

STORIES OF LABOUR IN A COMMUNITY OF GALICIAN WORKER-PEASANTS

**SANTIAGO DE CARREIRA:  
STORIES OF LABOUR IN A COMMUNITY OF  
GALICIAN WORKER-PEASANTS**

By

SHARON RUTH ROSEMAN, B.A. (Hons.), M.A.

A Thesis  
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies  
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

(C) Copyright by Sharon Ruth Roseman, June, 1993

Doctor of Philosophy (1993)  
(Anthropology)

McMaster University  
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: *Santiago de Carreira: Stories of Labour in a Community of Galician  
Worker- Peasants*

AUTHOR: Sharon Ruth Roseman, B.A.(Hons.) (University of Toronto)

M.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor David R. Counts

NUMBER OF PAGES: xvii, 424

O lugar de Carreira,  
Muy bonito de vexer  
Ten un loureiro  
no medio  
que afumía  
sin arder.

The village of Carreira  
is very beautiful to see.  
It has a bay tree  
in the middle  
that smoked  
without burning away.

(Oral verse, Santiago de Carreira)



## **Abstract**

In this thesis, I examine worker-peasant social and cultural patterns in Santiago de Carreira, a rural parish located in the region of Galicia in northwestern Spain. Based on historical and ethnographic research conducted from September 1990 to August 1991, this study provides an analysis of multioccupationality in the context of a mixed economy in this community over the course of the twentieth century. Following Douglas Holmes (1983, 1989), among others, I argue that worker-peasantries are not necessarily transitional and often represent a viable alternative to either commercial farming or full proletarianization.

Members of households in the parish of Carreira remain committed to subsistence agricultural production, despite the fact that many of them have participated in various forms of wage labour locally and in migrant destinations. Four broad worker-peasant strategies are discussed in the thesis: the reproduction of a stem-family household pattern; the elaboration of a worker-peasant work ethic; the valorization of non-wage labour; and the maintenance of inter-household exchange relationships. These strategies mediate the effects of capitalist penetration. In the face of few opportunities for secure wage

employment, the Carreirenses, like other European worker-peasants, have kept their land in production. The three-generation stem-family household system, when combined with multiple forms of livelihood, allows for the flexible movement of household members of both genders in and out of the wage market.

I also focus extensively on the symbols, metaphors, and meanings that the Carreirenses attach to work activities and exchange relationships. This local-level perspective is communicated with verbatim accounts of work, life stories of labour, and social memories of significant events in the past. In this thesis, I emphasize that these Spanish villagers continuously craft their own lives in the face of difficult structural circumstances and strong pressures towards economic globalization and cultural homogenization.

## Acknowledgements

I am forever indebted to the members of the parish of Santiago de Carreira for their support and encouragement of my research and their warm extension of friendship. Soon after I had arrived there Concepción, a Carreirense friend, told me that I was “ *faladora* ,” a Galician word meaning both talkative and companionable. She remarked that if I were not, I would not have been able to travel a far distance from my home and ask to live among strangers. Perhaps this evocative Galician adjective can be added to the list of ways anthropologists are described by the people we intrude upon. I only hope that I have done justice to the many conversations I had with the Carreirense in transforming our spoken words into written form. After a discussion, they frequently asked me whether ‘our talk’ (*nosa fala* ) had been helpful. This thesis is my grateful response.

I must express special thanks to my Galician family: Manuel, Perfecto, Delfina, Fernando, David, Beatriz and Miguel. I am also grateful for the tremendous moral and intellectual support I received from anthropological colleagues in Spain: Joaquín Rodríguez Campos and his wife Ana, José Antonio Fernández de Rota and his wife Pilar Irimía, Marcial Gondar Portasany, Carmelo Lisón Tolosana and his wife Julia Houssemayne, and Susana de la Gala González. Thank you as well to all the teachers in the schools of Santa

Comba and Zás where my journey began. I must expressly single out María José Ares Cassal, María Teresa García Argulló, and Teresa do Pico Ribeira. My thanks to Don Manuel Carreira for his help and interest in my project when he became the new parish priest of Carreira. The historical and regional background material for the study could not have been completed in the short time it was without the help of the staff at several institutions: the township archives in the Ayuntamiento de Zás; the Ministerio de Hacienda, Director General de Propiedades y Contribución Territorial Catastro de la Riqueza Rústica (A Coruña); Xunta ministries: Servicio de Sanidad y Producción Animal, Consellería de Agricultura, Ganadería y Montes (A Coruña), Consellería de Agricultura (Santiago de Compostela), Señor Carreira of the Consellería de Agricultura, Pesca e Alimentación, Dirección Xeral de Planificación e Desenvolvemento Rural (A Coruña), the Archivos Históricos, Archivo Diocesano, Monasterio San Martín Pinario (Santiago de Compostela), and the Archivo del Reino de Galicia (A Coruña). I am also grateful to Wayne Fife, Carmen Riveiro Ferreiro, and Amparo García Fariña for the long hours of work they spent transcribing archival information for me.

The members of my dissertation committee have always offered me unreserved intellectual guidance, and never ceased to express enthusiasm and faith in my work. They must know how important this has been to my progress. Thank you David Counts, Ellen Badone, and Dorothy Ayers Counts.

I also want to thank Wayne Fife, Cath Oberholtzer, and Sally Cole for

reading and commenting on various parts of the thesis. To Cath, thank you for lending me your editorial ears and eyes. Many thanks to Sally Cole and Heidi Kelley for helpful conversations about Atlantic Portugal and Galicia, and about the dilemmas of constructing ethnographic texts. I would also like to thank my grandmother Edith Kerdman, my parents Gloria and Frank, and my siblings Leah and David for constant encouragement and a genuine interest in anthropology. To Wayne, I will never find the words to thank you sufficiently for your affection, wisdom, patience, and confidence.

I am also grateful to the institutions that funded the period of research in Spain and the process of writing the thesis back in Canada: the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Council for European Studies, the Gerontology Programme at McMaster University, and the Ontario Ministry of Education (in the provision of a Queen Elizabeth II Ontario Scholarship).

## **Preface**

Despite a long tradition of using pseudonyms in anthropology, I have used the name of the parish in this thesis because the Carreirense wished me to do so. I also believe that using the correct name will further ethnographic comparison and intellectual dialogue between North American and European scholars working in Galicia. In almost all cases in the text, however, the names of individuals and households have been altered to protect their identity.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations into English are my own.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Title Page	i
Descriptive Note	ii
Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	vi
Preface	ix
Table of Contents	x
Maps, Tables, Figures, and Illustrations	xv
<u>Chapter One: Introduction</u>	1
The Worker-Peasant Problem in European Anthropology	4
Defining Worker-Peasantries	14
Agency and Work Identities	24
Locating the Study in Space and Time	28
Methodology: Co-residence, Language, and Work	39
Outline of Discussion	48
Chapter One -- Endnotes	53
<u>Chapter Two: 'One Has To a Bit of Everything': Occupational Complexity and Household Cycles Over the Twentieth Century</u>	56
Galician Population and Migration Patterns: Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries	58

	Page
The Galician Stem-Family Household	62
'Os Traballos de Sempre' (The Work We've Always Done): Rural Work in Galician History	67
Labour in Carreira: Workers and Peasants	82
Glimpses from the Mid-Eighteenth Century: The Ensenada Records	82
The Occupational History of Carreira: The Padrón Census Records Over the Twentieth Century	85
The Occupational History of Five Households	96
Casa de Miguel de Lado	101
Casa das Herbas	106
Casa de Susana	110
Casa de Curros	116
Casa do Peña Grande	121
Chapter Summary	126
Chapter Two -- Endnotes	127
<u>Chapter Three: 'Working for the Household' -- Household Reproduction and Work Identities</u>	130
' <i>Traballando pra a Casa</i> ' (Working for the Household)	133
Earning the Land	134
Earning One's 'Daily Bread'	139
Working Outside the Household: Stories of Wage Labour	143
The Work of an Itinerant Seamstress: Sara's Life	144
Sara's Story	145
Seamstresses and Other Artisans in the Rural Galician Context: Economic Stratification, Skill, and Socialization	153
Pepe: A Story of Migrant Work in Switzerland	164



	Page
Pepe's Story	167
Wage Work: Specialization, Networks, and Moonlighting	174
Chapter Summary	180
Chapter Three -- Endnotes	184
<u>Chapter Four: 'Working to Eat' -- The Emphasis on Subsistence Labour</u>	187
Subsistence Labour: The Unpaid Work of Producing and Processing Food	190
Images of Self-sufficiency from the Past: Linen Cloth and Maize Bread	201
Flax into Linen	204
Maize Bread -- Galician <i>Broa</i>	211
The Transformation of the Festive into the Mundane: Ambivalent Constructions of 'Peasant' Food	216
'Always Working' ( <i>Sempre Traballando</i> ): Daily Labour in Carreira	224
The Work of Provisioning Water and Fuel	225
The Work of Animal Husbandry	228
Cattle	230
Pigs	234
Fowl	236
Other Animals	238
The Daily Gathering and Processing of Food	239
Crop Production	243
Land Consolidation	246
Combining Crops on Unitary Fields	253
Crop Rotation	256
Annual Cycle	259

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter Summary	269
Chapter Four -- Endnotes	275
<u>Chapter Five: Kin, Neighbours and Community</u> <u>--The Meaning and Practice of Exchange</u>	278
Layered Expectations: From Generalized to Balanced Exchange	285
'Good Neighbours': Examples of Generalized Exchange	289
Loss and Community: Generalized Attendance at Death Vigils and Funeral Masses	300
'O Carreto ': Generalized Exchange, Cooperation and Wage Labour	304
The Importance of Inexact Change: Keeping Commercial Relations Open	308
'Andabase en Roga ': Vertical Labour Exchange in the Past	312
Examples of Horizontal Labour Exchange in the Present:	
Planting and Haymaking	316
Ritual Exchange: Godparent Obligations	331
Rotational Exchange	341
'Bota o Gando ' (Let out the Animals): Rotational Shepherding	341
St. Anthony's Pig	343
Rotational Use of Watermills	344
Rotational Stewardship of Village Water Cisterns	347
Rotational Supply of Firewood and Water for School	349
'Building the Road': Constructing the Past and Reinventing Tradition	350
'How We Built the Road' ( <i>Como Facemos a Carretera</i> )	352
Volunteered or Appropriated Labour? The Reinvention of Horizontal Reciprocity in Late Twentieth Century Galicia	360
Agency and Historical Narratives	366
Chapter Summary	367

	Page
Chapter Five -- Endnotes	371
Chapter Six: Conclusion	375
Four Worker-Peasant Strategies	377
Peasant Family Household Reproduction	378
A Worker-Peasant Work Ethic -- "Working Always" and "Doing a Bit of Everything"	381
Valorization of Non-Wage Labour -- the Emphasis on Subsistence Agriculture	382
Community Reciprocity	384
Constructing Identities: History and Community	387
References Cited	392

## **List of Maps, Tables, Figures, and Illustrations**

### **Maps**

	Page
Map 1. Map of Spain and Portugal showing location of Galicia	31
Map 2. Map of Galicia showing location of Santiago de Carreira	32
Map 3. Map of the Zás region	33
Map 4. Section of land in Santiago de Carreira when land consolidation petitioned in 1975	248
Map 5. Map of Santiago de Carreira in relation to surrounding fields	249

### **Tables**

	Page
Table 2.1 Summary of total number of households listing particular occupations over the 20th century	90
Table 2.2 Non-agricultural occupations performed locally by parish residents from 1950 - 1990	91
Table 2.3 Occupations and destinations of reported migrants in 1925, 1947, and 1965	93
Table 2.4 Occupations of adult males and females	94-95

## **Tables continued**

	Page
Table 2.5 Population of Santiago de Carreira over 20th century	98
Table 4.1 Classification and compensation coefficients of land in Mira-Carreira	251
Table 4.2 Summary of initial results of land concentration in Mira-Carreira	252
Table 4.3 Annual cycle of agricultural production	260
Table 5.1 Members of Sara's planting party	322

## **Figures**

	Page
Figure 2.1 Age distribution of residents of Santiago de Carreira	99
Figure 2.2 Age distribution of male and female residents of Santiago de Carreira	99
Figure 2.3 The household and occupational cycle of Casa de Miguel do Lado in 20th century municipal census records	104-105
Figure 2.4 The household and occupational cycle of Casa das Herbas in 20th century municipal census records	108-109
Figure 2.5 The household and occupational cycle of Casa de Susana in 20th century Municipal census records	114-115

## **Figures continued**

	Page
Figure 2.6 The household and occupational cycle of Casa de Curros in 20th century municipal census records	120
Figure 2.7 The household and occupational cycle of Casa do Peña Grande in 20th century municipal census records	124-125
Figure 4.1 Distribution of crops on Susana's plot in 1991	255
Figure 4.2 Concepción's field rotation (1990 and 1991)	258
Figure 5.1 Godparent links between two households	337

## **Illustrations**

	Page
1. A granary built several decades ago with locally quarried granite (photograph by author, 1991)	219
2. A cement granary built in the 1980s (photograph by author, 1991)	219
3. Building the Road, 1964 (anonymous photographer)	355

## Chapter One: Introduction

"I went with the cows."

"Wait, I'll write this down," I said.

"Then you'll have what a seventy-two year old Gallega does,"

Concepción replied. "Look at how much work an old lady does all day."

"Okay, tell us," I invited, turning over a page of my notebook.

*Fui coas vacas.*

I went with the cows [in the morning].

*Viña xuntei.*

I came back to eat [mid-day meal].

*Despois fun durmir un cachiño.*

Then I went to sleep a little.

*E despois enxugei as vacas.*

And then I went to muck out the cows.

*E despois fun enxugar os porcos.*

And then I went to muck out the pigs.

*E despois botei-lle trigo as gallinas.*

And then I gave the hens wheat.

*E despois botei-lle berças.*

And then I gave them greens.

*E berças aos porcos.*

And greens to the pigs.

*E despoise limpiei a eira . . . herbas e berças por todo.*  
And then I cleaned the yard . . . there was grass and greens  
everywhere.

*Despois levei herba a becerro.*  
Then I took grass to the calf.

*E despois levei-a a cucha.*  
And then I took it [grass] to the female calf.

*E despois lavei os cacharros.*  
And then I washed the dishes [from the mid-day meal].

*E despois fun as castañas novas.*  
And then I went to [get] new potatoes [in the field].

*E despois fun os garbanzos.*  
And then I went to [get] peas.

*E agora vin a lousa.*  
And now I've come to the *lousa* [piece of land on the edge of  
woodland]

*E agora vou prenar as patacas.*  
And now I will go peel the potatoes [for the evening meal].

*E debullar os garbanzos.*  
And pod the peas.

*E despois a cea hai de facer Beatriz.*  
And then supper, Beatriz [Concepción's daughter-in-law] will make it.

In rural communities in the northwestern Spanish region of Galicia, when people ask you where you have been, where you are going, how you are and what you have been doing, they expect a detailed answer. Concepción had begun to tell me, her sister Susana, and a neighbour of her sister's, Teresa, what she had done that day, when I interrupted to tell her I wanted to record her



words. The rhythmic listing of what one has been doing, each item introduced with the linking words “And then,” “And,” or “Then,” was familiar to me, having at that point spent eight months in the Galician village of Santiago de Carreira. Concepción, Susana and Teresa knew that I always asked questions about ‘work’, so they did not find it odd that I wanted to record all the activities in one specific person’s day. I wanted to write down Concepción’s litany of work precisely because it had become so familiar to me. I was beginning to take for granted cultural emphases which were not of my natal culture -- urban, bourgeois Canada.

The Galician women and men who were my neighbours during the eleven months I lived in Santiago de Carreira frequently said “One has to work . . . *always* (*Hai que traballar . . . sempre*)”. Work in itself is a cultural idiom and a theme of conversation that is as embedded and prevalent as is knowledge of local places and events and kin ties. The listing of mundane, everyday accomplishments is a meaningful activity. Individuals’ identities are built closely around their work tasks and relationships and on the sharing of these through talk. People recount their lives and their relationship to others, to the land, to their livestock, and to crops equally in terms of their ‘work’. “Working always” does not just guarantee one food to eat, but it also leads to a solid moral standing in one’s household and community. To work is to be vital, to be a part of this world. Even in illness and death, it is important to ‘work’ at it, to experience it fully. People also identify most with those animals that work. The indigenous, Galician rust-coloured work cows, like oxen in the past, are considered to be intelligent, human-like and fully-developed household

members because they 'work', unlike the lazy and scrounging pigs and chickens which are slaughtered. Similarly, in local terms, the brown laying hens are more intelligent and have a higher moral standing than the white eating chickens.

In my analysis of work activities, relations and identities in Santiago de Carreira, I investigate the context for this explicit commitment to hard work and subsistence production. Large numbers of villagers travel abroad to work in temporary, seasonal jobs; others find wage employment nearby. Yet, when they return home they easily join their families in the completion of agricultural tasks. The Carreirense identify themselves as both labourers who work for a wage (*o xornal*), and as "peasants" (*labradores* or *labregos*) who continue to supply many of their subsistence needs through agricultural production and animal husbandry. The maintenance of both sets of activities by different members of each household ensures their livelihood. This phenomenon of rural Europeans self-consciously strategizing to maintain a mixed economy is widespread, and has received theoretical attention in the elaboration of the concept of "worker-peasants".

### **The Worker-Peasant Problem in European Anthropology**

The central concern of this thesis is the way in which members of Carreirense households combine different sources of livelihood and bridge very different work worlds to reproduce a worker-peasant culture and identity. The term "worker-peasant" is used to underline a situation in which households and individuals combine peasant production with other work. I am following the lead of a group of anthropologists and social historians who have used case

material primarily from east-central and southern Europe to illustrate the worker-peasant form of livelihood and consciousness (Beck 1976; Bisselle 1973; Cole and Katz 1973; Engel 1990; Friedl 1973; Holmes 1983, 1989; Holmes and Quataert 1986; Johnson 1990; Kolankiewicz 1980; Lockwood 1973; Quataert 1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1986; Sozan 1976; Szelenyi 1988). For example, in his ethnographic and historical portrait of a community in the Friuli region of northern Italy, Douglas Holmes defines "worker-peasant" communities as "composed of individuals who, through their productive activities, create links between agrarian households and the wage nexus. . . who, in their efforts to secure a livelihood, continually craft relationships that span small-scale agrarian and wage-earning activities" (Holmes 1989:57). In my examination of work roles and identities in a similar community in northwestern Spain, I emphasize continuity rather than discontinuity in their labour history and economic strategies over the twentieth century. The multioccupational livelihood in Santiago de Carreira, I argue here in agreement with Holmes, is not new nor necessarily transitional. At issue is the question of how we conceive of both mixed economies, transitions and/or shifting combinations of ways of making a living in historical and contemporary Europe. Earlier schema assumed that transitions 'from peasantry' were inevitable, that a whole series of social changes necessarily occurred together. It has been argued, for instance, that industrialization and urbanization at a national level implied a permanent rural exodus and cessation of peasant farming techniques and relations. Those individuals who migrated from rural to urban areas have been represented as moving from an outdated 'peasant' existence to a 'modern', industrial way of

making a living. Others remained in the countryside as capitalist farmers or landless labourers (see, for example Mendras 1970; Weber 1976). However, in many European countries, when the household rather than the individual is used as the unit of analysis researchers are finding that families have combined, through both necessity and choice, peasant ways of working with seasonal migration and daily commutes to wage jobs. This practice is not simply a marginal feature of a few regions, but is prominent throughout rural Europe and warrants our attention: "Whether we look upon 'worker-peasants' as a successful adaptation to new conditions or an uneasy compromise forced on the farming population by declining living standards, there can be little doubt that it is the most widespread feature of European agrarian structure" (Goodman and Redclift 1981:19).

