returning for vacations and retirement.

Most of the agricultural activity of this region is centered on corn and cattle. Vegetables and potato play a small role in the market structure, but a large role in family consumption. Land is highly fragmented and has been for decades. Population density of Parada do Monte is relatively low for the Minho. The majority of the inhabitants are agriculturalists, however, a great number of people have emigrated to France.

Out of twenty-seven households interviewed, only three did not have emigrating members. A majority of these households had more than one emigrant and all but two were
men or eldest sons with fathers who were returned migrants. The average number of years spent abroad was 16.2 however, the average number of years of male heads of household (therefore excluding their young sons who usually have been emigrants for approximately three years 11 is twenty-one years.

Table 4. PARADA DO MONTE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acquisition Type</th>
<th>EMIGRANT</th>
<th>NON-EMIGRANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bought</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherited</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Value</td>
<td>5 contos</td>
<td>13 contos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Area</td>
<td>595 m</td>
<td>582 m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4A. Percentages of Total Parcels in Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Parcels in Survey</th>
<th>393</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emigrant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Bought</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Inherited</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Rented</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-emigrant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Bought</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Inherited</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Rented</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. The survey does not explain whether or not the sons have returned from abroad or how long they plan to stay abroad. See Czarina Wilpert's book Entering the Working World: Following the Descendants of Europe's Immigrant Labour Force (1988) for more information about children of emigrants.
Table 4B. Percentages of Total Land Area in Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Land Area in Survey 1177</th>
<th>Emigrant</th>
<th>Non-emigrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Bought</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Inherited</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Rented</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of Parada do Monte, emigrants have clearly held an important role in recent trends in land acquisition as well as changes in land tenure. (See Table 4) The impact of emigration on land acquisition in Parada do Monte can be seen by analyzing the number of parcels acquired by emigrants. By contrast emigrants have only acquired slightly more than their non-emigrating counterparts in terms of land area. Thus, the buying of land in Parada do Monte is less dramatic than in Refoios de Lima. Unlike Refoios de Lima, there were more emigrants than non-emigrants in Parada do Monte. However, in Parada do Monte less than one third of the migrants bought land compared to nearly half of the emigrants in Refoios de Lima (Compare Tables 3 and 4). There are two possible explanations for this lower percentage of land acquisition. First, a significant percentage of both emigrants and non-emigrants in Parada do Monte acquired land through inheritance and might not have felt the need to buy additions/parcels (Table
4). Secondly, since there is a much higher percentage of emigrants to non-emigrants in Parada do Monte, some returning emigrants who wanted to purchase land may have found it difficult to find parcels to purchase. The value of land that emigrants purchased is less than that of non-emigrants (Table 4), and this might indicate a difficulty in finding suitable land to purchase. To test either of these, future studies in Parada do Monte should focus on: (1) the desire of emigrants who inherited land to purchase more parcels and (2) the availability of land for purchase. The results of these studies may show that there is a desire among returning emigrants to purchase more land than is actually available.

Since land is associated with social status, (O'Neill, 1986) both Parada do Monte and Refoios da Lima are examples in which high emigration has resulted in a change in social structure. The families of migratory landless laborers and tenant farmers who migrated and bought land and now make up a class of small farm holders. One possibility for a change in land tenure is suggested by Finan:

"Landowners found it increasingly difficult to find the necessary labor to cultivate their lands on rental and sharecropping arrangements. One response to increasing labor scarcity was to reduce the size of landholding" (Finan, 1988).
A reductions in the size of landholding, make more land accessible for buyers. Emigrants, as Tables 3 and 4 suggest make up a group of buyers.

***

Sao Torcato is an example where inhabitants have had opportunities in small-scale local industry as well as emigration. It is situated in the conselho of Guimaraes, and only 30 kilometers from the city of Braga. (See Map) Geographically, it is located in a valley in which several brooks which flow to the southern extremity of the frequesia and pour into the River Selho.

Most of the agricultural production of Sao Torcato is sent to local and national markets. The major product is red wine (red vinho verde). Corn, potato, fruit and cattle are also specialties. This frequesia is located within close proximity to Guimaraes which offers individuals opportunities to work in a variety of small, medium and large sized industries of shoes and textiles.

Population pressures have forced many inhabitants to move outside of the frequesia, and away from Guimaraes. While the active agriculturalists are relatively young, it has been speculated that in the future many will no longer find work in agriculture and will be forced to look for work
outside. One of the reasons associated with people who are forced from agriculture is the fact that much of the local land is inaccessible. This is worsened by many land owners who are not residents of Sao Torcato and take no interest in cultivating their land or renting it to local farmers. This situation is not unique to Sao Torcato. A common practice of land owners throughout Portugal was to live in Porto or Lisbon and pay little attention to their land.


"Today, in Sao Torcato, it is common to see good 'quintas' that have been abandoned, especially in the northern zone where there are (inconveniently) long distances between the quinta and the freguesia."

In present day Sao Torcato, few people make their living by agriculture alone; most are part-time farmers and have a job in industry or service in Guimaraes as well. Women, especially manage farms while their husbands are usually only part-time farmers and are responsible for off-farm living.  

---

12 Holmes (1989) has studied the kind of off-farm labor which complements agricultural activity. Also see Besteman (1989).
The employment opportunities offered by these industry and service sectors have had an impact on local emigration. Only ten percent of households surveyed had a history of emigration. Of those that did migrate, the average length of stay abroad was 18 years according to the Luso-American survey. (See Table 2)

Table 5. **Sao Torcato**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EMIGRANTS</th>
<th>NON-EMIGRANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parcels:</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisition type:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bought</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherited</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Value</td>
<td>128 contos</td>
<td>59 contos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Area</td>
<td>4747 m</td>
<td>3750 m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5A. Percentages of Total Parcels in Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Emigrant</th>
<th>Non-emigrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Bought</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Inherited</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Rented</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5B. Percentages of Total Land Area in Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Emigrant</th>
<th>Non-emigrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Bought</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Inherited</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Rented</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the Luso-American survey, in Sao Torcato a greater number of non-emigrants have purchased land, but a much higher percentage of the emigrants have purchased land compared to non-emigrants (Table 5). This indicates a greater desire and conscious effort among emigrants to purchase land. The land the emigrants purchased is of higher value and they have purchased larger plots on average than non-emigrants (Table 5, 5A and 5B). Non-emigrants by and large are still land renters while a much smaller percentage of emigrants will rent land (Table 5). The overall impact of emigration on Sao Torcato is very small, but the impact on the individual emigrant is as dramatic as in Refoios de Lima.

In Sao Torcato, employment opportunities in the city were greater and emigration. However, the total change in land tenure from large estate to small land holders is to a lesser degree here than in the previous two frequesias. The opportunity to work in industry, then does not seem to have had much affect on changes in land tenure. This may be due to a small degree of land sales occurring in this frequesia. Interviews indicated frustration with the reluctance of land-owners to sell land. They stated that this dominance in parish land by a few families has left most of the population with very few alternatives--emigration is one of
the few that exist. The reluctance to sell land may be another reason why there is such a degree of emigrant investment in small business (and one case of a large-scale business entrepreneur). "Cafe Francais" and "Restaurant Parisien" are common types of signs which proclaim the business activities of returned emigrants.

***

The frequecia of Santa Cruz do Douro is located in the concelho of Baião in the district of Porto. (See Map) It is bordered by the Douro River between Entre-os-Rios and Mesao Frio and directly below the large Coroado hill. It is approximately 14 kilometers from the concelho center. Agricultural activities in this frequecia are corn, vineyards, potato, rye, and some forestry. Corn is used for local consumption and for bread and animal feed (cattle, swine and domestic foul). Large-scale vineyards are utilized more and more for commercial purposes, but small-holders produce it for local consumption.

The inhabitants of Santa Cruz do Douro for the last 50 years have been divided between two distinct classes. Almost all of the land is owned by proprietarios (large-land holders) and those who own no land are caseiros. In the past, two large estates "Casa de Tormes" and the "Casa de
Agrellos owned half of the land in the parish. Generally, large-land holders lived outside of Santa Cruz in cities. These people are characterized by never having physically worked on their land, as "citidino" (people of upper class) and were omnipresent yet strangers on their own land.

The caseiros of the past made up the majority of inhabitants of Santa Cruz. They were responsible for the cultivation of land owned by proprietarios. Living conditions were poor, contratos de arrendamentos (tenant-farmer contracts) were extremely unfavorable and all members of the caseiro's family worked in the fields. The caseiro household was in a sense isolated from the outside world, dependent upon the land and protection of the landowner and independent from market forces. Their houses, (solarengas) were owned by the proprietarios.

In Santa Cruz do Douro, the relationship between these two distinct classes, caseiros and landowners are clearly vestiges of feudalism. While this arrangement has changed for many caseiros, or landless peasants in general, in the other parishes studied, it has not changed much in Santa Cruz. This is probably related to two factors: lack of local industry and very little emigration. I have found no reference to any form of local industry and there was absolutely no emigration from any of the households
surveyed. When I interviewed individuals in Santa Cruz do Douro, I attempted to find out why there was so little emigration in a region where most freguesias had a large portion of their population abroad. (See Table 2) While there was little emigration, that is migration outside of the country, individuals stated that many people, especially the youth, went to either Lisbon or Porto to find work. Thus, rural-urban migration was common place. Schools in the parish were sparse but there are three primary schools there now. Educational opportunities in this freguesia therefore, have been few. The secondary school is located in Baião, the district capital which is 16 kilometers from Santa Cruz. Students who want to go to secondary school, then must board with resident of Baião. Migration to urban centers, then even for high school seems prevalent.

