



REGIONAL AND LOCAL RESPONSES IN PORTUGAL

**IN THE CONTEXT OF
MARGINALIZATION
AND GLOBALIZATION**

FERNANDA CRAVIDÃO
LÚCIO CUNHA
NORBERTO PINTO DOS SANTOS
COORDENAÇÃO

IMPRESA DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA
COIMBRA UNIVERSITY PRESS

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)



I N V E S T I G A Ç Ã O



Coordenação editorial

Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra
Email: imprensauc@ci.uc.pt
URL: http://www.uc.pt/imprensa_uc
Vendas online: <http://www.livrariadaimprensa.com>

Concepção gráfica

António Barros

Infografia

Carlos Costa

Execução gráfica

Tipografia Lousanense

ISBN

978-989-26-0142-7

ISBN Digital

978-989-26-0317-9

DOI

<http://dx.doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-0317-9>

Depósito legal

344310/12

Obra publicada com o apoio de:

FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia

 MINISTÉRIO DA CIÊNCIA, TECNOLOGIA E ENSINO SUPERIOR Portugal

© Maio 2012, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra

REGIONAL AND LOCAL RESPONSES IN PORTUGAL

IN THE CONTEXT OF
MARGINALIZATION
AND GLOBALIZATION

FERNANDA CRAVIDÃO
LÚCIO CUNHA
NORBERTO PINTO DOS SANTOS
COORDENAÇÃO

IMPRESA DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA
COIMBRA UNIVERSITY PRESS

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)

SUMMARY

Living and dying in Portugal: reflections on ‘superaging’ and the quality of life.....	7
Rural abandonment and landscape evolution in the Central Region of Portugal.....	17
Immigration in Portugal at the Beginning of the 21st century – Changes and Challenges.....	33
Daily Mobilities.....	51
The Iberian Peninsula as a marginal territory. A reading after the book “A Jangada de Pedra” (by José Saramago)	69
Conservation, Development and the Environment: A Conflictual Relationship or a Different View For New Geographies?	83
The consumer society in the communities of a semi-peripheral country: Portugal.....	99
New logics of development in the countryside. A case study in Central Portugal – the example of the Serra da Lousã	115
Portugal’s Mountain Regions. Challenges For The 21 st Century	131

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)

**LIVING AND DYING IN PORTUGAL: REFLECTIONS
ON ‘SUPERAGING’ AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE**

Abstract

The last thirty years of the 20th century were times of profound change, affecting economic, social and demographic structures throughout the World, but with particular impact on the so-called developed countries. In addition, new migratory flows developed and concepts were redefined. In these scenarios, prevailing demographic structures changed significantly. Portugal was not unaffected by this process. Life expectancy increased, fertility rates fell, the age of first marriage rose, the number of single-parent families saw a considerable increase, and, at the same time, family structure changed. In less than thirty years, the country has witnessed an unparalleled growth in the number of people aged over 65, while the number of very elderly people also increased. These latter, who are often illiterate and survive on incomes far below the national average, today comprise a growing group of excluded persons. It is on this demographically ‘oldest old’ group that this paper focuses.

1. Introduction

The last half of the 20th century was a time of profound changes for the world, for Europe and also for Portugal. Particularly from the nineteen

seventies onwards, Portugal has both witnessed and played a role in alterations which are reflected in the demographic composition, in the economic and social fabric, in the population structure and in the reorganisation of the country.

In this context of rapid change, rural society is transmuting and acquiring new functions; new mobility patterns are emerging and becoming consolidated, the population is becoming tertiarised, and urbanisation is becoming more prominent, above all in the coastal region. The progressive depopulation of rural areas means that small urban centres are playing more of a leading role, and it is not uncommon to see a strengthening of local government.

In relation to these circumstances, demographic ageing represents one of the central concerns. On the one hand the general ageing of the population is as much of a problem for Portugal as it is for all the countries of the European Union, above all because projections point to a fall in the active population, caused largely by a decrease in fertility. In addition, ageing among the elderly population (superaging) due to a great extent, it is estimated, to an increase in life expectancy, is a fact. It will be principally on this segment of the population that our attention will focus.

2. A brief look at recent Portuguese demographic trends

At the start of the 21st century the population of Portugal was close to 10 355 000 people, an increase of 5% compared with 1991. With a negative natural growth rate, a life expectancy of nearly 80 years, an infant mortality rate of less than 5‰, an average of 1.3 children per mother, living in families whose average size is 2.9 members, the confirmed growth rate (5%) is due to the positive migratory balance. From the beginning of the nineteen nineties, but more particularly from 1995, Portugal has received more and more immigrants from Brazil, Ukraine, Moldova, Romania and Russia, and other countries (CRAVIDÃO, 2003).

Also in common with the European Union it is not ageing in general that has become prominent, but the emergence of the 85 and over group,

which poses new questions in the areas of social security, health care, support for the aged, and in the quality of life of the health care providers...

In this brief look at Portuguese demographic trends it is manifest that during the last century, between the end of the 1920s and the '90s, survival rates doubled; in the last 50 years the number of people over 60 rose from 9.5% of the total to 19%, whereas the numbers of "very elderly" grew by 23%.

On the other hand, in 2001, in the over 60 segment of the population, around 25% had had absolutely no education and 30% of the people working in agriculture were over 65 years old. In a recent study (NOBRE, PORTELA and BAPTISTA, 2002) the elderly residents in a rural environment in Trás-os-Montes had an average age of 75, 60% had no schooling and 70% were living alone or with their spouse, a situation which largely mirrors the rural Portuguese world.

Although some writers have reported that social exclusion is rife among the young unemployed (see A. ALVARENGA, 2001, p. 79), a situation that is evident in Portugal, the analysis of some social indicators nonetheless reveals that it is the oldest people who are the most excluded.

Around 50% of those in the elderly category live in buildings constructed before 1946, 15.1% live without mains water, 18.3% without sanitation facilities. The geographical distribution of figures on ageing and dwelling areas shows that in Portugal the tables showing demographic ageing and those showing the age of houses can almost be superimposed on one another, which may indicate the lack of comfortable living conditions for those people who are in the twilight of their lives. If there are any exceptions they largely relate to new properties built by returning emigrant workers, who live out of Portugal for a part of the year. These emigrants have played a significant part in the revitalisation and recovery of Portugal's stock of housing.

3. The challenges to be faced

The rapid ageing that the so-called developed countries are witnessing is setting new challenges for our institutions and society. The sustainability

of the present pensions system is perhaps the most pertinent concern (see A.ALVARENGA, 2002). In these circumstances, the decline in the active population may also result in fewer job opportunities, given that more pressure will be placed on employers in terms of the contribution system.

Among European Union countries the situation of Portugal is one of particular concern. Because it has grown old rapidly. Because this phenomenon has made only a belated entry into the concerns of the government and citizens. Because, as one of the peripheral countries of the European Union with serious structural problems to resolve, where education and health are those that most directly affect this age group, its ability to find an answer to the phenomenon of ageing in general, and of superaging in particular, is greatly diminished, or much harder.

4. The over 85s in Portugal: evolution and geography

4.1 A demographic question – a social problem

The recent projections published by the National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estatística) reveal that demographic trends in Portugal will continue to be marked by the scenarios that have started to become evident in recent years.

Taking two scenarios into consideration – the first one of ageing, the second one including a certain amount of rejuvenation¹, the population of Portugal in 2005 will comprise, under the first hypothesis, 7 467 000 inhabitants, among which there will be 365 elderly people for every 100 young people^{**2}; in the second scenario the total population will be 10 027 000, practically the same figure as in 2001. In this case the ratio of elderly persons to young persons is estimated to be 190 to 100. It is our conviction

¹ This scenario envisages an increase in fertility, and increasing migratory balances.

² Note that these figures were actually recorded in 2001 for some municipalities in the interior of the country.

that the evolution of the population of Portugal will be closer to the first scenario, which is of ageing. This assertion is backed up by the evolution of certain demographic indicators, among which are the ageing rate figures, which in many regions of the country have long surpassed the highest anticipated figures. In the interior of Portugal at the end of the 20th century there were municipalities where the number of elderly per 100 young people was more than 400.

That being the case, and taking the 2001 census as a basis, the active population will continue to diminish, falling to approximately 4 057 000 in 2050, that is, 2 million fewer workers. Moreover it must be stressed that even by 2025, 15 years from now, the active population in Portugal will have decreased by one million workers.

Although this report is concerned above all with the very elderly, the whole development of the pyramid is cause for concern and, apart from this, is very similar to the behaviour observed in countries in the euro zone (see A. ALVARENGA, 2003).

Of the 15 countries of the European Union in 2000, Sweden was the country with the highest percentage of very elderly (4.9%), followed by United Kingdom (4.0%) and Denmark (3.9%). The European average was close to 2% (1.7%).

As mentioned earlier, the most recent projections indicate a considerable rise in the very elderly age group (Table 1):

Table 1 - Population over the age of 85 in Portugal (1981-2005)³

1981_____	54 684
1991_____	87 481
2001_____	146 005
2010_____	180 199
2020_____	232 009
2050_____	421 038

Source: *Censos da População*, 1981, 1991 and 2001, INE, Lisbon
. Projecções de População Residente, 2000-2050, INE, Lisbon, 2003

³ The figures relating to 2010, 2020 and 2050 are projections.

According to the latest census (2001) the total population over the age of 85 was 146 005. In one scenario, without taking major changes in fertility into consideration, and with a positive migratory balance and a life expectancy of nearly 80 years, in 2010 - that is, in less than 15 years - this figure will grow by 23%. The figures projected for 2020 represent a 60% increase compared with the beginning of the 21st century, and by 2050 superageing will have increased by practically 200% (190%).

In addition to it being only very recently that this age group has started to concern all levels of authority involved in running the country, it is also a fact that only from 1991 have the population censuses made a distinction between groups of people over 75⁴.

The rise will have an overwhelming effect on the Social Security System, since in 2000 pensions represented 12.9% of GDP and in 2020 will represent 15.5%. Society will be faced with a substantial increase the amount of consumption, above all in services directly or indirectly linked to health. Of particular importance is the rise in costs related to invalidity, and in the case of dependent persons the role played by civil society will continue to increase, as will that played by the community to which the oldest members of society belong. The establishment of a permanent human resource of people specifically trained to work with this section of society is necessary, as is an increase and improvement in the health care provision system.

4.2 The very old and social exclusion

These are just some of the facts of a general nature, but the situation of the very elderly is no less worrying, for the reason that in Portugal they form a particularly excluded group. If there is no significant change in current scenarios, this group is principally to be found in the interior region where the services offered are not only fewer but less differentiated.

⁴ It is worth noting that the 1911 census, the first after the Implantation of the Republic in Portugal, did share this concern, though for somewhat different reasons.

Coming from a generation which did not enjoy universal education, a significant segment of this population did not have any formal education at all. During their active years the women were mostly housewives, while the men worked in agriculture or industry, almost always with no or few qualifications. Because of this they receive very low pensions today, placing them below the poverty line.

In 2000, almost 10% of the population, 900 000 elderly Portuguese people, or 80.5% of the total number of individuals covered by the general pension system, received a pension of less than 300 euros. And it should be pointed out that 44.0% (494 818) had a pension of less than 170 euros. The situation is particularly serious in that many of the elderly are stigmatised because of their age. As a result, the family and the community fulfil an essential function whether by integrating or reintegrating them into society, or by offering them the quality of life to which they have a right.

Recent research coordinated by us (see VERISSIMO, 2001 and M.SILVA, 2004) demonstrates on one hand the need to work ever harder towards achieving a sustainable Social Security system and, on the other hand, the need to consolidate an increasingly significant role for the family and community.

In a study whose geographical area of research was the district of Coimbra, and where an effort was made to evaluate the health care needs and the impact on the quality of life of carers, it was concluded that 70.7% of those questioned were illiterate or had not completed basic primary school; for 97.6% their old age pension was their sole source of income, and 70.7% received less than 250 euros per month; the cost of medicaments and health related materials swallowed up 82.2% of their budget.

4.3 The elderly and the health system – one of the mirrors of exclusion

In the last 20 years Portugal has been approaching the level of the European Union in various areas. The ratio of the number of doctors per 1000 inhabitants is one example. In 2001 there were 3.2 doctors for every 1000 people in Portugal, but there was a clear disparity in regional

distribution. The Coastal region had the highest figures, in some cases reaching 9.4 per 1000. The Interior (inland region), where the average age is higher, not because there is a higher life expectancy but because facts such as emigration, reduced fertility rates and the movement of young people to urban areas increase the average, has a considerably lower ratio. Just to give some examples: in the central region of Portugal there are clusters of municipalities where the number of doctors per 1000 inhabitants is less than 1 (0.7), for example in Pinhal Interior Norte and Pinhal Interior Sul, and there are numerous municipalities with figures of less than 2 per 1000. In the Alentejo, the region of Portugal with the highest percentage of elderly, the average figure in 2001 was 1.67 per 1000 inhabitants.

As already described, the ageing that has been being registered has been particularly marked in the very elderly age group, and this is being expressed in a considerable rise in the demand for healthcare. Healthcare provision thus needs to be properly channelled, since we are dealing with a group with distinctive characteristics. In this context the rises that have occurred in the demand for certain health services are not surprising. Between 2000 and 2001, outpatient appointments at hospitals rose by 8%; and there was a 13% increase in complementary diagnostic tests. The areas of the country with the highest ageing factor exceeded the national average of home visits. In Portugal as a whole there are 2.7 domiciliary visits per inhabitant, in the Central Region the figure is 3.0 and in the Alentejo it is 3.2.

Analysis of mortality by age groups reveals a marked rise in the numbers of very elderly. Knowing that regional imbalances exist, economically, socially and in the provision and accessibility of healthcare, it is of little surprise that there is also a marked difference in the death statistics.

In 1970 the percentage of people dying at the age of 65 and over was 60%, in 1990 75%, in 2001 79%, of whom almost 61% were aged between 75 and 89 and 33.2% of the deaths were of people aged 85 or over.

For the 0 to 15-year old group, meanwhile, the percentage of total deaths in 1970 was 15%, in 1990 it was 2% and in 2001, the figure was 1%.

Just as the so-called developed countries have observed, the leading cause of death in Portugal is cardiovascular accident (39%). We know that cardiovascular disease causes a high degree of dependency and that it is linked to longer

life expectancy. In the case of Portugal, therefore, with its confirmed regional imbalances, low incomes and low levels of education, this means the elderly, and especially the very old, the very poorest, the most excluded.

4.4 The elderly and the community

If we analyse the environment of the carer we can see that in 36.5% of cases it is the spouse and in 44.4% of cases it is the son or daughter. The levels of education, although slightly different, continue to reveal a low level of schooling, 41.3% have completed primary education, 27% did not complete primary education and 9.5% are illiterate. Given that this world includes a younger generation it is not surprising that there is an improvement in the levels of education. But in any case, the majority of the oldest people are still cared for by people with poor education, which is reflected in the quality of the care given, and therefore in the quality of life.

In a recent investigation carried out in the Central Region (C. VERISSIMO, 2001), it was confirmed that in the environment which was analysed, persons aged 75 or over, females predominate and more than 80% are illiterate. Care is normally given by family members whose average age is 60 (60.3). Being a carer proved to be prejudicial to the vocational development of those people still actively working, leading to quarrels over family organisation and the distribution of free time. Tensions that frequently arise can lead to conflict (VALENTE ROSA, 1993).

5. To sum up

Almost 15 years after having written that “the consequences of the demographic ageing of the population of Portugal will be felt in various ways, such as in a fall in the school age population, a higher number of dependent people, a slackening in the rate of demographic growth, higher social costs, the need to create a larger number of support structures for the elderly, higher prices - particularly in healthcare, and the political

importance of the elderly as a group of electors...” (CRAVIDÃO and MATOS, 1990) we still believe that our statement remains very true today. We are convinced that during this period of time the very old have grown in numbers, and today they constitute the largest group of people excluded from Portuguese society.

“The elderly have the right to economic security and living and social conditions, in the family and community, which respect their personal freedom and avoid and overcome isolation or social marginalisation” (Constitution of the Republic of Portugal, Article 72).

References

- AMYOT, Jean-Jacques, *Travailler auprès des personnes âgées*. Paris, Dunot, 2^a ed., 1998.
- BANDEIRA, Mário L., *Demografia e Modernidade, Família e Transição demográfica em Portugal*. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional da Casa da Moeda, 1996.
- BRUTO DA COSTA, A., Pobres idosos, *Estudos Demográficos*. Lisboa, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1993.
- CRAVIDÃO, Fernanda Delgado; MATOS, Mário A., «A População Portuguesa dos anos 60 ao final do século XX.», *Cadernos de Geografia*. Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Geográficos, nº 9, 1990 Coimbra, pp. 35-48.
- VALENTE ROSA, M. João, «O desafio social do envelhecimento demográfico», *Análise Social*. Lisboa, Vol. 27, nº 122, 1993, p. 679-689.
- VERISSIMO, Cristina, *Envelhecer em Família*. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2001, Tese de Mestrado.

RURAL ABANDONMENT AND LANDSCAPE EVOLUTION IN THE CENTRAL REGION OF PORTUGAL¹

The landscapes of countries such as European ones, whose territories have long been occupied and used by groups of humans in different stages of development and organisation, are essentially a product of History, just as Georges Bertrand (1978) said. Even when, under specific circumstances, human communities cease to occupy parts of a territory and abandon it to nature, the result of its evolution can never be identified as though it was virgin landscape. The changes of morphology, the transformation of the soil, the introduction of new species, some of which could be seen as invaders, or at least as being highly adaptable, the existing infrastructures, etc, are marks which will only disappear from those landscapes with difficulty.

The level of human intervention in Portuguese rural landscapes and, in this specific case, in the Central Region² (Fig. 1), increased until the middle of the 20th century and then it decreased significantly because of the profound demographic changes in the last few decades. The diversity of the socio-economic dynamics that operated in the different sub-regions had distinct effects on those landscapes and this work will try to show these effects. Several important indicators are used but the results will nonetheless be incomplete.

¹ Work financed by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia and FEDER through the project POCTI/GEO/49371/2002

² In terms of agriculture and forest the Central Region is subdivided into the Região Agrária da Beira Litoral (Baixo Vouga, Baixo Mondego, Pinhal Litoral, Dão-Lafões and Pinhal Interior Norte) and the Região Agrária da Beira Interior (Pinhal Interior Sul, Serra da Estrela, Beira Interior Norte, Beira Interior Sul and Cova da Beira).

sector, which is essentially confined to agro forestry, engages a small percentage of the population – only 5% in coastal sub-regions and 10% in inland sub-regions such as Beira Interior Sul, Beira Interior Norte and Dão-Lafões.

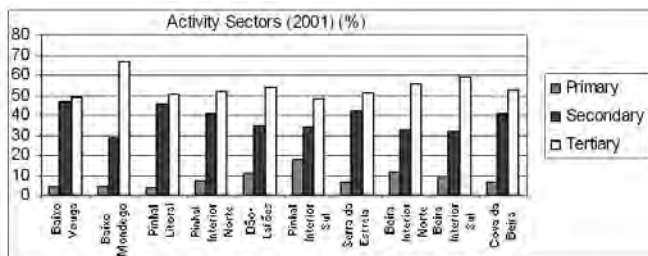


Fig. 2 – Activity sectors in 2001 (Source: INE)

In the last few decades this sector has seen a sharp decline throughout the region. In 1970 this region was essentially rural, just like most of the country, occupying an average of about 60%, and always more than 42%, of the active population. Three decades later the average is below 10% (Fig. 3).

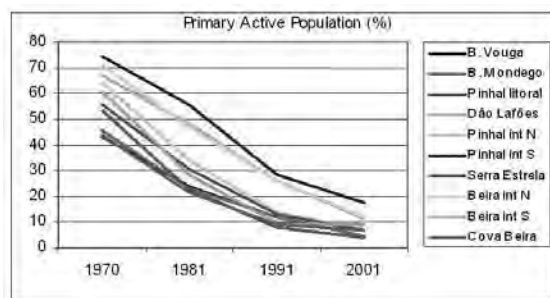


Fig. 3 – Active population in primary sector (Source: INE)

b) Resident population variation

The resident population is essentially concentrated in the region's littoral and this can be seen by the population density of the sub-regions (higher

than 144 inhabitants/km² in the littoral sub-regions and just over 20 inhabitants/km² in the inland regions), i.e., it varies from 10 in the littoral to 1 inland (Fig. 4). This discrepancy increased from 1991 to 2001 with a decrease inland and an increase in the littoral (Fig. 5).

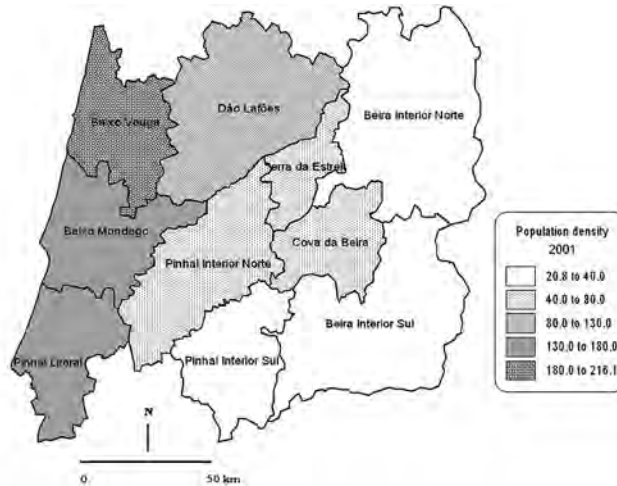


Fig. 4 – Population density in 2001 (Source: INE)

One of the demographic processes that helps understand this discrepancy is inter-municipal migration. In Beira Interior (inland) emigration is normally higher than immigration, whereas in Beira Litoral (littoral), except for Baixo Mondego, immigration is higher than emigration (Fig. 6). At the moment the arrival of foreign immigrants is counteracting the migratory deficit in the sub-regions where this movement is taking place; however, as these immigrants are settling in the littoral zone, they are accentuating the already-existing population differences.

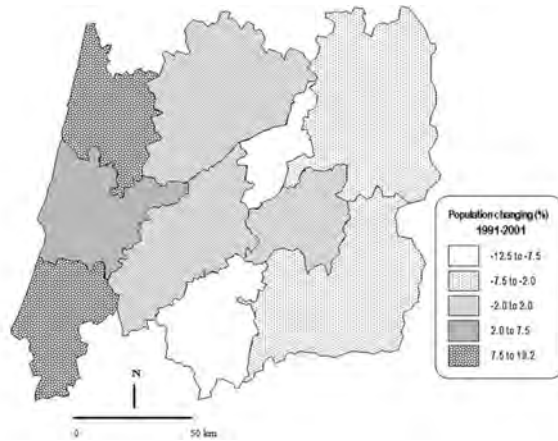


Fig.5 – Population change between 1991 and 2001 (Source: INE)

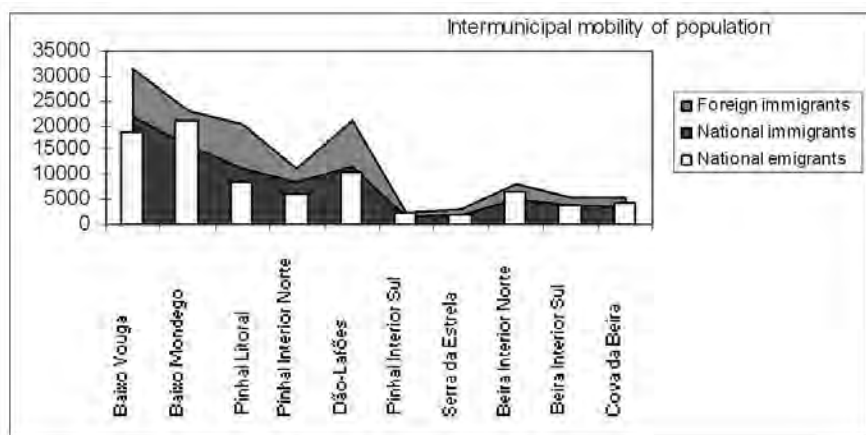


Fig. 6 – Intermunicipal population mobility (Source: INE)

c) Population aging

The population is aging throughout the region, but this phenomenon is more noticeable inland where the elderly predominate over the other age groups. This can be illustrated by comparing the age pyramids of Baixo Vouga (which represents the littoral sub-regions) and Beira Interior Sul (representing the other sub-regions). In the first, young adults are still predominant, whereas in the second, the age groups over 60 prevail (Fig. 7).

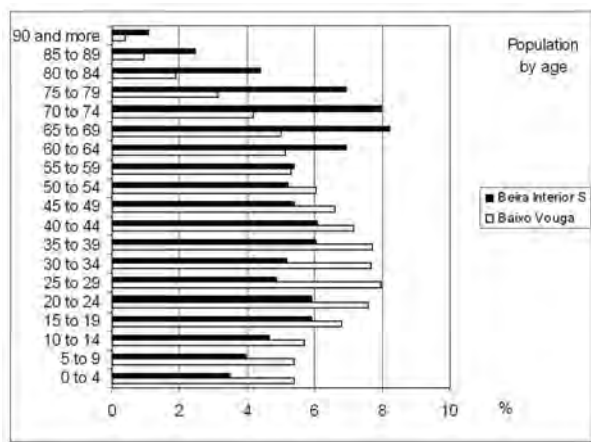


Fig. 7 – Population by age in Baixo Vouga and Beira Interior Sul (Source: INE)

The relation between the number of young people (< 15) and the elderly (> 64) is another indicator of this aging. Only in Baixo Vouga and Pinhal Litoral does the younger population still exceed the older population. In the other regions the number of old people is in some cases overwhelming. This aging process has been intensifying in the last few decades and there seems to be no sign of inversion (Fig. 8).

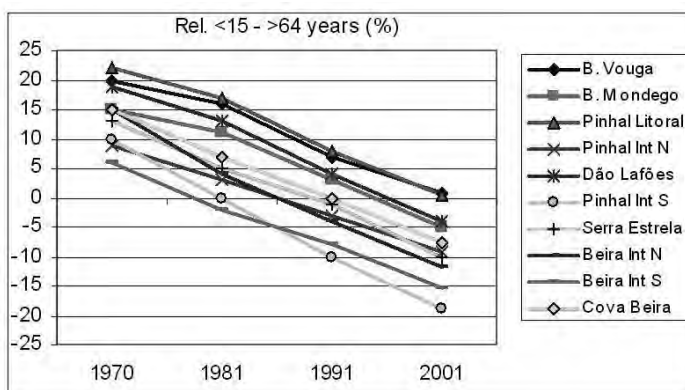


Fig. 8 – Relation between young people and the elderly (Source: INE)

d) Agricultural population

The most negative features of the general population can be found in a more pronounced way among agricultural workers. If we analyse the age of single producers (the majority), we can easily see that in most sub-regions they are over 65 years old. In Beira Litoral and Pinhal Interior Sul, they represent more than 50%. Only in Baixo Mondego, Baixo Vouga and Dão-Lafões is there a balance among the three age groups over 40 (Fig. 9).

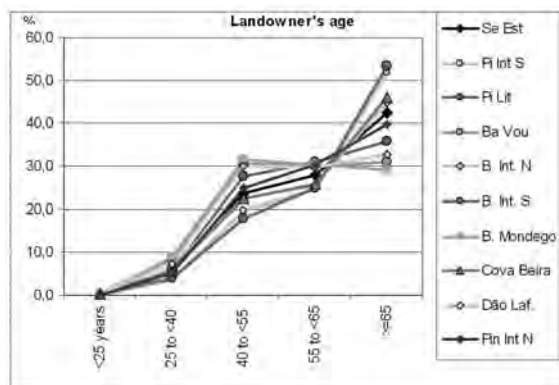


Fig. 9 – The age of individual farmers (Source: INE)

Another negative aspect is the very low literacy rate – most of these farmers only attended primary school and some of them are illiterate (almost 40% in Beira Interior) (Fig. 10).

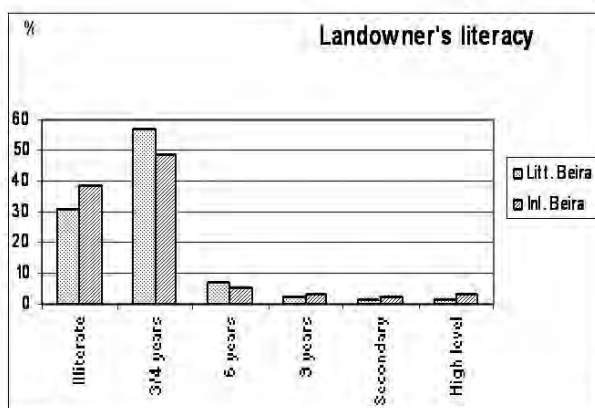


Fig. 10 – Landowner literacy in Littoral and Inland Beiras (Source: INE)

Their technical knowledge is essentially empirical, since they have learnt farming techniques from older people and very few have studied agriculture at secondary or higher levels (Fig. 11).

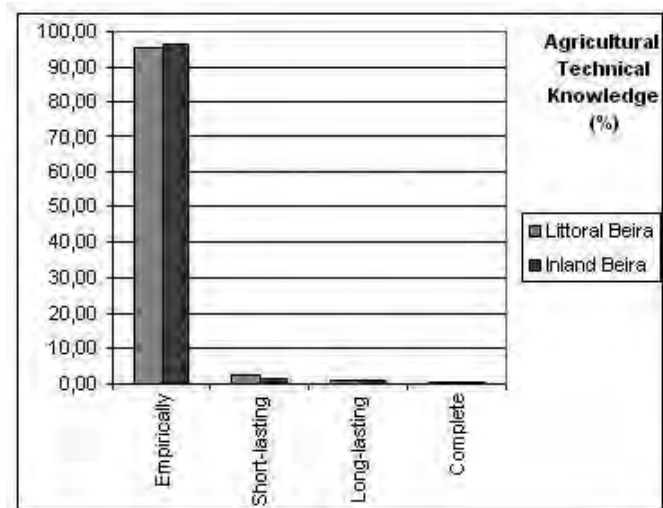


Fig. 11 – Agricultural technical knowledge (Source: INE)

2 – Changes in land use

a) Decrease in cultivated area

An expected consequence of the declining rural population was the abandonment of much of the land under cultivation. In 1989, however, in some inland sub-regions, there was an increase, probably due to Portugal's recent entry into the EU and the fact that some of the subsequent subsidies went to agriculture. In 1999 the decrease resumed (Fig. 12).

b) Increase in meadowlands and permanent pastures

As a response to the lack of labour in the fields and the inability of vegetable production to compete, the remaining farmers moved into extensive livestock rearing, increasing the number of meadows and permanent pastures (Fig. 13). The lack of manpower forces farmers to confine their livestock to fields by building fences.