The development of the concept of "worker-peasantries" succeeded attempts to describe seemingly 'partial' processes of proletarianization in rural Europe. In research on communist Eastern Europe, the notion of the worker-peasantry was used simultaneously or interchangeably with the concepts of "peasant-workers," "postpeasantries," "rural semi-proletarians" and the "new working class" (Szelenyi 1988:3, 42-50).<sup>1</sup> Along the same lines, the first writers to use this terminology in the English-language social sciences employed it to label a transition phase **between** 'peasant' and 'proletarian' class membership. The main assumption underlying this more refined stage model was still the eventual 'disappearance' of peasantries in Western and eventually Eastern European countries. Franklin's (1969) comparative work on what he called the 'final phase' of German, French, Italian, Yugoslavian and Polish

peasants is a good example of this perspective. In delimiting 'peasant' producers from the 'industrial proletariat,' he distinguishes sharply between those who rely solely on unpaid family labour from households that sell their labour in a capitalist market (Franklin 1969:1-6). Peasant producers are "irrational" because they over-exploit themselves and their kin -- the assumption in this androcentric literature is that male heads of household exploit females and children relatives -- and are not interested in investing in increased productivity and maximizing profits. Farmers have embraced the latter two goals and cease to emphasize multicropping for household subsistence. Workers-peasants represent a transitional phase along this continuum (Franklin 1969).<sup>2</sup>

These stage models are still inaccurate, however, since rural Europeans have combined wage labour, simple commodity production, sharecropping, and subsistence production in many regions over centuries and continue to do so. Even Karl Marx, in his argument that a transition from 'peasant' to 'proletarian' was inevitable in the development of European capitalism, was still ambivalent. This ambivalence stemmed partly from a conviction that peasants had to be violently expropriated from their land in order for the emergence of capitalism to take place (Duggett 1975:167). Marx also displayed a concern with the political consciousness and role of peasants in his writings on the French Second Republic (Duggett 1975:169-170). The defining characteristic of the "peasant class" was never resolved since landed peasants, for example, even in 15th century late feudal England subsisted partly on wage earnings: "The wage-labourers of agriculture consisted partly of peasants, who

utilised their leisure time by working on the large estates” (Marx 1967[1887]:717; also see, among others Chayanov 1966; Scott 1976:27).

Worker-peasants (or peasant-workers) are distinguishable from these groups of peasants, however, since their wage work is not as sporadic nor limited to short durations. Bisselle points out the main aspects that indicate a shift from a peasant to peasant-worker livelihood in Poland; the latter “works full time in this capacity, constitutes a large proportion of the rural populations, and asserts a powerful influence on his more orthodox peers [i.e. peasants] as well as on the course of industrialization and urbanization in Poland as a whole” (Bisselle 1973:80).

In addition to studies of contemporary communities and households, an additional focus for research on the worker-peasant phenomenon is therefore a reanalysis of the ways in which former peasants, landless agriculturalists, and the families of migrant labourers have been described in histories of rural labour. In writing of Eastern Europe, Michael Sozan argues that “The peasant-worker phenomenon is not new . . . only the term is new. Previously, national statistics and social science literature subsumed them under terms like ‘landless agriculturalists,’ ‘migrant workers,’ or ‘rural workers’ . . . The peasant worker comes from excess agricultural populations which have existed since at least the eighteenth century in East Central Europe” (Sozan 1976:199). By using the term “peasant-worker” rather than “worker-peasant” Sozan’s aim is to emphasize the wage work rather than the agricultural production of the populations he is describing. Landed peasants, tenant farmers and sharecroppers, have all been labelled either “worker-peasants” or “peasant-

workers” when one or more of the household’s members move in and out of wage work. However, whichever term one uses, the significant aspect which allows us to classify them together is the ‘partial’ nature of their class affiliations and work identities. Holmes argues that we must focus on worker-peasant livelihoods in order to comprehend that “wage labour can emerge and spread in the countryside without participants cutting ties to agrarian holdings or divorcing themselves from the indigenous culture . . . enduring commitments to wage earning . . . can exist without the creation of a working class” (Holmes 1989:57). The retention of peasant identities and strategies among Europeans working in the newly emerging manufacturing sectors -- both in factory and cottage industry contexts -- has been documented as early as the sixteenth century. Douglas Holmes and Jean Quataert (1986:193-194) link the development of the concept of “worker-peasantries” to the need to find an accurate label for these large groups of partially proletarianized individuals in light of new historical understandings of the processes of protoindustrialism and industrialism. They have been influenced by Sidney Pollard’s (1981) argument about the complicated effects of industrialism on rural areas. Holmes and Quataert (1986:194) concur with Pollard’s contestation of previous analyses which accepted early stereotypes of industrial modernization in England as a prototype for the rest of Europe: “The traditional model of English industrial development contained an oversimplified picture of the formation and composition of the industrial work force”. They conclude that little attention has been paid to the diversity of agrarian adaptations during this period because “widely held assumptions on working-class formation meant that research on

industrialization focused basically on urban workers and factory site and dismissed the continuing social and economic ties to the countryside as 'vestigial' and 'anachronistic" (Holmes and Quataert 1986:194).

Aside from a greater interest on the part of the majority of theorists of social change on the industrial context, there are additional reasons why the continuing significance of these rural ties and the very existence of many agrarian households have been downplayed in historical discussions, especially those dealing with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is often the result of uni-occupational census documentation which records solely the occupation of the male, household "head". The participation of this individual and other household members in subsistence agriculture and commodity production on small pieces of owned or rented land is not properly quantified. There is a gap between population and agricultural censuses in countries such as England: "The great discrepancies between the numbers of 'farmers' shown by the censuses, and the numbers of holdings revealed by the agricultural statistics, suggest that most small landholders were engaged in multiple occupations" (Reed 1986:86-87). Nineteenth and twentieth century English smallholders, in addition to farming for subsistence and the sale of some commodities (such as milk, butter, and eggs), engaged in a wide range of wage occupations that included mining, carting, harvesting, peat-cutting, and dealing (Donajrodzki 1989; Reed 1986). As opposed to capitalist farmers, these households relied on family labour and some reciprocity with neighbours. Reed (1986:89) reports specifically on previous researchers who have neglected the study of this population in nineteenth-century England: Saville (1969:258) and



Thompson (1967:118) claimed that these smallholders did not warrant special attention because they only worked a small proportion of cultivated land, and did not employ significant numbers of rural workers. Furthermore, it was argued by both Thompson (1967), and Hobsbawm and Rudé (1969:98) that this group distracted from the study of the important processes of differentiation that were occurring in nineteenth-century England (cited in Reed 1986).

Donajgrodzki (1989) goes even further forward in time than Reed, contending that a multioccupational 'peasantry' existed during the mid-twentieth century in England. He maintains that flexible work identities and continued subsistence production meant that peasants fared better than larger farmers and workers without land during the depression and that this is "a group of people who occupied a distinct position within the capitalist system" (Donajgrodzki 1989:426). This British case is not unlike the maintenance of family farms and/or gardens and small livestock by American workers during the first half of the twentieth century. McGuire and Woodsong (1990) argue that companies such as the Endicott-Johnson shoe company preferred to provide workers with cheap housing and gardens as opposed to paying a 'subsistence wage' during the depression years. Other families "depended in part on subsistence income from members left on the family farm. These farms were clearly not commercially viable entities in their own right, and the shoe plants at E-J had come to provide an alternative to the coal mines of Pennsylvania as a source of off-farm income . . . On weekends the Broome County household members often returned to help with farm tasks. So many people in Broome County were involved in this type of household that they established regular car

pools to facilitate the movement between city and farm” (McGuire and Woodsong 1990:174-175).

Similarly, the growth of worker-peasantries in central Europe is also tied to the conviction of migrant workers and those employed in emerging rural industries that they should maintain some land in production to ensure their social security: “It was partly because of this insecurity [of limited and insecure earnings] and partly because South Slav peasants still maintained an almost mystical regard for their patrimony that the new workers, even if employed full time, wanted to keep their agricultural lands. These were considered, quite properly, as a refuge in time of need and as a form of insurance. The correctness of this view was demonstrated during World War II when not only peasant-workers but thousands of urban kin retreated to the countryside” (Lockwood 1973:93; see also Szelenyi 1988). Lockwood (1973:95) argues that this attitude has not changed significantly among Balkan worker-peasants; he concurs with Winner (1971:108) who reports that a Slovenian peasant told her that “We work in the factory so that we *can* continue to hold onto the land, and we hold onto the land because no one knows what is sure. It may be hell but we hold on.”

A parallel can be drawn between these studies of worker-peasants and studies of Scottish crofting-fisherpeople who also work for wages and are described as surviving through “the exploitation of multiple sources of subsistence” (Cohen 1982a:26; also see Cohen 1979; Mewett 1977, 1982). Yet, the relative lack of purely monetary return on the crofts does not deter people from allocating a significant proportion of their household labour and

other resources to them since "Crofting is one of the facets of the versatility which Whalsaymen value. As such, it is not an *alternative* adaptation or occupation" (Cohen 1979:262).

This valuation of continued ties to rural subsistence production has many cross-cultural parallels outside of the European context. For example, in his study of economic development in Western Samoa Tim O'Meara (1990) demonstrates that although Samoans pursue their desire to earn cash through wage work and viable cash cropping, a significant proportion of household incomes are derived from subsistence agriculture, and migrant remittances from family members who dedicate a large portion of their wages to thus maintaining moral and customary rights to village titles and land.

Closer to home, Rhoda Halperin (1990) has produced a probing study of "multiple livelihood strategies" in rural Kentucky. Conceptualized as "the Kentucky way," this set of consciously articulated strategies is similar to those reported among European worker-peasants. These Kentucky smallholders value practical skills and knowledge, economic self-sufficiency, and autonomy from both capitalist employers and the state. This autonomy is achieved by becoming "a jack of all trades" (Halperin 1990:11), moving in and out of a variety of wage jobs and taking up opportunities to make money by selling goods in a regional market system, yet maintaining a subsistence garden and a strong exchange network for the exchange of goods and labour between kin and neighbours. Similar to worker-peasants, this cultivation of a mixed subsistence strategy relies on a rejection of capitalist individualism -- individuals remain committed to prioritizing household over personal

reproduction. Alongside this emphasis on the household, however, is a valorization of the non-wage as well as wage labour that individuals contribute at different points in the household cycle. The same high value is not normally placed on the non-wage labour of primarily female household members who perform unpaid domestic labour in urban contexts in North America and Europe (Ehrenreich and English 1975; Gimenez 1990; Glazer 1980, 1990).

### **Defining Worker-Peantries**

Up to this point I have argued that worker-peantries have existed in Europe over the last several centuries, and that this term can be used to characterize a variety of mixed economies. However, in Donajgrodzki's (1989) analysis of twentieth-century English smallholding "peasants," alternative labels are used. There are also various ways to employ the worker-peasant concept itself. Two main directions are evident in the literature. One set of authors emphasizes differentiation in the communities they are studying and therefore have elaborated a detailed understanding of the class characteristics of worker-peasants as opposed to other individuals and households that fit into longer-standing categories such as 'bourgeois' and 'peasant farmer'. Main proponents of this neo-marxist model are Bisselle (1973), Sozan (1976) and Szelenyi (1988). Another direction is articulated most clearly by Holmes who argues that, despite internal stratification, worker-peasant societies and cultural features are identifiable across temporal and distinct geographical contexts in Europe. The value of his approach for ethnographers is that it opens up a way to deal with (1) the emic emphasis on 'community' as opposed to elites and outsiders (Cohen 1982a; Freeman 1970; Lisón Tolosana 1983a[1979]) and (2) to identify

the apparent "empirical dilemma" (Holmes 1989:57) of individuals and households who do not fit neatly into bounded abstract categories such as 'migrant worker' or 'itinerant day-labourer' (see Bentley 1992:137-139). Holmes chooses to define this widespread "phenomenon . . . in broad terms which allow the consolidation of heterogeneous laboring groups into a single theoretical framework -- emphasizing the diversity of wage involvements on the one hand and the unifying influence of rural households on the other" (Holmes 1989:57).

In highlighting definitional distinctions between worker-peasants and members of similar class positions in a Hungarian village in Central Burgenland (Austria), Sozan (1976) distinguishes between "pure peasants," "peasant-workers," and "worker-peasants". Since they bridge the passage from peasant to proletarian in Sozan's model, members of the latter two groups are conceptualized as "agents of sociocultural change" (Sozan 1976:196). According to this author, worker-peasants' main income is acquired from agricultural production, whereas peasant-workers are "a village-based proletariat who derive their primary income from employment outside the home" (Sozan 1976:196). However, individuals in both categories have a "dual life" of non-agricultural wage labour and peasant family production of crops and livestock for sale and household consumption. Furthermore, depending on existing opportunities for wage labour, and the shifting needs and desires of particular households it is possible to move along the continuum so that for example, "from time to time the worker-peasant is a 'pure peasant'" (Sozan 1976:197).

Bisselle reports on the subcategories of peasant-workers devised by the Polish sociologist Jan Szczepanski who writes of (1) peasants with manual jobs mainly in industry, (2) "peasant clerks" with white collar employment and (3) "peasant entrepreneurs" whose worldview is similar to that of the petty bourgeois (Bisselle 1973:80). Bisselle also incorporates the familiar categories of peasant farmers who live solely from farm income derived from consuming and selling agricultural products as opposed to worker-peasants who live on the smallest pieces of land, have the most unstable households, and are most likely to migrate permanently to urban centres (Bisselle 1973:82). Although both Bisselle and Sozan focus on the difference of the degree to which peasant production dominates the income of particular households, they do not always use the same terms. Clearly, Bisselle's worker-peasants are not the same as Sozan's who defines them as **more** committed to agriculture than peasant workers.

Over a decade later, Szelenyi (1988:3) distinguishes between four different "destinations" in his quantitative analysis of processes of embourgeoisement in rural Hungary: proletarian, cadre, peasant-worker, and entrepreneur. His main focus is on those peasants whose progression toward embourgeoisement was "interrupted" by the collectivization of agriculture but who can now be classed as successful entrepreneurs even though they are not capitalist farmers; these Hungarian peasants have continued to work on their land part-time and to rely on household labour. He uses aspects of both the proletarianization and peasant-worker theses but proposes a new set of determinants for class mobility in the mixed economies of eastern Europe;

family backgrounds and life histories are the defining contexts for Szelenyi's measurement of economic change in rural Hungary. In concert with those researching western European contexts Szelenyi argues for more theoretical attention to be paid to the overwhelming evidence that mixed economies, rather than purely capitalist or collectivist ones, are being reproduced and will continue to exist in east-central Europe.

Despite this variety of perspectives, it is possible to derive common characteristics of agrarian households involved in wage labour as well as to account for those differences that are the result of regional, political and historical variation. For example, in many ways the Galician case I examine is similar to the strategies employed by northern Italian peasant-workers in the Friuli region studied by Douglas Holmes (1983, 1989). In both areas, a third category of income has grown in importance over the last several decades -- the significant remittances gained from participation in a social welfare system. In many households in rural Italy and Spain income from sources such as old age and disability pensions, unemployment insurance, and state subsidies has become as important as wage earnings. Holmes (1983) identifies a "passive peasant-worker strategy" that has allowed many households in the Friuli community of Rubignacco to become full-time agriculturalists by relying on these external remittances without having to sell their labour. There are significant differences in strategy between Galicia and the Friuli as well, which have to do with the particular histories of each area. In Rubignacco, a steel mill, brick factory and silk mill are situated adjacent to the agrarian estates, whereas in Carreira residents must commute a significant distance to find employment in

similar large-scale industries. The majority of land in Rubignacco is controlled by large landowning families who dominate a latifundia system of tenancy involving written contracts. In contrast, in Carreira rental and sharecropping contracts were mainly oral and many peasants also owned small plots of land, coincident with the minifundia character of Galician agriculture. Therefore, Holmes' (see especially 1989) concentration on the collective struggle over tenant contracts and the impact of bureaucratization on local practice is not as warranted in the case of Carreira.

In this thesis, I focus specifically on four worker-peasant strategies employed by the Carreirenses. Each of these strategies is mentioned in a range of case studies of worker-peasants but they also vary by region in their exact characteristics. My aim is to demonstrate the value of a flexible, comparative model of worker-peasantries yet also the necessity of highlighting the cultural nuances of distinctive communities. Worker-peasants' dual allegiance to both wage work and subsistence production involves: (1) a continuing emphasis on peasant family and household structures and their reproduction, (2) a strong work ethic that stresses both subsistence production and accumulation, (3) a reliance on and valorization of the non-wage labour performed by household members of all ages and both genders, and (4) the elaboration and maintenance of community reciprocity networks.

The continuity of peasant household structures among worker-peasants has been observed by those researchers who work in east-central as well as southern Europe. The specific type of household pattern varies by region, however. Household formation is determined by inheritance and post-marital



residence ideals, as well as by the wealth and particular circumstances of individuals. Therefore, for example, the extended family household known as the *zadruga* is found to be maintained by Yugoslavian worker-peasants where a son usually brings a wife to his natal home and inherits the bulk of his father's estate (Lockwood 1973:98-99). In Carreira, as in three of four Galician provinces, a single child is also chosen as the main heir and remains in his or her natal household when he or she marries. This pattern of three-generation extended family households is similar to the Irish stem-family and the French *famille souche* and is found throughout northern Iberia in Asturias, the Basque country and Catalonia (Douglass 1988a, 1988b; Fernández and Fernández 1988; Lisón Tolosana 1983a[1979]; Rogers 1991). The region of Galician Spain and northern Portugal is characterized, however, by the prevalence of inheritance through female lines and uxorilocal post-marital residence, especially in coastal villages (Brettell 1986; Buechler and Buechler 1981, 1984; Cole 1991a; Kelley 1988, 1991; Lisón Tolosana 1976, 1983a[1979]). I demonstrate below in Chapter Two that both uxorilocal and virilocal post-marital residence are practiced by Carreirense households, although uxorilocal residence is the dominant pattern at present.

In general terms, the presence of two sets of adult partners is the key to the flexible way in which worker-peasants utilize their resources as a household unit. Elderly individuals often maintain agricultural production and raise their grandchildren while the two adults in the middle generation work abroad (H. Buechler 1987; Buechler and Buechler 1981; Holmes 1983:746; Lockwood 1973:95). Women perform virtually all agricultural tasks including the heavy

chores of ploughing and clearing land, also a defining characteristic of Galician and northern Portuguese peasant agriculture (Beck 1976; Bentley 1992; J.-M. Buechler 1975, 1976; Buechler and Buechler 1981; Cole 1991a; Kelley 1988, 1991; Lisón Tolosana 1983a[1979]; Lockwood 1973:99; Rodríguez Campos 1983, 1990). The common feature of three-generation worker-peasant households is a flexible attitude toward the allocation of distinct tasks; while women may do heavy agricultural tasks such as ploughing, men will help with the cooking and childcare when necessary -- household members of both genders and all ages contribute their labour to demonstrate the continuing significance of a strategy of "interdependence and cooperation between and across generations" (Holmes and Quataert 1986:199).