Reasons why there was not any emigration outside of the country like there was in other nearby freguesias are not clear. The same incentives to emigrate may not have existed in Santa Cruz. For example, people discussed poverty and "a miseria", that in the past proprietários were exploitative and paid caseiros much less than they do now. In one family I interviewed, all eight siblings migrated out of Santa Cruz to Vila Nova da Gaia and Espinho to work in factories or clothing stores. This exemplifies that while
little international emigration has taken place in Santa Cruz, much rural-urban migration has taken place. The difference is that the city dwellers do not "return" and invest in land. Again, this may be due to similar causes found in Sao Torcato, where large land-owners are unwilling to sell their land.

This freqesia still has a large number of landless peasants and most of the land is still owned by proprietarios. There are a few small holders but the number is such that it is virtually insignificant in terms of measuring structural change. Women are full-time farmers and husbands find work outside of agriculture. Today, there is still a prevalence of caseiros who did not find work outside of agriculture and who are contracted by contratos de arrendamento which are slightly more favorable than those of 50 years ago. For example, in the past a caseiro had to pay a years rent to a proprietario on the day of Sao Miguel, 29 September each year. Caseiros could pay this rent in cereal crops, corn, or money. Today, though a caseiro receives half of the product produced on the farm--a proprietario legally has right to only half of what is produced. So if 900 liters are produced, a caseiro receives half and the proprietario receives the other half. Sometimes, though, a caseiro will need more money than crop,
in which case the crop is sold back to the proprietario. So conditions today are better for caseiros but they still do not earn money from their patrao, they earn in terms of crops produced and half of what they grow is rent payment to the land owner. This system, as one might expect, does not interest the youth here.

Table 6.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Santa Cruz do Douro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EMIGRANTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parcels:</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisition Type:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bought</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherited</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisition</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Value</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The case of Santa Cruz do Douro provides an excellent opportunity to see how land tenure is affected, if at all, in a parish where no emigration has occurred. Table 6 shows that land purchase is much lower than in any of the other three frequesias. Almost everyone is still renting land and there has been no significant change in land tenure. The absence of emigration and land acquisition in Santa Cruz shows the impact that emigration has had on land tenure in
the other three freguesias. The fact that more non-emigrants have bought land in these other freguesias than in Santa Cruz may indicate that the factors which resulted in transition in tenure in the other three freguesias because of massive emigration did not occur in this case. In the other freguesia, emigration caused the price of land to decline because landowners could no longer maintain farming at the cost they once did. Emigration then, had an impact on freeing lands from the hands of land owners and making it more available for purchase. It therefore, may be hypothesized that in Santa Cruz, the lack of emigration may have played a role in maintaining land tenure. Rental agreements seem to be in contact.

The conclusion one may draw from the data in this chapter is similar to a point made by Bentley (1986). In the freguesia, in Minho, studied by Bentley, he discusses two historical periods: before emigration and after emigration. Between 1960 and 1980 the number of caseiros declined from 20 to 6. The amount of land owned is cited in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.</th>
<th>0.0—0.5 ha owned by 95 households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.5—1.0 ha owned by 84 households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.0—2.0 ha owned by 28 households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.0—4.0 ha owned by 16 households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.0—7.5 ha owned by 8 households</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Bentley, 1986)
Similar findings have been ascertained by other studies. The Report to the Luso-American Development Foundation (1989:151) graphs the relationship of parcel size to buyer characteristics. Here, individuals who emigrated for more than twenty years make up the largest group of buyers of parcels which are between 0 - .25 hectares and also between .25 - 1 hectares. This report also documents a decrease in the number of caseiros and the subsequent increase in small landed farmers.

"The predominance of rental activity and the differences across zones reflect the continued prominence of centuries-old landlord tenant relationships. At one time, almost all farmland was cultivated by tenants (caseiros) and owned by absentee landlords. Rents were determined on the basis of shares, with the landlord usually receiving two-thirds of the output. The last several decades have witness marked changes in this relationship, particularly in communities with widespread emigration experience or marked changes in this relationship, particularly in communities with widespread emigration experience or strong off-farm demand for labor. Caseiros have almost disappeared from freguesias like ... Refoios and Parada do Monte" (Cory, Monke and Jesus, 1989:160).

The disappearance of landless peasant is a direct result of massive emigration from the Northwest of Portugal. Since their return, these individuals constitute a group of small-holders and represent a new "rung on the social hierarchy" in Portuguese society.
4. COHORT ANALYSIS OF TWO GENERATIONS

During the summer of 1986, I conducted research in four freguesias (administrative districts roughly translated as parish) in the province of Entre Douro e Minho in northwest Portugal. As was discussed in the previous chapter, three of the freguesias are marked by large scale emigration mostly to France during the last half of this century. As one might expect after the discussion in the previous chapter, there are also high rates of return migration in these parishes. The fourth freguesia was chosen because of low rates of emigration. In this chapter, I will use ethnographic interviews to form various life histories. I hope that these life histories will prove helpful for an emic understanding to the emigration process.

When arriving to Portugal, I already had a general background about the kinds of issues that might concern a thorough study of the emigration process. I expected to see material results of newly returned emigrants. However, I was not aware that two patterns of emigration would emerge from my notes. Certain phrases and narratives were repeated which delineated one group from another. A new set of
questions and hypotheses then, arrive from this ethnographic material. Not all emigrants were characterized by having spent twenty years abroad, returning to their birthplace and becoming farmers as I had expected. I found that the children of these emigrants held very different values, hopes and aspirations from their parents and that these hopes were carried out in the different lifestyles chosen by them. The second generation, children of first generation emigrants, make up a second group of cohorts which will be examined separately from their parents. By separating parents from children I hope to illuminate the differences between these two groups. I believe that it is useful to distinguish between these groups rather than clump them into one group for a practical understanding of emigration in this region.

Perhaps one of the most efficient types of analyses for groups differentiated by generation is cohort analysis as described by Rosaldo (1980).

"...a likely consequence of marked discontinuities in the lives of members of adjacent generations is the genesis of relatively well-defined groups of peers. Such groups emerge, not with the birth of their members, but during those youthful years when the often irreversible life choices are made about such matters as occupation, marriage, and place of residence" (1980:111).
Furthermore, Rosaldo states that cohort analysis directs inquiry toward the various developmental processes through which groups reproduce themselves, perpetuating, modifying, or abruptly changing their social structures (1980:112). Rosaldo also brings attention to the notion that this analytical method follows the process in which a group of predecessors are falling from their structural positions. At the same time that their successors are rising to replace them and calls attention to the mechanisms that produce both intergenerational continuities and the distinctive character of each generation.

"What this method points to as a problem is the complex orchestration of the culturally defined phases of the life cycle, the personal histories of individual lives, the formative impact of historical events over a certain span of time, and the social metabolism through which one generation takes the place of its predecessor" (1980:112).

Cohort analysis is especially applicable to the two generations of emigrants of northwestern Portugal. In this case, I have divided the emigrants into two generations because each of the generations can distinguish as members have different life cycles, have related to the historical event, the emigration experience in two different ways. While intergenerational continuities do exist, both have actively resisted and altered a traditional social
structure, the two generations are distinct in the direction they chose to carry out results from their work as emigrants. For reasons to be discussed, first generation emigrants prefer to "return" and live off the land while second generation emigrants have a more complex relationship with both the sending community (their homeland) and the urban centers of France where they earn money.

While I use ethnographic information from a variety of freguesias for this analysis, I group the cohorts into only two groups. A third group of individuals who represent alternatives to emigration from this region do not make up a "cohort group" as defined above i.e. they come from various backgrounds, social and age groups. Both of the cohort groups consist of some twenty individuals but only five from each group will be described in detail. A description of the cohorts will be performed by use of the plural markers--I will refer to actions in the group in terms of "they" to represent similar action taken by the majority of them.

COHORT GROUP I. THE FIRST GENERATION

"Emigrants are like swallows, no matter where they were born, they always return to their birthplace." 13

13 This is a quotation from an emigrant from the parish of Refoios de Lima, August, 1989.
Ze Verao was a man of about sixty years old from the freguesia of Refoios de Limia. By birth, he was ascribed into the social group of "caseiro" or share-cropper but he had no access to land. His father abandoned his mother and her children when he was a baby. As a child, Ze Verao was forced into the informal labor force, he became the servant of a rich, abusive "patrao". As a very young man, he began migrating to local urban centers to seek work. He was often forced to beg for food. This was because there were many caseiros out of work and not enough jobs for them. Like many, he illegally emigrated to France, to work for decades in the factories of cities like Paris. Today, Ze Verao has returned to the "freguesia" where he was born. He says "Gracas a deus" (Thanks to God), "I may not be a millionaire, but I have everything: my health, my family, and some land. Without France, I would have had nothing." For hours, this returned emigrant showed me around his farm telling me every detail about the growth of his crops, wine production and stories about others like himself.

**

All of the first name, surnames and hamlet names have been changed to protect the privacy of individuals.
An interview with Manuelinho of Santa Veronica, a hamlet within the freguesia of Refoios de Lima exposed the difficulties encountered by individuals born in extremely remote areas. Santa Veronica is a hamlet located on top of a mountain. No road existed to connect this hamlet with the rest of the world until three years ago. Children have to walk two kilometers for primary school and no secondary school existed except at the bottom of the mountain in the heart of Refoios de Lima. While the view from the top of this mountain in Santa Veronica was spectacular, Manuelinho made it clear that life here was just the contrary. A person born here had the option of working the land or emigrating. Working on the land, though, was difficult -- only rye grows this high and the other staples of the region such as corn and wine do not grow at such an altitude. Land was scarce and since Manuelinho had five other siblings, chances of acquiring enough land to raise a family were slight. Manuelinho and his brother emigrated illegally to France in the 1960s. His sister did not have the opportunity to emigrate for she was a woman, and women usually only migrate with their spouses. When Manuelinho and his brother returned to Santa Veronica, they built large houses which are the first structures seen when walking to Santa Veronica. Manuelinho and his brother are proud of
their ability to build new houses in the land where they were born with few opportunities.