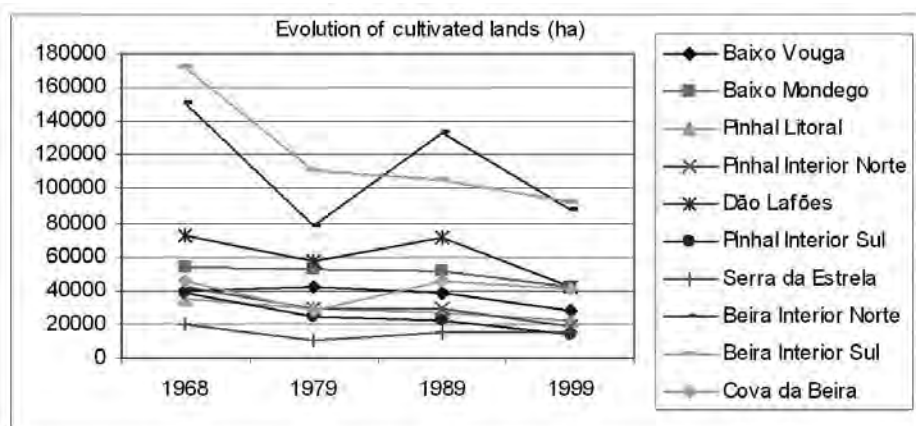


Fig. 12 – Cultivated land in the Central Region (Source: INE)

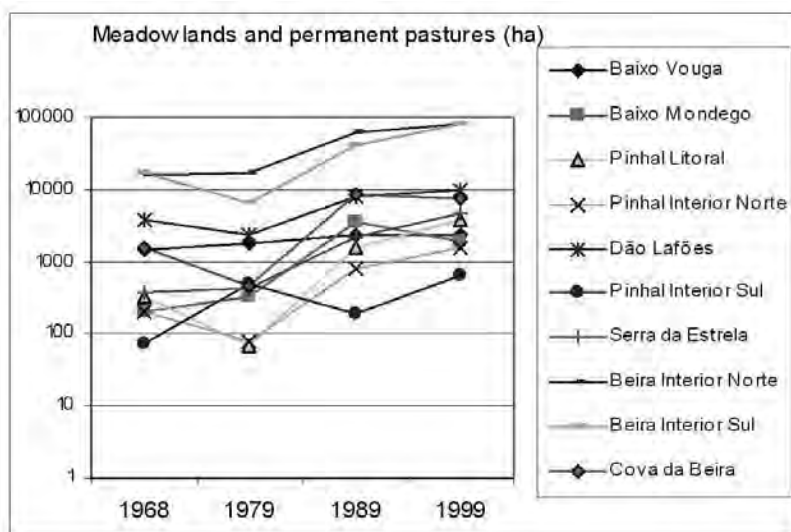


Fig. 13 – Meadowlands and permanent pastures in the Central Region (Source: INE)

c) Forests and fires

Absentee landowners with non-agricultural jobs, in particular, have used their former farmland for afforestation, often with species yielding high-quality wood.

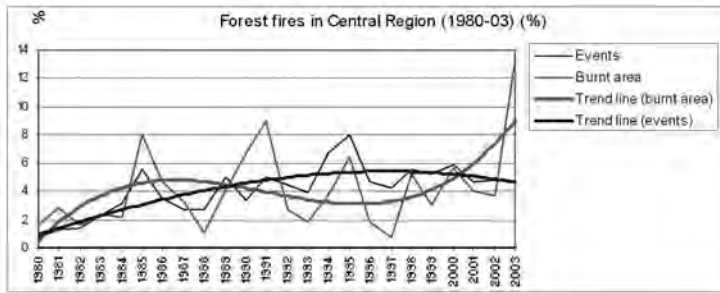


Fig. 14 – Forest fires in the Central Region (Source: DGF)

All over the region, but especially in areas where forests are more important, such as in the mountains, the frequency and intensity of forest fires have been changing both the landscape and the region's economy (Fig. 14). Studies carried out from 1980 to 2003 have shown an increase of burnt areas despite the improvement in terms of fire-fighting resources and the tendency for fires to diminish.

In little more than two decades some sub-regions emerged where the burnt area is either equal to or has surpassed the area of its land surface, as is the case of Serra da Estrela (Fig. 15). Just like this region, it is other mountainous sub-regions that present the highest percentages of burnt areas.

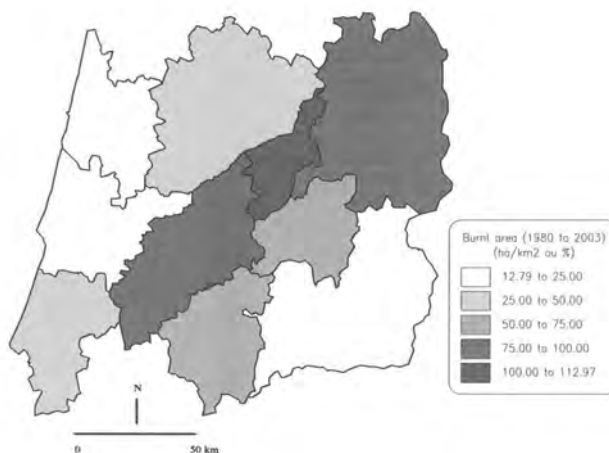


Fig. 15 – Burnt area in Central Region (1980-2003) (Source: DGF)

3- Sample areas (Fig. 16)

A. Mamodeiro

Even though it is located in the more developed littoral zone near Aveiro, with a high population density and a low unemployment rate, there has been a significant reduction in the cultivated area. Much of it has been taken over by housing and industry or been afforested.

B. Alvorge

Due to the fact that it is located in the limestone hills of the littoral, this village is affected by its traditionally non-attractive geographical situation, because of scarcity of water. The significant fall in the number of people engaged in agriculture has led to its conspicuous abandonment.

C. Ribeira de Cima

It is a village set among mountains of schist, with over 100 inhabitants. The cultivated area has also decreased and has now been taken by forest or scrub, mostly because of frequent forest fires. In this adverse environment the smallest villages of the region are now deserted.

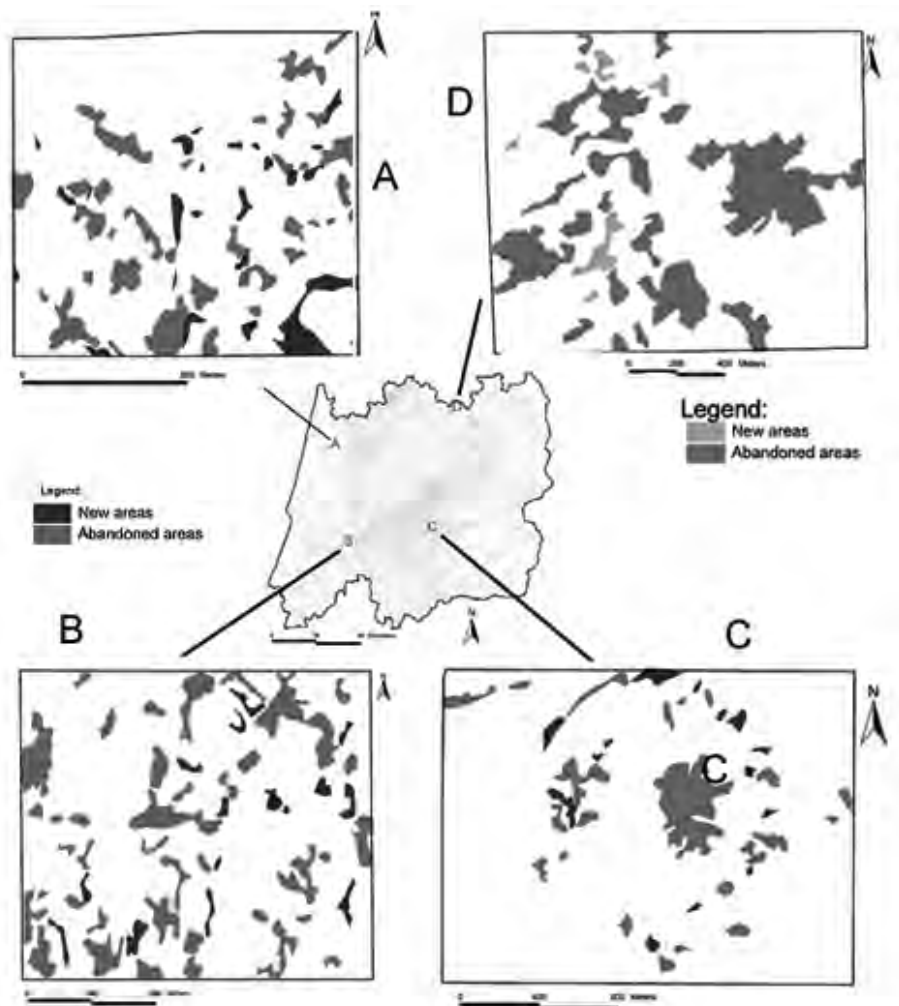


Fig. 16 – Sample areas chosen for analysis

D. Pinheiro

A typical village of the inland granite plateau. It is very isolated and its remaining population is elderly, it shows the highest level of abandonment of cultivated areas, which have been taken over by forest and especially by scrub.

4- Conclusion

The four sample areas which have been chosen for this study, and if others had been chosen the results would not probably be very different, show that in the Centre Region of Portugal the fields are widely abandoned.

The indicators that have been presented (and many others could have been chosen) show that this region has undergone great social changes in recent decades. These changes are due to the substantial depopulation of the rural hinterland (which comprises all the sub-regions which are not by the sea) and the subsequent aging of the population, plus the fact that inhabitants of the littoral are not choosing agro forestry as their main activity. If the decrease in the number of farmers, which is also common in developed countries, had been followed by keeping the cultivated fields, improving the factors of production and thus increasing productivity, income and people's living standards, this radical transformation of the landscape would not have occurred, nor would the other secondary consequences (Baltazar, 2002).

The condition of "landscape gardener" currently enjoyed by the traditional or modern farmer is very unlikely to exist in the depopulated sub-regions, since the remaining population is not able to reverse the trend, either because of its age or because of its low standard of literacy. Only an injection of young people can attract people to the fields³. But these people need to be offered prospects of economic success and access to education and culture, at least in the nearest cities. Fortunately many of them can already offer these amenities through local universities and polytechnics. This economic success would also help to put an end to the idea that the rural worker is poor and illiterate. This idea has been taking many people away from this sector of the economy.

³ It is interesting to see that in some inland cities and towns the resident population is increasing – in the last 20 years Guarda's population increased 9% – while in other cities and towns in the same district the population decreased by an average of 10%; in Viseu and Castelo Branco the same happened (Vieira, 2003). This is yet another indicator that people are leaving the fields.

At present, when the European agriculture is mainly controlled by the countries where it is better developed and when agriculture is being abandoned by Portuguese governments, a change in this tendency is only a very remote possibility. The consequences, and speaking only in terms of the landscape, are too obvious: the abandonment of farming land leads to an increase in uncultivated areas, and these will slowly give way to their natural vegetation, first scrub and then woods (Figueiredo & Aguiar, 2006), or be afforested. The *continuum* of forests and scrub associated with the ever-declining presence of people greatly increases the risk of forest fires, which will grow in intensity and scale, just as happened in 2003 and 2005. The probability of losing one of the sources of income of the rural populations in the short or long term – the forest - is very high, and those who still have some enthusiasm will definitely feel discouraged from continuing. The landscape will become monotonous through the loss of diversity and heterogeneity and more and more areas will show clear signs of deterioration of the soil because of erosion. We are therefore endangering our future and the future of our children.

If things continue the way they are, there is no doubt that the Centre Region of Portugal, especially the hinterland, will remain totally apart in terms of European patterns, even though a wide network of infrastructure has been built up over the last few decades, which has significantly improved overall accessibility to the region. It was thought at the time that this infrastructure would attract new investments, national and international, capable of bringing it out of its state of lethargy – we are still waiting for that to happen!

References and statistical sources

- Baltazar, A. J. A. (2002) – *Beira Interior Norte: população e povoamento numa região periférica*. FLUC, Coimbra (Masters thesis).
- Bertrand, G. (1978) – “Le paysage entre la nature et la société”, *Revue géographique des Pyrénées et du Sud-Ouest*, 49, 2, pp. 239-258.
- Figueiredo, A. & Aguiar, C. (2006) – “Efeitos do abandono em áreas agrícolas marginais: reflexos na dinâmica da vegetação”. *Cadernos de Geografia (in press)*.

- Vieira, Pedro A. (2003) – *O estrago da nação*, Lisboa, Dom Quixote, Cadernos DQ Reportagem 01.
- INE (Instituto Nacional de Estatística) (1970) – *11º Recenseamento da População*.
- INE (1981) – *Recenseamento da População e da Habitação*.
- INE (1991) – *Censos 91. XIII Recenseamento Geral da População*.
- INE (2001) – *Censos 2001. XIV Recenseamento Geral da População*.
- INE (1968) – *Inquérito às Explorações Agrícolas do Continente. Região Centro*.
- INE (1979) – *Recenseamento Agrícola*.
- INE (1989) – *Recenseamento Geral Agrícola*.
- INE (1999) – *Recenseamento Geral da Agricultura. Região Centro*.

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)

Fernanda Delgado Cravidão

Centro de Estudos de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território CEGOT - Universidade de Coimbra

Claudete Oliveira Moreira

Centro de Estudos de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território CEGOT - Universidade de Coimbra

IMMIGRATION IN PORTUGAL AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY – CHANGES AND CHALLENGES¹

Introduction

In the final decades of the 20th century the evolution of the migratory phenomenon, especially in an international context, resulted in a new geography of migrations. The origin of the flows has diversified, the destination areas have expanded, and the countries emerging as receiving countries are territories which tended for a long time to remain on the fringes of this phenomenon.

The development of transport and communications systems, profound economic changes, contrasting levels of economic development and the political upheavals that occurred at the end of the 20th century are among the factors that are forcing us to re-evaluate current migratory flows. Equally significant are the numbers of individuals involved and the distances travelled.

As L. Fonseca (2002) has said, at the turn of the century more than 150 million individuals were living outside their country of origin. The demographic, economic, cultural, and social impacts of this situation make it important to understand this population. However, the characteristics associated with it, particularly its clandestine nature, make it hard to know either the true scale of migratory movements or to discover their socio-economic characteristics and distribution in various sectors of the economy. In Europe, new flows are emerging that are different in direction, volume

¹ Paper presented at the Meeting of the International Geographical Union's Commission on Evolving Issues of Geographical Marginality in the Early 21st Century World, Nepal, now revised and updated.

and typology, while in the Community zone of free movement, it is even more difficult to find out about this phenomenon. In this context the countries of Southern Europe, like Portugal, Spain, France and Italy, have become the «gateway» to Europe.

Recent decades have seen the European Community trying to devise policies with a view to restricting these flows. But cheap labour has to be found and this need has led some member-states to sign treaties with third countries, permitting people to enter. Portugal still favours the entry of people from the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP), both to keep families together and for humanitarian reasons.

The social, economic and political context in which these flows are developing can, however, help to build scenarios of conflict. The European Union has shown itself incapable of finding solutions that could help to reduce these problems, with the result that the receiving population very often rejects the immigrants, leading to tension and conflict in the areas where there is the greatest concentration and diversity of communities (Fonseca, 2002). But it should be stressed that the presence of immigrants is also beneficial. They can bring new demographic dynamism to an area whose population is rapidly ageing because of low birth and death rates. Mendes considers that «according to the United Nations Population Fund, to maintain the present situation of 4 to 5 active individuals for each retired individual Europe would need to receive 159 million immigrants by 2025» (Fernandes *et al.* 2002: 96).

Nevertheless, migratory movements in the European context are not justified by purely demographic aspects alone. «The loss of jobs in the industrial sector has led to a fall in migration to meet labour requirements; the growth in tertiary sector jobs is driving new intra-European migrations» (Bosque, 2000: 272). The same author reports that tourism has also motivated a considerable amount of North-South movement, a direction that has also been taken by a great many people in search of Mediterranean countries in which to live when they retire. In other words, motivations other than economic ones are beginning to become important; Bosque mentions that «environmental conditions, peace and quiet, lifestyle, are uppermost in the decision to emigrate, as is (...) the attraction of coastal destinations» (2000:

282). It is in this context that we find so many English people wanting to settle in the south of Portugal.

Portugal in the world of migratory movements

The following data (Table 1) allow us to understand the fundamental demographic trends that have characterized the national territory in the last few years. Figures for the last decade of the 20th century and the early years of the 21st century are given. The resident population of Portugal shows a slight increase, due in part to the balance of migration, which was positive. This is in contrast to the natural growth rate, which was negative in 2007. Another feature of Portuguese demography is population ageing. Between 1991 and 2007 there was a negative change in the number of young people in the 0 to 14-year-old age group, a lower fertility rate, an increase in average life expectancy at birth and an increase in the 65+ age group. Of particular significance is the fact that in the last 30 years the number of people aged 85 and over has risen by 23%.

Until the 1970s Portugal was a nation of emigrants. Circumstances both at home and abroad have led the country to take on a new role in the world of migratory movements since the 1980s. Whilst still retaining an emigrant population, Portugal is today an important destination for immigrants. Some well-qualified people come to our country to work for transnational enterprises, thanks to the internationalization of the economy; others – the vast majority – are workers coming from less-developed countries, and are poorly qualified. «This contradictory co-existence between emigration and resort to immigration is nothing more than the translation of the semi-peripheral place that Portugal occupies vis-à-vis the process of capitalist accumulation on a world scale, in a dual relation of dependence-domination» (Cavalheiro, 2000: 30).

Table 1 – Population characteristics of Portugal, 2007.

Population 2007	10 617 575
Female	5 478 768
Population change 1991/2007	6.5%
Density	115.3
Rate of natural increase	-0.01%
Migration growth rate	0.18%
Infant mortality rate	3.4‰
Life expectancy at birth for resident population	78.48 years
Average number of children per woman	1.33
0/14 year-old population	15.3%
15/24 year-old population	11.6%
25/65 year-old population	55.6%
Ageing index	113.6
Population over 65	17.4%
Change in 0/14 population between 1991 and 2007	- 15.5%

Source: *Anuário Estatístico de Portugal 2007 (2008) (Statistical Yearbook of Portugal)*, and *Estatísticas Demográficas 2007 (2008) (Demographic Statistics)*, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) (National Statistical Institute), Lisbon.

The Schengen Convention² was signed on 14 June 1985. This treaty envisages the gradual eradication of barriers to the free circulation of people by removing the internal border controls of Member States, and the establishment of a single entry control within the Schengen region. This agreement was hugely important for the policy of individual movement. It came into force on 1 September 1993 for the seven signatories (Portugal, Spain, Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg), and it finally became effective on 26 March 1995, ten years after the Convention was first signed (Brandão, 1999).

Law 244/98 introduced some changes with respect to the right to re-unify families. To remedy illegalities, Decree-Law 4/2001 of 10 January introduced changes to the conditions of entry, staying, leaving and removal with respect to foreigners in Portugal. *Stay permits* are only issued to immigrants who have a valid employment contract, and the immigrant must register with Social Security and pay taxes. This has led to the setting up of networks specializing in the trafficking of workers, and these networks are hard to eradicate.

² Schengen is the name of a small town in Luxembourg, close to the border with France and Germany, where the Convention was signed, and which thus gave it its name.

Legal *stay permits* are granted in Portugal to foreign nationals as long as they have an employment contract. In an attempt at legalization, *residence permits* are also granted to foreign nationals who have a valid residence visa, and who have been legally resident in Portuguese territory for at least six or ten years, and who have not been sentenced to prison terms which, alone or cumulatively, exceed one year.

Some key questions

Up to the mid 1970s the number of foreign residents was not very significant. In 1960 around 29 000 foreigners were living in Portugal³. By 1980 this figure had risen to 50 750 (Fig. 1) and SEF figures for 2007 report that this number had gone up to 401 612 people. This growth in Portugal's resident immigrant population is essentially due to Law 23/2007 of 4 July coming into force. This law harmonized the official documents that enable foreigners to live in Portugal by converting stay permits and long-term visa extensions into residence permits. An exceptional regime was also established in Article 88 of this law, under which nationals of a third country who have an employment contract and are registered with Social Security are authorized to live in Portugal for work purposes. Clause 2 creates certain exceptions to this provision which is reflected in an increase in residence permits.

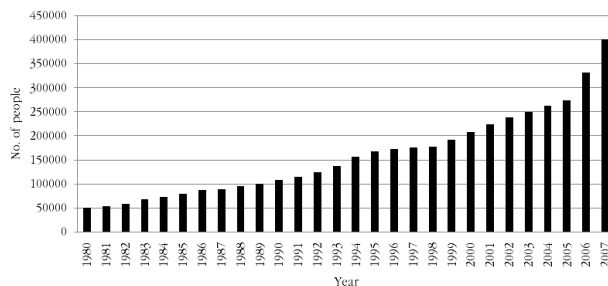


Figure 1 – Evolution of the number of foreign residents in Portugal, from 1980 to 2007.
Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) (Department of Foreigners and Borders), 2009.

³ Esteves, 1991 (cited by Baganha & Marques, 2001).

The figure above relates to legal immigration. It must be remembered, however, that illegal immigration increases this figure. Some authors believe that the foreign population stands at around one million (10% of the total population). At the beginning of the 1980s this was due to immigration from the Portuguese speaking countries of Africa (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa* – PALOPs), and for many years these immigrants were the most numerically significant in terms of Portuguese immigration as a whole⁴.

Portugal's revolution of 25 April 1974, decolonization, and the socio-economic conditions in the former colonies, to say nothing of the armed conflicts that raged there until a very short while ago, explain this figure, which contributed to a significant increase in the number of immigrants in the 1980s and early 1990s. «(...) The 1980s saw the crystallization of a new migratory pattern, one that was marked by the consolidation of the social movement of worker migration originating in Cape Verde, and its progressive extension to the other PALOP countries» (Saint-Maurice, 1997: 54).

The growth observed in the 1990s (Fig. 2) has quite a different explanation, since the flows are distinct from the previous ones in terms of origin, qualification, and social structure. In 1992 the Portuguese government embarked on an Extraordinary Regularization Process⁵ for illegal immigrants, but it contained major limitations: it took place in a short space of time, and the illegal population was neither well-informed nor adequately prepared to deal with this bureaucratic process quickly. This is evident in the increase seen in 1993-94, in Figure 2. Around 39 000 applications for legalization were submitted in that period. During a Second Extraordinary Legalization Process in 1996, about 35 000 legalization applications were handled. The effects of this can be seen in the figures for 1999-00 in Figure 2. The change in the law brought about by

⁴ Baganha & Marques (2001) believe that it is hard to talk about immigrants when we are referring to people from PALOP who had held Portuguese nationality all their lives, as did almost everyone who came to Portugal from the Portuguese Speaking Countries before 1981.

⁵ Non-EU citizens living in the country prior to May 1992, and who had been working to ensure their economic subsistence, and those citizens from PALOP countries who had been in the country continuously since 1 June 1986.

Decree-Law 4/2001 of 10 January allowed employed foreigners who have a stay permit to get a residence permit after five years. This was particularly useful in regularizing the situation of people from Central and Eastern Europe, notably Ukrainians. The rise in the number of residence permits in 2005-06 (Fig. 2) is due to an increase in marriages with Portuguese or EU citizens. In addition, being a parent of a Portuguese citizen allowed some foreigners to apply for residence permits. And there was the further possibility of converting stay permits to residence permits (SEF, 2007: 9.10).

Immigration (particularly of an illegal nature) was favoured in the 1990s by a large number of public works: Expo'98, the Vasco da Gama Bridge, the Lisbon metro, the surface metro in Porto, the Alqueva dam. With the exception of the Alqueva dam project, therefore, immigrant communities tended to concentrate in the metropolitan areas. At the same time, there was a renewal of Portugal's housing stock, which led to a significant rise in the number of immigrants. Currently, the construction sector absorbs the overwhelming majority of people who come to work in Portugal, and there is a great ethnic diversity involved, due to the new geography of migrations.

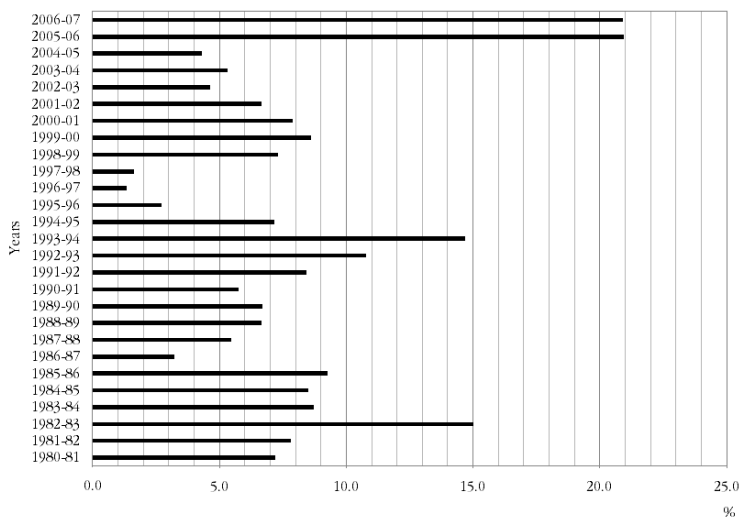


Figure 2 – Change in the number of foreign residents in Portugal from 1980 to 2007.
Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) (Department of Foreigners and Borders), 2009.

Immigrant profile and social integration

Immigrants are usually young men, of working age, often with high levels of education. They enter an insecure economic and social situation in which they earn low wages and endure long working hours. Those arriving without employment contracts cannot take advantage of the social, health and education services.

Although they are mostly concentrated in the metropolitan area of Lisbon, these immigrants are to some extent scattered all over the country, living principally in the suburbs like the other communities, where we find a spatial segregation resulting from their social circumstances (see Cross & Waldinger, cit. Fonseca, 2002: 353).

In the towns the phenomenon of immigration has assumed such a numerical significance that there are shopping centres and districts that are markedly ethnic. Immigrants are often the victims of racism and social discrimination and so they tend to establish their own territories, which they demarcate and dominate.

It is in the metropolitan area of Lisbon that the associative movement has become very significant (Albuquerque, 2000: 2). Associations are an important forum for social contact, education, communication, socialization, training, information, solidarity, mediation between their society of origin and the host society. They play an increasingly important role in their members' socio-economic integration, and their political activity in the defence of the citizens they represent is growing.

Integration is sometimes made easier by family re-grouping, since this helps to perpetuate the ways of life of the country of origin, and the children usually attend school, which helps their parents to learn the language.

Countries of origin and destination regions

Brazilians top the list of the thirteen nationalities being granted the largest number of *stay permits* in Portugal, followed by Ukrainians and Moldavians (Fig. 3). These people are better qualified than immigrants from

the PALOPs, and they are scattered around the country. «In the last few years, the geography of immigration to Portugal has changed significantly. Besides the greater diversity of the geographic origins of non-Community immigrants, a fall in the relative importance of the annual flows from the PALOP (...) and a very large rise from Eastern Europe has been observed (...)» (Fonseca, 2002: 356).

Brazilians choose Portugal for its closeness in cultural terms and for the language. Indeed, many are descended from Portuguese emigrants. They are usually young and of working age, and mostly work in the «more modern» tertiary sector.

A smaller number of residence permits was granted to Cape Verdeans, Angolans and Guineans (Fig. 3), which has caused a certain amount of conflict, since they see themselves as being cast aside in favour of immigrants from the East, who are better qualified. This conflict is beginning to assume a certain dimension. «The migratory wave from Eastern Europe is well-received by the Portuguese, on the whole, and there is a marked preference shown by many employers for citizens from the East, to the detriment of African immigrants, and even of some Portuguese citizens» (Fonseca, 2002: 366).

The arrival of Chinese and Indians has also been noteworthy. Some are connected to the toy trade and catering, and there has been a proliferation of restaurants specializing in the food of these countries. According to Malheiros (1996) these Asians have a younger age structure than the Europeans, but they are not as young as the Brazilians or Africans.

Of the foreigners from the European Union legally resident in Portugal, (Fig. 4), those from the United Kingdom, Romania, Spain and Germany clearly predominate, with figures of 14 946, 13 653 and 11 160, respectively. A high number of them are not professionally active.

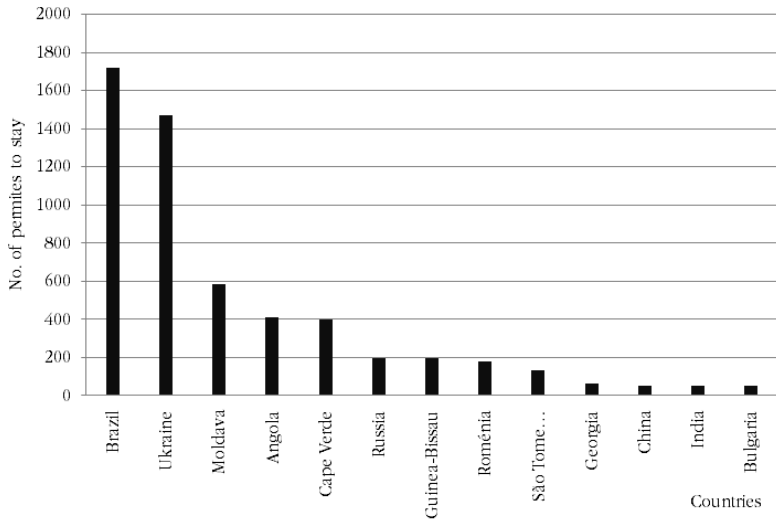


Figure 3 – Nationalities of individuals with *stay permits* in Portuguese territory in 2007.

Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) (Department of Foreigners and Borders), 2009.

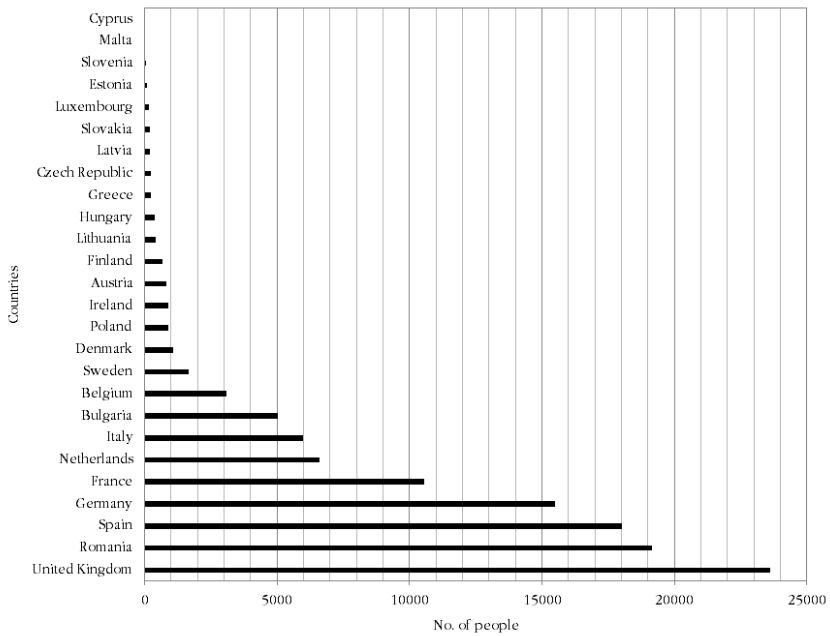


Figure 4 – Number of immigrants from European Union countries legally resident in Portugal in 2007.

Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) (Department of Foreigners and Borders), 2002.

Examination of the spatial distribution of immigrants in Portugal reveals two major concentrations, both in coastal districts: Faro, Lisbon and Setúbal (Fig. 5).

As mentioned above, metropolitan areas and suburbs attract the largest number of foreigners. The same holds good for the more industrialized areas. All these regions are located on the coast. According to Baganha & Marques, «the resident foreign population in Portugal shows a pattern of settlement similar to that expected for poorly qualified economic migrants» (2001: 16). The same authors report that 64% of the immigrant population lives in the metropolitan area of Lisbon. People from the PALOPs settle in the metropolitan areas, Brazilians do not exhibit such a concentrated distribution, and Europeans tend to be in the Algarve. In the case of the latter, their choice is linked to tourism activities. Many immigrants settle there and work in the hotel and catering industries. Quite a few citizens from the United Kingdom and Germany choose to live in the Algarve; many of them are retired and are attracted by both the environment and the lower cost of living.

Immigrants form a volatile population and their number varies constantly. The change in immigrant population in the period 2000-2007 (Fig. 6) was greatest in Castelo Branco. The districts of Beja, Évora and Bragança, further inland, experienced a similarly important dynamics. The better labour supply of the coastal districts is gradually spreading practically throughout the country. This change is in part due to the Alqueva dam project, mentioned earlier, which is stimulating other sectors of activity, and also to the proximity of these districts to the Spanish border.

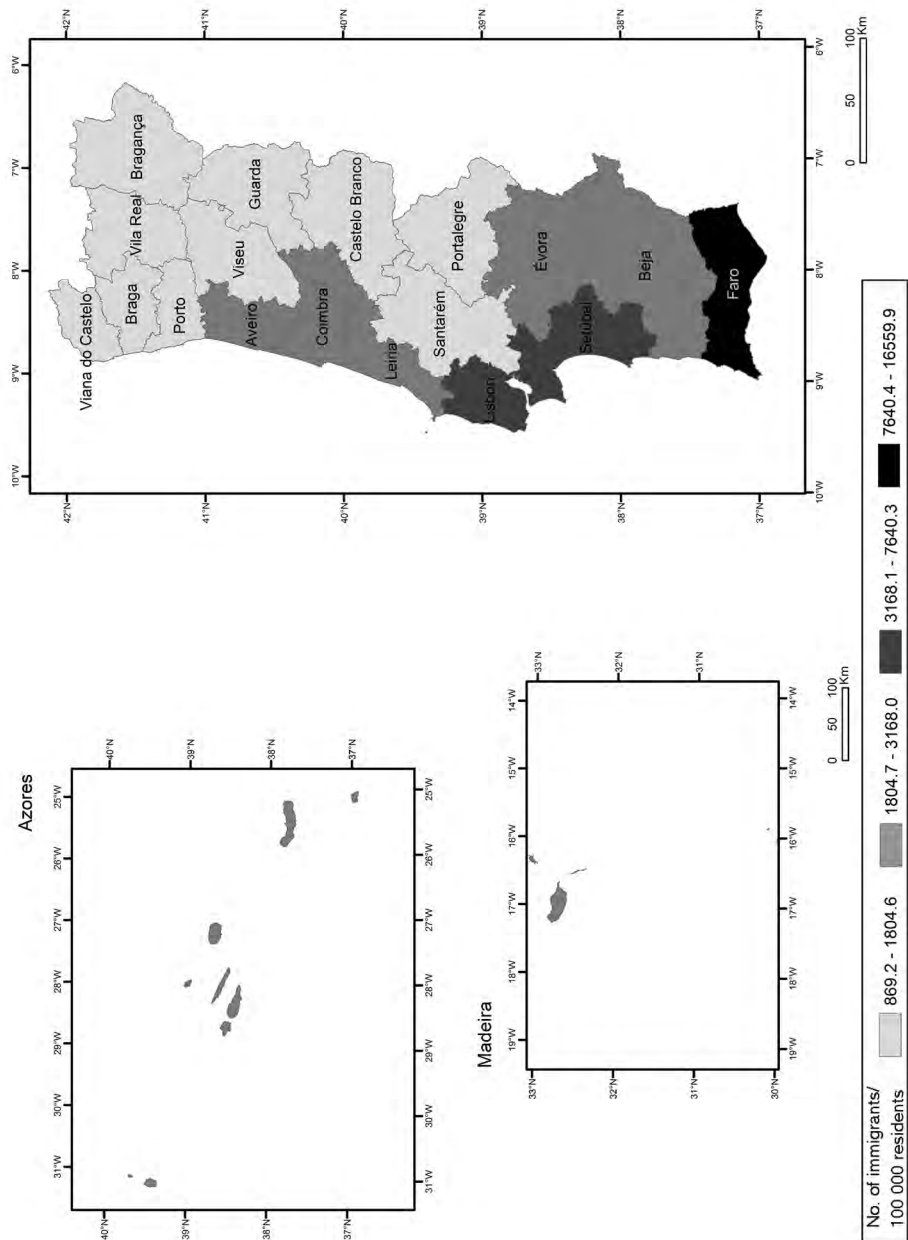


Figure 5 – Number of immigrants in Portugal per 100 000 residents, by district (2007).
 Sources: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) (Department of Foreigners and Borders), 2009, *Estatísticas Demográficas 2007* (2008) (Demographic Statistics), Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) (National Statistical Institute), Lisbon.

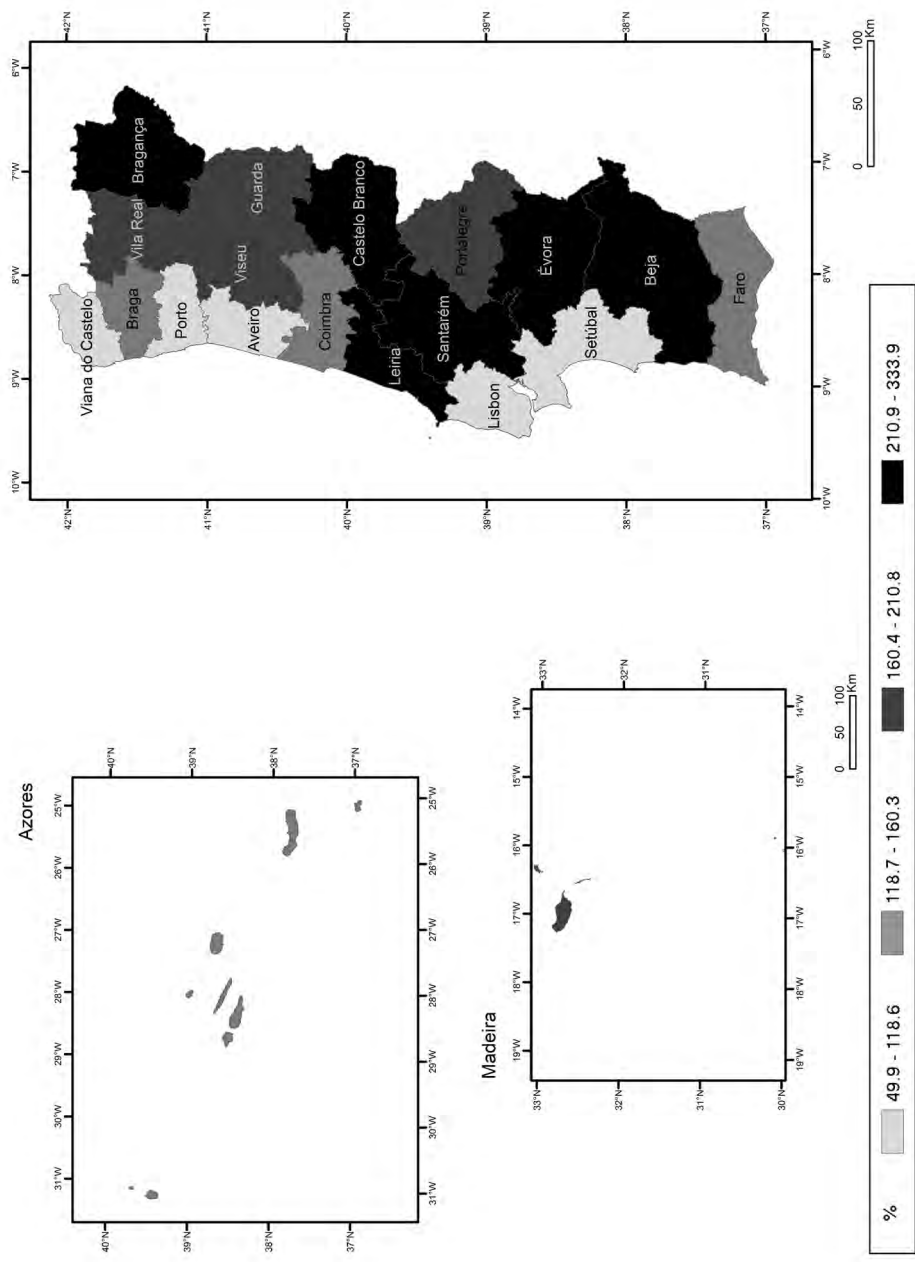


Figure 6 – Number of immigrants in Portugal districts: 2000-2007 percentage change.
 Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) (Department of Foreigners and Borders), 2009.

Brief analysis of the case study

In 2002, a survey was carried out on one hundred immigrants working in the Central Region of Portugal. Of this sample 80% were male and 70% married; 56% were younger than 30 and 94% aged below 40. As regards their countries of origin, 54% were from Ukraine, 14% from Romania, 10% from Moldavia and 8% from Russia. As already mentioned, a considerable number were university graduates, 51%, while 42% had completed secondary school. Hardly any had been to another country before coming to work in Portugal. The highest figure, 5%, had worked in Italy. In relation to jobs in their country of origin, 32% were engineers and 13% doctors. In Portugal, 63% were working in the construction industry, 10% in catering and 6% in trade.

While the level of income was not high, it was considerably higher than in the country of origin. About 10% were earning over 750 euros, 63% between 500 and 750 euros, and 27% less than 500 euros. Only 58% said they had an employment contract. Cultural affinity is important with respect to the place of work/residence. Sixty percent were living with people from the same country and in rented accommodation (74%). Integration into Portuguese society revealed some conflicts. In the opinion of 62%, Portuguese people were friendly, while for 54% of those asked tensions were largely with those from other continents. Language was the biggest obstacle to integration. Issues of a cultural and religious nature were also mentioned. Integration into Portuguese society is a concern for many of these immigrants, as it is, too, for the Portuguese government and various Institutions. Nine percent of those asked were attending Portuguese language courses. The Gulbenkian Foundation, for example, runs a scheme under which doctors from Eastern Europe attend a course to enable them to work in the national health system.

Final comments

The migratory phenomenon stems from the globalization process that typifies these flows and everything indicates that it will intensify, with areas

of origin becoming increasingly diverse. The internationalization of the economy will continue to attract a European and North American population that is qualified to work in transnational corporations.

We would like to draw attention to the fact that an increasing number of Spaniards are coming to live in Portugal. They fill a need in certain areas, especially in the provision of medical care. They are also linked to a growing number of businesses established in Portugal. Along with this we have witnessed the arrival of unskilled labour to work on major public works – stadiums for Euro 2004, urban regeneration projects, and so forth.

In demographic terms, the arrival of immigrants may, albeit occasionally, re-size the population. In some cases it mitigates the rate of ageing. In relation to the active population, some consequences are already becoming apparent in the significant proportion they account for in Portugal's total active population. The signing of peace in Angola could eventually lead to some Angolans returning home, but this will only begin to be noticed in the medium/long term.

The trend for increasing numbers of immigrants to come from Eastern Europe will continue and in fact the recent enlargement of the European Union will intensify these flows. Although the metropolitan areas are likely to remain the chief recipients, geographic distribution will tend towards dispersion and the occupation of urban areas further inland, and even of rural areas.

The fact that Portugal is short of labour, both qualified and undifferentiated, means that the borders will exhibit some degree of permeability. There are certain jobs that we know will not be filled by Portuguese workers. The pressure from Africans, Asians and South Americans will continue. The unpredictability that characterizes migratory movements makes it difficult to plot future scenarios. But the various states seen as destinations by immigrants should try to act to resolve illegal immigration, which leads to submission, exploitation, discrimination.

The European Union is currently trying to standardize immigration control. The aim is to restrict the entry of citizens from non-member states and give preference to countries that belong to the EU. Governments, particularly the Portuguese government, must define the maximum acceptable

contingents and this should be done in terms of the needs of the different sectors of activity.

A 2002 study by the Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional (Institute of Employment and Vocational Training) defined the sectors most in need of labour and the respective contingents of workers at national level: construction (11 200), followed by tourism (5 200), and agriculture (2 740). Entry should be adjusted to the needs of Portugal's economy so as to take advantage of the levels of qualification of immigrant labour, and this can only be achieved if the migrant population is properly understood. Immigrants should be allowed to enjoy the rights and duties of any other citizen.

Finally, it is worth stressing that, despite the conflicts, society is already showing positive signs, notably of a cultural nature. We believe that this is one of the most positive facts of this phenomenon. Miscegenation, linguistic enrichment, the influence on music and food, and, above all, the way of looking at and perceiving the *other*.

References

- Albuquerque, Rosana 2000, *O fenómeno associativo em contexto migratório: duas décadas de associativismo de imigrantes em Portugal*, Celta Editora, Oeiras.
- Baganha, Maria Ioannis & Marques, José Carlos 2001, *Imigração e Política o caso português*, Fundação Luso-Americana, Lisboa.
- Bosque, Raúl Lardiés 2000, 'Inmigrantes comunitários y desarrollo de empresas turísticas en las zonas costeras de Cataluña', *Ería*, 53, pp. 271-285.
- Brandão, Ana Paula Lima Pinto de Oliveira Almeida 1999, *A reconceptualização da segurança e a migração internacional: a abordagem comunitária versus a abordagem nacional*, Ph.D. thesis in Political Sciences and International Relations submitted to the University of the Minho, Braga.
- Cavalheiro, Luís Miguel Garcia da Silva 2000, *O sector da construção civil português: o emprego e as migrações para o mercado de trabalho alemão*, Masters dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Economics, University of Coimbra, Coimbra.
- Fayrén, Josefa Gómez & Adell, Cármen Bel 2000, 'Inmigración extranjera en España y su incidencia territorial', *Papeles de Geografía*, 31, pp. 69-89.
- Fernandes, João Luís; Tomás, Paulo Carvalho & Cravidão, Fernanda Delgado 2002, 'Portugal e os portugueses na demografia europeia em finais de milénio – uma perspectiva territorial' in Carminda Cavaco (coord.) *Actas do Seminário Internacional Repensar Portugal na Europa perspectivas de um país periférico*, Lisboa.

- Fonseca, Maria Lucinda 2002, 'Portugal no sistema das migrações internacionais na Europa: Tendências recentes e perspectivas futuras', in Carminda Cavaco (coord.) *Actas do Seminário Internacional Repensar Portugal na Europa perspectivas de um país periférico*, Lisboa.
- Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2002, *XIV Recenseamento Geral da População, 2001*, Lisboa.
- Menezes, Manuel 1999, 'As comunidades imigrantes em Portugal', *Intervenção Social*, 20, pp. 133-150.
- Saint-Maurice, Ana de 1997, *Identidades Reconstruídas cabo-verdianos em Portugal*, Celta Editora, Oeiras.
- Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras 1999, *Residentes Estrangeiros em Portugal 1980/1998 que evolução*, Ministério da Administração Interna, Lisboa.
- Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras 2000, *Revista*, October.
- Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras 2007, *Relatório de actividades: Imigração, fronteiras e asilo 2007*. Departamento de Planeamento e Formação do Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, Lisboa.
- Trigal, Lorenzo López 2001, *La reciente aportación geográfica. Al estudio de la inmigración en España. Una revisión de publicaciones y proyectos de investigación*, Separata, Cepese, Porto.
- Wenden, Catherine Wihtol de 1996, 'Flux croisés de l'Est et du Sud', in Mirjana Morokvasic & Hedwig Rudolph (dir.) *Migrants les nouvelles mobilités en Europe*, L'Harmattan, Paris.

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)

DAILY MOBILITIES

Mobility as an expression of individual lifestyle

In terms of general spatial mobility, Portuguese society has come to register a wide variety of movements of a permanent nature. The search for wealth and competitive power, together with a supporting trend towards urban growth, has given rise to a clear increase in temporary movements in Portuguese society. Whilst this does not have any great impact on models of location, as Morrill (1974) states, it is responsible for a rise in the volume of production and consumption and a substantial increase in investment in traffic infrastructure. In addition to the importance of transport and communications infrastructure, which are determining factors in the process of utilising resources (the densest road systems are provided in the most industrialised districts and/or where the tertiary sector, which is basically the most important, represents an important part of the population's activity), it is also evident that the preference given to certain specific channels of mobility depends on the social form and the nature of work done by the individual (man/resource).

Work, the workplace, housing, the family, leisure and consumption all give rise to spatial mobilities which are indicators of the different levels of insertion into society and which are the result of individual characteristics, such as professional mobility, life cycle, social integration and cultural profile (Figure 1). It is from this perspective that, through their mobility, “the organisation of the way of life of the various residents in a particular geographical area may be considered an authentic language which describes for us, when correctly *described*, the elements of the social adaptation of individuals to the features of their environment” (Tarrus, 1989: 116).

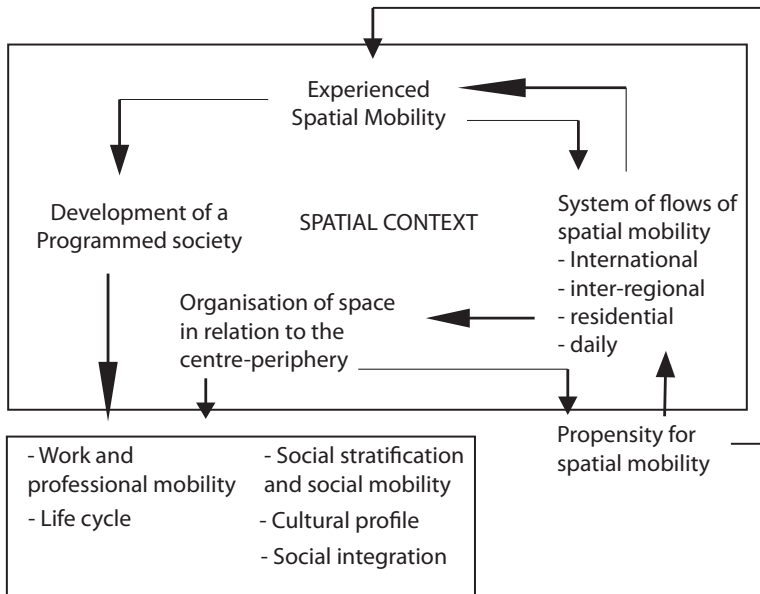


Figure 1 — Mobility as a system of practices and representations

Source: JOYE, BASSAND, SCHULER, 1989: 36

The spatial expression of these mobilities even acts as an indicator of development, as a result of the different powers of attraction the different regions possess. In the central region of Portugal, the district of Coimbra plays a dual role as a focal point of attraction and also as a major nucleus for the dispersal of the population, following the spatial mobility patterns of the region to which it belongs and in which it is defined as a small regional metropolis.

By referring to the Lefebvrian interpretation of spatial practices, representation of spaces and representational space, it may be said that “mobility is also a system of practices and representations” (Figure 1) (Joye, Bassand & Schuler, 1989: 37).

Patterns of mobility exist and the greatest variation in movement occurs on a daily rather than weekly or yearly basis. However, movements which

structure the daily life of the individual also exist and define the home and the workplace as the poles of the main everyday activities and journeys. It is therefore essential to understand the relationship between residence, work and spatial mobility.

Residence and family journeys

Mobility and the movement of individuals form part of the relationship between the urban centres and the suburban areas, as part of the process of spatial tertiarisation structured around the creation of residential buildings.

The periurban industrial areas have given way to vast urban development areas of housing estates, which, together with the villages on the outskirts of the urban centres, have also established themselves as 'halfway houses'. The effect has been to multiply the types of social relationship available between the urban and the rural areas, and to completely reformulate the rural areas by creating dormitory satellites in the middle of the countryside, whose quality (both environmental, architectural and in terms of services) is determined by the prices and, obviously, by the location of the venture.

These options have helped to increase spatial mobility, which can be identified by the relationship between indicators such as place of birth (which coincides with the residence of the parents at a particular time), current residence and the distance between the two. The number of people spending their whole life resident in the same parish with their parents (therefore without changing their residence) is particularly significant in the most rural areas (involving 75 to 80% of the population).

These figures are lower for urban areas (where 48% of the population have remained in the parish they were born in). This is the materialisation of the differences between the more stable, closed rural world and the more active and open urban world. These data can be ratified by counting the number of residents not born in the area, or, in other words, those who have changed their residence between administrative areas (parishes) at least once. In urban areas the figures are up to 78%, whilst in the

neighbouring rural area it is only 28%; suburban or periurban areas show intermediary results ranging from 36% to 51%.

The importance of this residential mobility is considerable, since it implies different ways of relating to differing life styles (expressed more strongly in urban areas and less significantly in rural ones).

Thus residence is, in Western consumer society, a way of exteriorising lifestyle, and financial means, in the same way as culture and individual taste.

The location of residence can also be interpreted as a differentiating factor, in an analysis in which distance means more than just considering the city centre or its outskirts as different functional areas. A change of location for professional reasons, related to the location of the workplace itself, and the search for a residence that allows quick, easy access to it, is the aim of the majority of the working population. This is understandable if one takes into account that individual journeys to and from work involve both expense and time and create psychological obstacles at different stages of the journey. It is even more important nowadays, given that journeys into the social world are on the increase due to people's social, family and professional commitments.

There are three main reasons for changing residence. The most important is a move due to a change in civil status. A second reason given for a change of residence was for professional reasons. A third motive for changing residence is the search for better living conditions in terms of housing (the quality/location/price relation).

It is this last notion of a change of residence resulting from a desire for better housing, in a better area and at a better price, in conjunction with professional motives, which clearly distinguishes the city parish from the others. In fact, people from the both neighbouring rural area and the suburban area gave the main reason for changing residence as a change in civil status. It may therefore be concluded that the city imposes modes of behaviour which are different from those to be found in the suburban and periurban areas, since there is a greater preoccupation with economic matters and quality of life and, consequently, with work, the prime source of the family income.

The reasons for changing residence in different areas enable us to conclude that general spatial mobility is much lower in the neighbouring rural area, in contrast to the other areas. Moreover, the type of residential mobility found there expresses lifestyles whose life cycles contain greater spatiality and a greater dependence on affective reasons (desires rather than needs), such as location or emotional affinities.

Spatial mobility resulting from professional activity.

Daily travel and commuting.

With or without any previous move, access to and from home is also a very relevant factor, since the daily journey to the workplace, which can be seen as one of the most characteristic aspects of present-day society, is responsible for the establishment of the majority of transport and road infrastructures. In fact, travelling time, as defined by the various features of the journey (routes, type of surface, number of stops, traffic flow) and the means of transport used, defines the urban structure itself and has a decisive influence on periurban growth. The study of these commuter patterns is even more important once a series of stops between home and the workplace, related to specific activities, is added to it. These stops result in increases in distance, time and often the total distance, whilst at the same time imposing the outline of communal actions on the family unit.

In Coimbra, the majority of people (77.66%) spend less than 30 minutes on this type of journey, with 15 minutes being the accepted average, given that 34.64% of those interviewed said that they spent less than 15 minutes travelling to work. Therefore we may conclude that the Coimbra population does not spend much time on daily travel to and from home, in contrast to the situation in the Portuguese metropolitan areas, and that this factor contributes towards defining the quality of life attributed to medium-sized cities and expressed by the idea that *everyone wants to drive right up to the door of the workplace*⁶.

⁶ This idea is, however, changing rapidly, and without speedy intervention in the city of Coimbra traffic problems will soon contribute towards lowering the quality of life. It is hoped

This notion of quality of life should be understood in various ways. If less time is spent travelling by car or bus, then there is a parallel lowering of stress levels and it also becomes easier to economise on a family level. There is more time for other activities, either at home, since more time can be spent with the family or on activities which provide a measure of relaxation, (hobbies, spending time with neighbours, simply relaxing), or outside the home, as there is more time for after-work interests which benefit the individual physically or culturally. Later it will be seen, however, that activities outside work are not always that significant, either in number or in terms of the amount of time spent on them; still, the possibility of choice, as well as having less pressure on time, do remain very positive stimuli for the individual.

Socio-professional categories

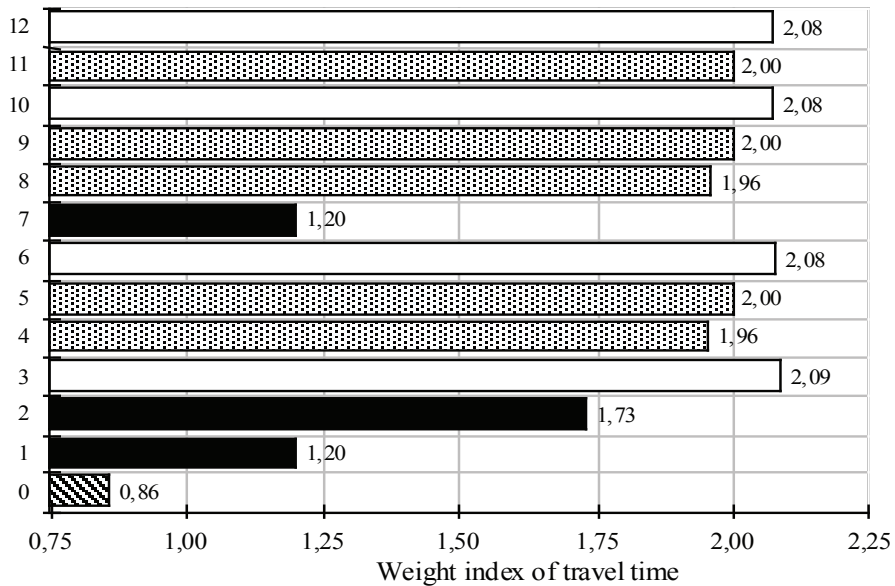


Figure 2 — Time spent travelling to and from work, according to socio-professional categories (weighted index)⁷ Source: Santos, 2001.

that current projects for traffic systems (roads and car parks) will provide the desired results. Even so, the car will very soon lose its power to 'drive you right to the door'.

⁷ The weighted index was obtained by attributing a figure from 0 to 5 for people who did not reply or stated that they spend more than 1 hour travelling, with the figure 6 attributed

Key: students and domestic workers (0), farm workers (1), lower/lower-middle class employed in commerce and the service industry (2), lower-middle/middle class employed in commerce and the service industry (3), factory workers, transport workers and mechanics (4), civil construction workers (5), public sector workers and security forces (6), suppliers of personal services (7), traders and sales representatives (8), technical and higher administrative staff (9), senior and executive staff (10), businessmen/women (11), professional occupations (12).

When we consider the time that each socio-professional group spends on travelling to and from work (Figure 2) we can identify four subcategories. *Students and domestic workers* reveal the lowest levels of travel (0.86), thus displaying a low level of mobility — a normal situation if we take into account the fact that the majority of housewives spend their time at home and that students aim to make their home as close as possible to their place of study. Thus, not having a paid job is a factor responsible for reducing individual mobility.

In addition, amongst the working population three categories reveal low levels of travelling time, evidence of living nearer to the workplace: farm workers (1), the lower and lower-middle class employed in commerce and the service industry (2) and suppliers of personal services (7).

The figures for the first group are related to the fact that the home is close to the farmland, since the journeys are normally made on foot and longer distances imply more travelling time. In the case of the second group, the low level of travelling time (involving motorised journeys at this stage) is due to the low income generated by this type of employment, meaning that travelling expenses have to be as low as possible. The income of the third group is much higher and the reduced travelling time has nothing to do with salaries, but rather with the tendency to self-location. Normally the investment made in the premises where a business is based (for example leather work, decorating, hairdressing, dressmaking) means that it also becomes the residence, or is located very close to it, thus explaining the low figures.

as *variable* since it related to situations which involved a great deal of travelling to and from work (for example sales representatives or publicity or information agents).

The remaining socio-professional groups all reveal higher levels of travelling time, particularly the lower-middle/middle class employed in commerce and the service industry (3), the public sector workers and security forces (6), senior and executive staff (10), and professional occupations, or similar (12). The first two categories, and predominantly the public sector workers, represent a significant part of the population who, having acquired jobs in the tertiary sector, still live in suburban or periurban areas and carry out other types of work, mainly agricultural. The two latter groups, many of whom are also public sector workers, are those who, having greater economic resources, are able to opt for an area determined more by subjective factors. However, owing to high prices in the Coimbra housing market, their ambitions to achieve quality of life are more easily realised on the outskirts of the city, since, as has already been emphasised, travelling times in the city are relatively short and an individual can easily get to anywhere in the city itself in just a few minutes. This therefore explains the longer travelling times.

Travelling time largely depends on the means of transport, that is, on the type of vehicle used on the journey between home and work. Most people (54.50%) use a private car, thus confirming its importance in the organisation of the individual life cycle. When the analysis is carried out by area, other results emerge showing that different modes of travel are favoured according to the area in question. Therefore, the use of a private car is predominant in suburban and urban areas, while bus travel predominates in the neighbouring rural area, although they are also important in some suburban areas.

Spatialisation of work-related mobility

In a local or even a sub-regional area (understood as the area of direct influence of a city-region), journeys to work predominate over all other types. Varying in frequency, duration and distance, they depend to a great extent on individual attributes (age, sex, culture, social situation, profession) and on the actual sociospatial organisation.

Present day journeys to work remain socially dominant since “their job is so important that people have to travel much further to work” (Morrill, 1974: 157), as opposed to travelling to obtain services or goods. In the same way, it is also the daily journeys to and from work that “feature as some of the most well-known of habitual movements, for three reasons: they are the most frequent and rhythmic, they create huge traffic jams, and population censuses enable them to be easily identified and calculated” (Thumerelle, 1986: 21).

Today we are witnessing an increase in the distances travelled by populations between home and the workplace, since “the dispersal of living space across multiple, unrelated places as a solution to continuity characterizes the societies of the developed countries” (Thumerelle, 1986: 22)

Increased itineraries are due to the fact that there are many other stopping-off points between the main departure and arrival points. The way in which people utilise space (Figure 3) in relation to the home/workplace differs according to the area in which they live. Using a distribution system which has an equal number of parishes per class, in order to favour the spatial element of the distribution, and by having three district levels (parish, municipality and other administrative units), it can be shown that employment within the parish of residence seems to conform to one central principle. This is the existence of a large number of workplaces within these parishes that enable a significant number of the population to live close to their workplace.