The Carreirense also articulate a strong work ethic that is introduced with Concepción's account of her day at the beginning of this chapter. This is a common feature of worker-peasants' repertoire since they may "work in the agricultural sector six to ten hours a day in addition to their eight-hour shifts at the factory" (Beck 1976:372). Szelenyi calls this the "second shift," remarking that "Peasant-workers despise idleness. As István Markús (1973, 1978) pointed out so persuasively, they are driven by an extreme form of the 'Protestant' work ethic" (Szelenyi 1988:79; compare with Scott 1976 and Weber 1958).

The ethnographic focus on the self-image and lives of Galician migrants and their families by the Buechlers (see especially Buechler and Buechler 1981) and Heidi Kelley (1988, 1991) has demonstrated that this work ethic is also viewed as typically "Galician" in the region. It would not be surprising to find that cultural nationalism and regionalism in other areas where worker-

peasants dominate rural populations draw on this identity of being quintessentially “hard workers”. Herzfeld (1987a) suggests that anthropologists of southern Europe must focus on moral codes other than “honour and shame” in attempts to question the validity of regional comparison; he himself has contributed an in-depth analysis of codes of “hospitality” and “reciprocity” in Greece (also see Herzfeld 1981, 1985, 1987b, 1991). Attitudes toward “work” are another key area that must be compared across case studies. This exploration has been initiated by Brettell (1982, 1986), Cole (1988, 1991a), Kelley (1988, 1991) and Masur (1984a, 1984b) in their detailed studies of women’s work and reputation in Spain and Portugal. In Chapter Three, I explore the ideals of household and individual reproduction, and the importance of a reputation of being a “hard worker” articulated by Galician worker-peasants.

Closely related to this work ethic and notions of social reproduction is an emphasis on subsistence production, and a corresponding valuation of the non-wage labour of household members who produce subsistence items. Pina-Cabral (1986) has demonstrated a similar cultural continuity among “peasants” and migrants in the Minho region of northern Portugal. He shows that a “subsistence prototype” is at the core of the peasant worldview maintained even by individuals who have worked in France for many years since “The economic marginalization of peasant agriculture in the 1970s did not imply its social and cognitive marginalization: to have land and to work it remain the ultimate means of obtaining social security and prestige” (Pina-Cabral 1986:36; also see Bentley 1992). In this context, northern Portuguese

and Galician worker-peasants do not demand a "right to subsistence" in a political forum -- an aspect of the "subsistence ethic" examined by James Scott (1976:33) -- but privately work to ensure their subsistence by continuing to raise small harvests of food staples alongside commodity production and wage labour. Similar to the "subsistence ethic" that James Scott (1976) argues is at the core of the "moral economy" of the European poor in past centuries and the southeast Asian peasants he studied, northern Portuguese and Galician worker-peasants are so intent on maintaining some land in production that they are willing to forgo opportunities for some household members to earn wages, and will rent or purchase land at "starvation" prices in order to have access to it. My study of Galician worker-peasants contributes a specific focus on agricultural subsistence production in the European context since the Carreirense sell little surplus (see, for example Beck 1976). They maintain peasant agriculture mainly to feed themselves rather than to expand the production of commodities, a common feature of worker-peasantries in northwestern Iberia (see, for example Bentley 1992:135-146; Buechler and Buechler 1981; Kelley 1988; Pina-Cabral 1986). It is important to continue to expand this focus on subsistence farming in comparison with other ethnographies that emphasize the capitalization of farming in rural Europe (see, for example Greenwood 1976; Harding 1984; Iturra 1988; Lem 1988; Rogers 1991).

The role of unpaid labour in the reproduction of the household through the provision of key services (care of the young, the sick and the elderly; cooking; cleaning) and the production, processing and preparation of staple

food items has been widely discussed in the literature on women and development (see for example, Beneria 1979, 1982; Beneria and Sen 1981; Boserup 1970; Leacock and Safa 1986; Young et al. 1984[1981]). Bennholdt-Thomsen (1984[1981]) suggests that both the domestic labour of housewives and peasant production by individuals of both genders contribute to the accumulation of capital since the contribution of this unpaid labour ensures the cheap provision of labour to the capitalist wage market. Although I also emphasize the similarity between female-dominated housework and peasant production in the Carreirense local economy, I agree with Long (1984a:11) who argues that it is “analytically impossible . . . to demonstrate precisely how unpaid domestic labour is subordinated to capitalist valorization processes.” Non-wage labour is not simply subsumed under capitalist relations, but often resists or transforms capitalist penetration (Long 1984a; also see Mackintosh 1979). The organization and valorization of non-wage labour in specific communities must be examined in the context of other aspects of social life such as residence, marriage and inheritance arrangements, and the sexual division of labour. As Bradby (1982) and Skar (1984) illustrate for Peruvian highland peasants who work periodically in mines and large estates, despite the subsumption of worker-peasants’ labour to the capitalist market for goods and labour “in certain important respects, the subsistence side of their economy and the social relations within the family-household context remain governed by principles other than those of the capitalist market” (Long 1984a:12). The organization of household subsistence production in Carreira is discussed below in Chapters Three and Four.

Another way in which subsistence production resists and modifies capitalist penetration in worker-peasant communities is the continuation of inter-household reciprocity in the non-market exchange of goods and services. The range of examples of balanced and generalized reciprocity practiced in Carreira are analyzed in Chapter Five and correspond to the significant place inter-household reciprocity has in Galician ethnography in particular and in the Iberian region in general.<sup>3</sup> The full-time and seasonal employment of several household members in wage jobs means that without the help of neighbours and kin, worker-peasant families could not complete alone those labour-intensive tasks that must be done during intensive periods in the agricultural cycle (Iturra 1988). In common with peasant economies, this strategy is as important as household subsistence production in ensuring social security over the long-term (Scott 1976:28; Skar 1984; Smith 1984, 1989).

### **Agency and Work Identities**

Another issue that is being addressed in studies of historical and contemporary economic activity is the need for historians and ethnographers to incorporate an interpretive approach into discussions of economic processes. Stressing meaning, agency, multivocality, and reflexivity is as important in economic anthropology and the anthropology of work as it is in the study of religious or aesthetic practices: "Only through an assessment of the largely concealed and unvoiced cultural stance of peasant-workers can we fully grasp the peculiarities of their economic and political life" (Holmes 1989:59; see also Cohen 1982b; Joyce 1989[1987]; Kondo 1990; Robben 1989; and Wallman 1979). Humans are preoccupied with the reproduction of familiar practices and

values, struggling to accommodate social changes and make them meaningful in local terms. I demonstrate in this thesis that (1) people 'craft' their cultures and identities and are not carried along by invisible forces of change<sup>4</sup>; and that (2) because individuals and communities **can** incorporate different ways of making a living, social scientists must look between the cracks of our categories of social change and consider, seriously, that "peasants" may live as "workers" and "workers" as "peasants".

In this study, one of my aims is to illustrate that people in one particular village in northwestern Spain are reflexive about their 'dual' or 'multiple' identities, using the village and 'peasant' genealogy to focus and streamline notions of self, household, community and work. Douglas Holmes (1989:59) articulates precisely this necessity for research on worker-peasantries to incorporate "a new analytical emphasis . . . that addresses these enduring cultural sensibilities."

Donajgrodzki (1989:435) maintains the twentieth century English peasants he studied had "an identifiable culture" that was centred on a "commitment to farming, [and] even when . . . economically unprofitable, was strong and linked to strong identification with the locality." The multi-occupational smallholders he writes about all had in common "a network of shared experiences and meanings which distanced them, to some extent, from outsiders. The experience of the family, and their commitment to the daily, weekly and seasonal farming cycle were important elements of this" (Donajgrodzki 1989:435). This is not unlike the Scottish crofters about whom Cohen goes so far as to argue that "in modern Whalsay, the economic

significance of croft produce is treated almost as if it was incidental. Croft work is one of the ways in which a Whalsayman makes himself recognizable both to himself and to others as a Whalsayman and as belonging to a particular structural nexus in Whalsay" (Cohen 1979:265).

This great degree of identification with a locality and those social relations embedded in small-scale agriculture dominates and shapes the experience of selling one's labour for wages. Members of worker-peasant households maintain a flexible attitude to wage labour opportunities, changing jobs frequently and often travelling to migrant destinations to find work. An insecure experience with wage employment means that household agriculture is the constant; yet, worker-peasants must also earn cash wages to survive. As Beck (1976) comments with regard to a Transylvanian community he studied, a mixed economy is similar to the practice of multicropping on small, dispersed parcels of land: "Working at wage labor is merely an addition to this 'tool kit.' They are not eager to give up other parts of it. Thus their dependence on resources remains distributed and they are insured against calamity" (Beck 1976:372). This combination of an ongoing commitment to and greater trust in the security of household subsistence production, together with the necessity for some household members to earn wages 'outside' has meant that many worker-peasants "accept wages and working conditions that others, that is, urban laborers, are loath to accept" (Holmes and Quataert 1986:194). It is infrequent, therefore, to find a strong allegiance to working-class corporate groups such as labour unions replacing "Subsistence security in small landholding and cultivation" as the "binding force of peasant-worker



relationships and the foundation of their social reproduction” (Holmes and Quataert 1986:194; see also Crew 1989:534-535). One defining characteristic of worker-peasantries is therefore the lack of a working class consciousness despite a long and varied participation in the wage market (see, especially Holmes 1989). This is true even among some artisans and miners who maintain peasant production (Karant-Nunn 1989; Quataert 1985a, 1985b). Furthermore, this pattern is somewhat surprising in light of the fact that these groups have been some of the earliest and most radically conscientised to fight for the improvement of their class by labour and guild organizations in European history (see, for example Samuel 1981; Thompson 1963).

In Galicia, as in other areas of Europe, regional underdevelopment and social inequality at the structural level have forced people to accommodate to the separation of families for work, and to insecure employment opportunities. However, the majority of Carreirense have not chosen to sell or abandon their land and move entire households to cities and towns permanently, only returning to the countryside as a vacation spot as has occurred in other European communities.<sup>5</sup> The age profile of the current population of Santiago de Carreira indicates that three and four generation family households are being maintained and reproduced in this rural parish (see Figure 2.1). Worker peasant identities are consciously acted out through exchange relationships at the intra- and inter-household levels and verbalized through stories of the past and dreams for the future. These identities are being transformed constantly, yet they remain continuous with their historical roots. Here, the historical depth of the ethnographic data is only as deep as oral memory allows -- including the

course of the twentieth century but focussing mainly on the period between the 1920s and the present.<sup>6</sup> This depth is supplemented and extended wherever possible with archival material and published historical sources. However, the issue of identity is brought out most clearly in interviews with villagers.

In this thesis I therefore examine both the incidence and continuity of worker peasant households over time, as well as the formation of identity among individuals from households that participate simultaneously in peasant agriculture and animal husbandry, and a wide variety of wage work. Wage jobs have included agricultural day labour, rural artisan and service work and work in urban settings in Spain as well as in other countries. In the next several sections I move away from the theoretical theme of the thesis to outline the geographical, historical, and cultural context of the Galician region.

### **Locating the Study in Space and Time**

This study was conducted in the small rural parish of Santiago de Carreira in the township of Zás in the province of A Coruña. The parish is composed of two villages. The larger village, also called Carreira, is the seat of the parish church, has a small central square and three small bars or *tabernas*. The proprietors of these bars also sell dry goods that include staple foodstuffs such as oil and salt and other indispensable items (for example, candles and matches). Purchases are frequently made on credit by children sent during meal preparation or by women passing on the way to or from agricultural tasks. Carreira is also the location of a one-room school built by the state in the mid-1980s to service local children attending kindergarten to grade two. Until the establishment of a large central school in the town of Zás in the late 1970s, all

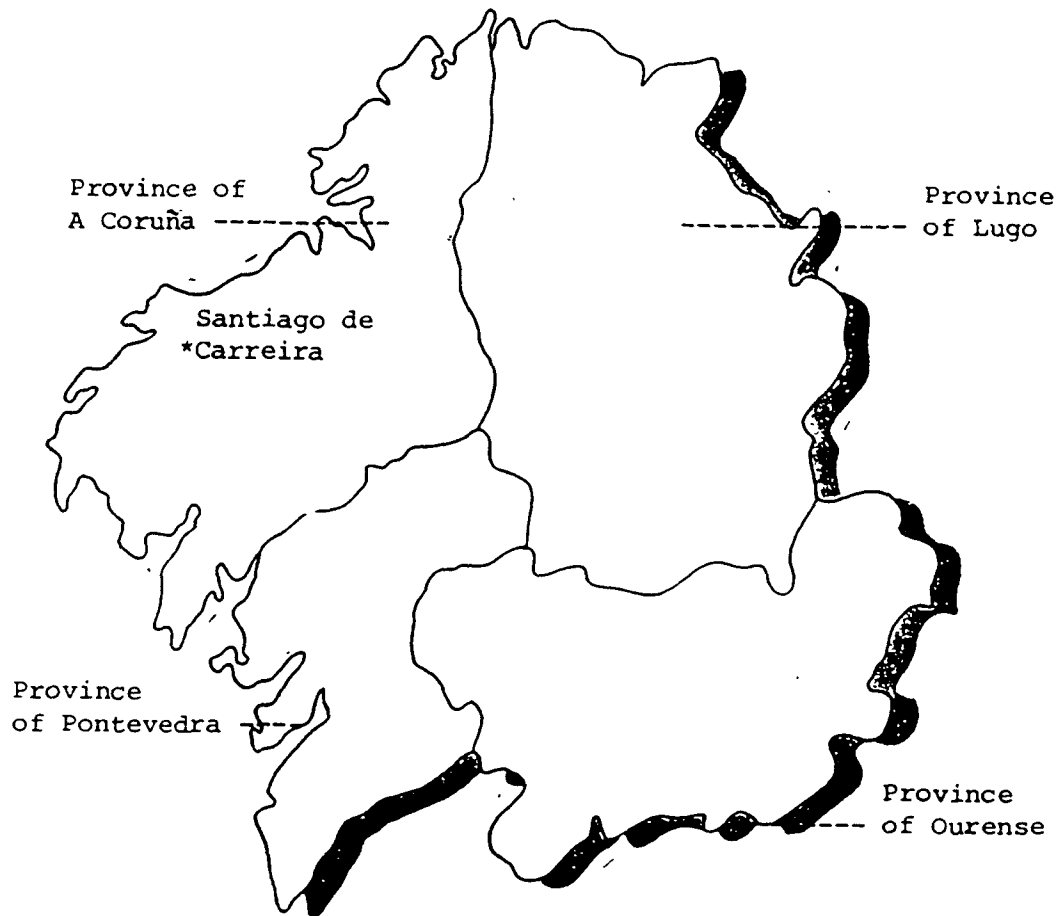
the children in this parish (from grades 1 to 8) and surrounding hamlets studied under the tutelage of a single teacher in an old stone house which stands near the present schoolhouse. The inhabited households in Carreira total 51, with a population in the 1986 census of 251. The smaller village, Pedramayor, has only 23 inhabited households, one small bar/store and a population in 1986 of 115. Both villages are nestled against one of the highest mountains in this seaside province, the Pico de Meda measuring 566 metres high. From the top of the Pico de Meda, someone standing in a dip between the new telephone tower and the old quarry sees that the parish lies in a long, narrow green valley identified both as the valley of Zás and the valley of Soneira on maps and among local people (see Map 3). Beyond the valley lies another low series of mountains and behind them the fishing villages which line this Atlantic "coast of death" -- so called because of the rough seas which have taken the lives of many sailors -- which winds its way to the far-westerly point of the Galician *Fisterra* ("end of the earth"). On a clear, blue day the fishing boats are visible on the surging Atlantic from the vantage point of the Pico de Meda. But by road and path and in people's minds, the ocean is far away, another world altogether. This is an interior parish: life centres around its valley landscape of green fields and woodland and grazing livestock.

In contemporary Spain, Galicia is an autonomous community or region which consists of four provinces: A Coruña, Lugo, Pontevedra and Ourense (refer to Maps 1 and 2). The post-Franco constitution of 1978 lists Galicia, along with Euskadi or the Basque region and Catalunya as 'nationalities' rather than 'regions' with the right to the "rapid route" to autonomy (Donaghy and Newton

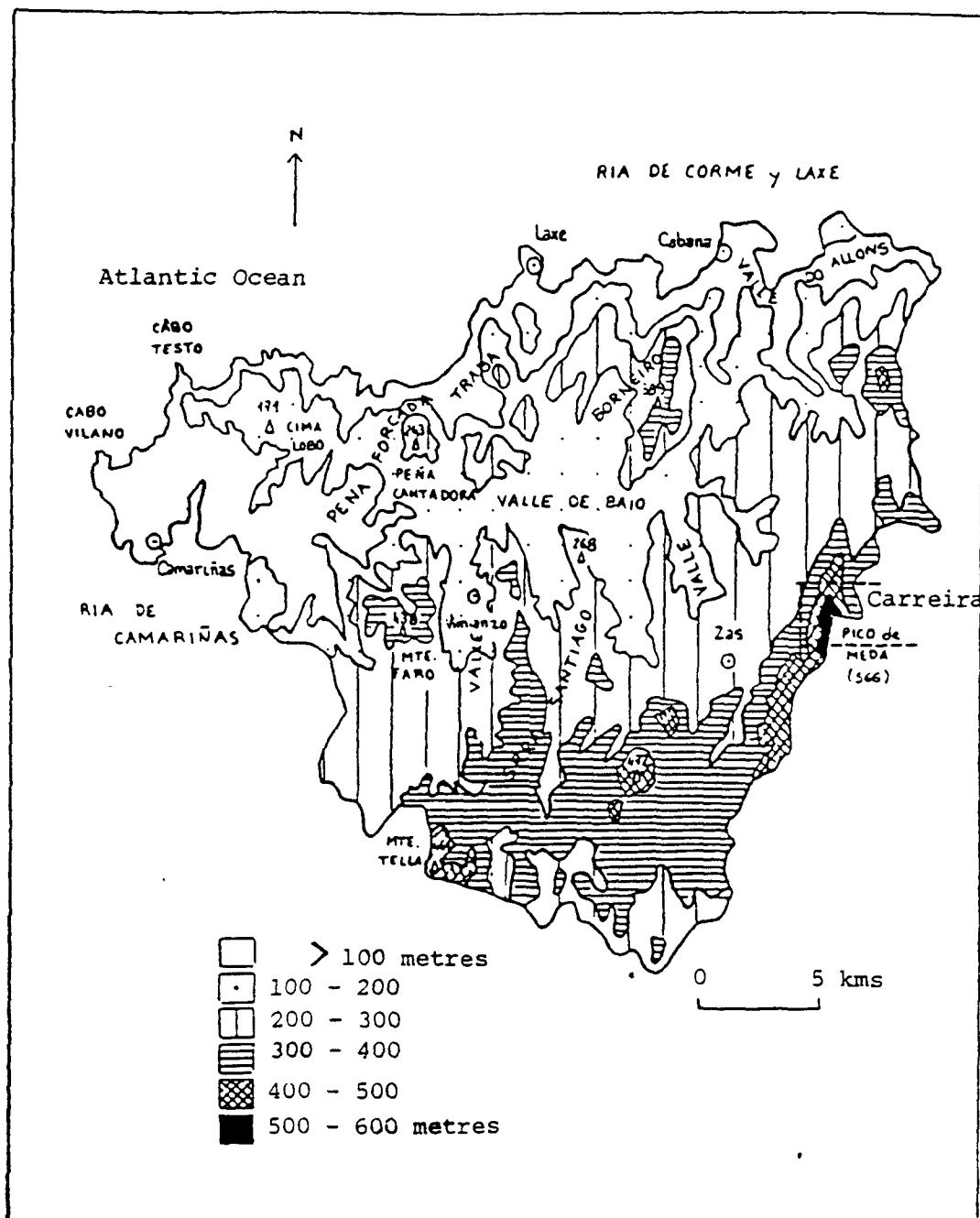
1987:100-101; also see Shubert 1990:247). Following referenda and elections, by 1981, all three in fact were the first regions in Spain to achieve the status of autonomous communities. The defense of these regions' special treatment over the other fourteen autonomous communities which eventually achieved regional government during the 1980s centres on the issues of history, language and culture (Donaghy and Newton 1987:100-104).