***

Ana da Natas was the woman who greeted me as I first entered the freguesia of Sao Torcato. This parish is characterized by its close proximity to an urban center. The textile center of Portugal, Guimaraes is located just six kilometers from this parish and through time, this city has offered various opportunities of work for the inhabitants of Sao Torcato. However, Ana was quick to remind me that many people have chosen to emigrate, both illegally and in more recent years, legally, to France because of the local land oligopoly. All of the children in Ana's family (two girls and two boys) emigrated to central Europe. Before, she explained, people had the choice of either being caseiros, or journaleiros both of which are landless peasants. Today, "after emigration", people here still don't have much opportunity to farm. The oligopoly of the past seems to prevail today--even though some land owners have abandoned cultivating their fields. Now, returned emigrants complement farming with small businesses. In fact one returned emigrant with a great deal of entrepreneurial skills, successfully bought up the side of a hillside, converted the forest land into condominiums and
then opened two relatively large textile factories. He kept land for farming and this I know because I interviewed a caseira who worked for him. She said he was stingy and that she only made enough money to eat three bowls of soup a day—maybe a chicken once a week.  

Of particular importance in the interview with Ana was her description of times before emigration. The times she called "dantes" or "before emigration" which she depicted with the term "a miseria". Before, there was very little emigration from here—it was illegal and getting caught meant getting thrown in jail.

"Salazar and the capitalists exploited us. The kept us from moving even to cities close by. Before there was a lot of starvation, people worked an entire day just for food. Before, there were many poor and a few rich. Now, thanks to emigration there is no more poverty like there used to be. The rich aren't so rich. We used to get paid only 27 Esc per day and work meant until the stars came out."

"The first time my husband went abroad he went by foot right until the border of France. It took him 20 days to get there, that was in 1962. By the time I went—twelve years ago—I could go by train. During that time, poverty was everywhere—no food, not even bread, no schooling,"

---

15 I attempted to talk with this particular returned emigrant however, he refused to speak to me. Since this is not a very common occurrence given the normally hospitable Portuguese style, I began to wonder why he wouldn't speak to me. Later I found that a American missionary was staked out in this parish for quite some time and had been relentlessly bothering the Portuguese. Another emigrant informed me that I might have been mistaken for a missionary in disguise of an anthropologist!
no electricity, no happiness. Thank God those times have passed."

***

Elza, another woman from Sao Torcato explained the work experience abroad. She is 52 years old and she lived in France for the last 16 years. She lived there with her husband and all of her children grew up there. She worked as a janitor in a town administrative building in France. Elza lived in a five story tenement house which was owned by the factory for which her husband worked. The factory automatically subtracted rent fees from her husband's paycheck. The company did not pay for their lights or food. In the beginning, when she first migrated people could work 23 hours a day if they wanted. Hours that long were "escondida" ("under the table") but today people can only work eight hours a day.

Her husband is still in France and he is employed painting houses. All of Elza's children have returned from France with the exception of one daughter. She hopes desperately that this daughter will return but she thinks that it is not likely. Elza indicated that although there are stricter laws now in France which were passed to force the Portuguese and other guest workers to return home, there are still many who work there illegally. The state might pass a law but the Portuguese are good workers--their
employees do not want to see them go. Even those who have returned once still re-emigrate. She doesn't seem to think that the laws passed in France are very effective in keeping those who want to work away.

***

Alberto was an emigrant to France for 27 years. He now resides with his wife in a small freguesia called Parada do Monte. Both of Alberto's brothers emigrated to France. They both have newly constructed houses in Parada do Monte. Alberto's wife has always stayed in Parada to maintain the lands and household. She raised the children virtually without him. Alberto, like many in Parada, came home yearly. Each time he returned, he would buy another small parcel of land. Each time he returned he invested more stock in their home community ensuring for themselves security in old age by purchasing land. Parcels in this freguesia are spread out so far that people have to walk a hour to reach them. There are no roads to take a tractor to many of these fields so the labor is extremely intensive. Alberto told me that all of the men in this freguesia are emigrants and that many of the women are too. Younger women tend to migrate with their husbands more and more but in the older days it was the job of the man to go abroad and the
women remained in Portugal to "hold down the fort". Before Alberto emigrated, he described his social group in Parada.

"I was a jornaleiro. I worked wherever they would hire me. Every year I came back, I bought a little more land and little by little I have acquired 30 small parcels. Now I am a "propriatario" (landowner)!

***

The first generation of cohorts have similar experiences. They come from landless peasant social group. Since this was and still is an agricultural society, having no land meant risk—risk that one would not find work on another's land and risk that one would not be able to eat. A miseria (times of misery) characterizes this period, before emigration when poverty and starvation were prevalent in this region. The people I interviewed repeatedly expressed the despair and frustration that they experienced during this time. The reasons for the existence of such poverty were attributed to Salazar, and the "Capitalistas" (this term probably came from the communist party rhetoric that surrounded the revolution in 1974 and is a derogatory term for all those who were wealthy, urban dwellers who made their riches from he toil of the poor). While not all individuals have emigrated, "a miseria" is over. Poverty is not as severe in this region today.
These returned emigrants did not like explaining their experience abroad. They usually said that they worked hard and avoided describing other living conditions. This did not surprise me for I was already aware of the fact that emigrants like to demonstrate their wealth after they return and do not like to harp on the hardship they encountered abroad. One common joke among non-emigrants is that when the emigrants return back for their summer vacation in August, they roll into town with huge French cars, the latest in fashion in bright colors. They appear to be extremely wealthy, but if one looks close, the price tags are still hanging from their new clothes. In other words, they do not live it up in France, like they show they do when they return.

Upon returning this generation of emigrants has one uniform interest—the acquisition of land and a house. While in Sao Torcato, the ownership of land is small and still in the hands of old land-owning families, each household has at least a small garden. In this freguesia, I found bitter resentment about the lack of opportunity to buy land. So although emigrants were not farming as much as they were in the other freguesia's, they were aware of this and it was irritating to them.
A division of labor emerges from interviews in this area. In general, women did not emigrate until their husbands became established abroad. The risky, illegal emigration has been the job of the husband, while the maintenance of the household, farm and family has been the responsibility of women. Young single women do not emigrate—out of the Freguesia or to foreign countries. Married women, emigrate more and more as time passes on.

The type of farming and investment of returned emigrants was that which is similar of the region. Investment in mechanized technology seemed to occur if it aided in maintaining the diverse farming system of this region. (See chapter five) They reminded me over and over again, that agriculture "nao da" does not give enough in returns to labor so that they will not profit greatly from it. However, the quality of life—-the beautiful, lush hillsides, the fresh air, and the peace and quiet are priceless.
THE SECOND GENERATION

Maria Rosa is a second generation emigrant. She has returned to Portugal permanently and resides in the freguesia of Refoios de Lima. She worked in France for nine years and she is in her mid-thirties. Her husband is still in France and he has worked there now for four more years without Maria Rosa. Maria Rosa was one of the more descriptive women I interviewed regarding her life and work abroad.

She worked as a cleaning lady, a maid and for public buildings in a town near St. Germain, France. She did not like France mainly because she had to work all the time and spend very little time with her children. She has two sons, ages 16 and 6. The older son grew up in France and she was not around a lot to attend him. She worked about eight or nine hours a day. She said that most women today like to emigrate—they have the contacts of their parents or relatives and they can earn much more money abroad --besides agricultural work here is much harder than the cleaning job she held in France.

Maria Rosa believes that her oldest son will return to France to work with his father. "Unfortunately", she told me, "he is not interested in getting an education because he
thinks he can make more money faster abroad than an education in Portugal would get him." Today Maria Rosa still works in a job outside of agriculture. She cleans the primary school.\textsuperscript{16}

***

Marcelo and his wife run a restaurant and cafe. He was an emigrant to France from 1972-1986. He is 34 years old and has two children. While he was abroad, Marcelo worked in construction in various places—wherever he could make the most money. His wife, like Rosa Maria worked as a private maid.

He said that his experience as an emigrant was very different from his parents. His parents were emigrants to earn money to buy land, a house, furniture, ...everything. Marcelo and his wife contend that in many instances it is easier to find work in Portugal than in France. There is a huge unemployment problem in France. Marcelo, like many of his generation were keenly aware of the changes which will take place in 1992. The status of "emigrant" will be

\textsuperscript{16}When I went to interview Rosa Maria I was accompanied by the lady with whom I was staying. This lady was very well known by all in the town yet I feel that her presence altered my interview with Maria Rosa—after all this lady was Maria Rosa's catechism teacher and had a direct relationship with the priest.
dissolved for all countries in the EEC. People will be able to work and buy land wherever they want to. "For me, I prefer to stay here in Refoios—we'll see how this business goes, maybe I'll go back someday if I need to but until then, I have my land, my new house and my family to keep me here.

***

I interviewed Ana and her cousin is a small store in Parada do Monte. Ana was a second generation emigrant visiting for the month of August and her cousin had never emigrated but said she might like to in the future. When Ana was only a year old, her parents took her to France. Since then she has always lived there except for her vacations which she spends in Portugal. Ana said that she thinks she will always live most of the year in France. She said that life in Portugal was very different from France and she prefers the French way of doing things.

"For example, here people may marry when they're only 17 years old. In France we wait until we're older. In France, almost everyone studies until they're finished with high school, here there is no secondary school for kilometers. Opportunities for work here are few. One can find work in a small store, in Melgaco (the closest village) or in the construction of houses. In France I have a lot more choices. But, when I'm older, I want to come back and retire here."