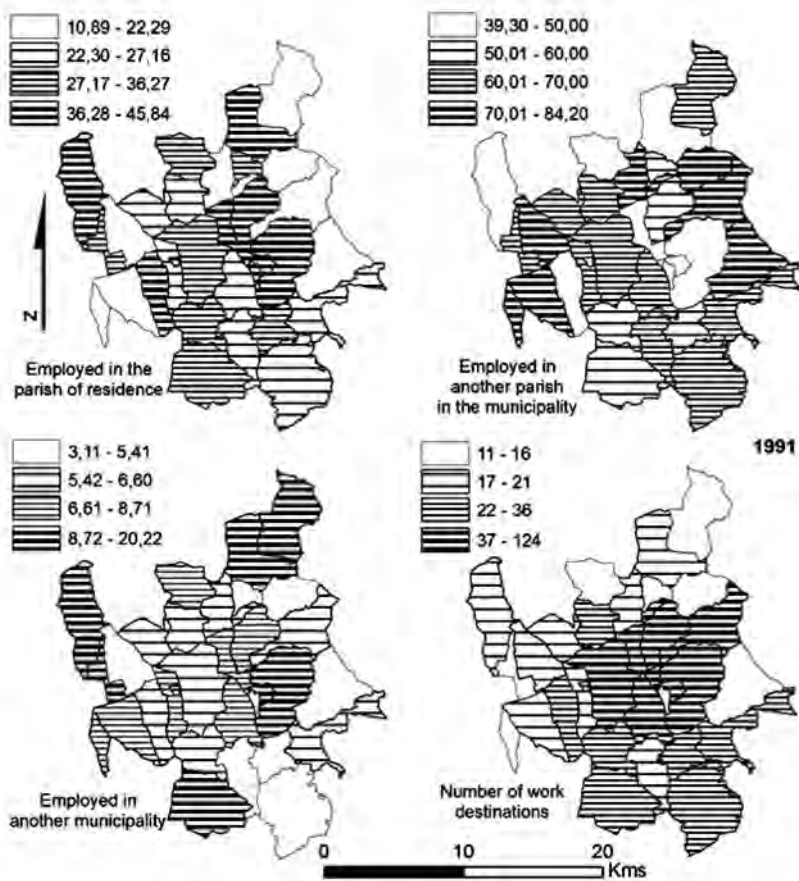


Figure 3 — Work-related spatial mobility of the population of the municipality of Coimbra, by parish.
 Source: General Population Census, INE, 1991.

However, the professional activities of the people who enjoy this proximity are very dissimilar. In the city centre parishes this situation is due to the large amount and variety of work available in commerce and the service sector: related particularly to the need for an industrial workforce or due to the importance of agricultural work. Work in another parish in the municipality marks the suburbanisation of the residential use of land. In effect, the central parishes of the city are encircled, which is evidence of the importance of the relationship between the city centre and the

surrounding parishes and explains the establishment of highly significant daily flows between the suburbs and the city centre. During rush hours, this movement, mainly undertaken by private car, creates problem traffic areas and thereby increases travelling time.

Working in another municipality, on the other hand, depends on two main circumstances: the relative location of the parishes, and the relationship to the businesses based there. This results in the parishes with the highest populations working outside the municipality being those in the city (with the exception of one, due to its ageing population) and those located on the boundaries of the municipality, due to the influence of other urban satellite centres on Coimbra.

Spatial differentiation is therefore very evident in journeys to and from work and calculating the number of work destinations (Figure 2) shows the urban areas to be much more mobile than the suburban and periurban areas (whether rural or not), which are far less dynamic in terms of work-related spatial mobility.

In this context of work-related spatial mobility it is possible to corroborate this lower mobility of the working population in the neighbouring rural area, which directs them to areas that are very close by, although the more distant cities (Lisbon, Aveiro, Viseu, Leiria) also serve as poles of attraction.

The urban parishes reveal a much wider work area, with a much more varied spatial mobility, which has clearly defined, specific levels. The urban work area thus shows just how important movement in urban parishes in medium-sized cities is and how it occurs, through work and personal and institutional relationships with large areas, in which proximity, functional diversity and accessibility define the criteria for spatial mobility.

Between 1991 and 2001 there was indeed an increase of mobility, as shown in Figure 4, as more people travelled to work in another municipality. The increase in distance is not always significant (can be larger within municipalities than between municipalities), but many parishes have between 40 and 124 work destinations of their inhabitants. Contrary to the increased mobility of labour in another municipality is the number of people employed in the parish of residence. The result of these two facts is the rise of work mobility, since the place of residence now clearly has less influence on people's job options.

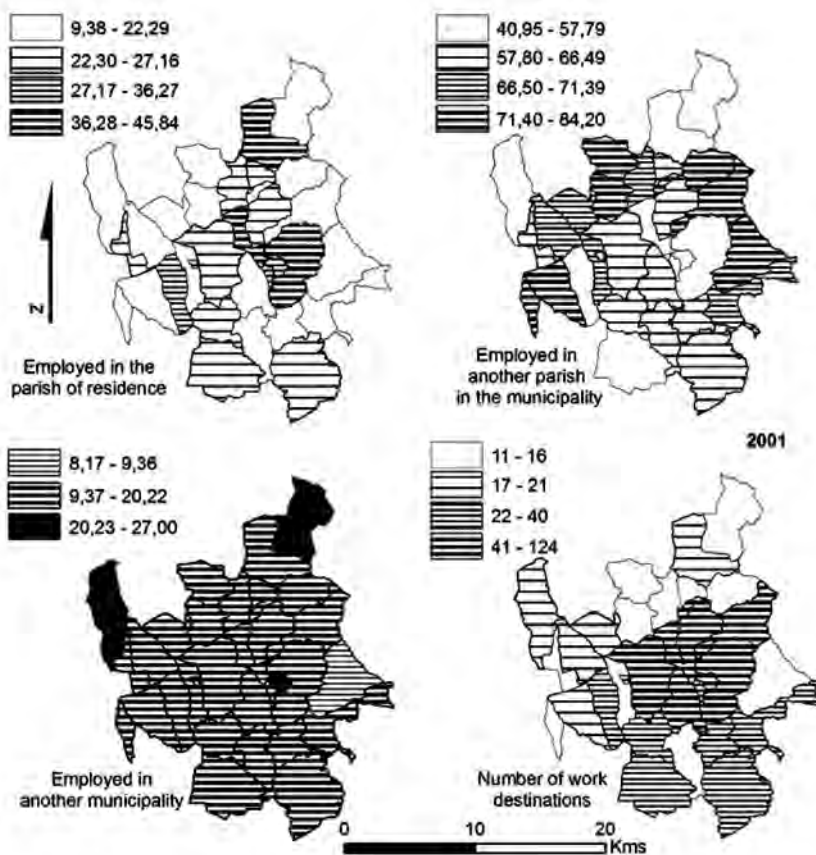


Figure 4 — Work-related spatial mobility of the population of the municipality of Coimbra, by parish.

Source: General Population Census, INE, 2001.

As Thumerele (1986: 23) states, “residential mobility, everyday work-related mobility and socio-professional mobility are understood to be related, and form a kind of complex equation. Within the same conglomeration, we may change our workplace without changing residence and, conversely, we may move to the outskirts of the conglomeration without breaking contact with places related to work, recreation and shopping”. The life of the urban population centres on three key concepts which define lifestyles and structure their cycles: the desire for sedentarisation, the search for quality of life

through housing, especially in Portuguese society and specifically in that of Coimbra, where the idea of owning a residence (either a flat or a house) is clearly predominant, and the daily travel routines to and from the home, which are replacing the migrations or emigrations characteristic of the social modernity of the first three quarters of the 20th century.

The recreational, leisure or cultural activities of the individual, such as collecting the children from school, taking them to their English, ballet or music lessons and/or private tutor and combining timetables with a husband/wife, lead to a major increase in the population's daily journeys to and from the home, involving daily contact with urban spaces. The only way to avoid this is to increase spending, either on public transport or on the acquisition of a second car. It is therefore worth emphasising the family strategies for economising, since the purchase of one or more vehicles is very important in the organisation of family life, especially for those families whose daily activities are spread across the urban centre, the periurban area, the suburbs, or even further afield. The imposition of timetables is not compatible with a more diverse use of time, and families find themselves forced to acquire one or more vehicles, according to the nature and location of their professional employment and in order to make the best use of their free time after work.

Chrono-geography applied to the Coimbra area

Chrono-geography enables us to identify two time categories: one when the population is stationary and the other when they are travelling. It is the interplay between these two phenomena, interrupted by an increasing variety of stations, which provides the model of the use of individual daily space and time. Highlighting everyday routine as a model involves taking into account the existence of habitual journeys which take place at specific times and which are repeated day after day. It is from these circumstances that a representation of individual routes can be created (in isolation or as part of a group), although "our patterns of life, the spatial-temporal movements of 'normal citizens' may not always be completely visible" (Hannah, 1997: 349).

From a chrono-geographical perspective, representation of the way of life is organised in terms of the two main defining stations in spatial mobility: home and work.

Between these two stations a daily routine evolves, which “is what happens every day. But we are also used to saying that, in everyday events, nothing happens that diverges from the monotonous, routine order. Therefore, the everyday would be what happens every day when nothing seems to be happening” (Pais, 1993: 108).

The work cycle is a set of trajectories which are completed without question, with attitudes captured in phrases such as *you do it with your eyes closed* or *the car knows its own way*. These trips form part of trajectories which suggest that “a series of successive points is not the simple result of chance but, on the contrary, [they are linked] into an intelligible order” (Grafmeyer, 1994: 81); they are aimed at carrying out specific objectives and the “system of work is the source of heavy restrictions on individual mobility, attributing to each person a fairly considerable arbitrary margin between professional commitments and those which arise from other areas of practice” (Grafmeyer, 1994: 83 and 84).

Daily trajectories are normally distributed according to basic physiological needs (rest and food) and work; the periods of time which separate the places where these occupations or activities are carried out are responsible for routine spatial mobility such as the morning journey to work, going for lunch near the workplace or at home involving differing amounts of movement, the return home in the evening and the sporadic trips within the whole population, which may be routine to certain individuals. The work cycle, however, also influences other, less routine, movements in which the places-stations become more diverse and depend on the specific needs of individuals at a particular moment.

For example, whether for the traditional or the newer forms of shopping, there is provision in the work cycle for trips to these places, usually organised in relation to the location of the home or the working hours.

The set of individual journeys makes explicit the intended understanding of individual routines and shows the need to identify other perennial and casual trajectories, in addition to the routine ones, which are “denouncers

of the many meanderings of social life which escape the itineraries or abstract routes which some theories (...) project onto the social" (Pais, 1993: 109).

In reality, these meanderings are already routines for many families. The activity-time trajectories correspond to what is understood as everyday routine, remembering that everyday routine is what happens when nothing else seems to be going on, as Pais (1993) notes. Differences are registered in a number of aspects which are worth examining: the time dedicated to children (in the mornings and evenings) is more important in the urban area than in suburban and neighbouring rural areas.

A second set of differences relates to the way in which time is occupied after work, both in the late afternoons and evenings. Once again, a difference in behaviour in the urban area and areas surrounding the city is evident: they reveal more activity, both outside and inside the home. Indicators of after work-activity, usually in leisure/sports, which occupy the period of time before dinner, correspond, in the after-dinner period, to some social activity, such as hobbies or family relationships.

The use of space largely depends on the perception individuals have of the area where they live, and their perceptions are very varied. Different places therefore present different problems and varying potential. The population of the municipality of Coimbra characterises its area as one that has a huge density of traffic (particularly cars), as well as a low level of services and commerce; they also refer to deficiencies in basic sanitation. Obviously these figures differ when they are analysed by parish. This clearly defines the nature of the concerns in the non-urban parishes. These populations indicate that the main problems are the lack of structures and infrastructure, both basic ones and those which define a style of living. The lack of basic sanitation, commerce and services are the most frequently voiced concerns and the ones that most affect people's daily life. The lack of the commercial structures and services that organise an area makes housing, together with the road transport network and the large areas of open land, the main structuring features in these areas. In fact, in the periurban and neighbouring rural areas, transport and the existence of green spaces are considered their most valuable assets. It should be

emphasised that a rural morphology prevails, which is still very important and this, as much as the existence of good access roads and transport systems making it easy to travel into the city centre/outskirts and vice versa, encourages people to leave the centre and head for more pleasant residential areas, closer to the countryside. Equally, it also encourages people from the periurban and rural areas to commute into the urban centre, since it allows them to maintain links with their local area and consequently sustain neighbourhoods and communities, although they may be somewhat more emancipated and are certainly protected.

On the other hand, the population of the urban parish voices other concerns. The main concerns, such as the density of traffic, the high population density and pollution, in fact result from overcrowding, whilst commercial and service structures and infrastructures are not considered to be in short supply. It should be stressed that the lack of green spaces is an important concern for many individuals who live in the city, and leads them to move to periurban or even rural areas, as long as they have good access roads.

In this way, therefore, two distinct sets of individuals can be distinguished, not always the result of the influence of the place of residence, but, rather, of opting for lifestyles other than those which predominate in the neighbourhood or community. In fact, effective integration into groups can result, above all, from similarities in professional activity or in ways of spending time after work.

References

- Alonso, L. H. 2005, *La era del consumo*. Siglo XXI Editores, Madrid.
- Aubert, N. (ed.) 2005, *L'individu hypermoderne*, Coll. Sociologie Clinique, Éditions Érès, Saint-Agne.
- Coenen-Huther, J. 1988, Relations d'amitié, mobilité spatiale et mobilité sociale. *Espaces et Sociétés*, n° 73, Espaces et styles de vie, L'Harmattan, Paris.
- Cresswell, T. 2004, *Place. A short introduction*. Coll Short Introductions to Geography. Blackwell Publishing, London.
- Gama, A. & Santos, N. P. 1997, Espaços de sociabilidade, *Vértice*, n° 80, Outubro-Novembro, II Série, Caminho, Lisboa.
- Gama, A. 1992, Urbanização difusa e territorialidade local. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* n° 34, 1º Congresso Luso-Afro-Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais, Saber e Imaginar o social, vol. III. Coimbra.
- Grafmeyer, Y. 1994, *Sociologia urbana*. Coleção Saber, publicações Europa-América, Lisboa.

- Hannah, M. 1997, Imperfect panopticism: envisioning the construction of normal lives. G. Benko e U. Strohmayer (eds), *Space and social theory. Interpreting modernity and postmodernity*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Jayne, M. 2006, *Cities and Consumption*, Routledge, Oxon.
- Joye, D.; Bassand, M. & Schuler, M. 1988, La diversité des mobilités. *Espaces et Sociétés*, 54-55, Mobilités, L'Harmattan, Paris.
- Lajugie, J. 1973, *Les villes moyennes*. Éditions Cujas. Paris.
- Lefèbvre, H. 1970, *La révolution urbaine*. Anthropos, Paris.
- Lefèbvre, H. 1974, *La production de l'espace*. Gallimard, Paris.
- Lefèbvre, H. 1978, *De lo rural a lo urbano*. *Historia/Ciencia/Sociedad*, 79, Serie Universitaria, Ed. Península.
- Moreira, C. 2005, *A geografia e o género. Um encontro urbano. Os tempos e os espaços nos territórios de Coimbra*. FLUC, Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.
- Morrill, R. L. 1974, *The spatial organization of society*. Duxbury Press, Wadsworth Publishing, Belmont.
- Pais, J. M. 1993, Nas rotas do quotidiano. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 37, CES, Coimbra.
- Santos, N. P. & Gama, A. (coor.) 2008, *Lazer. Da libertação do tempo à conquista das práticas*. Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.
- Santos, N. P. & Gama, R. 1996, Urbanização difusa na Região Centro: a pequena cidade média. *Actas do I Colóquio Internacional Cidades Médias e Desenvolvimento Sustentável*, Coimbra.
- Santos, N. P. 1993, O consumo e as despesas das famílias. *Cadernos de Geografia*, nº 12, Instituto de Estudos Geográficos, Coimbra.
- Santos, N. P. 1998, A percepção da população sobre a cidade espaço de vida. *Cadernos de Geografia*, nº 17, Homenagem ao Doutor J. M. Pereira de Oliveira, Instituto de Estudos Geográficos, Coimbra.
- Santos, N. P. 2001, *A sociedade de consumo e os espaços vividos pelas famílias*. Edições Colibri, Centro de Estudos Geográficos, Lisboa.
- Santos, S. 2005, *Coimbra: Expansão urbana e Acessibilidade*. FLUC, Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.
- Seguí Pons, J. & Petrus Bey, J. 1991, *Geografía de redes y sistemas de transporte*. Editorial Síntesis, Madrid.
- Tarrius, A. 1989, *Anthropologie du mouvement*. Transports et communication, Paradigme, Caen.
- Thumerele, P.-J. 1986, *Peuples em mouvement. La mobilité spatiale des populations*. SEDES. DIEM, Paris.
- Tuan, Y-F. 1974, *Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective*, in *Human Geography. An essential anthropology*, eds. J. Agnew, D. N. Livingstone & A. Rogers, 1996, Blackwell Publishing, Londres, pp. 444-457.
- Valente, P. 2006, *Qualidade de Vida Urbana. A cidade da Guarda*. FLUC, Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.
- Zárate Martín, A. 1991, *El espacio interior de la ciudad*. Espacios y Sociedades, Editorial Síntesis, Madrid.

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)

Fátima Velez de Castro
CEGOT – University of Coimbra - Portugal
Luís Velez
University of Coimbra – Portugal

**THE IBERIAN PENINSULA AS A MARGINAL TERRITORY.
A READING AFTER THE BOOK “A JANGADA DE PEDRA”⁸
(BY JOSÉ SARAMAGO)**

1. This book, this title, this assignment ... in this Commission⁹

In Portugal, one still talks little about Europe. There are political and intellectual elites that are concerned about this subject and discuss it (especially at election time) essentially over the implications of belonging to a Union where everyone works towards common goals. However, and the high abstention demonstrated in the last European elections, Portuguese people show a disbelief in politics and, perhaps, in the exciting “Europeistic” ideas that mediated the accession process to the former EEC (European Economic Community). Plunged, or maybe more and more submerged in a severe economic crisis with social blemishes, the country wonders more and more about its position in the continent and in a union that has just been reborn with the entrance of ten new Eastern European countries.

Between the possible theorization about Portugal’s marginality and the feeling that we already are marginal there is a thin line. Saramago transmits, in this book, two pertinent ideas: the first is about considering Portugal a marginal territory, especially because it is bonded to latent inaction in Europe and in the Union and, because of that, Portugal should ally itself with Spain, its geographical and historical partner. The second is concerned with the

⁸ Saramago, José (1996) – *The Stone Raft* – Harvest Books, USA.

⁹ IGU C08.27 Commission on Marginalization, Globalization, and Regional and Local Responses. Stirling Meeting, August 2004.

“absorption” of an active and self-sufficient role of this marginal territory, from a defensive position contrary to the “Europeistic” ideas. It is a critique and a “re-representation” of the Iberia’s position in Europe and in the world. Intentionally or not, the truth is that this is not a new idea: the metaphor of the stone raft (*Jangada de Pedra*), applied to the geographical space of the Iberian Peninsula has a long tradition dating back to Strabo’s time.

SEIXO (1999) mentions that the re-peopling of the “new world”, formerly considered the “marginal world”, is constituted from a geographical construction of that uncommon space which, by utopic demand, has to be an island. An island means isolation, removal from the Other, not only from what it has that is good, but mainly from what it has of the ominous.

The Raft (*Jangada*) will be not only the vehicle of separation, but also a bridge to a possible new reality geographically removed from the connotation of marginality. Stone (*Pedra*) is the symbol of robustness, but a robustness meaning the ability to start all over again, perhaps using the roots; it is the symbol of solidity of character, of the solidity of knowing what you want and what you do not want.

Jangada de Pedra is a political tale about the role of the Iberian Peninsula in the world through the “condemnation” of Portugal and Spain to sharing the same fate. It questions what is established, from law and customs to geographical coordinates themselves! It is a book by an author that ranges himself against an entity, in this case Europe, which imposed more and more on a Peninsula “torn away” from the continent. We say Europe because the author puts two concepts together: “Europe” as such, and “Europe” as the EEC. If this phenomenon was deliberate we do not know. One can read it as an attitude of indifference, revenge towards a continent that all too often sees Portugal as a province of Spain... But, does Saramago believe in Europe or is it the other way around?

2. Brief presentation of the book: contextualizing a time, writing a story

When this book was written, times were difficult, which could have influenced the construction of its plot. The death of Sá Carneiro, the military

actions of some political groups, the successive governments, and the dissolution of parliament in 1982 created a climate of political instability, which, allied to a serious financial and economic crisis, left Portugal structurally weakened. In the rest of the world the Cold War left suspicion, creating a schizophrenic attitude in the western world in relation to the eastern bloc (and vice versa) based on tension, suspicion of the Other and the fear of a(n) visible/invisible enemy.

MATOS (2001) says that as far as Portugal is concerned the “light at the end of the tunnel”, or, rather, the escape to a peripheral condition, comes with the possibility of joining the EEC, since this institution was giving more and more proof of credibility and balance. To the national governments it became an amazing icon if we wanted to get out of the multi-sectoral crisis that the country was going through. The preparation for accession to the EEC was made with great enthusiasm and mainly with hope of a more stable future. But not everyone was confident and optimistic about the future: the fear of submitting to the “powerful” and “stronger”, the fear of compromising identity, the fear of perpetuating/increasing the marginal character of the territory seem to have been enough motives for Saramago to write this work.

We have Portuguese and Spanish peoples that are separated from Europe from a physical/geographical point of view. Themes like the marginal character of the Peninsula, the introspection of its actual identity, its reformulation, the fear of being dependent on the continent, the geographical location/positioning of the Peninsula, the relation between the two Iberian peoples, the vision of Europe are all dealt with in the book, while the drifting goes on.

The book starts with the activation of a fault in the Pyrenees, which slowly leads to the separation of the Iberian and continental blocs, that is, the detachment of the two Iberian countries: the Peninsula turned into an island (geographically speaking), tracing an autonomous route in the eyes of science. Saramago describes this route through the eyes of six characters (three men, two women and a dog), Portuguese and Spanish, from different parts of the Peninsula, outlining a common goal, which is to see where the separation took place. From south to north, they start a common journey

in which they reflect on their personal, intimate stories, with systematic stories of what goes on around them, especially the reactions from the Peninsula, Europe, America and rest of the world.

3. The Iberian Peninsula as marginal territory

3.1 The course of the displacement

The author uses the geographical argument (Wegener's plate theory) to free the Iberian Peninsula. The isostatic balance is expressed in both vertical and horizontal movements. The continental drift proposed by Wegener in 1912 acknowledged only one immense continent (Pangaea) that split up to produce the continental arrangement we know today (DERRAU, 1965). What happens in the book is the continuation, by natural (human?!) will of this evolution, which results in the drift of the Iberian Peninsula, where we can see several stages:

(1st stage) – Separation from the continent

According to SEIXO (1999), the story begins like a parabola due to a fracture that is responsible for the beginning of the journey on open sea searching for a freeing identification. There is a right place and a right time, according to this author, and it arrived without anyone noticing, so that the fact of the Iberian Peninsula breaking away from the continent caught everyone by surprise. Maybe this reaction was triggered by the violent separation through the Pyrenees, as well as the strict refusal of the “mighty” European Union.

In addition it led to panic situations, which made all the tourists as well as the inhabitants of the Peninsula, run away. This displacement does not seem to happen by chance: the perfection of the cracks confuses the observer, who tries to find explanations as to its cause and who was responsible for it... nature or human engineering? However the regular use of popular proverbs throughout the story, trying to explain the situation, suggests that the Peninsula's population, not consciously, was expecting something like this to happen.

There is also a certain fear that the Peninsula could drown, so much so that studies about its structure are undertaken. Will there be the shadow of a new Atlantis? Or is it the fear of living without its “umbilical cord”? These doubts and fears are cleared away as long as the Peninsula floats away from the continent and the notion of drift sets in. After all, a nation of seafarers should not fear the sea.

(2nd stage) – Colliding with the Azores

The drift goes on, now towards west. The preoccupation becomes evident, soon as everybody realizes that a collision with the Azores is inevitable. However, this is an ambiguous situation because on the one hand the collision could be a disaster, but on the other it would stop the drift. In this stage the EEC and the USA offer help and support to the Peninsula, which is, according the author, nothing more than defending their interests, since when the Peninsula changes course and does not hit the archipelago the positions change. Anyway, the Portuguese archipelagos are seen as misguided areas of the Iberian “mother” (LLOPIS, 1999), maybe influenced by the fact that they are autonomous regions. In this case, the notion of marginality is not that evident because by their very insular nature they are in an advanced stage of evolution, that is, they are geographically independent of any territory where this comparison would be possible.

(3rd stage) – Towards the USA

The Peninsula takes a new course towards USA. Given this the author makes a few comments about the orientation of the Peninsula, presenting some theses:

1st Thesis: There could be a random course, which would mean drifting;

2nd Thesis: There could be a course of small passages culminating in direct angles, what means that the Peninsula would sooner or later be back in its space, which would support the idea that the Peninsula was “feeling like” a marginal territory;

3rd Thesis: There could be a magnetic repulsion device... Europe could be repudiating a territory that it did not want;

4th Thesis: There could be an “own will” device, that is, the people want the Peninsula to break away from the continent, which corresponds to the lines of thinking expressed above.

Whether it was by the people’s will, by nature or by Europe’s will, the truth is that the Peninsula, albeit considered as a marginal territory, never stopped being the target of some interests, because it represents strategic power and this raises the question of the relativity of the marginal issue: what is a marginal territory? What are the criteria that make it one? SEIXO (1987) says that “A Jangada de Pedra” shows us a mode of “rupture power”. When the raft is heading towards the USA, Europeans and Americans enter into a game of advantages and safeguards that do not please the “raft”. Maybe because of that, showing its refusal to be subjugated, the “raft” spins around in a way that causes the USA to start feeling threatened, changing its previously expressed position.

The Peninsula starts its journey south until it stops. We do not know the exact coordinates where it stops. However, it seems to stop somewhere east of Central America... perhaps near Cuba? We cannot help thinking, perversely, that the author (according to his political affinity) would think that this was the right place for the Peninsula to stay. Today, due to his world convictions and global theory, maybe he would not stick to his choice. It is good that it is an “open ended” story. This way the Peninsula can change its course. This separation and the actual geography of the displacement is like calling, or drawing attention to the south, more specifically to the overseas role of the Iberian people (LLOPIS, 1999). But let us call it “Peninsula” or “Island”; the first for speaking purposes, the second if we want to be scientifically correct. The truth is that the space questions itself, as well as its relation to the continent, improving its standards of geographical localization. Anyway, the ending, as mentioned, is open... is there a place in the world for this “Peninsula”? And where is it?

3.2 The critical overview of Europe

An entity suffers due to the separation: the actual “physical” Europe, that is, the territory. What seems sure is that the human part of both continent and peninsula do not seem uncomfortable with the situation generated by this phenomenon, neither the “continental Europeans”, nor the “peninsular Iberians”. The EEC shows interest only in safeguarding its economic interests, without looking at the true consequences of this dismembering. And the Peninsula seems to be solitary given that not only the EEC but NATO, too, and later the USA and Canada, reveal themselves to be defenders of their own advantages, showing willingness to help (in the case of the last two countries) when they could benefit from this situation. REIS (1998) explains some of the author’s motivations for this resignation by revealing some of the conversations that he had with Saramago: the author of this book believes that “Europe” is a big mistake, it is something that will cost us and that he cannot take it. A “tendency to facilitism” is highly ominous, and the truth is that there was the perception that “Europe” was going to “carry us whenever we had difficulties”. Retracing the course of story of this book, in which, before the physical dismembering, we are “abandoned” by the continent, there seems to be some kind of “lesson” or “moral” from which we should learn to warn us in the future about the attitude that Europe might adopt towards the Peninsula as marginal territory.

But the inhabitants of the Peninsula seem to wish for this separation. Destined to suffer, this seems the ultimate chance for freedom, an attempt to be reborn, to restart, or, in the “Portuguese fatalistic style”, to drift unstopably around the world. The truth is that the Peninsula has always felt far removed from Europe, in a marginal position, so much so that not even with the drift they feel further from the continent... Physical proximity would not mean, in this case, cultural affinity, a common identity. That is why this phenomenon of breaking away confirms the split. The Peninsula seems to have an independence. Assuming that no island or continent floats, this situation reveals the independence and the marginal identity of the Peninsula and its inhabitants. Could it have stayed united with a continent that intended to subjugate it? This separation may be unconscious in character

since it could be the materialization of the innermost desires of a people that is not satisfied with the union with continental Europe.

However, to what point did Europe miss, is it missing or will it miss the Iberian Peninsula? There is a rather interesting episode in the story that incorporates the nature of the perverse need in urgency cases: at certain time we stand before a Dutchman and a Swede who, escaping from a territory that is literally adrift, see in a small boat and a Portuguese boatman the only way to safely reach land. After a “game of strength”, it is the Portuguese who wins, saving the two foreigners from the “insular Peninsula”. They are citizens of two of the most developed countries in Europe and who saved them was an insignificant country, in which there is little to believe... This Peninsula might have a role in the great European project after all. But throughout the book the author gives the idea of a game of interests and power, dominated by a permanent subservience that won't let the “small countries” arise.

If, at first sight, the Peninsula needed Europe, in truth, Europe needed Iberia. We do not understand what kind of dependency would mediate this relationship: an historical argument seems too thin to validate the relationship, at a time when other motives seem stronger and more valid to consummating connections. Interests related to the geostrategic situation seem to be worth much more, even calling into question the reversibility of the value given to the Peninsula. Is the Iberian Peninsula necessary to Europe? The answer seems difficult, and when given, has a disparaging meaning, that it only has importance when it is convenient.

But the truth is that from the beginning of the story the dividing designation “Europeans” and “People of the Peninsula” is noticeable. The second can be the first, but the first cannot be the second, whether they like it or not. It is interesting to consider that inside the peninsular inhabitant's group there are two distinct subgroups: those who ran away and chose to live in Europe, and those who stayed faithful to the Peninsula. However, the idea to bear in mind is that a physical and human separation is assumed from the beginning, as though there was an incompatibility in terms of culture, identity and way of life. The Iberians believe that they are the targets of the first “amputation”, since the Italian Peninsula may be the next

to “disconnect” from the continent. In the end, the obsession with making a “pure Europe” may mean that it will be confined to one only country, Switzerland... This affirmation has a sarcastic character, looking like a warning, foretelling that those who someday “let” this happen to the Peninsula will also suffer that situation... In the book there is a clear distinction between northern and southern peoples: although the latter is comprised of Portugal and Spain, Italy starts to be included. However, this attempt to obtain a “pure Europe” from geographic scissions seems to be “poison in the remedy”, since there will be a “self-elimination” process with Switzerland remaining at the top.

What about the future? There seems to be no fear about the separation (at least for those who stayed): the identity remains intact and the language issue comes to prove it. This argument that was raised by the situation reveals a great notion of linguistic unity: not wanting to use English (a more and more universal language) seems to symbolize an “anti-cultural-absorption”, that is, there is a rejection of the Other. If the European spirit is characterized by multiculturalism, by diversity of influences, by multiplicity of origins, in the Peninsula seems to be a rejection of that same spirit! A situation of “cultural isolationism” looks like the desired goal in this story.