Map 1. Map of Spain and Portugal showing location of Galicia (adapted from Donaghy and Newton 1987:99).



Map 2. Map of Galicia showing location of Santiago de Carreira (adapted from Mapa Turístico, Xunta de Galicia 1988)



Map 3. Map of the Zás region (adapted from Uña Álvarez 1990:21).

Prior to the Roman conquest of northwestern Iberia, what is now Galicia was settled by hunters and gatherers, fisherpeople, and later farmers and herders. During the Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, they lived in small communities mainly clustered around the coast of the Atlantic and the major estuaries. Similar to other coastal Western European regions, megalithic monumental architecture in the form of stone dolmens, circles, and barrows were constructed largely during the third millennium B.C. (Rodríguez Casal 1990; Villares 1985:17-19). These populations were involved in trade, especially with southern Iberians, who introduced identifiable ceramic patterns and copper metallurgy techniques. Galician inhabitants were also involved in the specialized production of tools and mining (Villares 1985:21-22). The lengthy *castreña* period (a broad designation including the sixth century B.C. up until the Romanization of the area) in Galician prehistory coincided with periods of in-migration of waves of peoples from Central Europe. During this period, inhabitants lived in fortified, nucleated settlements called *castros*. Individual burials with jewellery contrast significantly with the remains from group burials found in earlier stone monuments and attest to the development of a social hierarchy in these *castro* communities (Villares 1985:24). The ruins of these communities can be seen scattered throughout Galicia and add to the “Celtic” self-identification of some contemporary Galicians.

The Romans were attracted to the Galician region because of its reputation for rich mines, especially in gold. Their penetration was slow, involving local resistance and many battles from 137 B.C. to the third century A.D. Present-day Galicia became part of a larger Roman province called



Gallaecia which included sections of what is now northern Portugal, Spanish León and Asturias (Barreiro Fernández 1981:100-106; Tranoy 1981; Villares 1985). The conquering Swabians and later the Visigoths took over the region during the fourth and fifth centuries, completing the incorporation of Galician rural communities into their centralized kingdoms. Christianity was imposed, partly by the institutionalization of wandering holy men and women as monks and nuns living in monasteries (Salisbury 1985:116-160). During the last third of the fourth century, a heretical movement known as Priscillianism challenged the Iberian church authorities, but ironically also did much to attract rural people to a broadly-based, institutionalized form of religion (Salisbury 1985:191-226; Villares 1985:53-54). Villares (1985:54) in fact attributes the eventual conversion of Galician villagers to Christianity to this period of Priscillian evangelism. In spite of the long history of Christianity in the region, however, historians and anthropologists working in Galicia also point to the persistence of pre-Christian beliefs and rituals in rural religious and healing practice (Gondar Portasany 1989; Lisón Tolosana 1987[1979]; Mariño Ferro 1984; Salisbury 1985; Tenorio 1982[1914]).

Feudal Galicia developed out of larger struggles between church and lay nobles and imperial leaders trying to carve up Iberia into kingdoms. The territory was "repopulated" by a nobility (both lay and ecclesiastical) that was granted economic and administrative jurisdiction over portions of land by the Asturian and Leonese monarchs. During the eighth to the fourteenth centuries, these monarchs held out against the Moors who had taken over most of the rest of the Iberian peninsula (Vilar 1967:7-16; Villares 1985:58-63). Peasants were

granted contracts called *foros*, which gave them usufruct rights to land parcels in return for various obligations to landlords of rent in kind and labour. Those peasants granted these feudal contracts could in turn subdivide the land to which they had access into *subforo* contracts held with other peasants. This system, after its institution in 1017 under a Leonese law (Lorenzo Filgueira 1986:32), had an immeasurable effect on Galician history. Throughout the medieval and modern periods, the *foro* system maintained a situation whereby those who worked the land did not have the opportunity to purchase it or to invest in technological advances which were being put into place in other areas of Europe. *Foro* contracts in Galicia were only abolished legally in the twentieth century with Primo de Rivera's rendition law of 1926 (Albaladejo 1979; Lorenzo Filgueira 1986; Villares 1982:311-418, 1985:150). Other aspects of agriculture, husbandry, and pastoral production which characterize Galician medieval and modern history include the importance of parish commonlands, labour exchange practices among peasants, and the struggles between the unpropertied classes and the ruling church and lay officials.

After the Moorish invasions of the Iberian peninsula, the 'Catholic Monarchs', the Aragonese Ferdinand and the Castilian Isabel, conquered not only the Arab invaders but also the other Spanish kingdoms. Galicia became a provincial kingdom under the control of the centralized crown through the institutions of the Audience of Galicia, the Royal Junta and the Captain General. The sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries are called the Old Regime in Spanish historiography (Villares 1985:95). Medieval trends developed further during this period in the Galician region; feudal agriculture, a powerful church structure

and absolute monarchs (of the Hapsburg line until 1700) characterized Galician society. The Galician and Spanish populations increased with the cessation of medieval epidemics and the introduction of new crops such as American maize and potato plants which allowed for more intensive agricultural production (Villares 1985:96-103). Although the Galician region was largely agricultural and rural, in addition to internal market and artisan systems, some industrial expansion directed toward export markets developed during this period. Three of the main industries were the shipbuilding yards around Ferrol, the fish salting and canning plants along the coast and the spinning and weaving of linen cloth (both locally grown and imported from Baltic producers) through a chain of middlemen and home workers (Carmona Badía 1990; Villares 1985:103-112).

Despite the growth of local industry, Galicia did not lose its agricultural character during the nineteenth century however, and the shipbuilding and linen production foundered with the economic climate established by aggressive British free trade laws. Many Galicians migrated to the Americas during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, either temporarily or permanently. The nineteenth century also signalled the end of the Old Regime and a series of internal struggles which began with the ousting of the Napoleonic troops in 1812, ending the Peninsular War (called the War of Independence in Spain). The Carlist Wars (1833-39 and 1873-74) and the consequent liberal and conservative epochs which alternated throughout the nineteenth century were focussed on either dismantling or fortifying the economic and political power of the church and the nobility. The Bourbons were able to restore Alfonso XII in 1874, cutting short the First Republic (Carr

1982).

Throughout the nineteenth century, Galician nationalist intellectuals were involved in an exciting cultural Renaissance or *Rexurdimento*, initiated by writers, artists, historians and others who mixed aesthetic and personal goals with political ones. Figures such as Rosalía de Castro, Eduardo Pondal and Manuel Curros Enríquez quickly developed reputations both as writers and also as regionalists. These intellectuals were involved in organizations such as the *Irmandades da Fala* (Brotherhoods of the language) and published in Galician rather than Castilian, the official language of education and government.<sup>7</sup> Prior to the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), Galician regionalist aspirations were voiced by political parties demanding regional autonomy or independent status in a Spain that appeared to be growing more and more centralized, following the trend of other modern European nation-states such as France and Germany. In a plebescite on a text for the "Statute of Galicia" held just prior to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, 991,476 Galician voters asserted their desire for "autonomy" in contrast to only 6,161 in opposition (Rojo Salgado 1989:137). The Civil War and the long dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939-1975) shattered the hopes of the Galicians and other regionalists in Spain. Castilian became the only legally sanctioned language for use in churches, schools, and government offices. Castilian culture was promulgated by the same institutions. Rural Galicians learned to become ashamed of their speech, dress and songs and those who moved to the cities began to speak Castilian in their homes as well as in public.

It is hard to comprehend fully the extent to which Galician culture was

suppressed during the Franco period when one visits present-day Galician villages and cities. Spain is now a member of the European Economic Community, and the Spanish Constitution recognizes four official languages (Castilian, Galician, Basque or Euskadi, and Catalan) and the “right to autonomy of the nationalities and regions of which it [‘the Spanish nation’] is composed” (Donaghy and Newton 1987:100). However, more important than these ‘words’ is the new *Rexurdimento* or regionalism in Galicia during the 1980s and 1990s. Many teachers and students, from primary grades to university, choose to use Galician over Castilian in both oral and written work. People choose the Galician television and radio stations over other channels. The Galician publishing and music industries have exploded. Civil servants and other employees are forced to perfect their Galician as a requirement for their work, as the bilingualism of the region becomes a vibrant and integrated reality.

#### **Methodology: Co-residence, Language and Work**

I first visited Galicia for ten weeks in 1989, with the goal of becoming familiar with the Galician language, but more importantly to confer with local anthropologists about the best choice of a field site. Two townships were suggested to me within the province of A Coruña. I wanted to work in an interior parish, that is, a farming rather than a fishing community. I was also interested in an ‘intermediate’ geographical location not too far from the coast, since much anthropological work has been done in both fishing villages and in the relatively isolated mountainous areas of the provinces of Lugo and Ourense (notably in the Ancares region, see comments in Bauer 1992; Rodríguez Campos 1990).

As well, many characterizations of cultural differences within Galicia, such as Carmelo Lisón Tolosana's models of gender roles and inheritance patterns, have been made on the basis of comparisons of 'coastal' and mountainous, 'interior' communities (Lisón Tolosana 1976). I was interested in the 'intermediate', in the blending of work and social worlds which is characteristic of worker-peasants and those who participate in labour migration. I therefore chose a community that is as much 'between' the categorical cracks geographically and culturally as is my theoretical focus on "worker-peasants".

On many occasions during my preliminary fieldwork in 1989, rural Galicians explained to me that *convivencia* or co-residence was the most important prerequisite for the development of affection, understanding and proper relations of reciprocity. Those brought up in the same household, and in the same hamlet or village and parish, are bound together forever. Of course, as adults or children this co-residence can be broken or established anew; and over time, new residents may be incorporated into the community. It became clear to me early on in the research project how important it would be to live with a family in a village.

I became familiar with three townships during this short period of pre-dissertation field research in 1989. By the time I returned to Galicia in 1990 to begin dissertation research, I was convinced of not only the township but also the village and household in which I wanted to live. I was delighted when my husband and I received a warm welcome and invitation to live in the household of the Fuentes' family in Carreira when we visited shortly after our arrival in Spain in September of 1990. We subsequently moved into the Fuentes

household, which at the time included seven people. The widowed head of the household, Manuel, and his married son Perfecto are skilled and successful cabinet makers. Their craft represents the highest level of achievement in the carpentry trade. Manuel's daughter-in-law, Delfina (known as Fina) plays an indispensable role in the household carpentry business, dealing with customers and suppliers and helping with the books. In addition, she has the main responsibility for the crops that the family cultivates and the domestic animals they raise for household consumption, as well as for all the domestic chores such as laundry and cooking. Fina and Perfecto's four children attend school and help with chores in the house as well as in the fields and workshop at times. The two elder boys, Fernando and David, attend the central school in Zás, but are bussed home for the mid-day meal since the village is within four kilometres of the school. Beatriz and Miguel, the two youngest children still go to the unitary school in the village.

Rather than living in the Fuentes household, an alternative research strategy would have been to live in a nearby 'town' and thus commute to the rural hamlets or villages each day to conduct research. I was reluctant to do so; although the two closest towns in the same township, Zás and Bayo, are not much larger in population than surrounding villages and hamlets, they are culturally distinct from the smaller settlements. Towns are the homes of professionals such as teachers and lawyers, businesspeople, and the seats of local government. By living in a town, I would not only have failed to grasp the subtle aspects of these cultural differences, but would have also been labelled a 'town-dweller' -- a situation that would have reinforced the barrier that my

being an educated, urbanized foreigner posed to the establishment of immediate rapport with the Carreirense.

Once settled in Carreira, my first goal was to be accepted as a 'neighbour', albeit a foreign one. A related goal was to learn the local variant of Galician rather than communicating in Castilian Spanish mixed with a few words of Galician. Rural Galicians do not normally use Castilian, except when they go to the city or speak with urbanized individuals. Due to my status as a university student and foreigner, people were not surprised at my initially limited knowledge of Galician. We were able to communicate with a mixture of the two languages since young and middle-aged people are functionally bilingual, having been taught Castilian in school and church. Many people under fifty have also spoken Castilian in migrant destinations within Spain and abroad, or during the obligatory period of army service for men. However, Castilian is not the language of thought, emotion, or simple daily discourse in Carreira and I was not satisfied with my own reliance on its use.

I learned Galician by begging people **not** to translate phrases and words which confused me into Castilian Spanish. Translation was a logical move especially for young people attending school. People in Carreira were pleased that I wanted to learn their version of Galician, all the while explaining to me that it was "neither Galician nor Castilian". Since the institution of Galician as an official language in the semi-autonomous region of Galicia in the 1980s, bureaucrats in the regional government and linguists have been responsible for developing official grammars and dictionaries for use in publishing and teaching and generally in business and government



correspondence. This process of constructing rules for an official, modern written language out of a number of oral dialects and earlier (in this case largely medieval) sets of established writings is occurring in other Spanish regions as well as other parts of Western Europe.<sup>8</sup> Problems of identity arise because those Galicians over the age of twenty who are the most fluent in their own dialects or local variants of Galician are literate solely in Castilian, which was the only language taught in schools in previous decades. The oppositions between Galician/Castilian, rural/urban, and uneducated/educated which were impressed previously continue to have resonance. When using their local dialect, many villagers feel that they are still speaking and thinking in a rural, "lesser", and incorrect language. Rather than Castilian, however, it is now the urban variety of the recently standardized Galician which is viewed as superior. To have a university-educated foreigner interested in learning the local variant of Galician and honestly preferring it to the "new" academic and urban variant both valorized and gave prestige to local Carreira speech.

By December 1990, when I became comfortable in Galician, the nuances of local speech helped me to understand basic cultural concerns. Phrases such as *ter vida* , literally "to have a life", meaning to have animals and tilled fields, that is, to live from the land and not just from wages, began to guide me through my encounters with a new depth of understanding. A phrase such as this one is not as different from the Castilian *tener vida* as are many other rural expressions, but they all provided me with cognitive keys to the worldview of this community. Another example is the term *xuntar* , to gather together, which refers to the collective consumption of the main meal of the day at

approximately two o'clock in the afternoon. I participated in daily meals in the Fuentes household and was often invited to share snacks and festival meals with other families. I spent time talking to people while they rested or socialized, and while they worked. I soon learned that people in Carreira welcomed my company even if they had work to do. They would gladly answer my questions and explain things patiently to me as long as the conversation and the work remained complementary. Certain chores are extremely conducive to conversations and shelling corn or peeling potatoes by the fireside in the evening are tasks which accompanied our discussions constantly. I also worked alongside my hosts at times, shelling corn with one other person, or planting and hay harvesting in large work parties. My participation in work activities enabled people to speak more freely to me about their work; they could refer to specific tasks with less hesitation, assuming that I could follow their descriptions better after having attempted the work myself. Most importantly, however, the time spent working with people broke down the social barriers which defined my relationship with the villagers. The most burdensome distinctions between myself and my hosts centred on the dichotomies "urban/rural" and "abstract, book work/manual work". My interest in developing an understanding of the work ethos and work identities of the Carreirenses seemed improbable to my hosts at first. They told me that one learns by watching and doing, regarding my intentions to complete an enquiry on 'work' as serious only after I accepted their invitations to join them in various tasks.

Participant-observation and extensive, informal interviews formed the basis of my ethnographic methods of inquiry. Most of my interviews or

conversations were conducted with groups of at least two individuals and sometimes as many as ten or fifteen. Galicians are enthusiastic conversationalists and storytellers. Despite the fact that the introduction of television is perceived to have supplanted the custom of telling stories in the evening, I found that Carreirense of all ages listened attentively to responses to my questions. Young people often exclaimed in surprise at what their elders were telling me, having never heard about the Civil War, cultivating and processing flax, or old ways of planting with wooden ploughs. I took extensive notes during every conversation and interview. Some interviews were taped, although note-taking is the predominant method I used to record peoples' thoughts. People soon became used to this and came to expect me to take out my notebook during even the seemingly most casual encounters. Once, during a funeral, an elderly couple were disappointed at my reluctance to write down the names of some tools they had just spotted in the yard of the deceased's household! My language-learning was also enhanced through this process of constantly transcribing the local dialect verbatim.

In addition to numerous conversations and interviews with all members of the community, I recorded the histories of particular households and individuals. These appear mainly in Chapters Two and Three. Life histories or life stories have been used frequently by anthropologists and other researchers throughout the history of the discipline.<sup>9</sup> Their inclusion in social scientific writing became popular in the 1980s specifically as part of post-colonial and feminist critiques of the relationship between 'writing' and domination (see Behar 1990a, 1993; Cole 1991b; Gluck and Patai 1991; and Marcus and

Fischer 1986:57-59). Iberian specialists who have made extensive use of this method include Buechler and Buechler (1981), Brettell (1982), Cole (1991a), Gondar Portasany (1989, 1991), and Mariño Ferro (1986). The focus on the life course of households is also widely used in Europeanist ethnography to demonstrate how the interplay of resources, labour, and decision-making influence household composition at any point in time (see, for example, Buechler and Buechler 1981; Kertzer 1984; Pitkin 1985; Rogers 1991; Segalen 1984).

The rich historical documentation preserved in European church, state, and private archives has enabled ethnographers working in this area of the world to develop subtle and detailed analyses of the past.<sup>10</sup> In my study of Carreira, I also supplemented the ethnographic data with written resources. I transcribed and photocopied municipal, parish and provincial archival material. Census statistics on occupational categories are used in Chapter Three to supplement and contrast with oral information on wage and non-wage work. Likewise, data from the famous Ensenada census of 1752-3 and secondary sources on eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century social and economic history are referred to briefly to indicate the longevity of worker-peasant economies.