***
In the freguesia of Sao Torcato I interviewed a returned second generation emigrant who was now attending the University of Minho. Like many in this freguesia, his father was able to take advantage of the proximity of Guimaraes—a textile industry center. His father now ran a small business buying and selling clothes to merchants. Jorge was studying Computer Systems Engineering and helped his father with his business. He said that as far as he knew, second generation emigrants like himself were not interested in buying land. They had much more interest in cafes and stores. This may be because there has been such a lack of the old land owners to sell their land even though they leave many plots uncultivated.

"Society here has changed a lot. Mainly from three things: 1. emigrants who imitate what is going on in France. 2. The entrance of Portugal into the EC who which has resulted in the pouring of money into places that most needed it for building roads and other things. 3. Most of all, though, communications like television and telephones have changed the mentality of the people here."

***

Madelina was born in France and she is 17 years old. She has recently arrived back in Portugal from France because she wants to see if she'd like to reside here permanently. She lives with her uncle and aunt and will be attending a university in Portugal. She returned to
Portugal because she thinks of this country as a "new country" meaning that it is going to be newly developed unlike France which is already "modernized". Portugal, as she sees it is more open for change. France is full of racism and is much more closed.

"People have to pay taxes there for everything--irons and kitchen equipment--every little piece of machinery in a house. Portugal is in a developing stage so I think there is a chance here for a nicer life."

***

In order to understand the second generation, one must be cognizant of the variation that exists among individuals. They may be characterized as flexible and even adaptable in terms of the choices they make. While it may seem that the preceding descriptions of individuals held nothing in common, they all demonstrate considerable opportunities and life choices as to what country they would like to live in, (they have friends and family in both countries) as to where they would like to get an education, and as to where they would like to live and retire. These options were not available for their parents and it was their common experience as emigrants which have allowed for them such choices. A key point is that this generation did not suffer "a miseria" like their parents did. They do not associate
land with stability and status and lack of land with risk. Therefore, they do not consider the acquisition of land of primary importance. This group of cohorts has a much greater range of options—both educational and occupational. In general, their interests lie in small entrepreneurial activities. It is interesting that this generation also related that Portugal offered opportunities in terms of education that were not as abundant in France.

Alternatives to Emigration

People who did not migrate from this region most probably fall into three categories: a landowner (proprietario) who did not have sufficient economic incentive to leave, a peasant (non-landowner) who for one reason or another was limited in making a decision to stay, or someone who could make a living in the area but was not dependent on land. I will describe two of these alternative lifestyles—a judge and a lady who did not emigrate and neither did her husband due to the fact that her husband was physically disabled.

***

The "judge" as he was known to all in Refoios, gave me a richer understanding of the migration process. He spoke
of the historical events that led to emigration. He knew the story of the emigrant well. During the first waves of emigration from this freguesia, all were forced to go clandestinely—everyone was illegal. It was not until the time of Marcelo Caetano that the doors of Portugal began to open and allow people to migrate more freely. During the wars of the colonies in the early 1960s all men aged twenty-one were forced into the service to defend Portugal. Either they went to Africa or they avoided war and went to France.

The Judge came from a family of landowners. Before emigration he said that his father was rich and owned a lot of land. Now his father only owns about 20 hectares (which is still a relatively large holding). In recent times, his father has been selling parcels of land to emigrants.

"The dream of the emigrant was to imitate the land-owning class. They go to France so they could return and buy land. They have some luck here because when they return to Portugal they do not have to pay the normal taxes others do when they buy or build a house. They get benefits for everything. They aren't taxed when they bring a new car into the country. All these breaks help them."

The Judge's marriage reflects the land-owning social group. By examining marriage patterns here and given that land is passed on only through inheritance, it is facile to conceive how land stayed in the hands of a few. The Judge married a woman from the closest village, Ponte de Lima.
None of her siblings or her parents have emigrated from the region. They have always done well to stay in Ponte de Lima working as local professionals—teachers, doctors and lawyers. They come from an educated class of people and his marriage to her is suitable since he is the son of a wealthy landowner. Since the judge decided to take a professional job rather than remain in the agriculture business of his father and grandfather, there was not such a great need to keep land in the family. (The judge has no other siblings). Land was only sold out of the family when it appeared that no one in the younger generation was there to manage it—the daughter-in-law had no siblings involved in it either so it made sense to sell it.

***

Rosalina has been a caseira all of her life. She regrets greatly that she never emigrated. Reasons for why she did not emigrate reflect the Portuguese notion that women should not be more mobile than her husband. Her husband fought in the war of the Colonies in the 1960s. During the war he badly injured his hand making it impossible to use. Rosalina's mother urged her not to marry her fiance because he was crippled and would never be able
to make a good living for Rosalina. But Rosalina loved him dearly and married him anyway. However, her husband was physically disabled and thus would never be allowed to emigrate and earn money. All seven of her siblings and their spouses along with the six siblings of her husband emigrated to France to earn their fortunes. Rosalina toiled in Portugal, living for twenty-years of her marriage in an old stone shack where for most of those years there was no electricity.

Rosalina made some money during these years by selling small amount of vegetables. She harvested corn, beans, cows, pigs and chickens and whenever she could she would make some money from these animals. After years of work, Rosalina and her husband have built a house—it is a large traditional granite house. It has taken them over five years to build the house and it is not yet finished. Her husband works in a woodworking shop. He earns about 100,000 escudos per month ($700.00 U.S. a month). This is so little today that she has a credit account at the local store. She can earn 6000$00 escudos for a pig ($42.00) and 800-1000$00 for a chicken ($6-8.00).

Many people think that since she has so many returned emigrant brothers and sisters, she can obtain money easily. But they have always realized that she was the least
fortunate of them all but they have never given her "one red cent". She says that they are very stingy and once she borrowed about $100.00 from one of her sisters to finish building a part of her house and her sister made her pay it back within the next year and charged her a monthly interest as well. "Life has not been easy for me, but I have five lovely children and when my brothers and sisters see me, they know that I have lead a more saintly life than they have.

***

While I have only supplied two life histories of alternatives to emigration, I believe that these two are characteristic of many others. The judge did not need to emigrate—he was endowed with wealth and security from birth. Other landowners, professionals, and priests fit the same category as the judge. Relatively few individuals were born with this status and wealth from the region of Minho.

Rosalina's non-emigrant status is similar to many from the region. She clearly would have emigrated if her husband had not been disabled. Her household income stems from a variety of informal jobs as well as her husband's full-time labor in small industry. Agricultural work for many is
supplemented by informal jobs such as blacksmithing, woodworking, gang labor, and selling surplus produce at the weekly feira or market place.

In conclusion, I believe that these life histories demonstrate varied examples of first and second generation emigrants. Works on emigration from this region have not documented this distinction. While first generation emigrants demonstrate a great deal of interest in the acquisition of land and its cultivation, second generation emigrants do not pursue this. They opt for small business such as cafes or other shops when possible and have opportunities that did not exist for their predecessors. Second generation emigrants have options in education, occupation and in which country they chose to live in. The distinct values and objectives of first and second generation should not be ignored. They are worth considerable attention for policy makers and other students of emigration and return migration. People from this region who did not chose to emigrate either were restricted by limitations beyond their control, (such is the case of Rosalina) or roles ascribed them by birth do not necessitate they leave (such was the case of the judge, priests and other landowners). Furthermore, frequesias with little emigration, like Santa Cruz do Douro which was discussed in
chapter three, represent another type of alternative to emigration. Individuals in this case did not emigrate neither because they had physical limitations, nor because a high degree of professionals and landowners live here. In Santa Cruz do Douro, other reasons for non-emigration must exist. Either it was not a rational decision for peasants in this frequesia to migrate because their domestic conditions were not as miserable as those elsewhere or because the rural-urban migration which occurred substituted for international emigration in this frequesia. In any case, further research is needed to comprehend the variations of emigration in this region.
5. **COHORT ANALYSIS AND THE PRESENT STATE OF AGRICULTURE IN TRANSITION**

One major premise of this thesis is that emigration has lead to a change in social structure by allowing individuals to buy land. The question of land and emigration are related to the present transitional state of agricultural in northwest Portugal. I contend that information about first and second generation values concerning land, are relevant to the study of Portuguese agriculture. While some hold that emigrants have done nothing to change the present state of agriculture, I believe that second generation emigrants have invested their earnings in certain forms of technological mechanization. I will investigate the degree to which emigrants have had an impact on agriculture in the region by using information from the Luso-American research team.

Since the admission of Portugal into the EEC in 1986, many have been aroused about the state of agriculture in the northwest. Intensive study on this agricultural region have lead to a variety of recommendations, economic analyses, and an international research effort. One of the foremost studies on the issue of Portuguese agriculture in transition
was a five year study by the Arizona-Stanford Policy and Economic Studies Team with the Portugal Program of Soil Correction, Fertilizers and Forages (PROCALFER). The result of this research effort was a book (Pearson et.al:1986), several monographs, (see Avillez, 1989) and many policy recommendations. Before reviewing literature about Portuguese agriculture in transition, I will describe Portuguese agriculture as it stands today, that is, before the transition. I will use a farming systems approach for this description. I will investigate issues brought about by the discussion of the varied interest in agriculture by first and second generation emigrants. While first generation emigrants may benefit from traditional diversified agriculture, I believe, that second generations disinterest in agriculture should be considered. Finally, I will discuss some of the policy recommendations that have been made with regard to emigration factors that I have found in ethnographic fieldwork.

Traditional Agriculture

I will use information about traditional Portuguese agriculture in the Minho which stems from a dissertation by Jeffery Bentley (1986). Agriculture in this region has been
largely diversified and independent from national and international markets. Only recently have certain products such as vinho verde and dairy products been introduced to outside markets. As the following description will demonstrate, the farming system of northwest Portugal was labor intensive but is slowly becoming more mechanized. Year round agricultural activities dominated most individuals' days and only large-landowners and those who worked on off-farm labor, such as emigrants, were exempt from farm work.