And how could we live in a context of this kind? For no matter how “insignificant” and “marginal” we are, is there not a need to give and receive? If such osmosis were to happen, the future could be compromised since stagnation and “intellectual paralysis” could take root. But, the Iberian people do not fear that will happen because, according to Saramago, we never felt like Europeans. In the final analysis the fact that there was a “rupture” has led to a situation of living in a new world, on a new continent. The world that is told is a minimal and reduced world, once that it is considered as being the own space of the “peninsular island”. The “Iberocentric” feeling assumes alarming proportions, probably leading to an “Iberian ghetto”. It is right that the escape from subjugation is a noble sentiment, but in its extreme it could assume undesirable proportions. To Saramago, it all seems to be worthwhile, given the marginal Peninsula’s situation.

3.3 The conceptual debate

3.3.1 The border

Defining this concept is a rather complex task: RIBEIRO (2001) says that when we talk about “border” we are looking at a significance whose “floating” is source of ambiguities that can only be solved with a redoubled effort at contextualization. In this case Saramago uses the word to exacerbate the division.

An unusual situation is recounted in the book, it is the formation of the “Permanent Commission for the Border’s Limits” to solve each country’s issues (Portugal and Spain) about the crack(s) that caused the separation of Peninsula from the continent. Two aspects emerge: if we think about the words “Permanent” and “Limit” from a temporal point of view they mean “lasting” and “continuous”, while from a spatial point of view they mean “confining” and “hermetic”. Is not this a portrait of a Europe whose values defend multiculturalism, free movement of goods, people and information, but where, deep down, these are confined to a group of regions closed in themselves?

This situation seems to please to the inhabitants of the Peninsula, since it goes beyond the notion that “border” presents as a “limit” that defines the “house of each person”. It thus gives its inhabitants a feeling of (relative!) comfort and safety. However, where is there the need of a “border”? It is the characters themselves who, throughout the book, abolish the reference border/borders marked on the map which guides them. The border they mean is the Portuguese/Spanish border. CARAMELO (2003) says this “abolition” is thanks to a collective memory fact. According to the author we have one of the most ancient borders in the world! In the context of this book it seems clear that as far as the Iberian countries are concerned a border does not make sense because they have more in common with one another than with the rest of the European countries (Iberism!). RIBEIRO (2001) says the abolition of borders is concomitant with the displacement and its redefinition. So, by reading this story we realize that this “transfrontier mutation” transforms the Peninsula in a common home, in a fortress of

safety and communion, unlike Europe that seems to have no such capacity, according to the author (Euroscepticism!), maybe because people tend to alter the frontiers that Nature delineated. Is this separation a lesson from Nature against this situation? Building the Other, means building a border that separates us from it. A border is an imaginary line across which a notion of difference is projected and over which an affirmation of identity is possible. Even if the political border disappears, in the Peninsula there will always be a One and an Other, unless the two entities can merge into a single one. But when there is a notion of past so strong and well defined, it only seems possible in Saramago's "real utopia".

3.3.2 Population mobility

It is useful to briefly consider the population movements observed in the Peninsula, from the separation up to when the drift seems to stop. We will observe more than one "exodus":

1st exodus – tourists who ran away from the Peninsula, frightened by the separation phenomenon;

2nd exodus – by a group of rich and powerful indigenes who ran away, frightened by the drift;

3rd exodus – can be divided into two stages:

1st stage: escape of the poorer segment of the population to the interior of the Peninsula, afraid of the collision with the Azores;

2nd stage: escape of the middle/high class segments of the population from the Peninsula, for the same reason.

The slow evacuation leads to a social homogenization of the Peninsula, or, rather, it seems to be an "ideological purification" of the slogan "do the same as us, choose Europe".

They have, absolutely without any question, contempt for the condition of peninsular Europeans. So the escape of these members leads to a community with patriotic love for its country and identity. But did those who stayed do so of their own free will? There seem to be three distinct groups:

- Those who accepted the fatality of fate;
- Those who decided to stay (the group that occupied hotels as a home, the thieves);
- Those who are willing for a restart and reject Europe.

In any case, the author cannot deny (and since he wants to blend fantasy with reality) those who stayed had no other choice. If it is a population who does not know Europe, the truth is that there will be no possibility of it having critics or “ideological” choice. On the other hand, those that are considered the “literate” classes are those who chose continental Europe...

4. Final reflection: and now... where are we, where are we going?

4.1 Between Iberism and Euroscepticism

After reading this book, we can see that the author is divided between two concepts, or, rather, that he believes that the future of the Peninsula is based on two principles: Iberism and Euroscepticism. If the first case is justified by the construction of an identity founded on the connections of the Portuguese and the Spanish people, the second case can be explained by the aversion to a Europe that treats with indifference the phenomenon of drift.

“Iberism” is not a new dream: SERRÃO (1981) explains that this concept has today lost a little bit of its ethnographic and anthropologic content, meaning only the tendency to integrate Portugal in the Peninsula. RIBEIRO and PRADA (1989) and CATROGA (1985) say that throughout history Iberian forays can be found, always connected to the search for material progress,

which is what, to some extent, emerges in the book: a quest for progress and improvement of living conditions, a revolt against the marginal status of the territory. However, this contradicts itself somewhat, for there are some who defend that national independence was put at risk for the sake of economic interests.

Maybe “Euro-scepticism” is brand new. The author rejects the designation “marginality”, inclined to be built on European bases, and plunges into an opposing current, against optimism over Portuguese membership of the EEC, stating his disbelief in a European project that seems to him full of parallel interests and worthless values. This concept is materialized in the book on two fundamental occasions: first when the physical separation of territories takes place, and second when the attitude of indifference/opportunism showed by Europe to the Iberian Peninsula’s fate.

5. The end of the story or the beginning of the struggle?

Almada Negreiros defended the spiritual “Iberian civilization” but never the “Iberian union”, saying that the same happens in Saramago’s book. But his book seems to go further, strengthening political bonds, for with joint effort alone (allied to the identity similarities) we would achieve peninsular survival at all levels and remove it from the chronic role of marginal region. The narrator, as voice and conscience of this “involuntary conscious revolution” has a paramount role. Curiously, Saramago has never returned to the subject that he treated so incisively.

It may even be that Saramago had given up on this struggle, however, and intelligently, he is finding an effective and subtle way of continuing the story... at any rate, the tale ends with all fertile females of the Peninsula pregnant. Birth symbolizes, in this case, continuity, but a “purified continuity”, without the disastrous influences of a Peninsula that was once bonded to a continent which was of no concern to them. Universal fertility is seen as a sign of hope in the future. Just as one day the Peninsula woke up to find itself torn apart of the continent, also one day it will wake up with the crying of the children that will revitalize Iberia and change its marginal position.

References:

- CARAMELO, Sérgio, «Fronteiras e regiões fronteiriças na União Europeia: processos, dinâmicas e singularidades do caso luso-espanhol», in *Identidade Europeia e Multiculturalismo*. Quarteto: Coimbra 1st edition, 2003.
- DERRAU, Max, *Précis de Géomorphologie*. Masson & Cie : Paris, 3rd edition, 1965.
- LLOPIS, Juan M. Ribera, «Ilhas, Illas, Illes, Islas, Uharteak: Pen(ta)ínsula», in *Revista Colóquio Letras*, no. 151/152, Lisbon, 1999.
- MATOS, Artur Teodoro de, *Memória de Portugal. O milénio português*. Círculo de Leitores: Lisbon, 1st edition, 2001.
- REIS, Carlos, *Diálogos com José Saramago*. Editorial Caminho: Lisbon, 1st edition, 1998.
- RIBEIRO, António Sousa, «A retórica dos limites. Notas sobre o conceito de fronteira», in *Globalização. Fatalidade ou Utopia?* Edições Afrontamento: w/p, 1st edition, 2001.
- RIBEIRO, Maria Manuela Tavares; PRADA, António Moliner, «Iberismo e a Revolução de 1840», in *Revista Ler História*, no. 16, Lisbon, 1989.
- SARAMAGO, José, *Jangada de Pedra*. Caminho: Lisbon, 7th edition, 1997.
- SEIXO, Maria Alzira, «Derivas: Notas para uma Leitura do Caderno de Apontamentos sobre a Composição de «A Jangada de Pedra», in: *Revista Colóquio Letras*, No. 151/152, Lisbon, 1999.
- SERRÃO, Joel (Dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*. Fiança: Lisbon, vol.III, w/e, 1981.
- SIMÕES, Manuel, «Europa vista de Portugal», Separata da *Revista Brotéria*, vol.135-no. 5, Braga, 1992.

**CONSERVATION, DEVELOPMENT AND THE ENVIRONMENT:
A CONFLICTUAL RELATIONSHIP OR A
DIFFERENT VIEW FOR NEW GEOGRAPHIES?^{10*}**

The theme of development at the beginning of the 21st century. General considerations

The beginning of this century is characterised by the growing difficulty in classifying the territories where the daily life of the people unfolds. Concepts such as *periphery*, *marginality* and *centre* are now less easy to apply. Indeed, this logic of approaching geographic spaces should rather be included in the wider debate on processes and dynamics, on concepts and development frameworks. Before characterising a population's given territory, or the territorialities, it is important to give due consideration to the dynamics of the development encompassing such realities. The processes, mechanisms and directions of change are in fact more important than finding suitable adjectives.

There is, however, one set of premises that ought to be borne in mind in this debate. Reflecting on the development of territories and populations implies the assumption of certain key ideas, at the beginning of this new millennium, at least in relation to western societies.

In the first place, it is important to realise that we are in a social framework referred to as *post-modern* (or *advanced modern*, as some would have it). This is overwhelmingly marked by heterogeneity and diversity

¹⁰ * Work carried out under the PRAXIS/C/GEO/13037/1998 project.

which frequently escape the harmonising stream, only apparently a faithful expression of contemporary geographic and socio-cultural realities.

We would highlight yet another extremely important fact regarding the approach to development at the beginning of the 21st century: the growing interdependence of all the points (or sites) in a system that is now defined by its globality. A discussion about development implies reflecting on the terms of the meeting between local and global scales. The planetary system, the mechanism for world articulation and interdependence, is read differently at any of the sites from which the observer perceives it. Although a first reading contradicts this idea, globalisation, as a frame of reference, is expressed in heterogeneous geographic realities, depending on the location and specificities in which the meeting between the local and the global takes place.

Finally, it is also important to stress that the discussion on development is very much influenced by the differing paradigmatic visions implicit in these rationales. If post-modern societies are commonly said to be experiencing a period of instability or even crisis (M. V. ABREU, 1996), it must be emphasised that among the factors from which the transitoriness and feelings of insecurity stem are the various perspectives that the actors/agents of development set in conflict. The beginning of this century is also a period of conflictuality, of tensions between differing, and not always reconcilable, points of view. A discussion on the question of development thus means analysing the conflict among systems of values and ethical frameworks and diversified behaviours, whose interaction is often complex.

The concept of sustainable development was born and consolidated around dates like 1987 (with the publication of *Our Common Future*, known as the Brundtland Report), 1972 and 1992, years in which significant conferences were held in Stockholm and Rio de Janeiro, respectively. It emerged as a panacea, capable of bringing these different perspectives closer together. Contradicting the most avowedly conservationist position revealed in 1980 by the World Conservation strategy, an IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources) document, the strategy upheld in the Brundtland Report adopts a more realistic approach by also including the prospects for human societies to advance in the general

direction of preservation of the planet (W. M. ADAMS, 1999). In effect, by reconciling the elements of profit, innovation and conservation in what is necessarily an unstable equilibrium, reducing assaults on the environment as far as possible (Figure 1), the question of sustainability extends the concept of solidarity. Solidarity is understood here to mean equity, among both the various populations and the individuals of which they are composed, and among the current agents of development and future generations. These thus gain a significant status in the wider issue of discussion on the viability of the Earth, the common homeland of a Humankind that is increasingly considered in its global sense.

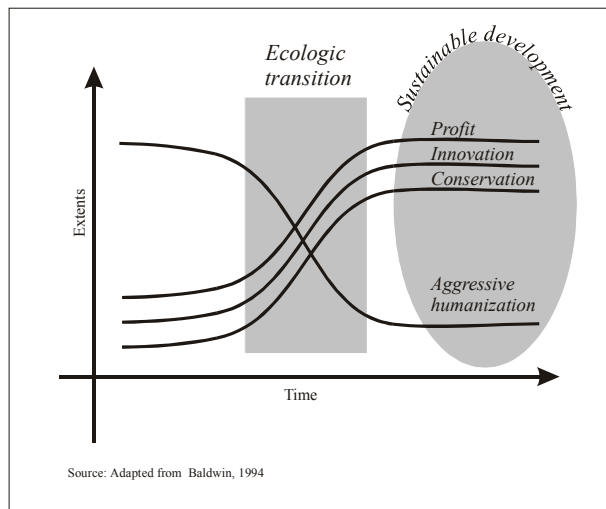


Figure 1- Theory of Ecologic Transition: a dynamic towards sustainable development.

After the period that characterised urban and industrial modernity, society should aim for processes that are more diffuse and which respect the pride that populations take in their environment, rejecting short-term materialism to bolster the post-materialist logic associated with behaviours and goals that can be assessed in the long term. Thus, after this process of *ecological transition*, “(...) *new forms of consuming the territory*” (F. D. CRAVIDÃO, 1998, p. 67) may be designed, and different landscapes, other geographies, built up.

If the concept of sustainable development is a curb on consumerist and developmentalist dynamics (understood here to mean economic growth) of

society, the economic dimension can nevertheless be taken as a relevant and essential framework, even though this more quantitative dimension may have two other elements added to it: the social and the ecological. The preservation of growth remains an aim, but with greater equity, in a framework of respect for the burden, limits and forces of regeneration of an ecological scenario that is ever more strategic (A. MELO *et al*, 2001).

Even though the concept of sustainable development through the equilibrium that it proclaims, ought to be the guarantee of social peace and the convergence of interests that seem to be irreconcilable, yet contemporaneity seems otherwise to us. The concrete application of the concept of sustainable development has not weakened the stress and fault lines.

Maria da Graça Saraiva (1999) schematised these tensions in terms of a *continuum* between what the author called *Ecocentrism* and *Technocentrism*. The first expresses the ethical-philosophical and pragmatic postures centred on the ecological values of the countryside, and, at the other extreme, *Technocratism* unites the more materialist and confident postures in a technology that can solve the problems and weaken the negative externalities of an unbridled economic activity that is almost exclusively focused on the quest for material progress.

This author sees the complex social framework of post-modernity in the play and interaction between actors with differing postures, with respect both to development and to the relationship of Mankind and the Environment, once the undeniable link between these two domains has been assumed. Between those in favour of unlimited growth, the virtually unregulated exploitation of the ecological complex, and the more radical conservationists, here simplified and lumped together under the term 'deep ecologists', Saraiva refers to sub-groups, with postures somewhere in the middle. They are possibly more consensual and generally aim to protect or conserve the ecological systems where economic activities have become established. In fact, without our advancing much in relation to this simplified scheme of reality, these different ethics reach, primarily, the various consumers and constructors of geographical spaces. They are expressed in different territorialities to the extent that they configure the actors involved in development with varying postures and ethical-philosophical settings (Figure

2), or with “(...) *contradictory priorities*”, in the words of Dominique Dron (1998, p. 56). Downstream, all these tensions materialise in the landscape typologies that are thus going to be built and organised.

The countryside stands out, therefore, as a frame of reference that reflects these differences, and in whose compass these tensions are materialised. Consideration of the topic of development and the philosophies and ethics of Mankind’s involvement with the Environment, and of the behavioural paradigms that result from those various conceptions, find an important analytical laboratory in the territory in general and in landscapes in particular.

The landscape should be seen not as a homogeneous and stable framework, but rather as a dynamic scenario that reflects and symbolises the notions that give life to the different development agents who are, after all, all the citizens who consume and contribute towards the organisation of a given territory. This notion not only reaffirms landscapes as pivotal objects in geographical science, but also underlines their importance as a framework for reflection within the question of development.

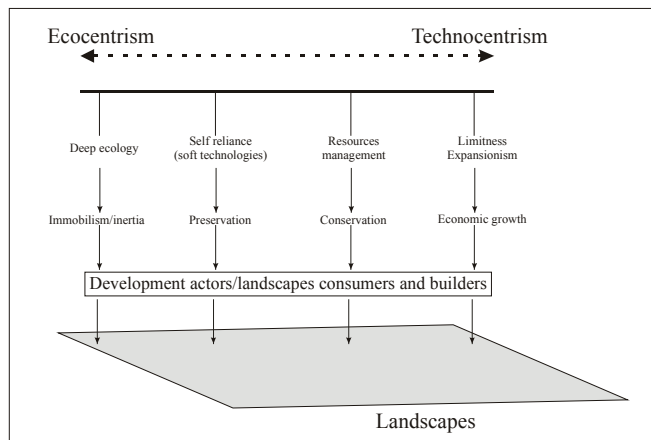


Figure 2 – The landscape as a setting for conflicts between different ethical-philosophical postures, adapted from Saraiva (1999).

In spite of an increasingly widespread concern for the environment, these tensions express a deeper conflict between conservative and progressivist attitudes. Since it is hard to achieve a balance, the challenge

of development is based on a reconciliation of the various dimensions presented here in a simplified manner, in light of what the 21st century is bringing.

It is within this complex interplay between conservation, progress and development that networks of areas protected by special territorial planning projects have been designed. Indeed, the demarcation of protected areas in the European context was a response, no doubt with many local variations, to the need to weaken the effects of the destructive practices that were mainly legacies of the Industrial Revolution. However, contrary to what happened on other continents such as North America, when this institutional innovation was applied to fairly remote rural areas it frequently encountered human geographies that had been consolidated over centuries of permanency, and an artificialisation of landscapes that was sometimes intense. Thus, the European network of protected areas may serve as an excellent laboratory for approaching the complex interplay between conservationist logic and the yearning for progress, as well as the resulting tensions.

The analysis of a Portuguese case-study, the Serras de Aire e Candeeiros Natural Park, is a good illustration of the thesis of landscapes as scenarios of conflict, which is argued here.

Serras de Aire e Candeeiros Natural Park; the Portuguese network of protected areas

Portugal created its first protected area in 1971. Decree-Law 187/71 of 8 March established the Peneda-Gerês National Park. This was the first classified zone to belong to the National Network of Protected Areas, a list of zones subject to rules for their protection and classed in 4 categories: National Park; Natural Park; Nature Reserve, and Protected Landscape.

There are currently 25 classified areas in the National Network of Protected Areas (Figure 3), embracing around 670 thousand hectares (less than 10% of the area of mainland Portugal), and having a total population of almost 200 thousand residents. In addition to this network there is another

complicated list of classified sites, and areas with special status, like those included in the Natura 2000 network. In this way, counting all these categories, “(...) *the total amount of national territory covered by protected or classified areas has now risen to 21.7%*” (MAOT, 2001, p. 8).

The National Network of Protected Areas, in which the example under analysis is included, is a mixture of diverse zones, with differing levels of human occupation. First, there is a conspicuous stretch of western and southern coastline. The maritime interface and the defence of certain wetlands has been a priority of Portugal's countryside conservation policy. The Rio Formosa Natural Park, in Algarve (17 6664 hectares classified in 1987), the Costa da Caparica Arriba Fossil Protected Landscape (established in 1984), to the south of Lisbon, and various areas of dunes and lagoons have all been accorded special protection status. They have been classified as areas that, due to their physical characteristics, and location, would be quite likely to be subject to anthropic pressures, especially in a country with an unbalanced settlement structure, strongly inclined to the coast. This has meant they have suffered considerable assaults, particularly from the closing decades of the 20th century. The development of tourism, together with, in some of the cases mentioned above, the proximity to some important urban centres, are underlying reasons for these potential appropriations. The classification of the coastal strip known as ‘Southwest Alentejo and Costa Vicentina’ as a natural park in 1995, after approving the status of Protected Landscape Area for this mainland-Atlantic interface in 1987, is part of this logic.

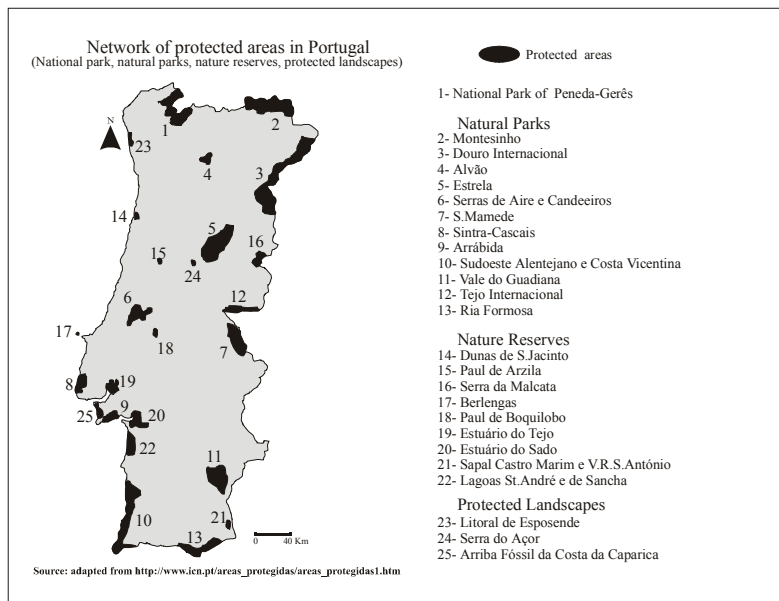


Figure 3 - National Network of Protected Areas

This preoccupation with the coastal strip is also in harmony with the Earth Summit alert, in 1992, regarding the fragility of coastal geo-systems, set out in some of the postulates of Agenda 21.

Furthermore, this network reflects the concern to safeguard particular stretches of river. Three natural parks, all classified in the 1990s, are related to this: Tejo Internacional, Douro Internacional, and the Vale do Guadiana.

Some mountain regions, which are more strongly rural, located near the Spanish frontier, have also been awarded special protection status, at least relative to this network of protected areas. One such area is the only national park in Portugal (the Peneda-Gerês National Park, referred to earlier), and others are natural parks, including the Serra da Estrela (classified in 1976) and S. Mamede (1989). These are areas lying further away from the country's more important centres of development but which are significantly affected by the principal dynamics of the functional disintegration of Portugal's rural space, which has been particularly noted since the middle of the 20th century. Even so, values have been identified in each of them that must be safeguarded if the balanced development of the territory of Portugal is to succeed. These

values are also important to the defence of the heterogeneous nature of the country's landscape. This goal was meanwhile reaffirmed by Article 3 of Act 48/98, of 11 August (Basic Law on town and country planning), under which "*The integrated valorisation of the diversity of the national territory should be fostered*". The same philosophy was subsequently reiterated by the Portuguese Government when it signed up to the *European Countryside Convention*, in October 2000, in Florence. This declaration of the principles upheld by the Council of Europe establishes that the countryside participates "(...) to a considerable extent to the general interest, at the cultural, ecological, environmental and social levels, and that it is a resource that favours economic activity [*de manière importante à l'intérêt général, sur les plans culturel, écologique, environnemental et social, et qu'il constitue une ressource favorable à l'activité économique*]", and thence the strategic rationale for "(...) suitable protection, management and development [*une protection, une gestion et un aménagement approprié*]", further underscoring its importance in the consolidation of local culture, and, therefore, in European identity itself (COUNCIL OF EUROPE, 2000). In addition, the creation of protected areas in areas with less potential for urban-industrial and technological development responds to the need to promote a positive image of these remoter areas, with long-term effects that are usually intangible.

Difficulties arise, however, both with the actual process (descending) of institutionalising these areas, and with other factors that make their administration a problem. One of the most paradigmatic cases with respect to the difficulties of managing a protected area is the Sintra-Cascais Natural Park, which was created in 1994. Of acknowledged landscape merit, it is nevertheless set in the midst of the largest metropolitan area in the country, at the confluence of some of the most dynamic municipalities in terms of demographic encroachment and expanse of built-up areas. The municipalities of Sintra and Cascais, where this natural park is located, saw an increase in their respective populations of 39.3 and 10.1% between 1991 and 2001, according to preliminary figures from the 2001 Census, published by the National Statistics Institute. This protected area is, in fact, the object of insistent urban demands, especially from tourist promoters. The cultural landscape of the city and hills of Sintra, classified as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1995, are important cultural

references that comprise a large part of this area. The Sintra-Cascais Natural Park is one of the few protected areas whose identifying symbol valorises cultural aspects of the landscape (the chimneys of Sintra National Palace and a Moorish window). This cultural identity, the fine landscapes and, no less important, its location, have led to a hard-to-control assault by real estate interests within the confines of the park. Another example that illustrates the conflict between ethical values in the use of spaces is that of the Natural Park of the Serras de Aire and Candeeiros (PNSAC).

The PNSAC is situated to the Northeast of Lisbon (marked n° 6 on Figure 3), and was classified in 1979. About 13 thousand people live there, in an area of 39 900 hectares, consisting mainly of a limestone block that rises to a height of 678 metres. Two things justify singling out this natural park: first is the degree of artificialisation of the landscape, and second are zone's physical features, which also help to understand the Human Geography of this space.

Protected for its fragility, the natural beauty of its karst geomorphology and for the contours of its scenery, the PNSAC is a paradigmatic example of a territory with a high level of humanisation, but a poor capacity for load.

The limestone is, indeed, a striking feature of the scenery in the area of the PNSAC, one of the zones with the most pronounced karst development in the country, at least in some zones (such as the Santo Antonio Plateau).

Karst regions have long been of special interest to Geography; they look barren and hostile, but have certain strategic resources, historically recognised and exploited. Limestone is perhaps one of the most important rocks, and is frequently associated with the aggression of some records of human activity in these regions – quarries (J.-N. SALOMON, 2000). Very special features of plant cover and difficulties in relation to farming (sometimes only practised in very specific places, such as dolines or polje), limiting these spaces to livestock rearing, which, in many cases, has evolved from an extensive regime to an intensive production system. These and other signs of anthropisation, such as the development of settlements and industrial activities linked to centuries-old practices and resources (like textiles and tanning, are intensifying the pressures on these physical units, constructing landscapes with very individual physiognomies. These pressures combined with such a level of artificialisation, on limestone blocks that lack any surface water, but which have considerable

underground flow and a great capacity for hydric dispersion through their peripheries, can thus lead to pollution-spreading foci. All the effluents, waste products, rubbish and other assaults made on the surface and drained to the underground cavities will later come back in the quality of the waters that spout from the springs of these limestone rocks. In addition to this dynamic the excessive artificialisation and productive exploitation of some strategic resources is often seen in damaged landscapes, aesthetically scarred by the unbridled activity of removing land, depositing waste products, opening up holes and other signs uncharacteristic of the area (L. CUNHA, 1990).

When these features are associated with intense levels of humanisation, and close to certain important urban centres, as is the case with the PNSAC, in relation to Lisbon, the outcome can be conflict, tensions and intervention/appropriation logics that are not always easy to reconcile.

The Serras de Aire e Candeeiros Natural Park as a landscape of conflicts

Though created in 1979, it was only in 1988 that Implementing Order n° 21/88, of 12 January, approved the Regulations for the PNSAC and its Master Plan. Among the principles stated when the Natural Park was created, the general aim, as described in Article 3 should be noted: “... *protection of the existing natural aspects, defence of cultural and architectural heritage, development of craft activities and revival of the local economy, as well as promotion of open air leisure and recreation*”. This principle takes the countryside as a synthetic and indivisible value, articulating its natural elements while safeguarding the Human Geography that has already been built up in this area.

The reality, however, is more complicated than what is stated in the legal framework. Although the dynamic conservation of the countryside ought to be a structuring presupposition for the territoriality of the various development agents present in this area, practices are sometimes found to be contradictory and are frequently conflictual.

The Natural Park is a karst landscape, with its dolines, its limestone walls, its traditional windmills and caves, which deserves global protection.

Efforts have thus been made to achieve methodical utilisation of the space, while stimulating sustainable functionalities for consuming the land. Tourist activity that is diffuse and which respects the equilibriums that are sought for this protected area (with a network of hostels and some marked walking routes, for instance) is one of the strategies considered to consolidate the basic philosophy of the Master Plan (SEO and SEARN, 1988).

At the same time, this landscape is viewed and felt differently by other development agents. One of the more striking images in this area is associated with mining. The quarries focus on four kinds of exploitation (ornamental rocks, slabs, paving and industrial blocks), and are one of the more aggressive activities; but they are also more strategic in social and economic terms. In March 2001, according to information from PNSAC, a total area of more than 590 hectares was being worked.

The country's development model, especially since joining the EEC (in 1986), is of great importance to this landscape. Investment in remedying lack of infrastructures and, more recently, events such as Expo '98 (in Lisbon), have resulted in increased demand for raw materials for the building industry, and these include limestone. This has led to a greater density of productive appropriation of the territory to which the PNSAC belongs: *Maciço Calcário Estremenho* (Estremenho Limestone Blocks).

Textiles and tanning are additional activities in some parts of the natural park. Rubbish tips are noticeable in some sectors such as the parish of Santo António, and these are a focus of aggression in relation to the environment: car bodies and piles of containers for chemicals, spilling harmful substances on the land, scar the landscape and affect the hydric dynamics of the territory.

The list would not be complete without a special reference to livestock rearing. According to the *Recenseamento Agrícola do Continente* (1999) (Mainland Farm Census), there are about 486 cattle farms in the Natural Park, with a total of around 10 thousand animals scattered around it, particularly on a plateau which has a microclimate and soil that encourage the growth of pastureland, almost always found where the ground is carpeted by dolines. The same report shows that there are 925 pig farms in this protected area, with about 120 thousand animals.

The density of intensive livestock production has caused considerable anthropic pressure on an ecosystem that is extremely fragile, and this has been aggravated further by the complete separation of this activity and agriculture, which is not much engaged in here.

Partly to attenuate this division, but also to limit the negative impact of the effluents produced by the pig farms, the PNSAC has developed a project to utilise the manure from the smaller farms (those with fewer than 200 animals) for the anaerobic production of electricity. For this, it enjoys the backing of the European Union, through its membership of a development association, ADSAICA. The resulting waste products are treated and can be used as natural agricultural fertilisers.

The conflicts between the different logics of land use and consumption in the same territory may further be symbolised by another geographical fact: the PNSAC is crossed by the A1 highway that links the two main metropolitan areas of the country (Lisbon and Porto). This motorway effectively divides the Serra de Aire (at the northeast end of the PNSAC) from the rest of the protected area, fragmenting a landscape which should be valorised as an integrated whole. The crossing of this area by the motorway means far more than the impact on the ecosystem, which led to much criticism by environmentalists in the mid-1980s; it symbolises two different logics in relation to appropriation of the space. On the one hand, it is a territory-heritage, regarded as a landscape to be preserved and experienced at a slower pace, diffusely and more carefully, with the sustainability that was essentially envisaged by the chief goals of a protected area. On the other, this same space is utilised as a mere physical substrate of an infrastructure, which far more than helping to fragment the landscape, sets store by speed and valorises the connecting of two distant points. This encounter could lead us into the wider discussion on the juggling act between space-flow and space-heritage, which is a feature of contemporary geography (J. FERRÃO, 2000)^{11*}.