Over time, people in Carreira gradually came to appreciate and comprehend my research project and methods of enquiry. At first, they did not view what I was engaged in as 'real work'. Talking to people and recording information from archival sources are distinguished from manual labour. It was during the last three months of fieldwork that people were most comfortable with

my 'work' as they came to understand it. They began to accept that the numerous notebooks and tape cassettes I filled with our conversations were an achievement which was 'work'. However, it was not the 'harvest' of notes or information *per se* which was the sole evidence of our joint achievement. They also commented on my progress in learning Galician and grasping jokes and metaphors which were lost to me at the beginning of my stay. My understanding of their lives in the past and present was the result of many months of village residence and hours of listening, questioning and speaking. As the end of my stay approached, my friends and neighbours in Carreira began to speak about my 'work' there coming to a conclusion. The individuals I was closest to summarized the themes we had been discussing all year without the hesitation that had sometimes coloured their interpretations earlier in our acquaintance. It was these last conversations which confirmed for me the appropriateness of my own focus on worker-peasant subsistence strategies and identities. Summing up their lives and their work, the Carreirense stated with enthusiasm and confidence exactly who they are. And, as an additional satisfying conclusion for me, they identified my 'work' identity as parallel to their own. Participation in work, residence and language eventually allowed me to play the roles of both a student and confidante, as well as outside observer and interviewer.

Literary methods of presentation have become as important an issue as research techniques in the cultural anthropology of the 1990s.<sup>11</sup> In this thesis, I mix narratives from my interviews and conversations with sections that are explicitly **my** analysis and interpretation of social and cultural patterns. My aim

is to blend my authorial voice with the voices of the villagers who were my cultural interpreters for so many months. I am their hostess in the written product as they were my hostesses and hosts in the village setting. A commitment to achieving a greater degree of multivocality in contemporary ethnography should not outweigh our responsibility to be held accountable for our presentations and interpretations since as authors, we ultimately control the narrative (Behar 1993; Geertz 1988; Roseman 1991). By mixing writing techniques, we can enact in form as well as in explicit discussions the philosophical debates which are being held. I agree with Kondo's analysis that ". . . the real challenge is *to enact our theoretical messages* , thereby displacing a theoretical/empirical opposition" (Kondo 1990:43). In this thesis, I have set out to retain the strong analytical tradition of anthropology yet to also allow readers to hear the individual voices which informed my analysis.

### **Outline of Discussion**

This thesis contributes a detailed analysis of Santiago de Carreira, a worker-peasant community in Galician Spain. The appropriateness of using the worker-peasantry concept in the ethnography of Iberia has not yet been fully explored (see Bentley 1992:137-139 for preliminary comments). I demonstrate that it is a valuable construct, but must be modified to accommodate the particular cultural and historical trends in distinct regions. Four major themes have been explored in this analysis of work roles, identities and strategies in Santiago de Carreira: the continuing importance of three-generation stem-family households despite widespread labour migration; the persistence of a peasant work ethic that is applied to both wage and non-wage labour, and to

local notions of household reproduction; a commitment to and valorization of subsistence agriculture and other forms of non-wage labour; and the continuing importance of inter-household reciprocity. Each of these themes is expanded in particular chapters.

In Chapter Two, I outline the types of work rural Galicians and specifically different members of Carreirense households have performed over the century. The labour histories of five households, compiled with both oral and written information, demonstrate that the maintenance of a pattern of stem-family households is an important strategy in the worker-peasant form of livelihood. Chapter Three comprises an examination of local notions of both long-term and short-term reproduction in terms of a work ethic which is applied to both peasant tasks and waged work performed locally and abroad. The life stories of two Carreirense, the seamstress-peasant Sara and the migrant labourer-servant-sharecropper-peasant Pepe are transcribed in this chapter. Their narratives demonstrate how particular individuals express a commitment to individual and household reproduction and a worker-peasant work ethic.

In Chapter Four, I focus on the symbolic significance of the continued insistence of the Carreirense on growing their own food in the 1990s. Through the strategy of maintaining subsistence agriculture, the labour of family members -- predominantly women, the elderly and children during particular points in the household cycle -- is retained for important labour-intensive tasks related to food production and processing. The valorization of homegrown food is symbolically highlighted in the telling of stories of the past, and during periods when festive meals are prepared. Chapter Five explores the social ties of

kinship and neighbourhood relations which continue to bind rural people together over the long-term through acts of generalized and balanced reciprocity. The final chapter of the thesis follows, consisting of a recapitulation of the main arguments and a set of conclusions. Throughout, I blend theory with data, taking forward the theoretical themes explored briefly in Chapter One so that they address the unique social and cultural context of this particular community of worker-peasants.

This dissertation demonstrates the value of fine-grained ethnographic research. Studies such as this one are concerned with exposing the extent to which large-scale models presupposing 'transitions' fail to account for local experiences of social change: "Part of the problem economists have in accepting very small-scale farming as a legitimate activity is that the smallest of the small farmers are generally worker-peasants, a group that does not dissolve easily into categories of formal economics. The worker-peasant phenomenon is not new in Europe (Holmes 1983), and it is not going away. It is increasing both in terms of number of people and importance" (Bentley 1992:138). In order to develop specific, local and comparable pictures of large structures of inequality and transformation in the global market, we must begin at the level of communities such as Carreira. The extent and character of worker-peasant strategies of livelihood that centre on a flexible multioccupationality can only be recovered through a careful and systematic analysis of the stories of labour told by individuals. Furthermore, we must consider the construction of local and individual identities as meaningful comments on and interpretations of social change and cultural continuity. The Carreirenses say that they trust neither the



wage market nor the state welfare system to ensure their livelihood over the long-term. As I show in the pages that follow, the dramatic collapse of particular opportunities at different points in history are proof of the wisdom of their maintenance of three-generation households, subsistence production, and community reciprocity networks: the decline of the flax industry in the mid-nineteenth century; the collapse of the market economy during and after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1950); and more recently, the difficulties of finding employment in Switzerland, France, and Germany after the lucrative guest-worker openings of the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>12</sup>

Galician labour migrants have been characterized as “swallows” (*golondrinas*) who travel long distances to earn much-needed wages to help support their families but who return home after the migration cycle is completed. Despite this widespread migration, when Galicians are away from home, they experience an overwhelming nostalgia or *morriña* for their families, communities, hearths and land.<sup>13</sup> This yearning for ‘place’ is characteristic of migratory peoples. In this study, I explore the urgent enactment of this commitment to the peasant household, the community and the land by those household members who remain or return home. The Carreirenses, along with other European worker-peasants, have maintained an attachment to working their land despite the necessity and desirability of committing some household members to wage employment. This strategy ensures the reproduction of households and communities despite their marginalization within the context of Western European capitalism. However, the process of sustaining peasant households, communities and agriculture is also highly symbolic. It is through

the inclusion of individual voices and local perspectives within our ethnographic texts that anthropologists can contribute to a complete understanding of the continuing diversity of economic strategies despite strong pressures towards economic globalization and cultural homogenization.

## Chapter One - Endnotes

1 Szelenyi (1988:45) notes that Markús was following the lead of Mendras (1970). On the consideration of "post-peasants" in western Europe, also see Asano-Tamanoi (1983); Friedl (1964); Minge-Kalman (1978); and Weingrod and Morin (1971). It should also be pointed out that rural Europeans, whether called "worker-peasants" or "post-peasants," must be sharply distinguished from incipient peasants in third world countries where colonialism has disrupted precapitalist (or presocialist) systems of land usage. European peasantries were originally based in a feudal system in which they were fully captured -- a significant proportion of any surplus that they produced was extracted by landlords in the form of rent, by the church in the form of tithes, and increasingly by the state in the form of taxes (see classic definitions in Shanin 1971; Wolf 1966; for a superb historical study of the changing strategies of German peasants in the face of these pressures during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Sabeau 1990). Hyden's characterization of Tanzanian peasants as "uncaptured" is valuable in the study of some African, and potentially other agriculturalists in post-colonial states (Hyden 1980). He argues that the Tanzanian smallholders that he studied are not dependent on other classes or the state; this relative autonomy is ensured through their access to rich areas of land with sufficient rainfall, and a weak integration into the cash economy (Hyden 1980). European worker-peasants, in contrast, are fully integrated into not only regional and increasingly international markets for goods, but also the wage market and the state welfare system. Despite the acquisition of land in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Carreirense and other Galician smallholders could not survive solely on what they produce with household labour. European worker-peasants, through subsistence agriculture, ensure some security in the face of fluctuating and uncertain wage opportunities but they are not autonomous producers.

2 This set of assumptions has much in common with the neopopulism that characterizes Chayanov's description of Russian peasants at the beginning of the century (Chayanov 1966; Harrison 1975).

3 On Galicia see, among others Iturra (1977, 1988); Moreno Feliu et al. (1987); on other zones see Behar (1986); Bentley (1992); Brandes (1975a); Freeman (1970); O'Neill (1987); Pina-Cabral (1986).

4 I have been influenced by Ortner (1984) to focus on agency and Kondo (1990) and Myerhoff (1978[1980]) to use the term 'craft' to describe peoples' "lifework".

5 Bauer (1983, 1987, 1992) and Rodríguez Campos (1990) discuss the impact of a 'rural exodus' from the interior, mountainous region of Galicia known as the Ancares. The out-migration from rural areas is explored by many ethnographers working in Iberia. Significant discussions include Brandes (1975a, 1976), Brettell (1979, 1986); J.-M. Buechler (1975); H. Buechler (1987); Buechler and Buechler (1984); Cole (1991a); Douglass (1971, 1975), Gregory (1976), Kenny (1976), Masur (1984a, 1985); Rhoades (1978a, 1978b, 1979, 1980).

6 Note that three of the villagers and one former villager whom I knew were in their nineties, and many others in their seventies and eighties. People often remembered the pre-Civil War period better than might be expected because it was the time of their youth and held many poignant memories which were crushed by the advent of the wartime and post-war devastation which Spaniards experienced. Despite the necessity of being careful with the use of memories as 'hard historical data,' they are the best source with which to gain an understanding of the subjective meanings past events held for individual actors (see, for example Passerini 1987; Pina-Cabral 1987; and Rappaport 1990).

7 Both present-day Galician and variants of Portuguese are considered by linguists to be derivatives of a medieval language which was called *Galego-Portugués* (Entwistle 1949; García 1985; Rodríguez 1984). In Spain, the Galician language is referred to a *Galego* or *Gallego*. Following the hegemonic imposition of Castilian and Aragonese cultural features from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, Galician was maintained as an oral "dialect" but ceased to be used in literary work and administrative documentation. During the eighteenth century the Galician priest and intellectual, Padre Sarmiento, expressed fears that the language would become obsolete and warned his compatriots that a project of active revitalization was necessary. This movement gained momentum during the latter half of the nineteenth century when Galician nationalists living in both Spain and South America challenged the characterization of Galician as a "rustic dialect" and revived an interest in the famous set of medieval troubador poems (Rodríguez 1984). This began a campaign to standardize a modern variant of Galician, a process that has only been undertaken thoroughly since the death of Franco in 1975.

8 See McDonald's (1989) discussion of the Breton language and identity as well as numerous publications on the situation in the Catalan and Basque regions of Spain including those of Heiberg (1989) and Woolard (1989).

9 For summary discussions of this method, see Bertaux (1981) and Langness and Frank (1981).

10 Lisón Tolosana (1983b[1966]) wrote one of the most detailed and earliest historical studies by Iberian ethnographers, focussing on the Aragonese town of Belmonte de los Caballeros. An historical perspective is embedded in the ethnographic literature on Galicia. Among North American authors, see, for example, Bauer (1983, 1987), and the extensive body of work produced by the Buechlers. Studies by Spanish anthropologists also incorporate both historical and ethnographic sources; among these, see Fernández de Rota (1987a), Lisón Tolosana (1987[1979]), and Rodríguez Campos (1990). Influential historical studies by anthropologists working in other regions include Brettell (1986) and Rosenberg (1988).

11 See for example Clifford (1988), and Clifford and Marcus (1986) and Crapanzano (1977).

12 On the effects of this labour migration on sender communities see papers in Aceves and Douglass (1976) and Buechler and Buechler (1987), overviews by Castles and Kosack (1973); Gmelch (1980) and Miles (1986); and case studies by Brandes (1975a); Brettell (1982, 1986); Douglass (1971, 1975); Pina-Cabral (1986); and Rhoades (1978b, 1979).

13 See Gmelch (1980) and Rhoades (1978b, 1979; 1980) on different types of migration. The best body of anthropological work on the Galician experience has been contributed by the Buechlers (on *morriña*, see especially J.-M. Buechler 1975; Buechler and Buechler 1981 and Kelley 1988, 1991). Brettell (1982) recounts the similar emotion of *saudade* expressed by three Portuguese women who worked in France. Emotional and literary expressions of *morriña* are explored by Galician writers such as Rosalía de Castro and the exiled Alfonso R. Castelao and in fiction and non-fiction works on Galicia; see for example, the recently published epic novel by the Brazilian Nélide Piñon (1989) and personal accounts by the American social commentator and novelist José Yglesias (1967, 1977:243-273) and by the anthropologist and son of a Galician migrant to the United States, J. Anthony Paredes (1982).

## **Chapter Two: 'One Has To Do a Bit of Everything': Occupational Complexity and Household Cycles Over the Twentieth Century**

The overall picture which emerges from this summary of the activities in which peasant families participated in order to ensure their reproduction is that a large portion of them, perhaps 20 %, only lived partially from agricultural production on their small estates. **This impression that the rural Galician world of the modern period moves along with two bases** will be confirmed and amplified . . .  
(Carmona Badía 1990:75; emphasis mine)

In this chapter I illustrate the variety of work -- both wage and non-wage -- performed by inhabitants of Santiago de Carreira over the course of the twentieth century. As the economic historian Joam Carmona Badía notes above in his discussion of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a pattern that I refer to as a mixed worker-peasant livelihood is evident in historical material to be long-standing in many areas of Galicia. My goals at this point in the dissertation are two-fold: to provide a description of the variety of occupations villagers have performed; and to contextualize this multioccupationality in terms of the significance of the Galician stem-family household for the reproduction of a worker-peasant pattern of livelihood in Carreira.

This chapter therefore contains the general labour history of the parish and the developmental cycle of five households, with a particular emphasis on the types of wage jobs held during different periods of time. I demonstrate the centrality of multioccupationality for both individuals and households in worker-

peasant communities like Carreira. Whenever possible, the Carreirense have maintained the regional ideal of three-generation stem family households that send some members out to earn wages and occupy others with full-time subsistence agriculture. In Chapter Three the discussion shifts to a consideration of individual work identities across occupations and local notions of household reproduction, while Chapter Four deals specifically with peasant subsistence production.

In reconstructing the multioccupational labour history of this area, I have relied heavily upon written records -- the eighteenth-century Catastro de Ensenada and the municipal census over the twentieth century -- and the oral narratives of the Carreirense. Catastro de Ensenada data and secondary sources demonstrate the continuity of a mixed economy and the presence of substantial numbers of worker-peasant households in the zone where Carreira is located since the eighteenth-century. Although I make reference to this evidence, the thesis is based on ethnographic research and the temporal boundaries of the core of my argument were delineated by the memories of villagers who reconstructed their labour histories with me, supplemented with twentieth-century census data.

The chapter begins with a discussion of general population and migration patterns in the area since the eighteenth century. This is followed with an outline of the Galician stem family household system. I then discuss the different types of non-agricultural activities people in this region have performed, as well as the forms of agricultural production on owned and rented land. Inhabitants of Carreira were embedded in a set of stratified economic relationships: landed peasant rights, rental and sharecropping contracts,

annual 'servant' contracts and day labour.

In the last half of the chapter, I provide a summary of the specific series of individuals' occupations listed in twentieth century census records for Carreira. These official occupational labels range from agricultural and non-agricultural wage work to non-wage household labour. I also focus on multioccupationality in the context of household cycles by presenting detailed examples -- developed with both written and oral accounts -- of the shifting occupations of members of five specific households over several generations.

### **Galician Population and Migration Patterns: Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries**

Spain, like other European countries, experienced an overall demographic decline during the seventeenth century. Numerous epidemics and wars led to high rates of mortality, which consistently offset any increase in fertility (Livi Bacci 1968a:83). Despite little change in overall rates of fertility and life expectancy at birth, there was a continuous although gradual increase in population over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This population growth has been attributed mainly to more intensive food production and distribution, and hence fewer famines (Livi Bacci 1968a:91). There were, however, significant regional differences. For instance, early in the nineteenth century, a decline in infant mortality was registered in urban Catalonia (Livi Bacci 1968a:91).

In contrast, in Galicia, poor sanitation and health care continued, and there was little change in infant mortality rates until the twentieth century. The characteristic of Galician population patterns during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as opposed to other Spanish regions and Spain as a



whole, was the impact of extensive permanent and temporary emigration. In Galicia, labour migration offset demographic growth in three ways: the permanent loss of adult migrants; high numbers of single, childless women because of unbalanced sex ratios; and low marital fertility rates that resulted from long-term male absences. (Brettell 1986; Livi Bacci 1968b; López Taboada 1979:84-85). Another consequence of male out-migration was a high rate of illegitimacy in Galicia, reaching 14.3 per 100 total births in 1858-60 (Livi Bacci 1968b:227).

Widespread seasonal and permanent migrations of Galicians to other areas of Spain, and to other countries and continents have been recorded since the sixteenth century. Labrada (1971[1804]) and Meijide Pardo (1960), for example, have investigated the intrapeninsular migrations of the seventeenth century. Teams of Galicians travelled to León and Castille each year to harvest wheat, and to Andalucía and Portugal to harvest grapes, while others moved permanently to large cities and towns to perform a variety of occupations ranging from domestic service to skilled trades (carpentry, masonry, smithing). The socioeconomic causes for these migrations were the “unjust distribution of land, overwhelming burden of the tributes [taxes, tithes and rents], the continual army drafts, the unproductive state of the land . . . and the habitual food shortages, [and] the lack of work, at least, uninterrupted work for the entire year” (Meijide Pardo 1960:10).

These causes also led to the permanent emigration of thousands of Galicians to the American continents, a movement that became significant during the last decades of the eighteenth century and superseded migration within Iberia during the last half of the nineteenth century (Palmás 1984:514-

519). The majority of these migrants settled in Argentina, Cuba, Venezuela, and Brazil; although a smaller proportion of the total, a significant number of Galician and other Spaniards also emigrated to Uruguay, Mexico, Chile, and the United States during this period (López Taboada 1979:70; Palmás 1984:514-528).

After 1914, the stream of intercontinental migration declined dramatically but it did not cease. Many Galicians left their homes to settle near relatives in the Americas. The province in which Carreira is located, A Coruña, was one of the main exporters of labour to destinations such as Habana and Buenos Aires from major ports like Vigo. Official records compiled by the National Institute of Emigration estimate that 344,008 individuals left Coruña for transatlantic destinations during the periods 1911-1935 and 1946-1965. The total number of Galician emigrants to the Americas is estimated to be 1,117,136 for these same periods (cited in Palmás 1984:518).