Several resources are exploited by traditional farming practices. Forests are used in a number of ways. Brush, consisting of gorse, broom, heather, fern, are gathered from the coniferous forest floor and scattered on the floors of cattle stalls. Cows stomp on this brush which serves to keep them dry and clean. After the brush has soaked up manure, piles are distributed in fields to be used as fertilizer. Forests are not used for timber except in rare occasions but acorns are gathered, blackberries are picked and the forest is one location for stone which has many purposes. Granite stone from this region is used to construct houses, divide fields and to pave roads.\footnote{Until recently, an alternative way to earn a living was to become a pedreira or stone-worker.}
Cropping technologies are unique and complex. Corn is the dominant crop. Beans and squash are intercropped with corn. Potato and kale are planted in some fields but also in gardens. Wine grapes are grown in a bordadura system; they grow on trellises bordering fields and sometimes covering older walkways. Grass and rye are grown in the winter in the same fields as summer crops—corn, beans, and squash. Domesticated animals feed on rye, hay and grass. Most households also have a traditional garden in which a variety of crops are grown for the household consumption. Garlic, tomatoes, onions and other vegetables make the Minhoto's diet varied throughout much of the year.

Planting technology, according to Bentley (1986) is appropriate for the size of the parcel used. Farmers with larger fields use tractors, and small farmers employ work-cattle. The favorite by both farmers are horses because they are fast, like a tractor, but they do not pack down the field when used. Fertilizer or weeding are used in accordance to the amount of capital or labor a farmer has. Large farmers use herbicides since they have more money than

Minhotos are so accustomed to fresh produce that I encountered many who refused to buy it in stores and others who opted never to refrigerate a vegetable before it was set on the table for a meal. They said it had to fresh from the garden and refrigeration lessened the savory taste of vegetables.
labor and small farmers choose hoe weeding because they have more labor than money.

Yearly harvest cycles are dominated by two crops—corn and vinho verde (wine). Corn is harvested in the fall. Corn is husked, a highly labor intensive activity; shelled which is performed by a machine; and stored in a corn crib. Corn is ground into flour in local stores by an electric mill and the bread made from this flour is a regional staple called broa. The largest land owners who have access to the least amount of labor perform corn silage. This is a recent adaptation to labor constraints. This corn is harvested by tractor and processed rapidly.

Vinho Verde has been cultivated since the sixteenth century but the region of the Minho in which this wine grows was not "demarcated" until 1908-1912. In October, the wine grape harvest takes place. Grapes are picked by hand in one or two days. Grapes are crushed in a hand cranked grape-crusher. Wine ferments for two days and then is poured into barrels. The wine is then divided into bottles for storage. Each household consumes about 300 bottles of wine over the course of a year. Wine refuse is used to make bagaco a strong alcoholic beverage.

Labor constraints have increased since the 1960s due to large scale emigration.
Fruits such as apples, pears, lemons, oranges, figs and olives grow in this region. Domesticated animals complement cultivation. Work cows and dairy cows exist in this region. While the dairy industry has become increasingly important to the region, (Finan and Fox, 1986) only work cows (borrasao cattle) existed in the freguesias I surveyed. Other farm animals include goats, horses, pigs, rabbits, pigeons, sheep and quail.

According to Bentley, the types of technology used to farm in this region are appropriate. He states that farmers make good practical use of their resources, they are adaptive and their use of technology reflects this (1986). Bentley's work demonstrates that previously held notions of "backward" farmers" do not consider the rational choices and knowledge that these farmers have. Similarly Netting (1989) notes that the family farm is efficient.

Netting states that comparative data suggest that there is indeed a correlation between the farm family, the smallholder household, and intensive cultivation. The smallholder household appears so regularly as the social group that carries on intensive cultivation because of (1) the effectiveness of the household in mobilizing long-term labor of high quantity and quality, (2) the flexibility of the household in accommodating itself to available
resources, and (3) the autonomy of the household as a unit of decision making, economic accumulation, and security, despite community and state control (1989:228). Furthermore he states:

"The stubborn desire of Portuguese rural people to buy one or two hectares of land, often paying what seem to be highly inflated prices, and then to raise a little corn, potatoes, wine grapes and kale along with a few milk cows, chickens, and rabbits becomes by definition economically irrational behavior. But if labor costs were to reflect the much lower returns acceptable to men working part-time or as elderly returned farmers, women combining gardening at odd hours with child care and domestic duties, and children doing chores after school, the family farm makes sense" (1989:229).

Bentley also states (1986)

"Although farmers in the Northwest have an average formal education of only three to four years, they are skilled at farming. The many technical changes they have adopted in the past forty years demonstrate that they respond rationally to economic incentives. Future agricultural policy should assume that small-scale farmers are agronomically and economically sophisticated and that they understand the constraints that limit their choices" (1986:186).

However, farming in northwest Portugal is often not viewed as sensible. Returned emigrants who aspire to invest their earnings to refurbish a family farm are considered by
some to be as stagnating to Portuguese agriculture as their cohorts who farm and did not emigrate. Bela Balassa wrote a report for the World Band Reprint Series entitled Portugal in the Face of the Common Market. She writes:

"A variety of influences conspired to maintain Portuguese agriculture in a backward state. They included an antiquated tenure system in the South; the fragmentation of holdings in the North; the lack of a coherent agricultural development strategy; a complex and inefficient system of administered prices and subsidies; fragmented agricultural institutions; and the lack of adequate credit facilities and extension services" (1980:648).

Furthermore, the "backwardness" is reported to have remained even though, some 800,000 returned emigrants returned to their place of birth between the years 1975 through 1990 (Silva in Serrao, 1985:1002). Serrao (1985:1003) wrote that in terms of regional development, returned emigrants have had "no spirit of innovation in agriculture". He concludes that emigration has made a powerful contribution to the stagnation of the northwest" (1985:1004). Serrao bases his contentions on work done by Manuela Silva who states that ninety percent of the emigrants return to the villages from which they originated and although these individuals returned with wealth, (between 200 contos and 5000 contos per returnee), this money was used to build new houses, buy
expensive land, and spent on dispensable investments (capitais disponiveis)² (1985:1003). This view undermines the fact that houses and land are long term assets and are bought with the intention of creating long term stability.

Negative viewpoints in relation to emigrants is fairly common place in Portugal. Much animosity towards emigrants exists in Portuguese popular opinion. Individuals in Lisbon have repeatedly told me "Emigrants are the merda ("shit" or scum of the earth) of Portugal. They can't read or write in Portuguese or French and they can't speak either language properly." I believe that such hostility stems from the friction which emigrants cause when they return with their earnings, buy land and thus make waves in the traditional class system. The disparity of wealth lessens each time a peasant joins the middle class. So while many contend that emigrants do not invest in long term "developmental programs", I will prove they do invest in more than new houses, expensive land and conspicuous items of wealth.

²This phrase is once used often to describe emigrant consumption patterns. This description is ethnocentric since it holds that emigrants invest in unnecessary, superfluous goods. Taking it one step farther, it holds that emigrants are impractical and irrational people who do not understand long term profits or assets.
Land Use and Emigrants

In a history of recent developments in technological innovation, researchers should not overlook the impact that returned emigrants have had on agriculture in this region. The Luso-American research unit has documented some substantial figures that demonstrate various ways in which emigrants have contributed to agriculture in the region. For example, Finan and Fox (1986) write:

"Nonfarm sources of funds for expansion and modernization of agriculture come primarily from local, off-farm employment and migration. The 1983 survey of 198 farms in five northwestern parishes found that 37 percent of the farmers investing in agriculture had access to emigrant remittances; nearly 44 percent of all emigrant-influenced households had made major investments in agriculture during the previous five years" (1986:198).

More specifically, Bentley (1986:170) has noted emigration during the 1960s to France as a primary motivator in historical change in agricultural technology. During this period, technology such as rye threshers, tractors, tractor-driven corn shellers, fertilizer as replacement for brush, flax abandonment, and grape crushers came about. In the parish Bentley studied, the rate of outmigration peaked in the decade 1960-1970 when resident population declined. He writes "emigration has been a major factor in social change
and agricultural development in the parish and the region" (1986:171). Similar to the description made in this thesis in chapter three, Bentley states:

"Low wages and land scarcity were important factors in stimulating out-migration. In the 1930s, female farm workers earned Esc 1.5 per day; male farm workers earned Esc 2. Yet a rasa of corn (about 13 kilograms, or about enough for a week's bread) cost Esc 8. During the five to seven month off-season, large numbers of rural poor walked from farmhouse to farmhouse, begging for pieces of bread. Guerreiro states that, during this time, the rural people were so hungry they offered their labor in exchange for a day's bread and water and there were women who prostituted themselves for a kilo of sugar (1981,196). Although the total parish population increased during the 1930s, the prime labor force probably declined, as young adults emigrated to escape low wages and land scarcity" (1986:171).

This high rate of emigration resulted in an increase in the cost of labor. Land owners adopted corn shellers and other mechanization (Bentley, 1986:181, Fox and Finan, 1986:216).

High rates of emigration not only lessened the supply of labor for work on landed estates, but also had an economic impact. While a thorough economic report on the effect of Portuguese emigration would involve a completely separate research effort, I think that one can make some general conclusions based on two works discussing recent
remittance activity in Portugal. While counting the actual amount of money sent to Portugal may not ensure that investment occurred, I think that it does supply information regarding the bond of emigrants with their land and family which remained in Portugal. Given the variability between freguesia studied and the variability of individual behavior, it is clear that the range of investment was quite varied. While Bentley notes that returned emigration in the parish he studied resulted in the purchasing of small-scale labor-saving devices such as corn-shellers, people I interviewed in Parada do Monte said they spent most of their earnings procuring new lands. Each summer when men returned from France, they bought a new parcel of land.