^{11*} Our own translation for the original “Espaço-fluxos” e “Espaço-mosaico”.

Despite everything, these contradictory appropriations of the same territory do not have a clearly defined boundary. For instance, two of the most important images of the PNSAC in terms of heritage (the Algar do Pena and the National Monument of Dinosaur Footprints at Ourém/Torres Novas) would never have been discovered were it not for the quarrying activities.

The Underground Grotto Interpretation Centre 'Algar do Pena', one of the most evocative points of interest in the PNSAC, is a cavern that was discovered in 1985 when Joaquim Pena, a paving stone quarry owner, removed a block of limestone in the search for raw materials for his business.

In 1994, a palaeontological resting place for dinosaur footprints was found in a quarry for ornamental rocks. The prints date from the Mid Jurassic period and are the longest and oldest records of such footprints world-wide. These unique characteristics caused the Portuguese government to undertake lengthy negotiations with the businessman concerned and eventually to classify this find as a National Monument, in 1966. This heritage site plays a significant role in the context of environmental education, welcoming over 110 thousand visitors between March 1997 and August 2000 (the period for which figures are available), many of whom were members of school parties.

The same landscape, on the other hand, is emblematic of the territory, as the dolines, walls, and green pastures of the Santo António Plateau are also repositories for one of the most aggressive activities in the area: the intensive cattle rearing, mentioned earlier.

This entire picture of relationships is expressed in the landscape, which here, as in other places, is the outcome of a synthesis, a special meeting between the spheres of culture and nature, between the artificialising activity of Mankind and the very specific features of the physical substrate. The intrinsic characteristics of the area are important, since they modulate a whole range of conditioning factors whose roots may be found on other scales, which are more extensive and remote.

To sum up, we have a landscape of synthesis between local and global dynamics, but an encounter that is not without conflict. The PNSAC is thus a cultural landscape that has resulted from the convergence of those who

share a holistic view of it and so defend it in its entirety, as the regulations of the Natural Park have established theoretically (an institution with little power and certain internal fragility), and those who see it as a fragmented landscape, with clearly identified resources and capable of sectoral exploitation, as exemplified by mining operations. Side by side, overlapping in the same geographic setting, two ethical postures: the landscape as a collective heritage, and the landscape as framework for individualistic appropriation.

When discussing and characterising a determined territory (is it marginal? is it peripheral? or deprived? interactive? in transition?), it must be remembered that there is a multitude of views, perceptions, uses and functions associated with that same area. And so, as it is hard to find an adjective that can safely and unarguably be applied to this territory, trying to make these differences compatible is the strongest evidence of what may be called “development”, is perhaps the safest approach.

References

- ABREU, M. V. (1996) – “Mudanças, Identidades e Projectos de Desenvolvimento”. *Actas do Seminário Dinamismos Sócio-Económicos e (Re)Organização Territorial: Processos de Urbanização e Reestruturação Produtiva*. Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Geográficos, Faculdade de Letras.
- ADAMS, W. M. (1999) – “Sustainability”. P. Cloke *et al* (editors), *Introducing Human Geographies*. London, Arnold.
- BALDWIN, R. (1994) – “Does sustainability require growth?”. I. Golding, and L.A. Winters (eds) *The economics of sustainable development*. Paris, OECD Centre for Economic Policy Research.
- CRAVIDÃO, F. D. (1998) – “Turismo, sustentabilidade e cultura”. *Estudos Autárquicos*, 10-11. Coimbra, Centro de Estudos de Formação Autárquica.
- CUNHA, L. (1990) - “Alguns problemas ambientais em áreas cársicas - o exemplo das serras calcárias de Condeixa-Sicó-Alvaiázere”. *Cadernos de Geografia*, 9. Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Geográficos.
- CONSELHO DA EUROPA (2000) - *Convenção europeia da paisagem*. Florença.
- DRON, D. (1998) - *Ambiente e escolhas políticas*. Biblioteca Básica de Ciência e Cultura, 57. Lisboa, Instituto Piaget.
- FERRÃO, J. (2001) - “Território, última fronteira de cidadania?”. Conferência realizada no *III Colóquio de Geografia de Coimbra*. Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Geográficos, Faculdade de Letras.
- MELA, A. *et al* (2001) - *A Sociologia do ambiente*. Temas de Sociologia, 14. Lisboa, Editorial Estampa.
- MINISTÉRIO DO AMBIENTE E DO ORDENAMENTO DO TERRITÓRIO (MAOT) (2001) - *Estratégia nacional de conservação da natureza e da biodiversidade. Versão para discussão pública*. Lisboa.

- SALOMON, J.-N. (2000) - *Précis de karstologie*. Bordeaux, Presses Universitaires.
- SARAIVA, M. da G. (1999) - *O rio como paisagem. Gestão de corredores fluviais no quadro do ordenamento do território*. Textos Universitários de Ciências Sociais e Humanas. Lisboa, Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia; Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DO ORÇAMENTO (SEO); SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DO AMBIENTE E DOS RECURSOS NATURAIS (SEARN) (1988) *Plano de ordenamento do Parque Natural das Serras de Aire e Candeeiros*. Lisboa, Ministério das Finanças, Ministério do Planeamento e da Administração do Território.

THE CONSUMER SOCIETY IN THE COMMUNITIES OF A SEMI-PERIPHERAL COUNTRY: PORTUGAL

The consumption society, stimulated by the capitalist ideology of profit, exhibits an important spatial diversity, associated with the different levels of socio-economic development. With the Portuguese economy having an established social life predominantly dependent on agriculture until the end of the 1960s, the socio-economic aspects characterised Portugal as peripheral in relation to the economies of the centre of the Europe. However, the *social cushion*, in the form of social relations and income supplements allowed the Portuguese, who were starting to manage the remittances sent by their relatives who had emigrated and were working abroad, to achieve rather higher levels of consumption in relation to the importance of capitalist production in the sixties and seventies. Other elements in this disconnection are related to the proliferation of the forms of “backing economy”, socially/spatially differentiated expenditure structures and relations of neighbourhood, kinship and friendship which function as a welfare society in a country with a significant lag in the welfare state.

With the emergence of the years of plenty in the 1950s, consumers started to become more vulnerable to the marketing distribution machine that began to develop in the First World and then spread to developing countries.

According to Rochefort (1995), the period immediately after the Second World War brought changes to the earnings of the working classes, who saw their standard of living rise. This increase in purchasing power led to changes in spending structures which was, in fact, a way for capitalism to increase demand in households and thus to use up production. This change

was achieved without any altruistic intention on the part of the controllers of economic options¹²: the employers managed to pay their workers better because of the introduction of new working methods, particularly in the industrial sphere. Mass production, quicker and cheaper unit production, allowed employers to enjoy greater profits as the new organisation of labour was introduced. With fewer hours spent at work and a shorter working week workers found themselves with more spare time, and so they began to spend more money in search of well-being, comfort and a social identity. The capitalist mode of regulation succeeded in sustaining demand for the better consumption of supply, via its agents, and this enabled them to increase their profits.

This system came rather later to Portugal, and with significant variations. As Abreu (1995: 621 to 633) has said, a new Portugal was emerging at the end of the 20th century. With the national production system subject to cycles of optimism and depression, the Portuguese revolution (April 1974) occurred in the middle of a world economic crisis. This was having important consequences for the welfare state, which was only just affecting the Portuguese population and providing levels of social welfare well below those found in other European countries.

The revolution was to reflect an ambivalence that made the country a landmark of the semi-periphery, in accordance with the interpretation of the world system advanced principally by Braudel and Wallerstein. This system has a tripartite form, comprising the centre, the semi-periphery and the periphery. Its “most problematic component is, without doubt, the semi-periphery [because] there is a huge economic, sociological, historical and geographical reality that can be described as a stratum of intermediate economic and social situations” (Reis, 1992: 25) between the centre and the periphery, where Portugal is placed.

¹² This employer-employee relationship emerged in the period leading up to the 2nd World War, and is linked to the importance of the power to demand that came to be granted to and recognised in the trades unions, which formed part of the regulatory processes that marked the Fordist period.

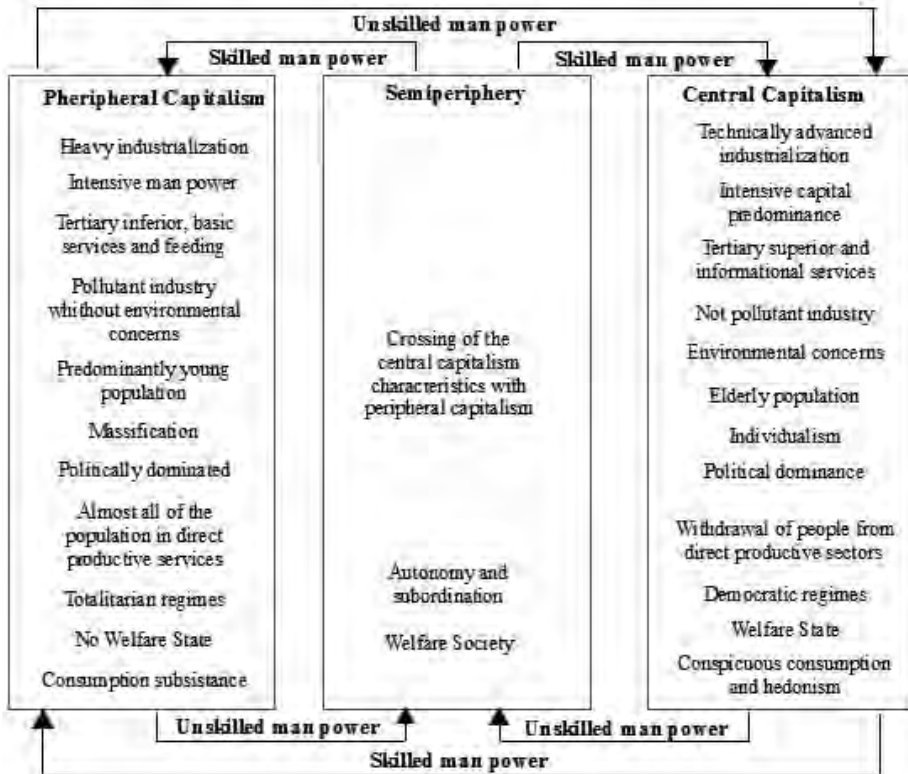


Figure 1 — The systematization of relations in a tripartite world.

Source: Adapted from Santos, 2001

The systematization of relations in a tripartite world (Figure 1) shows that the semi-periphery results from a combination of socio-economic and political-cultural characteristics. This combination leads to a situation of intermediate development, which is also one of political influence, and to a “position that is, at the same time, one of subordination and of autonomy” (Reis, 1992: 26). This far-reaching definition makes it possible to define Portugal’s position in the global processes of evolution of the capitalist

system. It is necessary, however, to “pay heed to its domestic conditions [to] bestow importance on the original processes and on the peculiar configurations (Reis, 1992: 27 and 28). These aspects are considered by the theory of regulation that came to be imposed, especially with the Fordist regime of intensive accumulation by means of a virtuous circle of relations between supply and demand in the world economy.

For Portugal, this glorious period in its economy only became evident with the advent of the *Marcellist Spring*, through the “State-led renegotiation of its position in the world order” (Santos, 1990: 105). But as Sousa (1995: 614) has said, 1959 and the Treaty of Stockholm, which saw Portugal joining EFTA, were the first signal from within the system – the *Estado Novo* [New State] – concerning the repositioning of the country at the level of economic internationalisation. This was the first direct contact with the accumulative Fordist regime, a model largely based on industry and hitherto rejected thanks to the hegemony of the farming and trading bourgeoisie over the industrial and financial bourgeoisie, already long in a dominant position in Central Europe. Portugal’s backwardness relative to the rest of Europe was obviously reflected in patterns of consumption, in both communities and families. The *Estado Novo* and ruling Fascist regime were extremely important to retaining purchasing power and for the propaganda upholding a life that is “poor but clean”, endured by a majority of the people of mainland Portugal and the Adjoining Islands. During the Empire, the exception came precisely from the Colonies where, in comparison with European Portugal, the purchasing power and standard of living were significantly higher. This was the result of a less rigid policy of control (which even tended to yield a bourgeoisie, or wealthy class, farming and industrial alike), and much more open to foreign investment.

Though emigration was not a new feature in the evolution of Portuguese society, the decades in question corresponded to a significant population exodus. As it increased, “The intra-European immigration movement caused widespread emigration in the entire Portuguese territory, while overseas movement encompassed regions with a more limited recruitment” (Santos, 1993: 321). This population ‘bloodletting’ had negative demographic effects on the country, but it was nevertheless the beginning of the consumer

society in Portugal. Emigration is responsible for population ageing and for the reduction in the replacement ratio, because of the large number of young people who left the country (the age group best able to increase and diversify the consumption of goods and services). Another consequence was the drop in the number of children, since the men left and the women tended to stay, at least in the first phase.

Emigrant savings during this period were not particularly high, and were mostly used to modify the status of the emigrant within his community of origin, rather than to diversify consumption. Contact with societies in Central Europe, especially France, nonetheless triggered a process whereby values and mentalities were changed, and consumption promoted. Comfort was influenced first in the context of homes and household equipment, and then more generally through an increase in both quantity and the choice of consumables available.

Between 1950 and 1968/69, society in Central Europe experienced the phenomena of the expansion in the food industry, growth in the number of private cars and increased demand for recreational activities, which was associated with the relative drop in expenditure on food. All these found a common denominator in supermarkets, with their new methods, new spaces and new rhythms, which they imposed on the general public. In fact, the situation was one of valorisation of an urban lifestyle, which Portuguese society only exhibited in very specific parts of its territory, since “the fact that structural transformation of the economy came late in relation to the countries of [Central Europe] was reflected in the structure of the urban network” (Gama, 1993: 118).

An urban lifestyle, with increased expenditure on transport, where use of the car became commonplace, women were routinely found in the workplace, the organisation of family rhythms was changed – all of which had significant impacts on the level of consumption – only found an echo in Portuguese society outside the large urban centres at the end of the 1970s.

Modifications in the structure of consumption in Portugal, in its development towards mass consumption, actually emerged at the end of the 1960s. The ‘modest, shy and obedient’ country was then starting to be replaced by another, which Salazar rejected, but which the political and better-off classes

(basically technocrats) were keen to embrace. Indeed, “even here, in your old Portugal [that of Salazar] imitations of foreign ways were beginning to be perceived, desires for immoral reading, appetites for deviant consumption” (Barreto, 1996: 211). If the process resulted in preferential access to information and markets for the ruling classes, the modifications came to be more firmly embedded in the population at large. As the Welfare Society was a relevant factor and the characteristics of semi-peripherism were present, it is also interesting to note that “at the end of the sixties, there began a period of labour upsurge that was unprecedented in the history of the regime, and [which] the industrial-financial class itself saw in the corporate guardianship of capital/labour relations as a corset, hampering the expansion of its hegemony over more sectors of the bourgeoisie, and over society in general” (Santos, 1990: 20). It is therefore clear that only at the end of the 1960s did a certain phase of the capitalist system make effective inroads in Portugal and start to change the structure of working people. This transformation meant that peasants became workers, that their productivity and mobility increased, and that services began to spread throughout the land. This proliferation did not take place evenly, however, and so the news of better lifestyles, sustained by better wages, led to the most important process of mobility in the very core of the Portuguese population.

There was perhaps a reflection of this backwardness in Portugal, revealed as a “divergence between capitalist output and social reproduction” (Santos, 1990: 116). This arose because “the development of the banking system, along with demands for the development of the economy, meant that financial capitalism in Portugal seemed to be fifty years behind the times, in relation to Europe.” (Sousa, 1995: 622). The Portuguese economy had tended to prescribe a social life that was predominantly reliant on agriculture until the end of the 1960s, with socio-economic indicators showing values that characterised Portugal as a peripheral country in relation to the economies of Central Europe. The *social cushion* provided by earnings from agriculture thus complemented other income, and allowed the Portuguese, who were now beginning to control remittances from relations who had emigrated, to achieve levels of consumption somewhat in excess of the amount realised by capitalist production at the time. A third and fourth elements in this

disjointed process were linked to the “proliferation of forms of what is commonly known as the ‘underground economy’ (...) and [with the] increase in interest rates for deposit accounts, which became one of the main sources of income for Portuguese families” (Santos, 1990: 123 and 124). In this way, therefore, consumption suffered a certain decline, with most salaries and wages being channelled into savings.

Some significant changes thus occurred which resulted from new ways of utilising time and space, whether by families or by social and economic pressures external to the family.

The first point to note is that monetary expenditure increased perceptibly.

A second important aspect is that of the relative reduction in spending on food and drink. Spending on food, which stood at around 80% in the 1940s, fell by 100% between 1940 and 1990.

However, this reduction in percentage expenditure on Food, Drink and Tobacco has remained until today. The 2004 data show that the population now spends 30% less on Food, Drink and Tobacco than in 1990. The approximation to the structure of expenditure of developing countries is really striking.

A third point of reference is equally important, which is that expenditure grouping changed vis-à-vis significance, in the framework of family spending. Generally speaking, it may be said that spending on Transport and Communications increased the most, rising from about 5% in 1967 (Tables 1 and 2) to over 17% in 2004 (about 300% increase). These figures show the growing importance of suburbs as residential areas, and of the increase in distances travelled by families, in terms of both home and work and other journeys, caused by family economies of scale: daily journeys to work, to school, for shopping, and for recreational purposes. Other reasons for the increase in question have already been mentioned.

The groups most affected by the increase in spending on Transport and Communications were:

- in the sixties and the beginning of the seventies, Furniture, Decoration Items and Appliances;
- at the end of the seventies, Housing, Heating and Lighting;

— in the eighties, Housing, Heating and Lighting (along with increased spending on transport, people found they were spending more on Housing than on Clothing)

	1967	1973	1980	1990	2004
Food, Drink, Tobacco	47.01	44.76	40.58	31.08	21.14
Clothes and Footwear	8.55	8.81	10.13	8.86	7.7
Housing, Heating, Lighting	14.25	13.57	9.17	9.55	13.42
Furniture, Decoration, Appliances	6.84	5.87	8.67	8.09	7.42
Medical and Health Services	3.99	2.66	2.6	4.44	4.98
Transport and Communications	5.41	7.41	13.53	15.25	17.26
Education, Culture, Entertainment	4.84	4.06	3.71	6.43	7.84
Other Goods and Services	9.12	12.87	11.58	16.31	20.25

Table 1 - Average annual expenditure per household (1967-2004)

Source: Surveys on Family Earnings and Expenditure, INE, Lisboa

A fourth aspect to be noted concerns the fact that the last two decades reveal a significant amount of family expenditure (around 100%) going on Other Goods and Services. These tables are symptomatic of the importance that personal hygiene and beauty care, recreation (travel and eating out, using cafés and hotels) and financial services acquired in Portuguese families. The diversification of goods and services used, together with the reduction in the life of the items acquired, is a real feature of contemporary society.

	Variation (%)	Difference
	1967-2004	1967-2005
Food, Drink, Tobacco	45	-26
Clothes and Footwear	90	-1
Housing, Heating, Lighting	94	-1
Furniture, Decoration, Appliances	108	1
Medical and Health Services	125	1
Transport and Communications	319	12
Education, Culture, Entertainment	162	3
Other Goods and Services	222	11

Table 2 - Average annual expenditure per family unit (1967-2004)

Source: Surveys on Family Earnings and Expenditure, INE, Lisboa

The structure of expenditure is today more significant in Transport and Communications and in Other Goods and Services (Table 2), while Education, Culture, Entertainment show a small increase in expenditure. Clothes and Footwear and Housing, Heating, Lighting are in slight decline, while Furniture, Decoration, Appliances and Medical and Health Services show a slight increase in average annual expenditure per household.

Mass consumption today is a way of enhancing and, at the same time, constructing the *I* and a social identity. Regarding consumption as an assumption of individualism arose from the importance given to hedonism (relative to ascetism and Puritanism). “The traditional culture of character, which stresses moral qualities, has been replaced by a culture of personality that lays emphasis on being appreciated and admired” (Gronow, 1997: 2). This motivates the individual to exert himself to satisfy desires, tastes and pleasures in a bustle of actions that assume the representation of a social identity (the search for difference and the quest for integration or relationship through similarity – of desires, tastes and pleasures, but also of cultural levels, activities, of places and spaces) expressed in lifestyles. In other words, these result from sundry influences among individual options; socially inculcated options (memories, according to Connerton (1993), *habitus*, according to Bourdieu (1979), or *marketing*, according to Williamson (1991)) and institutions of control that limit deviations (Lauwe, 1983: 154 and 155).

The quality of life and well-being are increasingly dependent on institutions that standardise structures, regulate experiences and ‘choose’ what to buy, what is fashionable, the places to go. This makes it difficult for needs, desires and interests to be an expression of individual will, which results in the interiorisation of a social culture that influences individuals’ attitudes, and, therefore, their structure of consumption (at the level of things, services and places), given that it creates barriers or motivates their relations within society (neighbourhood, community, work, leisure). Hence the importance ascribed to knowing “to what extent the organisation of the family budget is the work of its members, that is to say, an act that is voluntary and relatively free, or (...) a pressure from society, and so from the ideology of the ruling classes” (Lauwe, 1983: 150). This makes it useful to discuss the typology of needs, desires and aspirations (all of which are closely linked to consumption) that

inhabit the spatial-temporal reality of every day, and the non-temporal and multi-dimensional imagination of each and every individual.

When reference is made to the existence of needs, people associate the expression with the lack of something important for the well-being of an individual, a family or of a wider group. The social process prevailing today is the collapse of the community, thereby releasing individuals, even though this is through their isolation, and encouraging urbanism. In the case of Coimbra, isolation and integration occur simultaneously, in spaces close to one another and merging into one another, between the urban and the peri-urban, as the locations of the benchmark parishes serve to demonstrate. But it is useful to stress that isolation is seen with growing frequency to be an expression of a quality of life. In other words, the non-interference by neighbours in an individual's private life is a quality of life sought by many who find their social relations further afield, through an urban existence that is less communal, more individualist and which has greater spatial expression.

It is important, therefore, to mention how people rate their relationships with their neighbours, and how, in their space, they take on such relationships. In Coimbra, there is an urban parish called Santo António dos Olivais, and another, Vil de Matos which is largely rural, while São Paulo de Frades is somewhere between suburban and peri-urban and Cernache exhibits morphology and ways of living that are more urban, mostly because of its geographical location.

Figure 2 gives a list of (household) tasks related to the home or surroundings and quantifies the importance of relations of proximity and neighbourhood in people's everyday lives.

The first conclusion to be drawn from this is the significance of neighbours in the sphere of domestic jobs. In effect, the activities mentioned enjoy the collaboration of at least 10% of neighbour co-operation, with some tasks benefiting from almost 20%.

These figures suggest a "kind of protected community [solidarity among neighbours] by virtue of the nature of local ties and neighbourhood relationships" (Gama, 1992: 169). Such communities are representative of non-metropolitan urbanisation processes.

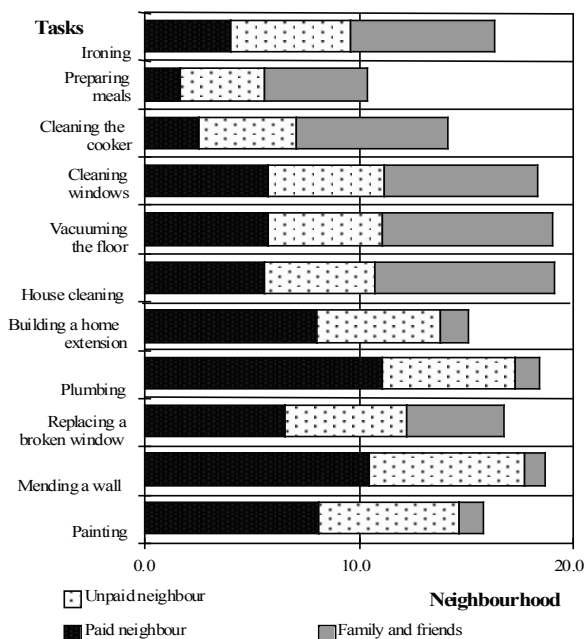


Figure 2 — Neighbourhood participation¹³ in household jobs

Source: Survey of mobility and consumption

Urban, suburban and peri-urban spaces where these proximity relationships occur clearly show the existence of communities in Coimbra and its outlying areas. It can thus be characterised by the interaction of the forces operating between informal networks of local solidarity (based on relationships, neighbours, and reputation), on the one hand, and the functional networks (predominantly linked to work) and sociability (resulting in equal measure from work and non-work relations), on the other. The outcome is the constitution of communities that are protected, but which show a great deal of dialogue with emancipated communities (urban attraction, on the one hand, and

¹³ The existence of services rendered by neighbours who are paid could be due to there being workshops and services owned by the individuals concerned, and these can even still be found in towns within the metropolitan areas. Therefore, it would be proximity and not give-and-take that governs relationships. At any rate, their existence encourages communal reciprocity, which should be borne in mind when characterising neighbourhood relationships.

peri-urban dispersion of town dwellings, on the other, are responsible for this osmosis). We are thus dealing with emancipated communities that are sprinkled with a certain social protective covering, leading to the advent of payment for neighbours' services. At the same time, this is a symptom of a solvency relative to the characteristics of protected and emancipated communities, which are expressed and represented in the same physical space.

Figure 2 shows that the demand for neighbour relationships is processed differently according to the jobs that are used as indicators of their existence. Tasks inside the home (meals, cleaning, other routine jobs) show a predominance of relatives, whereas those related more to outdoor activity show that neighbour relations, unconnected with family or friends, play a greater part. While the first (relative relationships) operate as a dual flow, corresponding to an exchange of services (farming as a second activity is an important proportion of such exchanges), the second (neighbour relationships) results from the existence of distinctions between neighbours at the level of reputation, and from the property that transforms, formally or informally, such relationships into working relationships, too.

Paying for neighbours' services is, then, the sharing, in just one space, of relationships of production and social reproduction. This is a process that has genuine advantages for all concerned: the employers, who have workers who are more tractable and usually more flexible in terms of working hours; the workers, who can juggle these working hours and keep as the centre of their activities the space of family reproduction *par excellence* – the home and the neighbourhood.

It can easily be seen that this reality is expressed differently in the four parishes studied. Looking at some routine activities, daily and non-daily (getting meals ready, cleaning the house and ironing) Santo António dos Olivais clearly stands out from the other parishes. Neighbour relations based on exchanging favours are far fewer there compared with the others, and what actually predominates is the payment for neighbours' services (Figures 3, 4 and 5), valorising relations of reputation and property which seem to be maintained, even within the town area. This fact has to be regarded as one of the features of non-metropolitan urban areas, explaining the exchange of influences between emancipated and protected communities mentioned earlier.

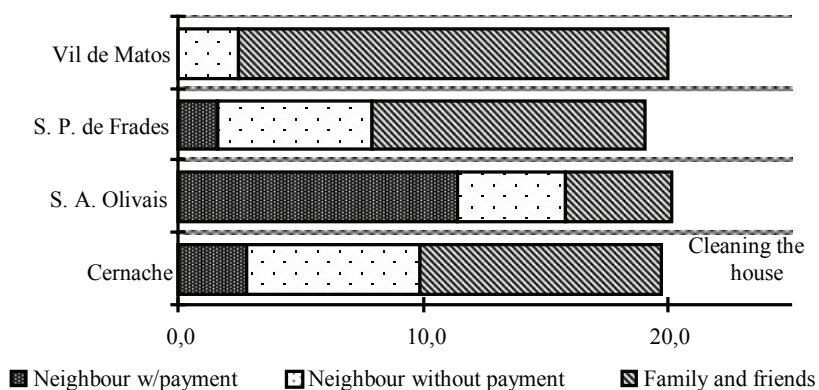


Figure 3 — Neighbour participation in household jobs (cleaning the house), by parish

Source: Survey on mobility and consumption

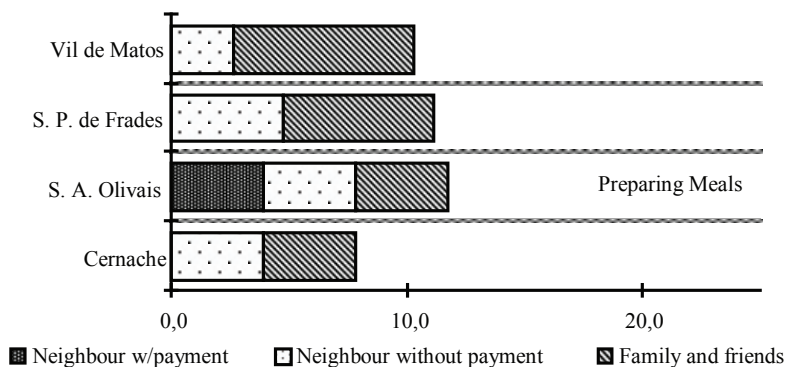


Figure 4 — Neighbour participation in household jobs (preparing meals), by parish

Source: Survey on mobility and consumption

It is clear that different activities foster a greater or lesser number of neighbour relationships, whether remunerated or not. These variations also result from the use of different working rhythms (working by the hour, half day or full day, for just one or for several employers) and suggests that families with house-help do

not come only from peri-urban areas, but that many live close to their places of work; this is probably the main reason for their integration in the world of work, since the overwhelming majority of them are women.

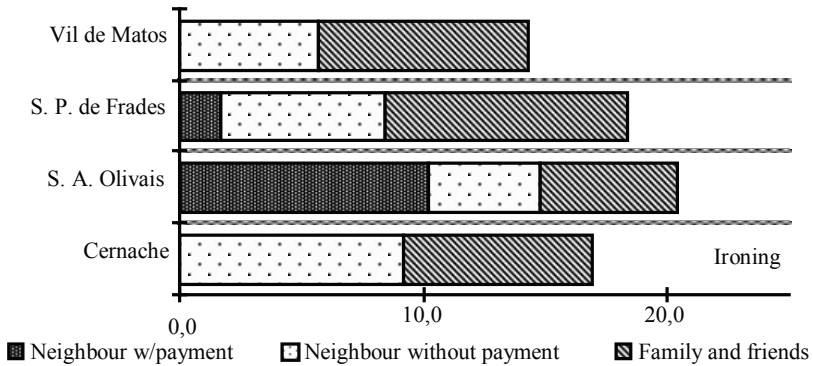


Figure 5 — Neighbour participation in jobs related to home (ironing), by parish.

Source: Survey on mobility and consumption

At the opposite extreme, in terms of characterising neighbour relationships, we have the parishes of Vil de Matos and São Paulo de Frades. Services are rarely paid for there since it is mostly relatives and friends who perform the roles in proximity relations. In these parishes a significant part of the population is engaged in farming (full time in Vil de Matos, and part time - in a multi-activity regime - in São Paulo de Frades, where the people have jobs in trade and services in Coimbra city), and reciprocal help continues to be an important feature of the way of life.