Another wave of emigration succeeded the two earlier twentieth century movements. From 1965 to the mid-1980s, tens of thousands of young Galician men and women crossed the border to work in European countries north of the Pyrenees (Palmás 1984; Buechler and Buechler 1984; H. Buechler 1987). The majority travelled to Switzerland, what was then West Germany, and France; others went on to jobs in other nations, including Great Britain and Holland. Some of these labour migrants were registered foreign "guestworkers" with permanent or seasonal work permits; others joined family members and friends and found poorly paid jobs as clandestine migrants (J.-M. Buechler 1987; Castles and Kosack 1973; Pina-Cabral 1986:12). The European wave of temporary labour migration was predominantly, but not exclusively male. Men

worked in construction, agriculture, service jobs, and factories while women were employed in factories and in service jobs in private homes and institutions (Brettell 1982; J.-M. Buechler 1975; Goodman 1987; Kelley 1988). During this period, many young couples worked abroad while their middle-aged and elderly parents raised the grandchildren. It was difficult to raise children in these migrant destinations since women were working full-time with the aim of saving as much of their wages as possible to send back to Galicia, and school-aged children experienced cultural and emotional conflicts when they returned to rural Galicia (Bauer 1983; Buechler and Buechler 1984; H. Buechler 1987; Castles and Kosack 1973). There were additional, bureaucratic barriers to surmount for those families that did choose to educate their children abroad; countries such as Switzerland and West Germany attempted to control the tide of family immigration from southern Europe with rigid rules regarding work, housing, social services, and education permits (Castles and Kosack 1973; Yücel 1987). These pressures to control the number of non-citizen workers increased after 1973-4 when a recessionary downturn in the world economy began to impact wealthy European nations that no longer required an influx of labour from the southern regions (Buechler and Buechler 1984; Pina-Cabral 1986:14, 80-81). Unemployed and underemployed Galicians, Andalucians, Portuguese, Italians, Turks, and others from poorer regions continued to seek employment north of their borders through the 1980s and into the early 1990s, some settling permanently abroad; others, however, returned to their home countries and communities (Buechler and Buechler 1981; Gmelch 1980; Kelley 1988; Rhoades 1978b, 1979).

### **The Galician Stem-Family Household**

Douglass (1988a:2-3) argues that there is an identifiable “Pyrenean stem family household pattern” that existed historically across a broad area incorporating the French and Spanish Basque country, Andorra, Navarra, Catalonia, Aragón, Asturias, Galicia, and northern Portugal. All of these regions share a humid climate, a coastal and mountainous topography, and a history of small holdings (*minifundía*) as opposed to the large, agricultural estates (*latifundía*) of southern Iberia. Key features of this pattern are the predominance of small family farms; polyculture; impartible, post-mortem inheritance; and either virilocal or uxorilocal post-marital residence of one child in the natal household. Despite these general similarities, however, evidence of intra-cultural variation belies any simplistic ecological or historical explanations for household formations (Douglass 1988a:4).

The term “stem-family” is derived from the French “*famille souche*,” a description of a particular form of multiple family household developed by Frédéric Le Play in his nineteenth-century comparative study of European family forms. One of the best and earliest known examples of this household pattern in European ethnography was the Irish stem-family (Arensberg and Kimball 1959[1937], 1968[1948]). This form is consistent with “extended-family units” in Laslett’s (1983) typology since a classic stem-family consists of members of at least three generations: in the oldest generation, a married couple or a widowed individual as household head(s); in the next generation, unmarried children of the head(s) and a married child and his or her spouse; and in the third generation, any grandchildren born to in-marrying children and in some cases, to unmarried daughters. Two key features of this extended-

family form are the retention of the role and authority of household head(s) until death, and the "marrying-in" of only one child who becomes the main heir of his or her parents' property after their death. One difference between stem-family systems in distinct regions is the gender and birth order of the child generally preferred as the one to remain in the natal household after marriage and to inherit the bulk of the estate.

Lisón Tolosana (1976) notes that there are three sets of post-marital residence and inheritance norms in the Atlantic region of Galician Spain. Along the coast, there is a preference for uxorilocal residence and inheritance along female lines; in the interior, a tendency toward virilocal residence and preferential inheritance for a male child; and in the southern province of Ourense, neolocality and equal inheritance among all descendants are preferred (Lisón Tolosana 1976).

These cultural preferences are reflected in measurable behaviour. Lisón Tolosana (1973b:116) reports an extremely high incidence of 78.2% stem families on the basis of a presumably synchronic (but unspecified) sample of 478 households. In a careful longitudinal analysis of household patterns in a coastal community in the province of A Coruña, Hans Buechler (1987) finds that there was a higher percentage of extended family households in the 1970s as compared to the 1760s. He attributes this finding to increased longevity; more individuals are surviving into their seventies and eighties as heads of three and four-generation stem-family households in the latter half of the twentieth century (H. Buechler 1987:223). Consistent with Lisón Tolosana's (1976) model of ecological zones, there is also a tendency toward uxorilocal residence during the last several decades in the coastal parish Buechler (1987) examined. It is

clear upon further comparison, however, that an ecological model must be supplemented within the context of socioeconomic changes. Buechler (1987:234) points out that a significant proportion of the virilocal post-marital residence and male inheritance in the same parish in earlier periods was linked to large landholdings. In her study of a coastal, fishing community in the same province Kelley (1988) found an approximately equal number of uxorilocal and virilocal extended family households over the last two centuries. She notes that there is a constant tension between the ideals of equal and unequal inheritance (Kelley 1988:339). Unequal inheritance is tied to the parents' desire "to maintain the integrity of the *casa* [household] from one generation to the next" (Kelley 1988:339). In interior Galicia, Iturra (1980) found a similar tension despite the maintenance of a norm of primogeniture. The predominance of parents choosing the eldest, male child as the main heir who married "into the household" (*en casa*) is clearly linked to the feudal system of *foro* contracts in interior Galicia. These rental contracts lasted three generations of (usually male) heirs who gained usufruct; during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the remaining siblings were forced to marry "into" another household, emigrate, or remain unmarried and under the authority of their married siblings once the elderly household heads died (Iturra 1980; also see Bauer 1983).

In addition, reproductive and productive constraints always influence the degree of attainment of cultural ideals. Childless couples or couples with children of only one sex may not be able to fulfill local norms and personal preferences for residence and inheritance (Douglass 1988b). In northern Iberia, impartible or unequal inheritance -- even when not the cultural ideal -- is used as a form of "old age insurance" (Brettell 1986, 1991; Cole 1991a;

Greenwood 1976; Iturra 1980). A large inheritance portion is viewed as compensation for the work of caring for the elderly. The elderly in diverse Iberian communities have been reported to prefer the attention and care of a daughter in their old age (Brettell 1986; Cutileiro 1971; Greenwood 1976; Kelley 1988; Pitt-Rivers 1971[1954]). In coastal communities in Galician Spain and northern Portugal, this preference along with extensive male migration since the eighteenth century seems to have led to or supported a system of uxorilocal residence and inheritance along female lines among smallholders and the landless (Brettell 1986; Cole 1991a; Kelley 1988).

Galicia is characterized in much of the ethnographic and historical literature by the two features outlined above: extensive labour migration, and a system of impartible inheritance and three-generation stem-family households. In this thesis, I contribute another valuable approach to a synthetic view of Galician smallholders: the concept of a worker-peasant cultural, community, and household system (Holmes 1983, 1989). Galicians did not find wage employment solely in migrant destinations; like many other landless and land-poor rural Europeans, wage work was a significant activity of many members of peasant households who remained at home (Lorenzo Fernández 1983). The notion of worker-peasantries is particularly useful in the examination of this mixed economy. During the last three centuries, many labour migrants working outside of the region considered themselves to be members of rural Galician households, particularly those who worked at seasonal tasks and then returned home; other emigrants returned to Galicia after a period abroad (Buechler and Buechler 1984; Meijide Pardo 1960). The worker-peasant model, as elaborated by Holmes (1983, 1989) and others, emphasizes the similarities

between wage jobs performed in migrant and non-migrant destinations. The common characteristic is the membership of wage workers in worker-peasant households and communities, to which they send remittances and where they return to help with agriculture when they do not have wage employment. This flexible, multioccupational economy is embedded in particular cultural concepts and work identities, as I demonstrate throughout the thesis.

Kearney (1986) has noted that anthropologists studying migration and development must return to the study of local cultures, communities, and households. Within the context of world economic systems, ethnographers are well-placed to consider, in addition to the capitalist wage market, the “noncapitalist relations of production and reproduction in local settings from which and to which people migrate” and the household as “the most important nexus in which articulation [of distinct modes of production] occurs” (Kearney 1986:341, 344; see also Wolpe 1972).

In worker-peasant communities, the non-monetary exchange of labour, goods, technology, and ritual obligations continues alongside capitalist relations of exchange. In addition, the household unit of analysis is particularly important in the consideration of multioccupationality in areas where a worker-peasant livelihood is reproduced over time. Members of worker-peasant households move in and out of wage work, returning to help with agricultural production whenever unemployed. In addition to being “a culturally defined emic unit” (Wilk and Mc. Netting 1984:2), the household unit is an identifiable “nexus of visible behavior” (Wilk and Mc. Netting 1984:2). It is the physical and symbolic site of coresidence, production, consumption, and reproduction of a group of people over the long term. In this chapter, I introduce the centrality of



the three-generation stem-family to the worker-peasant strategy of livelihood pursued successfully by the Carreirense. Prior to my analysis of occupations and households in the parish of Carreira, I first turn to the general context of the history of rural labour and agriculture in the Galician region.

### **'Os Traballos de Sempre' (The Work We've Always Done): Rural Work in Galician History**

As Carmona Badía so persuasively argues in his treatise on the development and decline of the flax home industry in Galicia over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Galicia is one of many European regions that experienced phenomenal economic and social changes during a period of 'proto-industrialization' but which did not subsequently become dominated by widespread and full-scale capitalist and factory production (Carmona Badía 1990:9-11; also see Kriedte et al. 1981). The relative underdevelopment of Galicia's economy in the context of West European capitalist and industrial expansion has been analyzed by Beiras (1967), Villares (1982) and other economic historians primarily as a result of the re-entrenchment of a feudal or "post-feudal" form of land tenure in the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, this was combined with a corresponding narrow and jealous monopoly by urban and town *bourgeoisie* over economic distribution (Alonso Alvarez 1976; Beiras 1967; Villares 1982; Carmona Badía 1990). Shipbuilding and cannery operations on the western coast of Galicia were two of the few industries that maintained some presence in the region over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Villares 1982). Huge rates of migration out of Galicia during the mid to late nineteenth century have been explained by historical demographers as the result of a population increase which began in the mid-eighteenth century.

This expansion is in turn linked to intensified agricultural production and the increasingly widespread use of new crops introduced from the American continents, namely potato and maize, in coastal and intermediate Galician regions (López Taboada 1979; Livi Bacci 1968a).

Carmona Badía's thesis is that the apparent surfeit of workers in Galicia during the nineteenth century was at least partially the result of the collapse of the linen cloth industry which had expanded so thoroughly in the last decades of the previous century to make Galician flax spinners and weavers one of the largest groups engaged in textile production in Western Europe (Carmona Badía 1990). Linen textile workers were largely members of rural, 'peasant' households, partially committed to subsistence production and the raising of some crops and animals for sale to pay rents and taxes. Peasant agriculture in many households in rural Galicia was therefore accompanied by large investments of time by family members who in some cases cultivated flax, and in others spun and wove the fibres imported by middlemen from the Baltic region. The evidence for a pattern of combining these two sets of activities supports the thesis that a large number of rural households were in fact inhabited by 'worker-peasants' prior to the twentieth century: "In sum, weaving was not more than a part-time profession in the majority of the cases . . . The rest combined textile work with agriculture, dedicating to the former between two and four months of the year in the majority of the cases, although in some areas the dedication was habitually greater" (Carmona Badía 1990:88; also see Saavedra 1985). In describing the same period of time, Caroline Brettell mentions the equal importance of a cottage linen industry in the Portuguese parish of Lanheses located in a region adjacent to Galicia: "This linen industry

supported a range of occupations: spinners, weavers, cloth merchants, lacemakers, seamstresses, ropemakers, and ribbonmakers . . . The regional importance of linen manufacture is also reflected in numerous old and popular maxims . . .” (Brettell 1986:25).

This pervasive arena of economic activity did not, however, result in the full-scale development of a viable, mechanized textile industry in Galicia. The strong competition from other industrializing regions such as Catalonia and Great Britain led to the disappearance of the market for the technologically inferior linen produced with hand-held spindles by Galician pieceworkers. The eclipse of this protoindustry meant that for many Galician worker-peasant households, the fragile balance of a combined income from agriculture and textile production was gravely disturbed. Carmona argues that the extensive out-migration of Galicians to South American destinations during the last half of the nineteenth century was partially the result of a surfeit of labourers in the mixed rural economy (Carmona Badía 1990:33-34; also see Moya 1990 and González Vázquez 1990). The labour-intensive task of linen production did not disappear from the worker-peasant repertoire, however. Although this ‘protoindustry’ declined rapidly after the 1840s, Galician and Portuguese smallholders continued to plant flax and produce cloth for household needs until the 1950s (Brettell 1986:25-26).

In addition, even those peasant agriculturalists in Galicia who were not involved in the linen textile industry were embedded in a regional market system with local specialization in different crafts and trades (Wolf 1966). Economic historians have discussed the prevalence of peasant agriculturalists performing non-agricultural work locally and as migrants during the slack

seasons in many contexts, without using the term 'worker-peasant' (see, for example, Chayanov 1966). In his analysis of the economy of late eighteenth century France, Hufton has also emphasized the parallel multioccupational existence of both the rural and urban poor: "Such a [garden] plot was to the urban worker what industry was to the small holder; it permitted him productive employment during periods of enforced idleness. In fact, whether in town or country, the incomes of the poor are composed of too many component elements and imponderables to permit of ready assessment. The possession of a kitchen garden, a few hens or rabbits, miscellaneous rights at stages of the agricultural year could be vital and highly important elements in any individual family's economy" (Hufton 1974:43). In fact, if one examines early census material carefully in the context of multioccupational households rather than individuals, it is clear that many of those classed as 'peasant agriculturalists' were engaged in non-agricultural occupations throughout the year. From the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, land-poor and landless peasants living in northwestern Iberia took advantage of any opportunity that presented itself to earn cash wages and to market commodities ranging from lumber and livestock to artisanal products such as furniture. Steady sources of income have included mining, quarrying, lumbering, construction, trading, carting, smithing, sewing, shoemaking, and carpentry (Brettell 1986; Lorenzo Fernández 1983; Rodríguez Campos 1990; Saavedra 1985). A striking feature of rural areas of Galician Spain and the Minho region in Portugal is the continuity of artisanal production, the dominance of regional measures and markets, and low levels of technology in agricultural production (including wooden ploughshares, and non-mechanized threshing) into the middle of the

twentieth century (Fernández de Rota 1984, 1987a; Lisón Tolosana 1983[1979]; O'Neill 1987; Pina-Cabral 1986).

An extremely poor infrastructure throughout rural Galicia until the 1970s meant that regional fairs and local artisans supplied those consumer goods which people could not or did not produce themselves: salt, oil, iron pots, ceramic dishes, candle wax, soap and other items were purchased at biweekly or monthly fairs; local artisans made carts, wooden and leather shoes, iron tools, cloth and clothing, furniture, baskets and hats and fish weirs, dwellings and granaries. Few rural people were able to travel to visit city markets or stores unless they were working in urban centers. Additional goods were sold directly to villagers by peddlars who also bought agricultural and artisanal products in their travels. Some of these traders were specialized and were known by the products in which they traded; examples include the 'egg-sellers' (*hoveiros*) and 'hen traders' (*galliñeiras*). Traders made their living by buying and selling goods at the fairs and on the road, but were usually members of agricultural households where their kin maintained subsistence production (Lorenzo Fernández 1983:204; fieldnotes from Carreira).

Rural artisans were apprenticed locally for several years, perhaps to more than one 'boss', combining learning a trade with working for a 'boss' or 'teacher'. In a loosely organized rural system of apprenticeship, it was customary to charge young people for teaching them a skill, through actually charging for lessons or requiring students to work for free initially. The key artisanal specialties and trades discussed in Galician ethnography and history sources that remain familiar to people in Carreira are the following: carpenters (of many varieties including cartmakers and cabinetmakers), woodcutters and

sawmill operators, stonemasons, construction workers, quarrymen, blacksmiths, shoers, skimmers, miners, candlemakers, shoemakers, weavers, seamstresses, tailors, and basketmakers (Lorenzo Fernández 1983; Rodríguez Campos 1983, 1990). In addition, professional people such as teachers, priests, doctors, lawyers, notaries, and army officers, lived in rural administrative centers and villages (often as members of wealthy landed households) where they serviced large rural areas.

As I discussed briefly in Chapter One, the Galician land-holding system in which these artisans, tradespeople, peddlars or traders, and professionals were embedded was based into the twentieth century on a medieval system of feudal rights and obligations for rentors and rentees. In Galicia, as in other areas of northern Spain such as León and Asturias, the majority of usufruct contracts were known as *foro* contracts.

Until the nineteenth century, the vast majority of large landholders were nobles (often absent) and Roman Catholic institutions such as monasteries. Although the church was forced to dispossess much of its feudal land in the mid-nineteenth century, the *foro* contract *per se* was not stricken from Spanish civil law until 1926. Peasants held *foro* contracts with landlords which gave the peasant access to land to till in return for a varying series of obligations, usually including an annual rent or tribute in kind (grain, livestock and perhaps portions of a successful hunt) and labour. This feudal system has a complicated history and its legal implications are the subject of much debate among Spanish jurists and scholars. The term *foro* derives from the Spanish *fuero* and originally referred to an agreement between medieval monarchs and particular cities and town regarding the latter's jurisdiction in matters of taxes, administration and

justice (Lorenzo Filgueira 1986:43). This term later became used for personal contracts between landlords and tenants. Some historians, most notably Murguía, argue that the *foro* contracts in Galicia and likely the surrounding regions of Asturias and León were originally 'in perpetuity' and later, after the famous *Irmandiñas* rebellions of the fourteenth century, they were restricted to a three-generation period of "the life of three monarchs and twenty-five years more" (Lorenzo Filgueira 1986:44). *Foro* contracts were both oral and written and varied according to the region, the notary who completed the paperwork, and the particulars of each agreement.

It was during the late nineteenth century, that various Galician deputies, beginning with a proposed law initiated by Pelayo Cuesta in the Congress, began to call for the rendition or abolition of all *foro* contracts in Galicia. Two factors were blamed for Galician underdevelopment: the *minifundismo* characteristic of northern Iberia where the majority of agriculturalists own or rent small amounts of land and work on a series of tiny parcels of land; and the low labour-intensive nature of its agriculture. Both factors were based in the feudal *foro* system. In A Coruña, the province where Carreira is located, it was estimated that 95 per cent of the cultivated land was under *foro* contracts in the mid-nineteenth century (Lorenzo Filgueira 1986:40). The Galician historian Villares Paz argues that the system was dismantled gradually over the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century. Hence Primo de Rivera's 1926 law to abolish remaining *foro* contracts, the *Ley de Rendición de Foros*, was necessary to legislate remaining instances of the *foro* system more than to initiate its demise (in Lorenzo Filgueira 1986:47-48).