Rick Chaney (1986) explores the emigration-cum-remittances experience of Portugal over the last 100 years. His study applies a model of household decision-making to use socioeconomic peculiarities of various regions of emigration within Portugal to explain the different patterns of emigration and remittances that occurred. Chaney states that "the most important result that follows is that international migration is best understood as a regional phenomenon even in strictly economic terms, and that remittance and emigration decisions are linked" (1986:1).
"Remittance flows in the modern period (1960-81) have contributed significantly to the formation of a domestic savings base that removed the domestic saving constraint on economic development" (1986:3).

Just as Finan and Fox (1986:200) have written that off-farm income from emigration or local employment has provided funds for expansion and for the survival of small farm families (1986:216), Chaney states that "remittance flows have provided a substitute for the potential savings to be earned from the development of the agricultural sector" (1986:3). According to Chaney, in 1980, 21,920,000 contos were remitted to five national banks (1986:130) in the provinces of Minho and Tras-os-Montes alone.² The primary conclusion of Chaney's work is that there are both positive private and social benefits from return remittance flows.

Helen Graham (1988) has written a manuscript about migration and remittances in modern Portugal. She is concerned with the critical role remittance activity plays in the economic effects of migration. The conclusions of her analysis is that the source country (Portugal) will gain from emigration only if remittances are large enough to compensate the country for the value of output lost through

²The banks include Pinto and Sotto Mayor, Borges, Totta and Acores, Uniao, and Portuguese do Atlantico. These figures do not include postal remittances.
the lost labour, minus the wages that are no longer paid to that lost labour. The migrant family will benefit if remittances plus increased domestic earnings are sufficient to compensate for the lost income on other factors owned by the family (1988:8). She notes that for the most recent period, it is well accepted that remittances per migrant have been very large, reflecting wages perhaps twice those for the average laborer in Portugal. The magnitude of that proportion can be understood by a comparison with the national savings rate in that period which was less than 30%" (1988:10).

Graham covers the topic of remittances and regional development and comes to some insightful conclusions. She discusses the charge against emigrant remittances because they have served to reinforce the uneven pattern of Portuguese development across regions.

"At the regional level, it is argued that emigration and remittances are, at the least powerful, less valuable than might be expected for development and, at the most powerful, actively harmful to regional development. At the largest level, it is suggested that the combination of emigration with remittances has relieved the government of pressure to develop the economy, especially those regions from which emigration has been heaviest" (1988:17).

Graham states that clearly remittances, at least initially, flow to the areas of migration and that evidence shows that
regional patterns of migration have been matched by the
distribution of remittances.

"In regions of very strong emigration, such as Viana do Castelo, Braganca and Vila Real in the north, and Guarda in the central region, remittances in 1979 constituted between about 25 and 30% of a recipient household's total income" (1988:17).

There are two arguments about the further impact of remittances at the regional level. One claims that economic systems work to channel the benefits of remittances away from the areas from which the labour originally migrated. Remittances deposited into bank accounts gets channeled towards the growth centers that are already established, in the Porto and Lisbon areas rather than in the region of emigration in the form of available finance productive loans.

A second category discussed by Graham covers the way remittances are used is rarely productive for the regions of out-migration. This argument holds that emigrants do not invest in regional development but in consumption and at best, invest in the service sector industries (which are assumed to be less productive than industries in other sectors). Two kinds of evidence are often sighted for this viewpoint, (1) surveys of returned migrants suggest remittances are commonly used in part to finance
consumption-oriented purchases, such as house renovation and (2) the view that Portuguese agriculture as a whole has been stagnant for most of the century. Graham disputes both of these arguments. She states that:

"The evolution of the agricultural sector has usually been examined by estimates of total output, of the value of total output and by the ratio between agricultural and non-agricultural wages. Studies typically find that output has grown at slow rates, on the order of 1% per annum, and that the wage ratio has not improved. The land fragmentation, traditional farming techniques and attitudes of small farmers in the northern agriculture areas, which are also areas of major out-migration, are viewed as steadfast obstacles to technological progress that would allow agriculture to respond to increased demand" (1988:20).

However, micro-level studies in these same regions have found agriculture is not stagnant. "Very rapid technological progress has been observed at least since the 1930s". Furthermore, she views this technological innovation in direct relationship with emigration.

"This conclusion can be drawn from the timing of the technical change and from the tendency to adopt labour-saving technical change which reflects both the decreased supply of labour and the increased supply of capital during the periods of emigration. It may be inferred that much of this technical progress was financed directly by remittances" (Graham, 1988:18).
Besteman (1989) pays a great deal of attention to the emigrant investment patterns in both agriculture and other items such as a new home, education. In the freguesia she studied, 40% of "joint" households (both husband and wife work on the farm) which had a history of emigration, invested in agriculture. Of the female-operated farms, with emigrant husbands, 38% invested in agriculture. She says that inheritance dictates whether the family will invest emigrant monies (or off-farm wages) in land or machinery. A "prestige factor" (the desire on the part of emigrants to invest in "prestigious" consumption items) plays a role in some female-operated farms in influencing how families spend money (1989:136).

Traditional Farming and First Generation Emigrants

The previous discussions of remittance activity and traditional farming techniques are helpful to this thesis in terms of the first generation of cohorts discussed in chapter three. To summarize, this generation displayed considerable interest in investment in land and cultivation. The argument by Graham, that technical innovation has taken place in the Northwest due to remittances, would relate to
first generation emigrants. While it is difficult to generalize for all districts in the Minho, in the parishes considered for this thesis, land acquisition and cultivation along with housing were primary concerns for this group of cohorts. While debates hold both that Portuguese agriculture has been stagnated by these emigrants and that it has been largely innovated through their efforts, first generation emigrants largely perform "traditional" agriculture. Many recommendations, however have been made to modify "traditional" agriculture. Some of the changes recommended will be discussed below.

Recent Recommendations

The most concise version of recommendations for structural change in northwest Portugal can be found in a recent report to the Luso-American Development Foundation (1989). These recommendations stem from project members associated with three institutions: the Instituto Superior de Agronomia, Lisbon; The Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Arizona; and the Food Research Institute, Stanford University. This research project was created in concern for two phenomenon regarding agricultural
change in the Minho, both short-run economic adjustments contingent on Portugal's accession to the European Community (EC) and a long-run process of structural change throughout the Portuguese economy.

This study is conducted on one general premise: that Minho agriculture is in a state of unhealthy decline. "Dominated by small, traditional farms, the sector is already among the poorest in the Portuguese economy. Further impoverishment of this group threatens to be one of the most adverse consequences of Portuguese accession to the EC (1989:3). A second premise of this report is that agriculture in the Northwest can become successfully competitive in the EC.

"Potential competitiveness in part depends on changes in technical characteristics of the farm—changes in farm size, technology of production, or mix of outputs—that can generate returns to domestic factors (particularly labor and capital) commensurate with their opportunity costs" (1989:11).

This analysis focuses heavily on family labor. It is assumed that if projected returns fall well below the expected opportunity costs of labor, outmigration from agriculture will be a more attractive option to farmers than investment in agricultural change.
In order to assume a competitive role in the EC a variety of structural changes are advocated. (1) All or part of the farm family labor resources may be shifted out of farming into off-farm employment. Under constant-returns-to-scale, the choice will usually involve a nearly complete exit from the farm activity. Lack of accessibility to off-farm employment opportunities may be a constraint to this transition. (2) An alteration of farm structure is advised. For example, growth in farm size which would contribute to farm income by allowing fuller utilization of available resources. The principal constraint on this type of change is access to land resources. (3) An alteration in cropping patterns or technologies is another method in structural change. These changes include increased capital investment in equipment or land improvement. "Because increased capital intensity frees some farm family labor, pursuit of this type of change usually will be accompanied by increases in farm size or off-farm employment" (1989:19). A final possibility for altering farm structure is land consolidation, "in which the number of farm parcels is reduced and the shapes of parcels are altered to better accommodate machinery" (1989:20). These recommendations for structural transition as well as suggested policies, offer one approach in managing Portuguese agriculture in
transition.

This approach, I believe is one that second generation cohorts may adopt to meet their needs and interests in the Minho. Since there is a relative lack of interest in laboring in family farms by these cohorts, it is safe to say that they would opt for such policy recommendations which favor their off-farm employment. Conversely, their predecessors, the first generation emigrants may not view such policy recommendations as particularly favorable to their interests. Since this group of land owners is older, then it is safe to say that trends in the future may not conflict with individual interests of second generation emigrants and a structural change in agriculture. In fact, they may view changes as beneficial. One question that may be relevant here is to what extent is there an overlap between the generations? To what extent is there variety in choice between freguesia and amongst individual households? Another question would consider the impact such structural alterations might have on female farmers? On those who do

---

2Besteman (1989) believes that female-farmers are full-time farmers not part-time, and that female-run farms will predominant in the future. She states: "Female-operated farms are not a transitional group, nor are they part-time farms, nor technologically backward. These households have a permanent commitment to agriculture in the present economic environment" (1989:142).
not emigrate? On those who have no access to off-farm employment?
6. PRESENT TRENDS IN EMIGRATION AND RETURN MIGRATION:

A REASSESSMENT OF THE WORLD SYSTEMS PARADIGM

Emigration studies which relate sending communities from the Mediterranean to the urban centers of Central Europe have largely used the World Systems Paradigm as a model on which to build assumptions. The World Systems Paradigm was developed by Andre Gunder Frank and refined by Emmanuel Wallerstein. Frank argued that development and underdevelopment were not separate phenomena, but were closely bound with each other. Capitalism of "metropolis" centers have spread to all areas of the globe resulting in 'satellite' or 'dependent' regions. Wallerstein explicitly accounts for the capitalist origins and the development of the 'European World Economy'.