While these figures are an expression of the existence of protected/emancipated communities, they are also indicators of local differences that individualise the space surrounding the city and demonstrate situations of semi-peripherism.

References

- Abreu, D. 1995, Um Portugal novo nos finais do século XX. *II Congresso da Geografia Portuguesa*, Associação Portuguesa de Geógrafos, Lisboa.
- Alonso, L. E. 2005, *La era del consumo*. Siglo XXCI, España Editores, Madrid.
- Barreto, A. & Preto, C. 2001, *A situação social em Portugal, 1996-2000*, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Lisboa.
- Barreto, A. 1996, *A situação social em Portugal, 1960-1995*, Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Lisboa.
- Bennett, A. 2005, *Culture and everyday life*, Sage, London.
- Bourdieu, P. 1979, *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement. Le sens Commun*. Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris.
- Chombart de Lauwe, P.-H. 1983, *La culture et le pouvoir. Transformations sociales et expressions novatrices*. L'Harmattan, Paris.
- Connerton, P. 1993, *Como as sociedades recordam*. Celta Editora, Oeiras.
- Cravidão, F. & Santos, N. P. 1994, Estrutura demográfica e recursos humanos. Evolução recente na "região" de Viseu. *Revista Biblos*, LXVIII, Coimbra.
- Fortuna, C. & Silva, A. S. (Orgs.) 2002, *Projecto e Circunstância. Culturas urbanas em Portugal*. Edições Afrontamento, Porto.
- Fortuna, C. 1999, *Identidades, Percursos, Paisagens culturais*. Celta, Oeiras.
- Gama, A. & Santos, N. P. 1997, Espaços de sociabilidade, *Vértice*, Lisboa, pp. 13-19.
- Gama, A. & Santos, N. P. 2000, O tempo de consumo e os espaços de lazer. *Cadernos de Geografia*, 20, Coimbra.
- Gama, A. 1992, Urbanização difusa e territorialidade local. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 34, Coimbra.
- Gama, A. 1993, Espaço e sociedade numa situação de crescimento urbano difuso. *Portugal: Um retrato singular*. Edições Afrontamento, Porto.
- Gronow, J. 1977, *The sociology of taste*. Routledge, London.
- Mansvelt, J. 2005, *Geographies of consumption*, Sage, London.
- Moreira, C. 2005, A geografia do género: um encontro urbano. Os tempos e os espaços nos territórios de Coimbra IEG, FLUC, Coimbra.
- Reis, J. 1985, Modos de industrialização, força de trabalho e pequena agricultura. Para uma análise da articulação entre a acumulação e a reprodução. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 15, 16, 17, Coimbra.
- Reis, J. 1992, *Os espaços da indústria. A regulação económica e o desenvolvimento local em Portugal*. Edições Afrontamento, Porto.
- Rochefort, R. 1995, *La société des consommateurs*. Editions Odile Jacob. Paris.
- Santos, B. S. 1990, *O estado e a sociedade em Portugal (1971-1988)*. Edições Afrontamento, Porto.
- Santos, B. S. 1993, O Estado, as relações salariais e o bemestar social na semiperiferia: o caso português. *Portugal: Um retrato singular*. Edições Afrontamento, Porto.
- Santos, N. P. 1989, Consequências da emigração para França no concelho de Sátão. A alteração das atitudes e a representatividades do investimento. *Revista Biblos*, LXV, Coimbra.
- Santos, N. P. 2001, *A sociedade de consumo e os espaços vividos pelas famílias. A dualidade dos espaços, a turbulência dos percursos e a identidade social*. Colibri. Lisboa.
- Santos, N. P. 2001, Espaço-temporalidade quotidiana da população, *Cadernos de Geografia*, Actas do 2º Colóquio de Geografia de Coimbra, Coimbra, pp. 135-146.

Sousa, A. 1995, Os anos 60 da nossa economia. *Análise Social*, 133, Lisboa.

Wallerstein, I. 1993, Culture as the ideological battleground of the modern world system, *Global Culture*, Mike Featherstone ed., Sage, London.

Williamson, J. 1991, *Consuming passions. The dynamics of popular culture*. Marion Boyars, London.

**NEW LOGICS OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.
A CASE STUDY IN CENTRAL PORTUGAL –
THE EXAMPLE OF THE *SERRA DA LOUSÃ*¹⁴**

1. Introduction

To accept that societies and geographical spaces are heterogeneous, fluid and complex, perhaps the principal features identifying post-modernity, is to acknowledge that no unique and uniform ways of reading, organizing and operating with regard to territories are emerging (Carvalho and Fernandes, 2001).

Western and European rural spaces are no longer felt and seen only by their productive potential.

New development actors, new resources and new opportunities are basic factors in the construction of new rural landscapes.

One of the challenges for geography and geographers is how to participate in the construction of a narrative that can explain local (differentiated) responses to this and other major global challenges.

¹⁴ Adapted from the article with the same title presented as a communication at the *Annual Conference of Internacional Geographical Union. Commission on Evolving Issues of Geographical Marginality in the Early 21st Century World*, held in Stockholm (Sweden), in June 2001, and published in *Issues in Geographical Marginality: Papers presented during the Meetings of the Commission on Evolving Issues of Geographical Marginality in the early 21st Century World, 2001-2004*, coordinated by G. Jones, W. Leimgruber and E. Nel (2007).

2. The challenges and opportunities for the rural world in the context of new development philosophies

The path to revitalizing and re-integrating, or just revaluing, territories where new quality-based centralities are being rediscovered lies in defining and fostering a territorial image distinguished by individuality and specificity. This should be founded on unique and exclusive characteristics and on quality, and be largely centred on the identities and resources that symbolize each locality. The question of geographical scale should be irrelevant (Fernandes and Carvalho, 2003).

It is framed in the spirit of territorialist theories of development, those that best respond to the greatest needs of society and participative citizenry in an open global picture of strong competition, but also of solidarity, among people and territories. In other words, it lies within a new logic of social and territorial organization that complements the concept of diffusionist development (with its urban-industrial countenance) descending, poorly shared and harmonizing, excited in a quantitativist environment and in the myth of economic growth as the sole way to achieve progress (Hall *et al.*, 2003; Arroyo, 2006). This was the driving force at the end of World War II, and it left deep scars in the countryside (Woods, 2007).

In the light of this philosophy, protecting and valuing natural and cultural heritage (architectural, archaeological and ethnographic) is an essential condition for a landscape that is more balanced, distinguished and attractive. The image and identity of territories would thus be boosted, enabling them to constitute an important resource for affirming the territory and strengthening the self-esteem of the people, and, therefore, for local development (Dower, 1999; Kneafsey, 2001; Vallina, 2005).

The theme of rural development has increasingly gained in visibility over the past decade, both in relation to conceiving a new frame of reference and from the perspective of the effective and innovative participation of the actors (Moreno, 2003; Covas, 2006; Gutiérrez, 2006).

A sheaf of documents on strategic framing compiled by the European Commission, the United Nations World Commission on the Environment and Development and the OECD, to name the most important. They serve,

above all, to define the strategic guidelines for rural planning and development (Cheshire, 2006; Price, 2007).

The outlines of crisis in territories that are strongly individual, but which nevertheless have varied potential, may be diagnosed, together with the importance of the rural world and its values for the equilibrium and cohesion of the system. In Europe, the specific potentials of each territory are being unveiled, and attempts are being made to lay the foundations for the new philosophies of territorial development in rural spaces on concepts such as multi-functionality, sustainability and subsidiarity (Carvalho and Fernandes, 2001). The new policies and specific measures devised by the Community for the rural world lie in an integrated (multi-sectoral) perspective, cemented in local realities. The effective application of these policies now depends on the associating and sharing of responsibilities within the wider sphere of decision-taking, and on implementing, running and, finally, appraising processes and practices (Pascual, 2006).

The LEADER Community Initiative Program (Liaison Between Actions for the Development of the Rural Economy), launched in this atmosphere of change, is an unequivocal expression of this new concept of development: shared, individualized and contextualized, introduced vertically and horizontally, in a network of co-operation and solidarity.

The “chief goal” of the LEADER I and LEADER II initiatives, applied in the Objective 1 regions (backward in development terms), Objective 5b zones (fragile rural), and 6 (Scandinavian, with very low population density) has been “the promotion of local development in rural environments, on the basis of utilization and diversification of their potential in resources and initiative” (Barros, 1998: 10). They provide an innovative approach to rural development (Moreno, 2002).

Their innovative character lies, in part, in the fact that planning and management are done at the level of the territory concerned (sub-regional intervention zones) through partnerships involving several local development agents. A “local action group” (LAG) unifies the whole, although in a public regulatory framework and with public co-funding (community and national).

The new LEADER+ initiative for the period 2000-2006, has been designed on the basis of the experience of LEADER I and II. It seems to be a more

ambitious initiative aimed at stimulating and supporting high quality integrated strategies, with a view to ensuring sustainable rural development and bestowing a high degree of importance on the co-operation and constitution of networks among rural “zones” (European Commission, 2000).

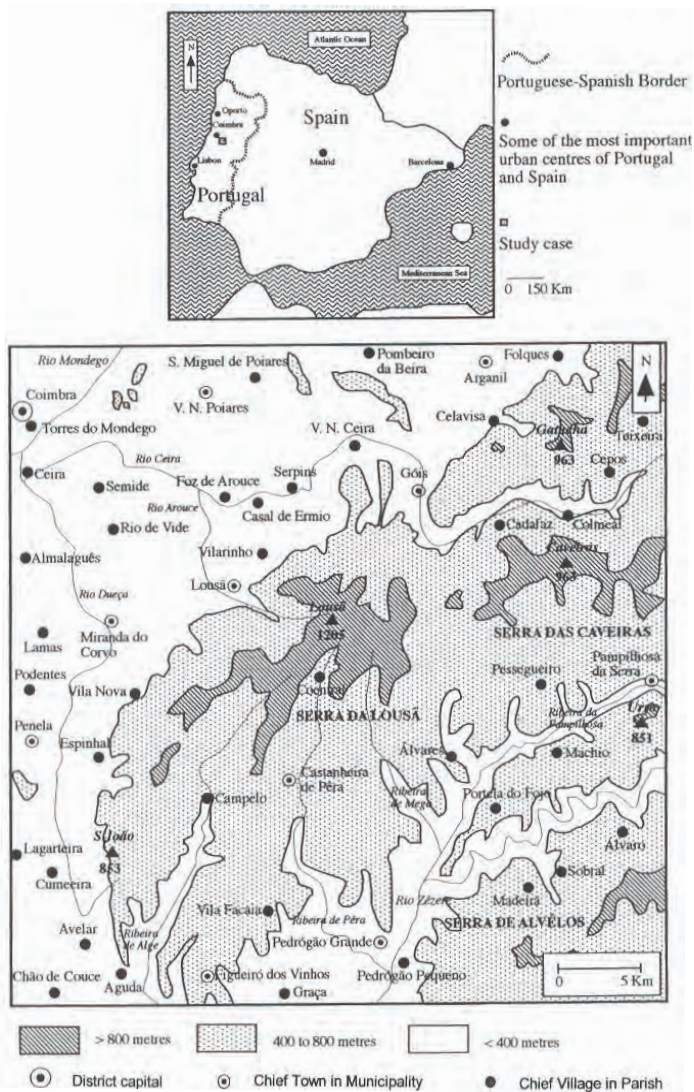


Fig. 1 – Simplified hypsometric map localizing the *Serra da Lousã*.

Source: Carvalho and Fernandes, 2007.

The success of the territorial and participative approach to development as proposed by LEADER, implies the creation of real partnerships at local level, a broad participation by citizens and a training of people's capacities in the domain of local development (Mannion, 1999).

But what will the local responses to these challenges be? Will the territory still be important and differentiating for geography? We are going to examine one case study.

3. The *Serra da Lousã*: from a sketch of a territorial portrait to old and new development initiatives

3.1 A peripheral space undergoing transformation

The contemporary geography of Portugal reveals an asymmetric, heterogeneous country. The contrasting images of occupation and organization of the territory are divided between territorial polarizations and centralities reinforced by public policies with high expression on the Atlantic coast on the one hand and, on the other, deprived areas, almost always excentric and marginal (Jacinto, 1998). Vast areas of the interior of the country are in the latter situation since they have suffered actual loss over a period of many years through migratory movements and natural negative balance (Carvalho, 2005).

The *Serra da Lousã* (Figure 1), in *Pinhal Interior Norte* (Central Portugal), is a mirror of such trajectories and contrasting images of development.

The interior of the range of hills (the southern sector) is an inhospitable area, deeply marked by the cumulative effect of several problems (Table 1). These include: irregular orography, poor access by road (low density and poor communication routes), and to sundry services and facilities, fragilities arising from the productive base, low density of formal organizational structures, weak settlement structure (dominated by small hamlets) and fragile urban network (low hierarchical level), accentuated demographic decline, widespread loss of rural population and abandonment of the hills, progressive degrading of the forest (from oak and chestnut to pine woods,

eucalyptus, patches of brushwood and barren areas), high rate of sensitivity to forest fires, scattered farmland in dispersed plots and small-scale, high rate of owner absenteeism, under-utilization of natural resources – water, forest, wind and landscape.

This is a space that is running the risk of becoming marginalized and excluded from the transformation dynamics of the region, where development must continue to take public voluntarism into account (Baptista, 1999).

In these territories tucked away in the hills, at the very limits defined by local levels of desertion and remoteness from the main axes of circulation and more dynamic towns and villages, the strategic lines of intervention should consider the following: job creation and vocational training of working population, restructuring the system for settling the urban network so as to create small systems / viable territorial urban axes, stimulating co-operation and co-ordination between the public and private actors and defining a multi-active, multi-functional and multi-income base. Equally important aspects to bear in mind include promoting traditional arts and crafts; utilizing authentic products (indicating place of origin and bearing a certificate of quality) and scientific input into forestry, with environmental and social concerns. Importance should also be ascribed to protecting, preserving and utilizing natural and cultural heritage within the broad spectrum of their ethnographic, architectural and archaeological dimensions, while it is also crucial to develop projects for the basic infrastructure and amenities appropriate to a good quality of life and suitable for welcoming visitors (Cavaco, 1996; Cavaco, 2005; Carvalho, 2006).

In the case of the chief towns of municipalities, especially those with greater urban dynamism (such as the towns of Lousã and Miranda do Corvo), it is absolutely essential that the rate of growth over the past few years is framed in a clear and unequivocal strategy of sustainable development, soundly based on the capacity of the local labour force and the fixing of the population as well as on the core directives of modern urban planning. The importance of the urban image, urban quality and environmental characterization and accessibility are regarded as obstacles to / problems with organizing and improving the urban system (CCRC, 1999).

Table 1 – Selected indicators for the municipalities from the *Pinhal Interior Norte* (Central Portugal).

Geographical Distribution	A	B	C	D	E			F	G
					E1	E2	E3		
Alvaiázere	8438	-9.3	52.5	716	8	42	50	224.2	17.1
Ansião	13719	-2.2	77.7	1116	5	48	47	165.1	14.4
Arganil	13623	-2.2	40.9	2677	16	41	43	188.2	12.8
	3733	-16	55.9	1164	3	47	51	194.7	13.1
	7352	-8.2	42.4	1597	11	38	51	188.8	14.6
	4861	-9.5	18.5	884	15	35	50	268.1	17.6
	15753	17.1	113.3	6941	2	36	63	108.3	7.1
	13069	11.9	103	2811	4	32	64	113	9.6
Oliveira do Hospital	22112	-2.1	94.3	3464	5	51	45	132.6	12.3
Pampilhosa da Serra	5220	-10	13.2	857	24	30	47	373.6	25.2
	4398	-5.3	34.1	1011	8	29	63	278.7	19.9
	6594	-4.7	48.9	795	6	41	52	218.2	13.3
Tábua	12602	-3.8	63.1	1528	8	45	47	153.8	13
Vila Nova de Poiares	7061	14.6	84.1	709	4	34	63	108.2	10
Pinhal Interior Norte	138535	-0.6	52.9	6941	7	41	52	163	13.1
Região Centro	2348397	4.4	83	101108	7	38	55	129.6	10.9
Portugal	10356117	5	112.4	564657	5	35	60	102	9

Source: *Instituto Nacional de Estatística* (Portugal, 1991; 2001 censuses).

Legend:

A – Resident population in 2001.

B – Rate of change in the resident population in 1991-2001 (%).

C – Population density in 2001 (inhabitants/sq km).

D – Resident population in most important locality in 2001.

E – Structure of active population in 2001 (%): E1 (primary); E2 (secondary); E3 (tertiary).

F – Aging index = (Population > 64 years/Population < 15 years) x 100.

G – Illiteracy rate in 2001.

– *Serra da Lousã* municipalities.

3.2 Local development initiatives: old and new practices

After this territorial portrait of the *Serra da Lousã*, identifying its problems, potentials and opportunities, it is time to consider the initiatives and logic of local development, the actors therein and its organization, or lack of it.

We feel it is pertinent to highlight three initiatives, covering the end of the 1970s to the present day, which express the contexts and philosophies of development in which they are immersed.

3.2.1 Re-creation of some refuges in the hills: neo-rural occupation

The hill villages of Lousã are an excellent example of a change of identity and original, even excentric, trajectory. These settlements, formerly rural communities with an agro-pastoral economy and their own identities that had the Serra itself as a productive space (Osório *et al.*, 1989), were transformed into non-unified and socially contrasted recreational spaces (Rodrigues, 1994).

The (natural) population growth – which occurred between the end of the 1800s and the mid-twentieth century – was not mirrored by an increase in production and income. This resulted in progressive population mobility (Monteiro, 1985), and finally pronounced the irreversible decline of the hill communities (Table 2).

The second home was what led to the rehabilitation of three hill villages: Casal Novo, Talasnal and Candal.

The hill villages of Vaqueirinho, Catarredor and Cerdeira were occupied by people fleeing urban environments and coming from Central Europe. Some Portuguese also went there to practise (organic) farming, raising livestock, producing craft work, almost all of them in some form of isolation.

The physical rehabilitation of the hill villages is the result of spontaneous private, individual initiative and has received no public financial support (National or Community).

The new images portray re-created façades and new interiors adapted to the functions and values of the new occupants – neo-countryfolk.

The villages' rural surroundings with the ancient agricultural terraces, grazing lands and woodlands, remain neglected and deserted since the departure of the last hill-dwellers.

Table 2 – Evolution of the hill populations in Lousã (1885-2001).

Villages	1885	1911	1940	1960	1970	1981	1991	2001
Candal	112	129	201	100	72	19	22	2
Casal Novo	65	58	79	43	32	0	0	0
Catarredor	69	109	120	67	23	2	5	15
Cerdeira	70	75	79	51	18	0	8	0
Chiqueiro	23	11	45	26	12	4	4	3
Talasnal	74	129	135	90	59	2	2	2
Vaqueirinho	29	43	46	29	20	0	7	3
Silveiras	105	108	99	41	22	0	0	0
Total	547	662	804	447	258	27	48	25
Lousa (Municipality)	10868	12358	14367	13900	12161	13020	13447	15753
Villages/Lousã (%)	5	5.4	5.6	3.2	2.1	0.2	0.4	0.2

Source: *Instituto Nacional de Estatística* (Portugal, 1991-2001 censuses) and *Mapa Estatístico do Distrito de Coimbra* (1885).

Nevertheless, there is a certain geography of insecurity in the populated isolation of the *Serra da Lousã*, and this arises from the high risk of forest fires and the low density of occupation of those villages.

3.2.2 LEADER-ELOZ: an innovative initiative

The local application of the LEADER II Community initiative programme is a landmark in the development of the *Serra da Lousã*.

The major local innovation regarding the program is the active co-operation between two development associations: *Dueceira*, which integrates the municipalities of the northern sector of the Serra; and *Pinhais do Zêzere*, which involves the municipalities at the heart of the *Serra da Lousã*, an exemplary process, given the national panorama as a whole.

The ELOZ intervention zone (*Entre Lousã e Zêzere* – Between Lousã and Zêzere), with the municipalities of Miranda do Corvo, Lousã, Vila Nova de Poiares, Figueiró dos Vinhos, Castanheira de Pêra and Pedrógão Grande),

virtually corresponds to the geographic framework of the *Serra da Lousã*¹⁵. This sub-region has a resident population of almost 50 thousand (0.49% of the total population of the country) and an area of over 700 sq km (0.78% of the total area of Portugal) has promoted its predominant, dual colouring (green and blue) as its brand image, symbolizing its principal resources and potentials.

From a geographical reading of the initiative (Carvalho and Fernandes, *op. cit.*) we may pick out two significant groups of projects essentially for the material or immaterial nature of the actions:

- Projects of an immaterial nature, focusing on actions to promote and publicize the region, raising awareness and educating people, fostered by the municipalities and local bodies.
 - Material projects which generally absorb the greater part of investment and are divided into two sub-groups:
 - Actions seeking to improve localities by preserving and utilizing landscapes and the natural environment (e.g. river-side swimming pools); a range of urban interventions (creating parks and gardens, illuminating buildings in the historic centre, restoring and rehabilitating building heritage), and improving cultural and sports facilities, instigated by municipalities and by cultural and social associations;
 - Interventions in the domain of supporting the diversification of economic activities, with 54% of projects approved and 45% of the total investment made, across the broad spectrum of tourism in the countryside, modernizing small and medium-sized industries, crafts and proximity services, to which private and individual enterprise has responded in a really positive manner.
- Total investment is in excess of 3.5 million euros of which the European Union contributes 64%.

Local management, with dedicated and committed senior officials, has been crucial to the success of the initiative which has “played a [considerable] part in strengthening the ability to diagnose need, designing projects,

¹⁵ The municipalities of Góis and Penela are embraced by the ADIBER and TERRAS DE SICÓ intervention zones, respectively.

supporting local promoters in drawing up applications for different programs (...)” (Jordão, 1998).

The *Networked Crafts (Artesanato em Rede)*, launched last March, is an outstanding example of transnational co-operation. This is a project designed by *DUECEIRA* and developed in partnership with two other local development associations, accredited under LEADER II: *ADICES* (Portuguese) and *Montañas del Teleno* (Spanish, incorporating municipalities in the southwest of Léon province). Targeting craftsmen and craft skills, it has enabled craft products to be publicized via the Internet. It also aims to identify and introduce craftsmen/women, disclosing and making contact with a region of dynamic people which has its own deeply-rooted traditions, practices and customs. Within just three months, the site has been visited over 20 thousand times, and it is the most widely disseminated happening on the Directorate General for Rural Development (Portugal) web page, dedicated to LEADER.

3.2.3 The “Ecomuseum (of the Serra) da Lousã”: local (and regional!) memories and identities

The “Ecomuseum of the Serra da Lousã” is a local development initiative, planned by the municipality of Lousã and has been in progress since October last year.

It is basically intended to be an interconnected network of spaces with their own peculiarities but all contributing to the construction of just one cultural identity – the *Serra da Lousã*.

The function of the Ecomuseum is to “ensure the permanent and continued functions of research, conservation, utilization of local heritage and development within the territory in which the municipality of Lousã is defined, from the perspective of its development and with the participation of the people” (CML, 2000).

The lines of action for developing the project are based on establishing a network, supported by partnerships with public bodies (in the area of research, with the Coimbra Institute of Geographical Sciences) and local associations.

The strategic lines inspiring and underpinning it reveal the characteristics of an open, living, space, with a multi-nuclear structure (the hill villages of Lousã; the painting nucleus; the gastronomic and regional sweetmeats nucleus; the base, and research, nucleus; lime and tile kilns, water-mills, olive press and a restored hill cottage), functioning in a way that is articulated and decentralized.

The activities and interventions to be developed are extended to other areas, namely: creating routes for themed walks; establishing partnership protocols at national level and within the European Community, with similar Ecomuseums. Opportunities would thus be provided for experiences and know-how to be exchanged, publications about the heritage of the *Serra da Lousã* published and the traditional products of the *Serra da Lousã* promoted.

This Project is phased and the total cost is estimated at 1.5 million euros.

Acknowledging the worth of this initiative, we would like to see the other heritage “centres”, distributed around the *Serra da Lousã*, incorporated into it. The lines representing their own values could be enhanced and linked by means of the essential routes of recognition and dissemination, in partnership with the municipalities and other upland actors.

Might this not be another valid (and possible) perspective for the Ecomuseum of the *Serra da Lousã*?

4. Conclusion

We find ourselves today agreed in acknowledging that local development strategies, based on a territorial approach and on an “ascending” type of execution, complete and substantially reinforce macro-economic and structural development policies. This challenge, posed by the territorial and ascending development approach, has stimulated a response in the framework of development of policies for rural regions.

This is the case specifically with the LEADER Community Initiative, which proposes long-lasting, integrated development for rural areas based on effective and representative partnerships and on local participation.

The *Serra da Lousã* serves to show how local responses to new development challenges are differentiated and to affirm the importance both of the territories and of geography.

We have moved from the spontaneous, individual and isolated initiatives which mostly emerged in the 1980s and were restricted to the reconstruction of hill cottages, largely by neo-countryfolk, to the innovative process arising from locally applying the pioneering experience of LEADER II, with results which it is greatly hoped will be continued and intensified. This will be achieved via a strategy of territorial development that is not only innovative, but also mobilizes local actors, in the ambit of LEADER +.

The recent project to set up an Ecomuseum of the *Serra da Lousã* partly belongs to this new theoretical framework. It has come about from the need to establish a coherent network of important structures and events and of resources, with respect to both cultural and environmental considerations. The different examples of cultural amenities, public services and museums, localities and pathways of environmental quality that already exist, or are planned, could interact with one another.

We are nevertheless waiting for the day to come when a sub-regional dimension is attained (within the framework of the partnerships and actors involved), capable of lending distinction to the dimension of the cultural geography of the hills.

References

- Amirou, R. 2000, *Imaginaire du tourisme culturel*, PUF, Paris.
- Arroyo, F. M. 2006, "El desarrollo rural en el contexto de la Unión Europea", *Revista de Fomento Social*, nº 238, pp. 219-242.
- Baptista, A. J. M. 1999, *Políticas para o desenvolvimento do Interior. Um Contributo para o Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento Económico e Social 2000-2006*, Série Estudos Regionais 2, CCRC, Coimbra.
- Barros, V. C. 1998, "Desenvolvimento rural na última década", *A Rede Para o Desenvolvimento Local*, Ed. Especial (Dez Anos de Desenvolvimento Local em Portugal), Associação IN LOCO, Faro, pp. 9-13.
- Carvalho, P. 2005, *Património cultural e trajetórias de desenvolvimento em áreas de montanha. O exemplo da Serra da Lousã*, Dissertação de Doutoramento em Geografia apresentada à Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.

- Carvalho, P. 2006, "Residência secundária, patrimonialização e construção de novas ruralidades", *Comunicações do VI Colóquio Ibérico de Estudos Rurais*, UIA/AEEA/SPER, Huelva, pp. 467-499.
- Carvalho, P. e Fernandes, J. L. 2001, "Iniciativas de Desenvolvimento Local no Espaço Rural Português. O exemplo do LEADER-ELOZ (Entre Lousã e Zêzere)", in Caetano, L. (coord.), *Território, inovação e trajetórias de desenvolvimento*, Centro de Estudos Geográficos, Coimbra, pp. 241-271.
- Carvalho, P. and Fernandes, J. L. 2007, "New Logics of Development in the Countryside. A Case Study in Central Portugal (the example of the Serra da Lousã)", in Jones, G *et al.* (eds.), *Issues in Geographical Marginality: Papers presented during the Meetings of the Commission on Evolving Issues of Geographical Marginality in the early 21st Century World (2001-2004)*, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 12 pp.
- Cavaco, C. 1996, "Do despovoamento rural ao desenvolvimento local: desafio ou utopia", *Actas do Seminário Dinamismos sócio-económicos e (re)organização territorial: processos de urbanização e de reestruturação produtiva*, IEG/FLUC, Coimbra, pp. 333-355.
- Cavaco, C. 2005, "Novas formas de habitar os espaços rurais", in Medeiros, C. A. (coord.), *Geografia de Portugal. Actividades Económicas e Espaço Geográfico* (vol. 3), Círculo de Leitores, Lisboa, pp. 78-91.
- Câmara Municipal da Lousã (CML) 2000, *Ecomuseu da Serra da Lousã*, CML, Lousã, (policopiado).
- Cheshire, L. 2006, *Governing rural development*, Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Covas, A. 2006, "A ruralidade do nosso tempo: decálogo para uma 2ª modernidade", in Fonseca, M. L. (org.), *Desenvolvimento e território. Espaços rurais pós-agrícolas e novos lugares de turismo e lazer*, Centro de Estudos Geográficos, Lisboa, pp. 107-126.
- Cravidão, F. 1989, *Residência secundária e espaço rural. Duas Aldeias na Serra da Lousã – Casal Novo e Talasnal*, Coleção Estudos nº 10, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra.
- Cravidão, F. *et al.* 1998, "Regional perceptions of marginality: a view from southern Europe", in Jussila, H. *et al.* (orgs), *Perceptions of Marginality*, Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 147-163.
- Comissão de Coordenação da Região Centro 1999, *Uma região qualificada, activa e solidária – visão sobre a Região Centro para a próxima década*. Série Estudos Regionais nº 5, CCRC, Coimbra.
- Dewailly, J. M. 1998, "Images of heritage in rural regions", in Butler, R. Butler *et al.* (eds.), *Tourism and recreation in rural areas*, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester.
- Dower, M. 1998, "Um trunfo para o desenvolvimento local: o recurso património", *LEADER Magazine*, 12, AEIDL, Brussels.
- Fernandes, J. L. and Carvalho, P. 1998, Heritage as a reintegration strategy in the frontier regions: an example from the Luso-Spanish borders (a study of Elvas), *Book of Abstracts of the Second International Conference Urban Development: A Challenge for Frontier Regions.*, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, pp. 56-57.
- Fernandes, J. L. and Carvalho, P. 2003, "Património, memória e identidade: repensar o desenvolvimento", in Caetano, L. (coord.). *Território, Ambiente e Trajetórias de Desenvolvimento*, Centro de Estudos Geográficos, Coimbra, pp. 193-217.
- Gutiérrez, J. P. 2006, "Territorio, geografía rural y políticas públicas. Desarrollo y sustentabilidad en las áreas rurales", *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 41, pp. 69-95.
- Hall, D. *et al.* 2003, *New directions in rural tourism*, Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Jacinto, R. 1998, "A Região Centro e a recomposição da sua geografia: ensaio para uma leitura dos territórios e a interpretação das suas dinâmicas", *Cadernos de Geografia* (Tribute to Dr. J. M. Pereira de Oliveira), 17, IEG/FLUC, Coimbra, pp. 315-321.