Some scholars argue that rural regions of Galicia never had a formal

*fuero* agreement with the crown because those agreements reached with cities did not apply to outlying rural villages. In fact, the slow process of centralizing Spanish legal codes excluded the Galician region yet the Galicians were not granted official legal autonomy (Lorenzo Filgueira 1986:34-36). However, the local oral "customs" of rural Spain were always recognized alongside written codes. In the case of Galicia this recognition eventually led to a particular set of civil laws affirmed by the law of 1963, the *Compilación del Derecho Civil especial de Galicia*. In this code, mention is made of the then extant *foro* system with provisions for finally eradicating other aspects of the feudal landholding system in Galicia. For example, the 1963 law specifies the cessation of remaining 'traditional' sharecropping agreements (*aparcería*), of the common usage of land, water and mills, and the three-generation stem-family household system referred to legally in the region as the *Compañía Familiar Gallega* (for discussion of this term see Lorenzo Filgueira 1986:49-56; Méndez 1988).

The dismantlement of the *foro* system did not immediately eradicate the abundance of rural tenants in Galician parishes like Carreira. Two-thirds of the households in Carreira continued to rent the land they tilled until the 1960s. Two types of rental contracts were most common. The first type of rental arrangement was based on a set annual payment in kind: usually one *ferrado* (a regional measurement varying in exact worth by locality and crop) of wheat per *ferrado* of land tilled, due in the late summer or early autumn following the wheat harvest. In these cases, the rentee provided the seeds, draught power, human labour and made their own decisions regarding which crops to plant each year on the rented land.



The second type of rental agreement was a sharecropping contract. As in earlier centuries, these contracts were 'by halves' (*a medias*) since tenants owed landlords half of the crop tilled on rented fields over the annual agricultural cycle. Cattle were also raised by sharecroppers under a similar system of payment. The poorest peasants could not afford their own cattle, necessary to till the land, without such agreements. Sharecroppers provided the labour in these cases but the owners provided the capital inputs of land, seed and draught power and had more to say about which crops were planted in which locations. When each crop was harvested it was divided into two roughly equal portions, with one-half going to the landowner. The sharecropper was also responsible for feeding the livestock and taking calves to market when they were born, and splitting the selling price with the owner.

Patterns of economic and social stratification in parishes such as Carreira are complicated because they cannot be applied discretely to households or individuals over time. For instance, during the first half of the century it was common for members of one household to be both landowners and rentees. Land-poor households might seek a rental agreement one year that they did not require the next. This circumstance changed because of altered household composition or shifting opportunities -- with regard to access to resources or wage work -- of its members. However, general distinctions did exist that reflected the differential ownership and access to land, livestock, and tools.

The wealthiest landowners who owned more than 50 hectares of land were referred to as *propietarios* or proprietors. They were often absentee landlords and/or professionals such as teachers and army officers. Proprietors

often employed live-in servants in addition to day-labourers at peak seasons. Peasants or *labradores* owned substantial amounts of land (between 20 and 50 hectares) and livestock (at least four head of cattle and a team of oxen). It was not imperative for them to sell their labour; however, those who did often held the highest paying and most prestigious non-agricultural occupations. Peasants in this category were often tavern-keepers and well-paid artisans like blacksmiths. These relatively wealthy peasants were said to be from 'strong houses' -- *casas fortes* . A group of less wealthy, landowning peasants were also called *labradores* , *labregos* or *campesinos* because they worked the land (performing *trabalho do campo* or *labranza* ). However, this latter category of individuals is often difficult to distinguish from a less wealthy groups of sharecroppers (*caseiros* ), day-labourers (*xornaleiros* or *caseteiros* <sup>1</sup>), and live-in servants (*criados* ). These labels are often used interchangeably in written records and in oral accounts of household histories. Over the course of this century, many households rose from a very precarious land-poor existence to become smallholders. Therefore when individuals told me stories about the developmental cycle of their households and the households of neighbours, they frequently changed the words they used to describe the status label for that household depending on the period of which they were speaking. It is not uncommon to find that the self-reference 'peasant', however strenuously asserted in reference to the 1980s and 1990s disappears from stories about the 1930s and 1940s. In addition, because of a system of unequal inheritance, some siblings may have indeed become landed peasants while their brothers and sisters remained land-poor, day-labourers.

Day labourers came from a range of households and ages and both

genders, and could often only find employment in agriculture during planting, weeding and harvesting season. A set day wage usually consisted of a small amount of currency (more for men and grown adults than for women and children) and one or more meals. Children were often employed as shepherds and men to clear woodland during the off-season. Itinerant artisans who worked on the premises of their clients were also paid a day wage of currency and food called, as in the case of agricultural day work, the *xornal*. Live-in servants ranged in age and gender as well. Many children were employed as servants as young as six and seven, and were generally occupied with shepherding and fetching water and wood. The annual contract established orally for servants was made with the parents of children and teenagers. They were fed, housed and provided with a set of rough clothes and a pair of wooden shoes and sometimes a small sum in currency in return for the year of work.

This system of stratification has changed over the last three decades. Access to a steady source of wage or social security income has become as important as landownership. In addition, many Carreirense families who were previously tenants have, like other European smallholders, been able to purchase land over the last half of the twentieth century. These purchases have been made possible with wage remittances earned locally and through migrant labour in the Americas and in other European countries. Other families still rent their dwellings and land, but slowly, more and more former tenants became smallholders. In Carreira, only one sharecropping household remained in the 1990s, with the sharecroppers living in the landlord's dwelling and raising his livestock 'by halves'. Other residents rent land and in some cases dwellings from local and absentee landlords, now paying their rents in cash rather than in

kind, as they had into the 1960s and early 1970s. As was the case earlier in the century, the majority of these rental and sharecropping agreements are still based on local “custom” and established only through oral contract.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of Carreirense now own small-sized holdings. In 1978, the average amount of land owned by households in the parishes of Carreira and Mira totaled 0.70 of a hectare (Xunta de Galicia 1975-1991). This is similar to the results of the 1982 Agricultural Census results reported by Uña Álvarez (1990:201) for the municipality of Zás which encompasses the parish of Santiago de Carreira<sup>3</sup>:

> 0.1 to < 5 hectares	771 operations	59.67% operations
> 5 to < 10 hectares	254 “	19.65% ”
> 10 to < 20 hectares	194 “	15.01% ”
> 20 to < 50 hectares	62 “	4.79% “
> 50 to < 100 hectares	5 “	0.38% “
> 100 hectares	6 “	0.46% “

Another change has developed in this parish over the last two decades; the sale of agricultural commodities is less widespread and more specialized now than it was prior to the 1960s. During earlier periods, livestock, fowl, eggs, beans, maize, wheat, lumber and other products were regularly sold at regional fairs and to travelling traders. Some households still sell a variety of items, but most villagers who remain dedicated to petty commodity production sell mainly milk and veal.

Veal became an important Galician export during the last half of the nineteenth century, when beef cattle were exported to England and Portugal. Galician tenants and smallholders could not compete for long in the

international cattle market because of the small sizes of their holdings, a poor infrastructure, the low level of integration of the regional market, and their reluctance to abandon subsistence agriculture (García-Lombaradero 1983:200-202). Galician cattle, especially the indigenous breed of draught animal, the "*Rubia Gallega*," has remained popular in Spain and is still a significant commodity for local and internal trade for small farmers (Casal 1984:117-119).

The major transformation since the 1960s was the massive importation and breeding of Friesian and Alpine dairy cattle from Holland and Switzerland, and a specialization in the production of milk to sell to large dairy companies such as Nestlé (Casal 1984:115-117; Iturra 1988; Sequeiros Tizón 1986:87-98). This expansion led to the creation of some viable dairy cooperatives (in Xallas and Negreira, for example) and individual dairy farms. Pastures were created and expanded, milking became mechanized, and cold storage tanks were installed. By pursuing this route of specialization, many smallholders became heavily indebted to banks and credit unions. By the early 1980s, the expansion of dairy herds in Galicia had ended, and many households retreated from this market altogether because of declining prices and diseased herds. Tuberculosis, brucellosis, and mastitis affected up to 35% of the Galician cattle tested during the early 1980s (Casal 1984:115). In 1990, testing became mandatory in the province of A Coruña, and government veterinarians visited each parish to gather blood samples; many families in the Zás region were subsequently forced to dispose of up to half of their herds as a result of the findings of these tests.

The major impact on small farming operations, however, was the decline in prices for all agricultural commodities throughout Europe during the 1980s.

One of the main goals of the European Economic Community's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), when it was first devised in the 1960s, was to increase the income of agriculturalists and thereby close the gap between farmers and other Europeans. A price-support system was instituted that eventually led to increased production and large surpluses of products like milk powder, butter, wine, and wheat. In 1983, for example, the surplus of butter was 30% of the total amount produced annually while the surplus of skimmed milk powder stocks was up to 39% of the total (Nevin 1990:170; also see Williams 1991:72). By the early 1980s, the Common Agricultural Policy was under attack because of this overproduction and the consequent costs to the European Economic Community: by 1985, the Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (FEOGA) accounted for 73% of the total European Economic Community budget (Nevin 1990:170). Spain and Portugal became member states of the European Economic Community in 1986, just as the Common Agricultural Policy was being challenged not only by concerned Europeans but also by other countries in the Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations that began in the same year. The European Commission agreed to increase levies and impose quotas on producers, in an attempt to reduce production; even these measures were not wholly successful: "In 1986 stiffer dairy and beef quotas were introduced but these were still inadequate for the task; for example, the milk quotas still allowed 12 per cent more production than was required for EC sufficiency levels" (Williams 1991:122). In 1988, limits were also placed on price guarantees for all products (Nevin 1990:172). This move had an immediate effect on the prices European farmers were paid for their products; they would no longer be as completely

insulated as they had been during the previous two decades from the prices the world market would bear.

Small Galician dairy farmers were thus encouraged by agricultural extension officers, government ministers and large dairy companies in the late 1960s to specialize in an industry that became impractical, in fact for many disastrous, over the long run. Spain joined the European Economic Community just as the Common Agricultural Policy was coming under its most severe attack. In any case, the Common Agricultural Policy had not improved the productivity and overall income of small farmers: "the CAP has done little to raise the relative level of farm incomes in the Community and what it has done has benefited the large (and relatively prosperous) farmer at the expense of the small" (Nevin 1990:168; also see Fennell 1987; Williams 1991).

Small producers can no longer compete in specialized farming enterprises. The majority of Carreirense, like many Galician smallholders, have given up their dreams of becoming capitalist farmers. Somewhat paradoxically, in another sense there has been an increased 'peasantization' of many households over the last several decades. Increased wages and social security benefits mean that villagers are now able to retain the fowl, eggs, beans, wheat and other food staples they raise for their own consumption. Earlier in the century, tenants and sharecroppers were so poor that they were forced to sell their labour as well as any item that could bring in cash. Many of the Carreirense who were land-poor or landless until recently define 'peasant' existence to include the production of an annual supply of staple crops and livestock to feed the members of the household as well as a surplus for sale.<sup>4</sup> This goal has now been achieved and the current emphasis on the production

of food for household consumption is one of the most important elements of the work identity of Carreirense of all age cohorts. In contrast to a decline in a 'peasant' identity among many Galicians who rely heavily on wage employment rather than the sale of agricultural commodities, there has been a strengthened emphasis on subsistence production among smallholders committed to maintaining a fully-operating agricultural holding to supplement other sources of income.

I explore this emphasis on subsistence production throughout the rest of the thesis. In the remainder of this chapter, I focus specifically on the shifting combinations of agricultural labour and labour directed to non-agricultural activities locally and in migrant destinations by villagers from Carreira.

### **Labour in Carreira: Workers and Peasants**

#### **Glimpses from the Mid-Eighteenth Century: The Ensenada Records**

An excellent source for occupational data in the mid-eighteenth century in Spain is the census named after its instigator, the *Catastro de la Ensenada* compiled in 1752-3. Unfortunately, there is no record in the archives of the *Reino de Galicia* (the Kingdom of Galicia) of a census of the parish of Santiago de Carreira. However, it is instructive to summarize the responses given for parishes bordering Carreira to get some idea of the mix of occupations reported for that period.

In Santa María de Gándara, the neighbouring parish to which Santiago de Carreira is annexed, out of a total of sixty-six households in several hamlets, eleven included members who performed the following occupations in addition to peasant agriculture: two were transporters of wheat, probably with mules or horses judging from the use of the term *arriero*, usually reserved for a mule-



driver; four were priests, one a parish priest; one was an army man, presumably non-commissioned since no rank is indicated; one was of the official status of "poor"; another was "poor" and her daughter was a seamstress; one was a weaver and owner of a tobacco stand; and in the last of these households the husband was "absent" so we cannot be sure of his occupation. In addition, thirteen of the households had servants, another occupation usually based on an annual contract; and the total number of servants in the parish equalled eighteen. Women headed eleven of the households, most likely supervising and performing a large proportion of subsistence production; the majority (seven) of these were widows.

In the nearby town of Zás itself, there is an indication that the area's inhabitants were involved in the fabrication of linen cloth for sale in non-local markets even before the expansion of Galician production in the last third of the eighteenth century (Villares 1982; Carmona Badía 1990:103-124). Over one-half of the households, twenty-nine out of a total of forty-four, list occupations other than peasant agriculture, although in almost every case, they also cite peasant work as an official occupation. Most of these were involved in cloth production: sixteen were peasants and 'cloth producers' (*fabricantes de teja*), which could mean growers of flax, spinners and/or weavers; one was a middleman, a *traficante de teja*; and three were labelled as weavers. Others were making clothes, two seamstresses and two tailors were listed. There was also a tavern-keeper and tobacco salesman, a carter, a barber, and a military man or soldier. The barber and soldier also cite the occupations of peasant and cloth-producer. Three households had one servant each. Therefore, we can see that in both the parishes of Gándara and Zás, mid-eighteenth century

inhabitants are reported officially to be performing a series of service, craft, commercial and professional occupations in addition to peasant agriculture.

We cannot know for certain whether or not Carreira households members were engaged in cloth production for sale during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Neither can we know whether or not they were heavily represented in the range of artisanal jobs necessary in the regional and local economies of rural Galicia during that period. It seems that the residents of some parishes were, in official records at least, involved solely in peasant production, buying goods and labour from artisans and traders who lived in nearby communities in this densely populated region. For example, in San Pedro de Follente, a parish adjacent to Zás and approximately three kilometres from Carreira, out of a total of nineteen households, eighteen are called "peasant" households and only one the residence of a lord. This latter household was also the only one to have a servant. It may actually be its proximity to Zás which made San Pedro de Follente an apparently largely agricultural parish. It would seem likely that the residents in this small village would have purchased artisanal goods and services in Zás rather than competing with the larger settlement's proximity to the highway and to the regional market. This pattern coincides with Rodríguez Campos' (1989) finding that particular communities in the Ancares region of Galicia were sometimes specialized so that inhabitants might be largely agriculturalists, charcoal-makers, reapers and threshers, or stonemasons.

### The Occupational History of Carreira: The Padrón Census Records Over the Twentieth Century

More specific archival information on the range of occupations carried out in Carreira over the course of the twentieth-century, is contained in the municipal census records, the *Padrón Municipal*. I have surveyed the entire century, choosing one census per decade, in order to trace the changes in official labels. I also compared the substance of written records and orally recounted memories of the period, focussing on the extent and types of both wage and non-wage craft, trade, service and agricultural work reported for Carreirense of both genders. Different censuses used changing labels for the same occupations. For instance, the term '*jornalero*' for day-labourer is used for the majority of villagers in 1902 and 1935; however in 1925 and 1947 the general term '*labranza*' (farming or cultivation) is used and in 1955 the word '*campo*' (field[work]). The general quality of the data also varies. In 1914 the majority of households do not list any occupation. In the following sections, in order to deal with these methodological problems yet still adequately outline the changes and continuities over the century, I compare in detail the occupational break-down in the parish as a whole for five points in time: 1902, 1925, 1947, 1965 and 1986. These are summarized in Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4. In the first part of my discussion, I focus mainly on the household level of analysis since my primary aim in this chapter is to indicate that Carreira has been composed of worker-peasant domestic units for at least the twentieth century.

The results summarized in column one of Table 2.1 (page 90) indicate

that the total number of households in the parish was relatively stable over time. Only in 1947 do we find an extraordinary increase in the number of households, most likely due to the fact that many individuals who would have left the village to settle in surrounding parishes or work abroad in other decades were unable to do so during the 1930s and 1940s. The political isolation Spain experienced following the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) was exacerbated by the Second World War raging in Europe, Africa and the Pacific, and created severe economic difficulties for Spaniards. The 1940s are referred to in Carreira and elsewhere in Spain as the 'years of hunger' since there was little work at home and emigration was more difficult than it had been in previous decades.

Columns two to four refer to the series of labels used in the census to describe the occupational status of peasant agriculturalists. These labels change over the decades. In some cases individuals change their economic status; however, it is also clear that the census takers used different occupational labels for the same status in distinct decades. The following terms are used: *labradores* or peasants; *jornaleros* or land-poor or landless day-labourers; and *campo*, *labranza*, and *agricultores* for farmwork in general. When a large proportion of the household members are listed as *jornaleros* or day-labourers rather than as landed peasants (*labradores*) as is true of the 1902 census, we might assume that this information indicates that the families were landless or land-poor. In addition to cultivating land accessed through rental and sharecropping contracts, they worked for others as either agricultural labourers or artisans. Older and middle-aged individuals in Carreira refer to all salaried jobs in the same fashion, a "going out to earn a daily wage (*iba ao xornal*)". This phrase is used to describe jobs ranging from salaried agricultural

labour to artisanal, mining and lumbering work (Rodríguez Labandeira 1991:176-190). Even though the latter two occupations were sometimes paid by the week, the term 'day-wage' is synonymous in local speech with 'wage work'. The use of this broad term by census takers means that one cannot determine from the occupational data in the municipal census how many individuals regularly performed non-agricultural rather than agricultural day labour. Despite the continued usage of the term *xornaleiro* (Galician for the Castilian *jornalero*) among the Carreirense themselves, the broad designation of 'day-labourer' seems to have been replaced in the 1925, 1947 and 1965 censuses with the terms *labranza* and *campo*. In 1925, there are far fewer 'peasants' (*labradores*) than there were in 1902, and it is likely that some of the 'peasants' were also occupationally classified by the census takers as performing *labranza* or *campo* work. In any case, if we consider the total number of households whose adult members are solely agriculturalists, the number declines over the century and by 1986 is only eight in number. In addition, from 1902 until 1947, most non-migrant women were given the same occupational designation as the men of their household. The terms *sus labores*, *su sexo* and *labor doméstico* which refer to the 'work of her sex' or 'domestic work' do not become prevalent until 1965. In column eleven the number of households whose female members are called 'domestic' workers increases dramatically in the 1960s and 1980s. Significantly these same women called themselves 'peasants' and spent the majority of their days performing agricultural and animal husbandry tasks in 1990/1 when I was in the village. In Chapter Four, I discuss the female-dominated domestic and subsistence work in detail.