"The growth of the market and the resulting worldwide division of labor generate a basic distinction between the core countries (Frank's metropolis) and the periphery (Frank's satellites). The two are linked by 'unequal exchange', whereby high-wage (but low supervision), high-profit, high-capital intensive goods produced in the core are exchanged for 'low-wage (but high-supervision), low-profit, low capital intensive goods' produced in the periphery (Wolf:1982:22)."
In the case of Portugal, it has been argued that the trade between Portugal (the periphery) and central Europe (the core) has resulted in cheap labor for wages.

Such trade has been viewed as particularly unequal exchange by a number of scholars. Robert Rhoades, is one of the most noted scholars who has written on this topic. His specialty was emigration from Spain to Germany. He states:

"A chief characteristic of Europe's economy over the last twenty-five years has been the planned migration of millions of "temporary" workers from Mediterranean countries to industrial regions north of the Alps and Pyrenees. By 1970, over ten million immigrants were living in Europe's industrial 'core' while several million more had already sought out their fortunes and returned to their homelands" (Rhoades:1979)

While Rhoades' article is historically comprehensive, his conclusions directly oppose my findings. Rhoades states that "contrary to official proclamations that intra-European migration is a mutually beneficial exchange of regional resources". His study shows that "historically and ethnographically--labor migration functions to feed growth in the European 'core' while stimulating socioeconomic decay or maintenance of the status quo in the 'periphery'. He is basically opposed to the equilibrium model: that the unhindered operation of supply and demand forces will work
toward the betterment of all participating populations. He states that this is based on strong ideological currents which are in need of empirical evidence.

Rhoades refutes notions which hold that migration is beneficial to both the host and donor societies. He states:

"Some scholars claim that return migration has several important benefits for the migrants' rural homelands. First, workers may bring back valuable work skills and industrial experience that will upgrade the home labor force. Second, the migrants' foreign earnings may be used to establish innovative businesses, cooperatives and farms that will contribute to the revitalization of the rural homeland" (1980:110).

Rhoades doubts this view. Such assumptions are based on the idea of Western Europe's twenty-year "economic miracle" (1955-1975, when over ten million southern Europeans emigrated to the industrial world north of the Alps and Pyrenees. The "economic miracle" was seen as progress since this systematic transfer of human labor from Mediterranean regions of high unemployment to labor-starved regions in the North would foster in the cultural mingling of diverse Europeans, "a necessary step toward realizing the dream of a "United States of Europe" (Rhoades, 1980:110) Migration was seen as a "form of development aid given by poor countries to rich countries" (Castles and Kosack, 1973:8). In 1980, at the time of Rhoades article, no research had been carried
out with information on the actual behavior of returnees and their impact on sending regions. "Empirically, virtually nothing is known about how returnees are investing their savings or whether they are applying skills or ideas acquired abroad in an innovative way" (1980:111).

Wolf in his book *Europe and the People Without History* (1982) interprets Frank and Wallerstein and in so doing, he expresses a similar concern to Rhoades.

"Both Frank and Wallerstein focused their attention on the capitalist world system and the arrangements of its parts. Although they utilized the findings of anthropologists and regional historians, for both the principal aim was to understand how the core subjugated the periphery, and not to study the reactions of the micro-populations habitually investigated by anthropologists" (1982:23).

Furthermore, Wolf states that without examining the concept of the "periphery" it remains as much of a cover term as "traditional society". He writes that the linkages must be investigated if the processes at work in the periphery are to be understood (1982:23).

The current chapter will undertake such a study by reemphasizing the underlying theme of the thesis. I have described the emigration and return migration processes from the point of view of the sending community. This inquiry may be regarded a response to scholars such as Rhoades and
Wolf who have documented the necessity for analysis in the "periphery". I hope to illustrate how emigration has played a significant role in altering traditional rural society in the Portuguese Northwest. The Portuguese case study, I believe, sheds light in the broader study of return migration. Contrary to Rhoades, Wallerstein, and Frank, the "periphery" (Frank's satellite) does benefit from activity with the "core" (Frank's metropolis).

**Change in a Sending Community**

I contend that present trends in return migration have resulted in profound changes in sending communities. The most significant change in communities can be demonstrated by an analysis of emigrant investment in land. Land is directly related to social status. The majority of emigrants from Minho were landless peasants, who after returning, bought land—the single most important indicator of upward social mobility. While many scholars hold that emigration and return migration have had little impact on the sending community, I argue that is has resulted in significant changes in the social structure.

In his article, Rhoades discusses the impact of
returned migration on local communities. He states "from all appearances, migration has allowed rural populations to "share the fruits of development" (1980:119). The outward appearances of return migration consist of some 179,000 Spanish migrant consist of: (1) remittances which value almost one billion U.S. dollars; (2) investments in housing, home furnishings, and durable goods; (3) investment in small-scale businesses (bars, shops, grocery stores); and (3) agricultural investment. However, Rhoades does not conclude that these investments have created upward mobility, nor does he investigate economic living conditions before and after emigration. But, he warns readers that we should not consider this progress since it may be short term. For example, according to Rhoades emigrants seem to make irrational decisions in agricultural activities. He states:

"A number of returnees have invested heavily in modern farm machinery. In one community, for example, the number of tractors rose from 18-45 between 1969 and 1976, the years corresponding to heaviest return from Germany. On the plain of Guadix, north of the Sierra Nevada range, several migrants purchased large John Deere tractors for $11,000 each" (1980:117).

In conclusion, Rhoades states that the emigration seems to induced permanent changes. But, he sees investments by
emigrants as predisposed to failure—and thus factors which perpetuate emigration to European centers. He is concerned with an end to the German demand for foreign labor because the "dependent" cyclical emigrants will greatly lose out. Rhoades did not anticipate changes that would soon occur with the full entrance of Portugal into the EC in 1986. Emigration within Western Europe will be open and rampant. Furthermore his analysis only encompasses short-term changes in sending communities. Clearly, the indication that his case study exemplifies denotes much of the same changes as I will describe. However, I contend that a longer term analysis of emigration, reveals that emigration has created permanent changes—in lessening disparities in wealth, and social status. The 800,000 returned emigrants returned to their place of birth between the years 1975 through 1990 (Silva in Serrao, 1985:1002) played a role in regional development.

Chapter 5 which described the recent developments in technological innovation in agriculture, includes the impact that returned emigrants have on agriculture in this region. Others have similar assessments. Both Bentley and Netting describe the practicality associated with acquiring land in the Minho. Bentley states:
"Although farmers in the Northwest have an average formal education of only three to four years, they are skilled at farming. The many technical changes they have adopted in the past forty years demonstrate that they respond rationally to economic incentives. Future agricultural policy should assume that small-scale farmers are agronomically and economically sophisticated and that they understand the constraints that limit their choices" (1986:186).

The Luso-American research unit has documented some substantial figures that demonstrate various ways in which emigrants have contributed to agriculture in the region. For example, Finan and Fox (1986) write:

"Nonfarm sources of funds for expansion and modernization of agriculture come primarily from local, off-farm employment and migration. The 1983 survey of 198 farms in five northwestern parishes found that 37 percent of the farmers investing in agriculture had access to emigrant remittances; nearly 44 percent of all emigrant-influenced households had made major investments in agriculture during the previous five years" (1986:198).

More specifically, Bentley (1986:170) has noted emigration during the 1960s to France as a primary motivator in historical change in agricultural technology. During this period, technology such as rye threshers, tractors, tractor-driver corn shellers, fertilizer as replacement for brush, flax abandonment and grape crushers came about. In the parish Bentley studied, the rate of outmigration peaked
in the decade 1960-1970 when resident population declined. He writes "emigration has been a major factor in social change and agricultural development in the parish and the region" (1986:171). Similar to the description made in this thesis in chapter three, Bentley states:

"Low wages and land scarcity were important factors in stimulating out-migration. In the 1930s, female farm workers earned Esc 1.5 per day; male farm workers earned Esc 2. Yet a rasa of corn (about 13 kilograms, or about enough for a week's bread) cost Esc 8. During the five to seven month off-season, large numbers of rural poor walked from farmhouse to farmhouse, begging for pieces of bread. Guerreiro states that, during this time, the rural people were so hungry they offered their labor in exchange for a day's bread and water and there were women who prostituted themselves for a kilo of sugar (1981,196). Although the total parish population increased during the 1930s, the prime labor force probably declined, as young adults emigrated to escape low wages and land scarcity" (1986:171).

This high rate of emigration resulted in an increase in the cost of labor. Land owners adopted corn shellers and other mechanization (Bentley, 1986:181, Fox and Finan, 1986:216).

High rates of emigration not only lessened the supply of labor for work on landed estates, but also had an economic impact. While a thorough economic report on the effect of Portuguese emigration would involve a completely
separate research effort, I think that one can make some
general conclusions based on two works discussing recent
remittance activity in Portugal. Remittance activity
supplies information regarding the bond of emigrants with
their land and family which remained in Portugal. For
example, Bentley notes that returned emigration in the
parish he studied resulted in the purchasing of small-scale
labor-saving devices such as corn-shellers, and people I
interviewed in Parada do Monte said they spent most of
their earnings procuring new lands. Each summer when men
returned from France, they bought a new parcel of land. A
few scholars have investigated economic remittance activity
in more detail.