- Jordão, N. 1998, "LEADER II, uma iniciativa comunitária", *LEADER II. Semear desenvolvimento, colher futuro*. Supplement of the Portuguese newspaper *Público*, nº 2962, (24/04/1998), p. 4.
- Kneafsey, M. 2001, "Rural cultural economy: tourism and social relations", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 17, pp. 449-465.
- Mannion, J. 1996, "Parcerias, participação e formação de capacidades: o desenvolvimento rural baseado em estratégias locais "ascendentes", *LEADER Magazine*, 12, AEIDL, Brussels.
- Monteiro, P. 1985, *Terra que já foi Terra. Análise sociológica de nove lugares agro-pastoris da Serra da Lousã*, Coleção Tempos Modernos, Edições Salamandra, Lisboa.
- Moreno, L. 2002, *Desenvolvimento local em meio rural: caminhos e caminbantes*. Dissertação de Doutoramento em Geografia apresentada à Universidade de Lisboa, Lisboa.
- Moreno, L. 2003, "O LEADER em Portugal Continental: contexto e elementos de uma análise geográfica de conteúdos", *Actas do V Colóquio Hispano-Português de Estudos Rurais*, Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Rurais, Lisboa, 15 pp.
- Osório M. *et al.* 1989, Aldeias da Serra da Lousã, *Arunce*, 2, Câmara Municipal da Lousã, Lousã, pp. 39-48.
- Pascual, F. G. 2006, "Políticas públicas y sustentabilidad en las zonas desfavorecidas y de montaña en España", *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 41, pp. 151-182.
- Price, M. 2007, *Mountain area research and management. Integrated approaches*, Earthscan, London.
- Rodrigues, S. 1994, *Nostalgia e construção do autêntico. Dois lugares da Serra da Lousã, Talasnal e Vaqueirinho*, Coimbra (cyclostyled).
- Vallina, J. I. 2005, *Manual para agentes de desarrollo rural*, Ediciones Mundi-Prensa, Madrid.
- Woods, M. 2007, *Rural Geography*, SAGE Publications, London.

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)

PORTUGAL'S MOUNTAIN REGIONS. CHALLENGES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Among the Earth's varied environments, mountains, with their diverse physical conditions, define an individual character in those who dwell there.

Elisée RECLUS, *L'Homme et la Terre*, 1905.

Beyond the mythical feelings, which the mountain continues to kindle in different segments of today's society, it has always held a tutelary presence in Geographical Science and particularly in Physical Geography, as a vehicle for both theoretical as well as methodological development. From Herodotus to Humboldt and Reclus and until the beginning of the 20th century, many geographers have, in one way or another, undertaken the study of mountain spaces.

It is understandable that even today, in the 20th century, the vast majority of PhD theses in Physical Geography and more specifically, in Geomorphology, have mountain spaces as their subject¹⁶.

This seems to be owed to the fact that mountains form a unique and functional landscape system which is due to their natural environment, regardless of their dimension, altitude or the patterns of life they sustain¹⁷ (RECLUS, 1905; DIÉGUEZ, 1980).

¹⁶ O. RIBEIRO (1937), A. F. MARTINS (1949), F. REBELO (1975), A. B. FERREIRA (1978), L. CUNHA (1988), A. S. PEDROSA (1993), L. LOURENÇO (1995), L. RODRIGUES (1998), A. M. ROCHETTE CORDEIRO (2003), G. VIEIRA (2004), A. VIEIRA (2009), among others.

¹⁷ To promote the sustainable development of mountain areas the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) proclaimed 2002 to be an International Year of Mountains.

What is a mountain?

Quoting Bernard DEBARBIEUX (2001) there are two geographical ways of analysing mountain spaces. Firstly, they can be examined from an 'absolute perspective', which is connected to its cartographic representation. In this case a mountain would be defined as: great reliefs of the earth's surface, large in dimension, high in altitude and with steep slopes, like the Andes, the Himalayas, and the Alps are considered to be. Secondly, the mountain can be studied from a 'relative perspective', namely in relation to its rural occupation of space, agricultural, silvicolous or pastoral. As such the mountain can be recognised as having a differentiated structural landscape which is situated above a place of observation and identification. In this way, we can classify the Serras da Boa Viagem (250 m), Sicó (553 m) or Buçaco (527 m) as mountain spaces, in spite of their reduced dimension or altitude.

Equally, Yvette VEYRET (2001) suggests two criteria for defining mountain spaces or mountain territories. The first criteria is based on the natural-physical features, essentially the geomorphological elements. In other words, the mountain is the opposite of low lands, plains and valleys, or of flat-plateaued areas. The second criteria involves distinguishing the ways of life and features of the people living there, as Reclus, Dupaigne and Saussure had attempted to do.

It was from the aforementioned perspective, relatively and comparatively, that we wrote this text on some aspects of the mountains located in Central Portugal and on the upcoming challenges for the 21st century.

Depending on the time, place, or socio-economic and cultural contexts as well as the authors who wrote about them, the mountain as a geographic object or entity has been seen in many different ways. Thus, have been ascribed different meanings and functions that rapidly and non-systematically are remembered.

According to Y. VEYRET the mountain has been seen both as a political barrier or frontier, as well as a sacred space of identification and union for its people. It has not only been seen as something sublime, grandiose, beautiful and romantic, while at the same time being a purifying and

invigorating space (J. J. ROUSSEAU), but at times it has also been seen as a barren and frightening space, which is sometimes cursed and feared. It has also been viewed as a wild and empty space, which has also been referred to as a place of conquest and refuge¹⁸. It has also been regarded as a space of natural resources for timber, forests, mineral and energy resources, but above all water, as well as an ecological landscape and environmental sanctuary. Finally, it has been regarded as a traditional rural space, known for its stability and endurance of values not to be found in today's urban-industrial society, which gives it great significance for tourism and recreation, such as active and sports tourism, as well as rural and environmental tourism.

Mountains in Portugal

Generally speaking, Portugal cannot really be described as a mountainous country. Just under 12% of the 89 500 sq km of mainland Portugal is at an altitude of more than 700m, while less than 0.5% rises to over 1200 m (DAVEAU, 1995, based on CHOFFAT, 1907; Figs 1 and 2).

¹⁸ Refuge for some marginal communities or even for political or freedom fighters. Let us cite two paradigmatic cases in Portuguese History: the occupation of the *Montes Herminios* for the *Lusitanos* in its fight against the Roman invaders, or, more recently, the resistance against the Indonesian occupation in mountains of Timor.

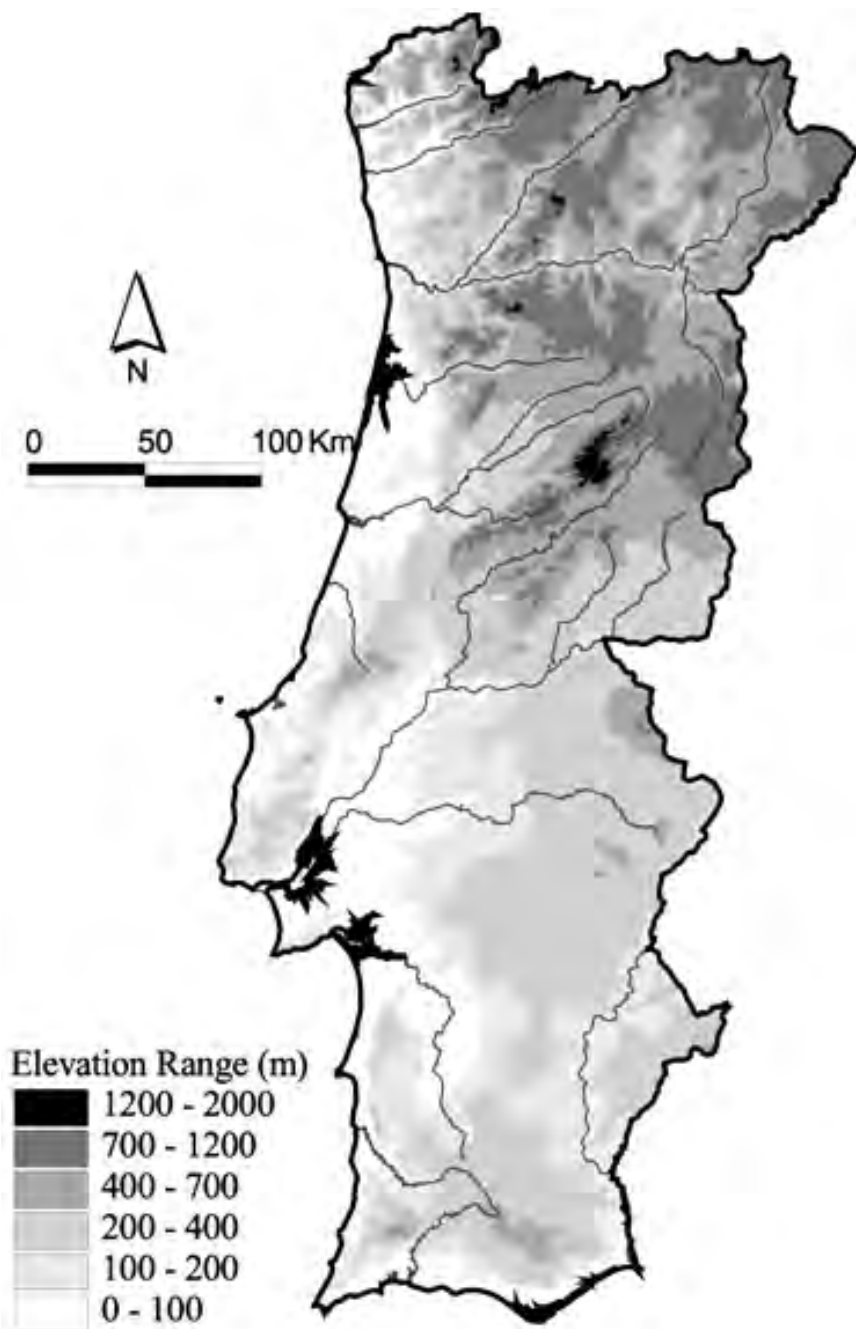


Fig. 1 – Hypsometric map of Portugal

But when we consider the size of the country, its landscape compartmentalisation and the interaction of the natural features of the land with the lifestyles of its people, we can still, without any doubt, speak about mountainous geographical regions in Portugal. These occupy approximately 18% of Portugal's territory.

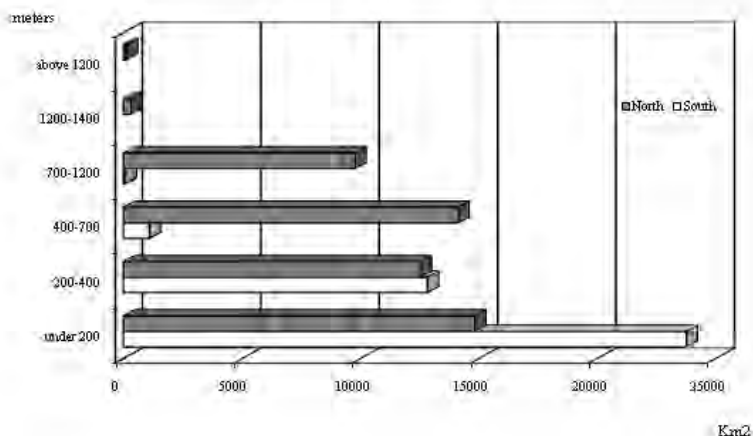


Fig. 2 – Altimetric classes in Portugal (DAVEAU, 1995)

The Portuguese *serras* (mountain ranges) are essentially associated with tectonic influences, particularly with the uplifts of the Alpine orogeny (Cenozoic), although in most cases the Alpine movements had only rearranged older events from the late Hercynian age (end of the Palaeozoic period). In the Hesperian Massif we find granite *serras* (Serra da Estrela, Gerês, Marão), schist *serras* (usually lower-lying, given their reduced lithological strength, such as those of Açor, Lousã Alvão), and quartzitic *serras*, aligned strictly in accordance with the Hercynian directions (Valongo, Buçaco, S. Mamede). On the western and southern Mesocenozoic Rims we find significantly lower ranges (barely over 400 m), which are much smaller (a hundred sq km). These are also essentially tectonic in origin, and they are, as a rule, associated with harder, karstifiable outcrops of limestone from the mid Jurassic period (Serras de Sicó, de Candeeiros, de Aire and da Arrábida), or with Alpine granite intrusions (Serras de Sintra and Monchique).

In Portugal, *serras* are mostly found north of the Tejo river, and they have been significant both from the standpoint of history and, at least until the 1960s, as an important element in the country's geography. This is expressed equally in the detailed compartmentalisation of the landscape, and in the complementary nature of relations that the sylvan and pastoral lifestyles of the mountains have with respect to the agricultural ways of life of the plateaus and valleys. Of particular importance is the transhumance of the flocks of sheep, which descend to the plains during the winter, and return to the hillside grazing lands in the spring – this takes place on the Serra da Estrela and Serra do Montemuro, for example.

With the progressive abandonment of rural spaces which have been occurring especially since the 60s, there will be important transformations of mountain spaces registered. Perhaps the most important is the gradual process of depopulation, in which rarefaction is accompanied by an ageing population and is at the same time, the cause and consequence for the transformation and destruction of the agro-silvo-pastoral economy, which was associated to communitarian practices and to the collective ownership of land (PEREIRA, 1988).

The geomorphological specificity of the mountains

Topographical conditions (altitude; slopes; morphological diversity in short spaces), climatic conditions (higher heavier precipitations; lower temperatures; increased wind speeds; more liable to fog; rarefied atmosphere, and lower carbon dioxide and water vapour content), and bio-geographical conditions of mountain regions explain the greater dynamic of the geomorphological processes, at the level of erosion, transport and accumulation processes. This powerful individual geomorphological dynamic is, more than anything else, responsible for the diverse series of forms whose genetic specificity, coupled with their spectacular and singular nature, greatly enhance their value as environmental and scenic assets. Taking the Limestone Massifs of the *Serras* of the Western Mesocenoic Rim and the granite *Serras da Estrela* and *do Montemuro*, on the Hesperian Massif, for

instance, there are many examples of spectacular mountain scenery. In the first group, the formations and landscapes are caused by karstic processes, as in the case of the remarkable Minde polje, the amazing fluvial-karstic canyons, mysterious caves, and enigmatic “buracas”. The landscape of the Serra da Estrela, in particular, betrays signs left by the last glaciations, among which are the glaciated valleys of the river Zêzere. Given that it is a fault valley and that it is located in the NE sector (more sheltered!) of the Massif, it extends for a considerable distance. In addition, there are the many lakes that make use of the irregular sub-glacial topography, and the huge blocks thrown up from the glacial moraine, like the *Poio do Judeu*. In the cases of both the Serra da Estrela and the Serra do Montemuro, the granite substrate is responsible for a range of unusual and whimsical forms, which are quite spectacular, like castle koppies and tors, not to mention the smaller ones, such as “balanced stones”, “weathering pits” and tafoni, which appear on many rock surfaces.

The biophysical conditions of mountain areas that justify these greater and more varied dynamics of geomorphological processes which have an immediate translation in the spectacular, detailed and general morphology also have strong implications in the chain of events of many rapidly evolving slopes that shape the so-called natural risks.



Fig. 3 – Some geomorphological features of mountains in Central Portugal
(Serras de Montemuro, Estrela e Sicó)

The transformation of the ways and conditions of life on the mountains which has taken place in what are termed the developed countries, and which has essentially occurred in Portugal from the 1960s, has led to a

clear attenuation of the importance of physical factors in the lives of those who dwell there. In other words, the deterministic character of the Nature-Mankind relations in mountain regions is now less potent. Natural risks that are especially prevalent in the mountains (avalanches; landslides; small floods; extremes of climate – snowstorms) no longer condition the life of the increasingly sparser local populations, but they do have a critical influence on citizens' capacity to use mountains for recreational and tourist purposes. In the past, the indigenous people once lived with these extreme conditions, which were sometimes on the scale of Natural disasters, almost as a matter of course, regarding them as supernatural manifestations of a divine power that controlled their lives with blessings, but also with punishments. Nowadays, the outsiders who go to the mountains are less able to endure the dangers of natural events.

In Portugal, as there are not very many days when the ground is covered by snow, and as the mountains, even the Serra da Estrela, the highest range in mainland Portugal, are not very high, there is virtually no risk of avalanches occurring. The geomorphological risks of landslides and flash floods do, however, exist in most of the country's mountain ranges. Such events sometimes lead to real disasters, as was the case in the 2000/2001 winter, when over 70 people died and around 500 million dollars of damage was caused.

Always present are the risks of weather conditions associated to storms, snowfalls or even fog, which impair visibility and the conditions for circulation which often endanger those visiting the mountain areas.

The Mediterranean aspects of Portugal's climate, even in the heart of the mountains, means that one of the chief hazards affecting the lives of Mountain dwellers today is, without a shadow of a doubt, the risk of forest fire. Related to pastoral activities, where they remain, forest fires are also caused by a somewhat dense forestation, which is almost always disorganised, or involve other activities that many people, today, are still doing to try to make the fragile mountain spaces profitable. However, we can say that the major cause for the elevated number of fires and their intensity is believed to be related to the general state of abandonment, in which most rural areas, and especially the Portuguese mountain areas, are in.

They occur every summer, steadily ruining a valuable asset and placing in danger the lives of people who, because of their demographic (especially advanced age), social, cultural and economic characteristics, are particularly vulnerable. To give us some idea of the scale and seriousness of this very real scourge, we need look no further than some figures for the Serra da Estrela Natural Park.

According to NUNES (2001), between 1980 and 1999 there were around 7154 fires (more than 350 per year!), burning a total area of 89 200 hectares which corresponds to approximately 88% of the total National Park area, if there weren't, an overlapping of burnt areas, from the various fires.

Recent changes in traditional rural areas

Certain demographic characteristics are common to almost all mountain regions in Portugal. They include low population density (fig. 4); progressive depopulation; ageing of the population, and the continuing importance of the primary sector. The mountain areas of Sicó and Montemuro are clear examples of these situations. Very low population densities are attributable to the population losses sustained in the second half of the last century, and in some parishes there were fewer than 20 people per sq km in 2001.

Even so, during the last decade (1991-2001) significant losses have been continuously registered and have reached totals higher than 20% in Maciço de Sicó and 30% in certain parishes of the Serras de Montemuro, Açor and Lousã (fig. 5), to list a few examples.

The progressive abandonment of rural areas that occurred from the 1960s meant that mountain regions saw a steady depleting and ageing of their populations. The transformation of agro-silvo-pastoral economies often linked to communitarian practices and the collective ownership of land, to a more modern sylviculture, where the pine and eucalyptus reign supreme, to the detriment of native species.

Despite the dense forestation to which some mountain areas have been subjected, weak human pressure and the kind of activities developed in them have helped to ensure that the outstanding, contrasting landscapes still endure there. These landscapes retain their natural flavour, enhanced by existence of floral species that are important evidence of native Peninsular vegetation, instances of significant endemism and providing refuges for many kinds of animals under threat from farming and forestry activities, as well as recreational pursuits (hunting and fishing). They are also very often the last custodians of cultures, traditions and ways of life that are genuinely rural, and which are today cherished from an environmental standpoint, not to mention their value in tourism and economic terms to a society that is more urbanised, globalised and standardised with each year that passes. This is why, of the twelve National and Natural Parks (fig. 6) that comprise the fulcrum of the network of Portugal's protected areas, 2/3, or around 75% of the area, are *serras*, that is, regions which, at least in the regional context, may be regarded as mountain spaces. When we consider the protected areas embraced by what is known as the Nature 2000 network (fig. 7), the expression of the mountains is further boosted (60% of the sites, but 80% of the total area).

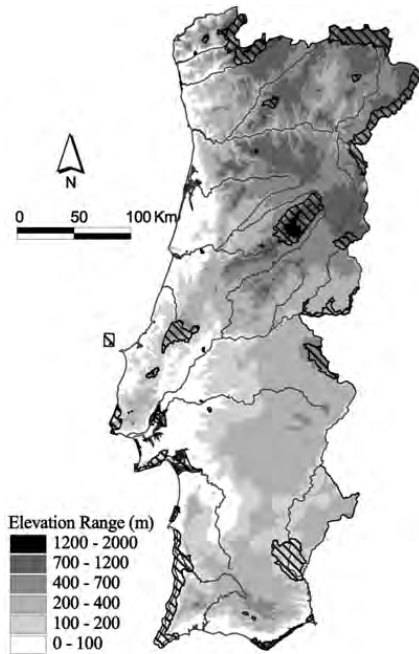


Fig. 6 – Protected areas in Portugal:
Natural parks

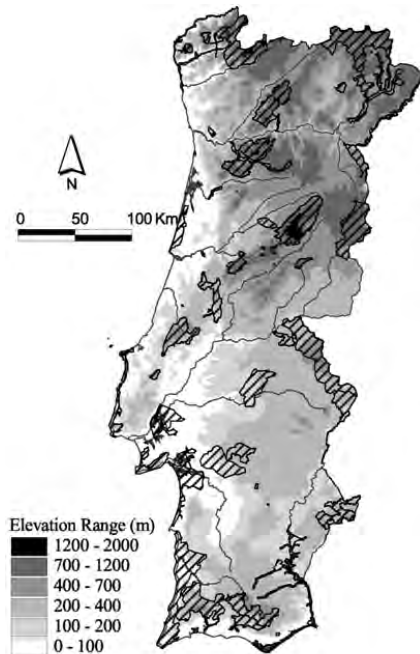


Fig. 7 – Protected areas in Portugal:
Natura 2000 network

Mountains, tourism and leisure

Of all Portugal's *serras*, the Serra da Estrela, as the highest region in mainland Portugal, is most in demand for recreational tourist pursuits. Data gathered by Fernandes (1998 and 2008) show that the Serra da Estrela region received a total of 114 000 tourists in 1995 (81% of whom were Portuguese) and 152 000 in 2001. Recent trends indicate an increase in that number, as well as a strengthening of the domestic component. The Serra da Estrela currently has quite good amenities in terms of infrastructures (Hotels, Pousadas, Rural Tourism establishments, Campsites), and in relation to the organisation of tourist activities, provides visitors with events, adventure tourism and sports tourism, which suggests a rosy future for this sector. On the other hand, tourism generates a significant environmental impact in an area which is environmentally

protected by law (and those which are a part of Portugal's Natural Park(s) network).

Seasonality is less of an issue than it is for Portugal's more traditional tourism segments (Sun and Sea, and Spa tourism), formal tourism, or accommodation in licensed establishments, is considerably bolstered by a large number of day trippers who take advantage of sunny winter days to enjoy the snow on the peaks of the Serra, or summer days, when they can wander around, observe and appreciate the natural landscapes in the ever-beautiful rural scenery.

In general, the other mountains in central Portugal are less in demand for leisure and outdoor activities; even so, remain important. Special attention should be focussed on the Serras do Buçaco and Caramulo whose natural heritage and luxurious hotels provide a high demand for tourism and leisure.

In other mountain areas, notably the Serras de Sicó and do Montemuro, which have been taken as examples, formal tourist activities are still in their infancy. But these spaces are systematically being visited by informal groups of ramblers, and are especially being singled out for radical sports (mountaineering; climbing; rappel; slide; potholing). Although this use has not yet had any real economic expression in terms of local job and wealth creation, it is nevertheless serving to publicise, valorise and help preserve these spaces.

A totally different situation is found in the mountain areas close to the coast and the major urban centres, like the case of the Serras de Sintra and da Arrábida. Here, tourist pressure, and even property pressure, is so great that it frequently enters into open conflict with the environmental protection activities of bodies charged with the management of the protected areas of which they form a part.

Conclusion: challenges for Portugal's mountains

The mountain started off as a place of refuge, conquest and challenge; it became a marginal area, witnessing economic and demographic decline, and now represents a potential for regional conservation and economic enhancement, which should be given due consideration.

Throughout the text we have given a brief presentation of some mountain areas in central Portugal and have tried to show the importance of these natural resources, landscapes and environments which Portuguese mountains have as a part of local and regional development, albeit fragile from an economic perspective, but with some sustainability at a social and environmental level. The complex way in which, throughout history, societies were integrated with the natural elements originated in mountain complex territories and landscapes, which encompass different functions, and consequently different potentials and weaknesses which should be systematised.

In reference to its functional differentiation, it is possible to distinguish mountain spaces in Central Portugal which continue to be essentially agro-pastoral: for example, Serra do Montemuro; essentially forestal, such as the Serras do Açor and Lousã; those particularly designated for leisure and tourist activities, such as the Serras da Boa Viagem and Sintra; those in which conservation activities are connected to leisure and tourist activities, such as the Serras da Estrela, Caramulo and Buçaco; and finally areas in which there is conflict between conservation activities which are often linked to leisure, and to extractive activities or cattle raising activities with a strong negative impact on the environment.

Apart from the difference of the natural characteristics, the positions they occupy geographically and their economic and social use, mountain areas in Central Portugal share potentials and weaknesses which are important to consider in relation to regional and local political development. These potentialities are mainly related to environmental values (landscape, natural heritage, hydric and forestal resources, and cultural heritage) which have been increased due to their good accessibility and have been progressively implemented in almost all mountain areas.

The weaknesses are usually due to the demographic, social and cultural characteristics of the population as well as to some environmental degradation situations related to incorrect exploitation of mountain resources.

Environmental discourses and the universal sense of “political correctness” today insist on calling attention to the environmental degradation (particularly to deforestation and the loss of bio-diversity) occurring in

mountain areas, in relation to the activities that are currently attempting to promote and render profitable those spaces that are most marginal. This arises from a perspective and social representation of the mountain as a natural if not actually virgin, space, which at least still retains much of the wild character already lost to other territories.

But if recreational and tourist activities are properly organised and structured, integrated into broader development policies that respect the environmental quality of the land, and the social and cultural values of the people living there, they can be a powerful tool for local development; they can generate wealth and encourage young people to settle there. If they have no other impact, the necessary improvements in road infrastructure, the restoration of traditional buildings (chapels; country cottages, shepherds shelters), the promotion of traditional products (cheese, honey, chestnuts; wine, smoked meats and sausages) and the ethnographic valorisation of the area (crafts; festive processions) will always signify development and the fostering of quality of life for the small populations of unfairly treated mountain dwellers.

References

- CABERO DIÉGUEZ, V. (1980), Estado actual de las regiones montañosas, Asociación de Geógrafos españoles - *La Region y la Geografía Española*, Valladolid, pp. 243-258
- CORDEIRO, A. M. Rochette (2004), *Dinâmica de vertentes em montanhas ocidentais do Portugal Central*. Diss. Doutoramento, Coimbra.
- CUNHA, L. (1988), *As serras calcárias de Condeixa-Sicó-Alvaiázere. Estudo de Geomorfologia*, Diss. Doutoramento, Coimbra.
- CUNHA, L. (2003), Maciço de Sicó. Valorização dos recursos naturais e criação de emprego a nível local, *In* CAETANO, L. (coord.), *Territórios, do global ao local e trajetórias de desenvolvimento*, CEGC, Coimbra, pp. 185-198
- DAVEAU, S. (1971), La glaciation de la Serra da Estrela. *Finisterra*, Lisboa, VI/11, pp. 5-40
- DAVEAU, S. (1995), *Portugal Geográfico*. Edições João Sá e Costa, Lisboa
- DEBARBIEUX, B. (2001), La montagne: un objet géographique?, *In* VEYRET, Y. *Les montagnes. Discours et enjeux géographiques*, SEDES, DIEM (Dossier des images économiques du Monde), Liège, pp. 11-34
- DEVY-VARETA, N. (1993), *A Floresta no espaço e no tempo em Portugal*. Diss. Doutoramento, Porto, 459 p.
- FERNANDES, G. (1998), *Regiões de montanha: dinâmicas territoriais no extremo ocidental da Cordilheira Central – A Serra da Estrela*. Diss. Mestrado, Covilhã

- FERNANDES, G. (2008), *Dinâmicas territoriais e políticas de ordenamento do território em espaços de montanha. O sector Oeste da Cordilheira Central Ibérica*. Diss. Doutoramento, Universidade Nova de Lisboa
- FERREIRA, A. B. (1978), *Planaltos e montanhas do Norte da Beira. Estudo de Geomorfologia*, CEG, Memórias, 4, Lisboa
- FERREIRA, N. and VIEIRA, G. (1999), *Guia geológico e geomorfológico do Parque Natural da Serra da Estrela*. ICN e IGM, Lisboa
- LOURENÇO, L. (1995), *Serras de xisto do Centro de Portugal. Contribuição para o seu conhecimento geomorfológico e geo-ecológico*. Diss. Doutoramento, Coimbra
- MARTINS, A. F. (1949), *Maciço Calcário Estremenho. Contribuição para um estudo de Geografia Física*. Diss. Doutoramento, Coimbra
- NUNES, A. (2001), *Incêndios florestais no Parque Natural da Serra da Estrela*. Diss. Mestrado, Coimbra
- PEDROSA, A. S. (1993), *Serra do Marão. Estudo de Geomorfologia*. Diss. Doutoramento, Porto
- PEREIRA, J. V. (1988), *Serra do Caramulo. Desintegração de um espaço rural*. Diss. Doutoramento. Coimbra
- REBELO, Fernando (1975), *Serras de Valongo. Estudo de Geomorfologia*. Biblos (supl. 9), Coimbra
- RECLUS, E. (1998), *La montaña* (tradução para castelhano do original de 1873 por Modesto Blanco Sánchez). Amarú Ed., Salamanca
- RIBEIRO, Orlando (1937), *A Arrábida – esboço geográfico*. Revista da Faculdade de Letras, IV/ 1 e 2, Lisboa
- RODRIGUES, L. (1998), *Evolução geomorfológica quaternária e dinâmica actual. Aplicações ao Ordenamento do Território – exemplos no Maciço Calcário Estremenho*. Diss. Doutoramento, Lisboa
- ROUGERIE, G. (1990), *Les montagnes dans la biosphère*. Armand Colin, Coll. U, Paris
- VEYRET, Y. (2001), Introduction. In VEYRET, Y., *Les montagnes. Discours et enjeux géographiques*, SEDES, DIEM (Dossier des images économiques du Monde), Liège
- VEYRET, Yvette (2001), Risques et gestion de l'environnement. In VEYRET, Y., *Les montagnes. Discours et enjeux géographiques*, SEDES, DIEM (Dossier des images économiques du Monde), Liège
- VIEIRA, António (2001), *A Serra do Montemuro. Contributo da Geomorfologia para a análise da paisagem enquanto recurso turístico*. Diss. Mestrado, Coimbra
- VIEIRA, António (2009), *Serra de Montemuro : dinâmicas geomorfológicas, evolução da paisagem e património natura*. Diss. Doutoramento, Coimbra
- VIEIRA, Gonçalo (2004) – *Geomorfologia dos planaltos e altos vales da Serra da Estrela. Ambientes frios do Plistocénico Superior e dinâmica actual*. Dissertação de Doutoramento em Geografia (área de especialização em Geografia Física), apres. à Universidade de Lisboa

Série Investigação

•

Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra

Coimbra University Press

2012

Obra Publicada

com a coordenação

Científica

CEGOT

Universidades de Coimbra,
Porto e Minho