Rick Chaney (1986) explores the emigration-cum-
remittances experience of Portugal over the last 100 years.
Chaney noted that the most important result that follows is
that international migration is best understood as a
regional phenomenon even in strictly economic terms, and
that remittance and emigration decisions are
linked" (1986:1). Just as Fox and Finan (1986:200) have
written that off-farm income from emigration or local

---

2I conducted fieldwork in the Minho during the summer
if 1989. I visited four different administrative districts.
Parada do Monte was one of the districts located near
MELgaco, Portugal.
employment has provided funds for expansion and for the survival of small farm families (1986:216), Chaney states that "remittance flows have provided a substitute for the potential savings to be earned from the development of the agricultural sector" (1986:3). According to Chaney, in 1980, 21,920,000 contos were remitted to five national banks(1986:130) in the provinces of Minho and Tras-os-Montes alone. The primary conclusion of Chaney's work is that there are both positive private and social benefits from return remittance flows.

"In regions of very strong emigration, such as Viana do Castelo, Braganca and Vila Real in the north, and Guarda in the central region, remittances in 1979 constituted between about 25 and 30% of a recipient household's total income and 112 to 155% of the household's labour income" (1986:17).

There are two arguments about the further impact of remittances at the regional level. One claims that economic systems work to channel the benefits of remittances away from the areas from which the labour originally migrated. Remittances deposited into bank accounts gets channeled towards the growth centers that are already established, in the Porto and Lisbon areas rather than in the region of

---

2 The banks include Pinto and Sotto Mayor, Borges, Totta and Acores, Uniao, and Portuguese do Atlantico. These figures do not include postal remittances.
emigration in the form of available finance productive loans.

A second argument discussed by Graham, claims that the form in which remittances are used is rarely productive for the regions of out-migration. This argument was discussed above and to repeat holds that emigrants do not invest in regional development but in consumption and at best, invests in the service sector industries (which are assumed to be less productive than industries in other sectors). Two kinds of evidence are often sighted for this viewpoint, (1) surveys of returned migrants suggest remittances are commonly used in part to finance consumption-oriented purchases, such as house renovation and (2) the view that Portuguese agriculture as a whole has been stagnant for most of the century. Graham disputes both of these arguments. She states that:

"The evolution of the agricultural sector has usually been examined by estimates of total output, of the value of total output and by the ratio between agricultural and non-agricultural wages. Studies typically find that output has grown at slow rates, on the order of 1% per annum, and that the wage ratio has not improved. The land fragmentation, traditional farming techniques and attitudes of small farmers in the northern agriculture areas, which are also areas of major out-migration, are viewed as steadfast obstacles to technological progress that would allow agriculture to respond to increased demand" (1988:20).
However, micro-level studies in these same regions have found agriculture is not stagnant. "Very rapid technological progress has been observed at least since the 1930s. Furthermore, she views this technological innovation in direct relationship with emigration.

"This conclusion can be drawn from the timing of the technical change and from the tendency to adopt labour-saving technical change which reflects both the decreased supply of labour and the increased supply of capital during the periods of emigration. It may be inferred that much of this technical progress was financed directly by remittances" (Graham, 1988:18).

Besteman, (1989) pays a great deal of attention to the emigrant investment patterns in both agriculture and other items such as a new home, education. In the freguesia she studied, 40% of "joint" households (both husband and wife work on the farm) which had a history of emigration, invested in agriculture. Of the female-operated farms, with emigrant husbands, 38% invested in agriculture. She says that inheritance dictates whether the family will invest emigrant monies (or off-farm wages) in land or machinery. A "prestige factor" (the desire on the part of emigrants to invest in "prestigious" consumption items) plays a role in some female-operated farms in influencing how families spend money (1989:136).
Conclusions

Like those from many places in the Mediterranean, the hands of Portuguese laborers, built up the "core"—France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. Given the status of "guest workers", the Portuguese toiled for decades keeping in mind their return to Portugal—these builders remained with "saudades" (longing or missing) for Portugal. Both the ideology of return (Brettell, 1979; Tuan, 1977:149) and recent decline in need for foreign labor in France have resulted in high rates of return migration to sending communities.

Most studies about Portuguese emigration to central Europe, during the later half of this century, use Wallerstein's notions of "core" and "periphery". Scholars such as Rhoades (1978) and Brettell (1979) have suggested that the massive rural exodus to the urban-core of Europe has not resulted in positive, net change for the peripheral sending communities. However, articles on this subject, date a decade or more. I argue that due to the emigration-return emigration process, landless peasants have been able to increase their social status. This is a permanent process which has profound ramifications. The landless, rural poor, who emigrated, worked abroad, saved and invested in land have changed their lives and set a new pathway for
their children. In a rural society, such as that of the Portuguese northwest, land is the strongest indicator of status, stability and wealth. Therefore, those who bought land where they never had any before, demonstrate benefits for some individuals in the 'sending community'. Furthermore, while it is difficult to assert that remittances are invested in sending communities, I have demonstrated that a significant amount of wealth has been sent back to rural Portugal. A discussion of agricultural mechanization demonstrates that not only was land purchased but also the focus of household investments. If houses, land and mechanization may be considered assets, than clearly, returned emigrants in this case study have improved their standard of living.
7. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis, using ethnographic interviews, statistical evidence, and life histories, suggests that at least for some communities in northwest Portugal, the traditional socioeconomic structure has been altered—a significant number of individuals were able to advance in income and status through emigration. While aggregate gains of labor migration may favor the national economic standing of France (or core countries), it also created gains for individual households within certain socioeconomic status. Emigration, then, sped up a process which might have been years in coming.

Certainly, a much longer, more comprehensive study is needed to prove that emigration has been responsible for a variety of changes that have been suggested throughout this thesis. I have set the stage for a number of questions to be asked regarding emigration and return emigration. First of all, questions as to the nature of return emigration should be postulated. Ambiguity, mostly because this is such a recent phenomenon recurs throughout literature on the topic of return emigration. 'Cyclical migration', 'return migration', 'retro-migration', and other terms have been
used to describe the dynamics of the emigration process. Clarifications in the definition of these terms would add to the growing body of literature.

Fieldwork in northern Portugal should be conducted in such a manner as to explain historical household decision-making processes. While some have attempted to do this (Brettell, 1982; Besteman, 1989; Bentley, 1989) I believe that a systematic study of this region should include investigation on alternatives to emigration which may be found in informal labor networks. Certainly, future studies in this region should investigate individual household decision-making through time and within the context of external political and economic factors. Variation in individual motives to emigrate or to remain in Portugal would prove interesting. Further work should be conducted to comprehend the variation which occurs between freguesias. An interesting comparison between retornados (returned emigrants from the colonies in Africa) and emigrants (returned emigrants from the 'core' of Europe) would also be illustrious.

Future socio-economic research on the Minho should consider the distinctions between the two groups of cohorts discussed in this thesis. However, much empirical evidence is needed to substantiate these distinctions. In general, I
have set the groundwork for a more thorough research agenda.
8. REFERENCES

Aceves, K

Almeida and Barret
1976 Emigracao Lisbon: Livros Horizonte

Avillez, Francisco et al.
1989 Structural Change and Small-Farm Agriculture in Northwest Portugal Sept.

Avillez, Francisco, Manuela Ferro and Eric Monke

Appell, G. N.
1985 "Integration of the Periphery to the Center: Processes and Consequences" in Modernization and the Emergence of a Landless Peasantry: Essays on the Integration of Peripheries to Socioeconomic Centers. Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary.

Bachourd, Andree

Balassa, Bela

Bannick, Christian John

Barrett, Richard A.

Bentley, Jeffery W.


-------- 1986 Ethnographic Study of a Rural Parish in Northwest Portugal Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International.

Besteman, Catherine


Bourguignon, Francois, et. al.

Brandes, Stanley H.

Brettell, Caroline B.

-------- 1982 We Have Already Cried Many Tears: Portuguese Women and Migration Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc.

Bruneau, Thomas C.

Castles, Stephen and Godula Kosack.

Cavral, Manuel Villaverde

Carvalho, Abilio Lima de

Chaney, Rick
1986 Regional Emigration and Remittances in Developing Countries: The Portuguese Experience New York: Praeger.

Chapin, Francis W.

Cutileiro, Jose

Economic and Social Committee of the European Communities, General Secretariat
1985 The Economic and Social Interest Groups of Portugal Brussels: Editions Delta.

Finan, Timothy J.

Firstenberg Riegelhaupt, Joyce.
Firstenberg Riegelhaupt, Joyce.

Fox, Roger and Timothy J. Finan

Freeman, Susan Tax

Gallager, Tom.

Glebe, Gunther and John O'Loughlin.

Graham, Helen

Holmes, Douglas

Iszaevich, Abraham.

Jenkins, Robin
1979 The Road to Alto Southampton, England: The Camelot Press.

Kelly, Heidi

Luso-American Development Foundation.
1989 Agricultural Policy and the Development of Small-Farm Agriculture in Northwest Portugal.
Department of Agricultural Economics, Instituto Superior de Agronomia, Universidade Tecnica de Lisboa.

Miller, Mark J.

Mines, Richard.

Mintz, Sidney W.

Netting, Robert McC.

O'Neill, Brian

Park, Tad

Pearson, Scott R. et. al.
Pearson, Scott R. et. al.  

Pina-Cabral, Joao de  

Pinto, J. Madureira  
1982 "Campesinato em Portugal: Conservadorismo e Apatia Politica" in Analise Social no. 70 Vol xviii.

Reixinho, Eduardo J. Costa  
1985 A Adesao Portuguesa a Cee Lisbon: Publicacoes Euop-America.

Rhoades, Robert E.  


Rocha Trindade, Maria Beatriz  

Rosaldo, Renato  

Rubenstein, Hymie  

Rutledge, Ian
Rutledge, Ian

Salt, John and Hugh Clout

Serrao, Joel

Silverman, Sydel.

Smith, M. Estellie

Standing, Guy

Thomas, Eric Jean
1982 Immigrant Workers in Europe: Their Legal Status France: The Unesco Press.

Tuan, Yi-Fu

Wallerstein, I.

Wilpert, Czarina
Wolf, Eric