There were a few large landowners in the village at the beginning of the century, the *propietarios* of column six. It is these households and some rich *labrador* ones that employed the live-in servants listed in column seven. Column nine shows that there was only one household of professionals in 1902, 1925 and 1986. In chronological order, they were an army lieutenant, a priest and a teacher respectively.

The number of households listing solely trade or artisanal jobs (column twelve), a mixture of trade/artisan and agricultural activity (column thirteen), or a combination of trade/artisan, agricultural and pension incomes (columns fourteen and fifteen) only become significant in 1965 and 1986. It is particularly in 1986 that one finds a substantial number of households whose members are listed only as trade/artisanal workers. Furthermore, with the introduction of old age pensions for agriculturalists and migrant labourers in the late 1970s, in the 1986 listings there are now eight households whose sole adult members are listed as retired; and other households (in columns fourteen and fifteen) that combine pension income with trade/artisan and agricultural occupations. The importance of subsistence agricultural labour is excluded from these census accounts of occupation, and the prevalence of worker-peasantries in this area is thereby under-reported. Official labels do not reflect the fact that none of the households in Carreira subsist solely on these non-agricultural incomes. Furthermore, the majority of women labelled as 'domestic' housekeepers in all of these households would have been called 'peasants' in an earlier period (also see Table 2.4). And the majority of elderly individuals who list 'retirement' rather than agriculture as their occupation also spend most of their days occupied in the cultivation of their own food. Locally, these officially

'domesticated' women and the old people who are officially 'retired' consider themselves to be 'peasants' (Rogers 1987).

In Table 2.2 (on page 91) I have summarized the types of salaried jobs that inhabitants of Carreira held locally and the number of individuals from this parish alone who performed particular occupations during the last half of the twentieth century. In Chapter Three, I describe at length the work ethic expressed by Carreirense who discussed their artisanal, service and trade work with me. It was these oral accounts that allowed me to compile this list that illustrates in more detail than the census the degree of multioccupationality and complexity of the worker-peasant livelihood reproduced over the century in this parish.

**Table 2.1**  
**Summary of Total number of households listing particular occupations**  
**over the 20th century**  
**(source: *Padrón Municipal* records)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Column 1 Total # households</b>	<b>Column 2 all resident adults <i>labradores</i></b>	<b>Column 3 all resident adults <i>jornaleros</i></b>	<b>Column 4 <i>campo</i> , <i>labranza</i> , <i>agricultor</i></b>	<b>Column 5 mixed agriculturalists</b>
1902	72	27	41	--	1
1925	71	14	5	26	3
1947	98	16	7	63	3
1965	76	22	3	10	4
1986	74	5	--	3	--
<b>Year</b>	<b>Column 6 <i>propie- tarios</i></b>	<b>Column 7 servants</b>	<b>Column 8 reported migrants</b>	<b>Column 9 profes- sionals</b>	<b>Column 10 trade/ artisan</b>
1902	3	3	n/a	1	--
1925	2	6	30	1	--
1947	--	2	21	--	3
1965	--	--	27	1	7
1986	--	--	6	--	18
<b>Year</b>	<b>Column 11 domestic work as occupation</b>	<b>Column 12 all adults retired</b>	<b>Column 13 mixed agriculture/ trade</b>	<b>Column 14 mixed trade/ artisan/ retired</b>	<b>Column 15 mixed trade/ agriculture/ retired</b>
1902	--	n/a	--	n/a	n/a
1925	7	n/a	--	n/a	n/a
1947	5	n/a	6	n/a	n/a
1965	70	n/a	19	n/a	n/a
1986	59	8	---	14	12



**Table 2.2**  
**Non-agricultural occupations performed locally by parish residents**  
**from 1950 - 1990**  
**(source: interviews)**

<u>Male occupations</u>	<u>Female occupations</u>	<u>Both genders</u>
Sawmill owners (2)	Seamstresses:	Bakers (3)
Sawmill employees: "almost all the men"	workshop owners (2)	Tailors (2)
Traders (4)	itinerant (18)	Tavern-keepers (10)
Carpenters:	apprentices (13)	Basket-maker (1)
workshop owners (4)	factory workers (4)	Teachers:
employees and	Weavers (3)	state (3)
apprentices (12)	Cooks (2)	informal (2)
Stonemasons (12)	Hairdresser (1)	Carting -
Quarrymen (4)		"many people"
Construction -		Mining -
"almost all the men"		"many people"
Blacksmiths (3)		Postal work (1)
Shoers (3)		Servants -
Shoemakers (2)		"many people"
Mechanics (2)		
Electricians (2)		
Plumber (1)		
Priests (4)		

Members of worker-peasant households who migrate either temporarily or permanently are often more skilled than their kin and neighbours (Rhoades 1978b). In the case of Carreira, Table 2.3 (on page 93) illustrates that many of those individuals who migrated to the Americas were trained locally as artisans, servants, and lumberers in addition to their wide knowledge of agriculture and animal husbandry. As with other categories of work, the census data definitely under-reports both the extent and complexity of migrants' occupational identities. Many migrants from Carreira work at more than one job in Switzerland and other European countries, and they are flexible workers who switch easily from one role to another in their work sites, whether these are construction sites or hotels. The work ethic of migrants is also discussed in detail in Chapter Three. Table 2.4 (on pages 94 and 95) indicates the types of jobs migrants held in Switzerland, West Germany, France and Great Britain in 1986. Few migrants are reported in the census, as one can see in column 8 of Table 2.1. However, from my conversations with these migrants and their relatives it is clear that most of the trade and service jobs listed in the 1986 census were not performed locally but in migrant destinations. Therefore, in Table 2.4 I have summarized all of the occupations of individuals eighteen years and older listed in the 1986 census.

**Table 2.3**  
**Occupations and destinations of reported migrants**  
**in 1925, 1947, and 1965**  
**(source: *Padrón municipal* records)**

**Year: 1925**

**Total # households:** 72  
**# households with reported absences :** 30  
**# migrants:** 55  
**# male migrants:** 45  
**# female migrants:** 10

**Occupations:** *labranza* (20); *labrador* (6); *su sexo* (1); industrial (2); day-labour (1), servant (1);  
 employee (1)

**Destinations:** Argentina (35), U.S (8); Spain (6); Cuba (3); Uruguay (2)

**Year: 1947**

**Total # households:** 98  
**# households with reported absences:** 21  
**# migrants:** 36  
**# male migrants:** 21  
**# female migrants:** 15

**Occupations:** *labranza* (23); *sus labores* (3), *labrador* (1), day-labour (1), tinsmith (1), driver (1);  
 baker (1); waiter (1)

**Destinations:** Argentina (23); Uruguay (4); U S (3), Spain (3), Portugal (2)

**Year: 1965**

**Total # households:** 76  
**# households with reported absences:** 27  
**# migrants:** 50  
**# male migrants:** 32  
**# female migrants:** 18

**Occupations:** seamstresses (7); servants (6); *labrador* (5); commerce (4); carpenters (3);  
 stonemasons (2); waiters (2); drivers (2); construction (1); cook (1), shoemaker (1),  
 inspector (1); blacksmith (1); teacher (1); student (1); *sus labores* (1)

**Destinations:** Uruguay (14); Argentina (13); Brazil (11); Spain (3), France (1); England (1)

Table 2.4

**Occupations of adult males and females**  
**(source: 1986 *Padrón Municipal* )**

**Male occupations by age cohort:**

	<b>18-29 years</b>	<b>30-49 years</b>	<b>50+years</b>
Construction workers	14	30	7
Specialized trades (electricians, mechanics)	3	2	
Truck drivers		1	
Apprentices (carpentry, mechanics, electrician)	2		
Students in vocational training programmes ( <i>Formación profesional</i> )	5		
Butchers		1	
Waiters		1	1
Civil guard	1		
Carpenters	1	4	2
Sawmill owner and workers	1	2	
Tavern-keeper (and skinner)		1	
Factory workers	1	1	
Agricultural labourer			1
Peasants ( <i>labradores</i> )	1	5	11
Agriculturalists ( <i>agricultores</i> )	2	5	2
Retired ( <i>jubilado, pensionista</i> )			26

**Table 2.4 continued**

<b>Female occupations by age cohort:</b>	<b>18-29 years</b>	<b>30-49 years</b>	<b>50+years</b>
Domestic workers (cleaning, cooking, and childcare in private homes)	6	2	
Service workers (in institutions, for e.g. hotels, restaurants, hospitals)	5		
Seamstresses		2	
Butcher		1	
Hairdresser	1		
Apprentices (seamstress)	2		
Students in vocational training programmes ( <i>formación profesional</i> )	2		
University students (primary education)	2		
Peasant ( <i>labradora</i> )			1
Agriculturalists ( <i>agricultoras</i> )			4
Assistant to male agriculturalist ( <i>asistente</i> )		1	
Retired ( <i>jubilada, pensionista</i> )			17
Housewives ( <i>sus labores</i> )	33	35	13
Incapacitated			1

Although instructive, these data on individuals' occupations can be contextualized through a more detailed analysis of the way in which household reproduction is central to worker-peasant strategies of securing a livelihood. In order to illustrate the way in which particular households, from landed peasants to land-poor labourers, combined occupations over time I have reconstructed the occupational history of five parish households.

### **The Occupational History of Five Households**

In this section, the occupational cycles of five Carreirense households have been derived from both census and oral accounts. These examples demonstrate how different household members combine wage and non-wage activities over time. They also illustrate the value of supplementing written records with oral labour histories. I have chosen households which are differentiated from each other by wealth: two households, the Casa de Miguel de Lado and the Casa das Herbas, are peasants ( *labradores* ), who own substantial amounts of land and large dwellings with separate outbuildings for livestock and whose wealth has been supplemented with migrant remittances; the third household, the Casa de Susana, is occupied by a family of modestly landed peasants who have become wealthy during the last two decades through the long-term migration of an adult couple who has contributed significant remittances; and the last two households, the Casa de Curros and the Casa do Peña Grande, are occupied by poor villagers who call themselves and are called by others *caseteiros* or land-poor, day-labourers (see endnote #1).

These five households are also representative of the parish population distribution and patterns of household composition. Unlike the case in other

areas of Galicia where a rural exodus has been permanent, the population of Santiago de Carreira has increased over the course of the twentieth century. Population censuses do not always include accurate reports of residents who are absent in migrant destinations. Permanent emigration is not usually reported to census takers. In other cases, individuals working in migrant destinations continued to be listed as residents of parish households. Some of these migrants never returned, but others were reported as household members because they contributed remittances and frequently returned to the parish. Table 2.5 (on page 98) summarizes the parish population as reported to census takers in distinct decades.

In addition, the bar graphs presented in Figures 2.1 and 2.2 (located on page 99) demonstrate that there is a significant number of young people living in Carreira, and a higher proportion of males as opposed to females in each age range. The retention of a three-generation stem family household pattern -- despite widespread extensive migration -- is a key factor in the reproduction of this population.

Table 2.5

Population of Santiago de Carreira over 20th century  
(source: *Padrón municipal* records )

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total population</u>	<u>Reported absences</u>	<u>Permanent residents</u>
1902	312	no reports collected	
1914	349	no reports collected	
1925	371	55	316
1935	356	no reports collected	
1947	415	36	379
1955	409	13	396
1965	442	50	392
1975	409	11	398
1986	358	12	346



Figure 2.1

Age distribution of residents of Santiago de Carreira  
(source: 1986 *Padrón Municipal* )

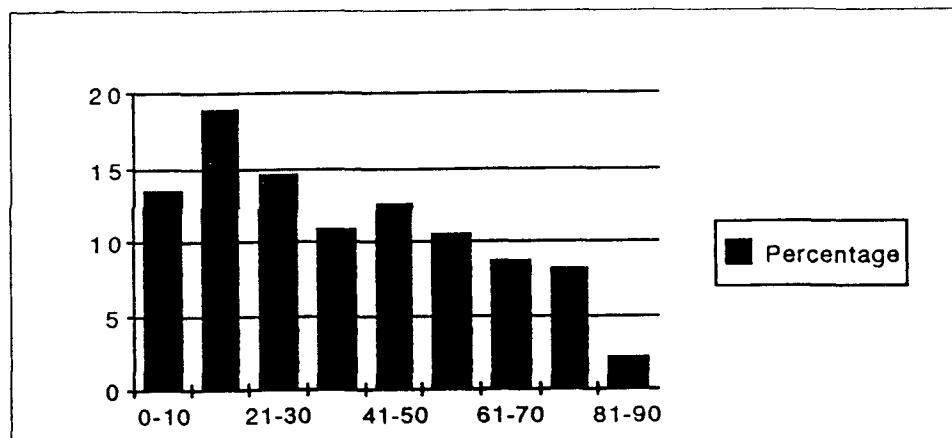
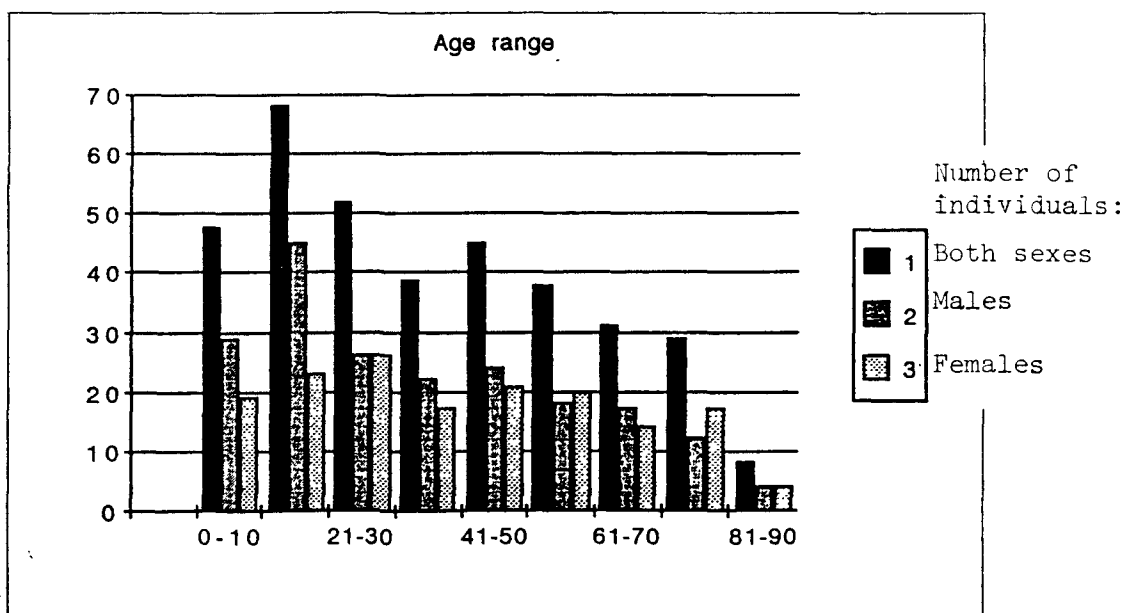


Figure 2.2

Age distribution of male and female residents  
of Santiago de Carreira  
(source: 1986 *Padrón municipal* )



In 1990, there were 73 inhabited households in the parish. At this particular point in the century, 38 or 52 percent of the total were stem family households. This represents a relatively high percentage, even for an area characterized by multiple family households. In a synchronic analysis of the census for one year, there are always households passing through a nuclear phase of their developmental cycle (Berkner 1972; Douglass 1988b). In Galicia, as in the Basque country, "there is the likelihood of a particularly lengthy nuclear phase after the deaths of the parents" (Douglass 1988b:85). There was also one joint family household with twelve members, where two sisters remained in their natal households after marriage, bringing their husbands with them.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the majority of these complex family households, or 68 percent, are uxorilocal at present. Although an inland community, this parish thus resembles the pattern of post-marital residence that Lisón Tolosana (1976, 1983:243-272) describes for coastal Galicia. These examples also indicate that children are more likely to 'marry into' (*casarse en casa*) their natal households when there is sufficient wealth to inherit. The first three households discussed below are stem-family households, while the last two are inhabited by elderly couples who are members of the poorest economic stratum.

In addition, these examples demonstrate that stem-family households are maintained even when young adult household members migrate to distant destinations over the long-term. These wage earners often continue to be regarded as members of worker-peasant households: they send significant wage remittances to the household head who remains in the parish, their children are often raised by grandparents in Galicia, and they intend to

eventually return to live and work in Carreira.

### **Casa de Miguel do Lado**

This household, diagrammed below in Figure 2.3 (on pages 104 and 105), is regarded as one of the old 'peasant' households of the parish because its members owned a substantial amount of land early in the twentieth century. Over the last two decades, the current inhabitants have added to the estate and built a large two-storey house and modern cattle barn. This is one of three households in the parish which has invested in milking machinery, the maintenance of large pastures, and the purchase of a substantial number of cattle with the intention of becoming specialized dairy farmers. The low prices of milk and veal during the late 1980s and early 1990s and a poor distribution system for agricultural products have made Galician and other European smallholders vulnerable and disillusioned with the images of prosperity for small farmers that the government promised in the 1970s. In the face of increasing pressure from the European Economic Community and the members of GATT (General Agreement for Tariffs and Trade) for large-scale, industrial agriculture rather than family farming, households such as this one are in danger of losing their dream of remaining autonomous producers.

Even in the past, the members of the Casa de Miguel de Lado did not rely solely on their own agricultural production for their livelihood. We know that Luís (#11 in Figure 2.3) married into the household and became known in the region as a carter. As relatively wealthy peasants, they were able to afford a set of strong oxen and well-made carts. These oxen were needed only occasionally for specialized agricultural tasks such as deep ploughing. A secondary function they served was carting. Luís and his sons worked for the

stonemasons carting stones down from the quarry and also for the sawmill operators transporting lumber.

The eldest son of Luís and his wife María (#8) migrated to Argentina as a young man and became a mechanic and bus driver, following his uncle (#10). María was widowed at a young age and her daughter Josefa (#14) also married 'into' her natal household (*en casa*); that is, Josefa and her new husband Guillermo (#15) lived with Josefa's widowed mother María when they married. Guillermo migrated to Switzerland where he worked as a member of a road construction crew. As soon as he finished school, Guillermo and Josefa's son Perfecto (#16) went to Switzerland and learned the construction trade, rising to the level of a specialist (*oficial primero*) by twenty-three years of age. His sister Amparo (#18) worked as domestic worker in Spain and then went to Switzerland with her husband when they married in 1991. She now works there as a gardener and he works as a construction worker like his brother-in-law. Elena (#17), the elder sister, trained with a seamstress as a teenager and now commutes to work in a small clothing factory fifteen kilometres from Carreira.

Perfecto only visits his family for brief periods during the winter months when the construction projects are halted in Switzerland. His father is now home due to serious health problems and receives a disability pension. It is Josefa, with the help of her daughter Elena, who does most of the farmwork. Neither Guillermo nor María are physically able to do as much as they would like to help with the cattle, the other livestock and the crops. Like other households in the region who invested in dairy production, this family speaks of selling their cattle and giving up their business. Aside from the economic risks

they take by attempting to expand their herd, this household at present does not have enough labour to meet the time-consuming tasks which cattle and subsistence agricultural production require. The wages earned abroad and locally have been necessary in order to expand the herd, build the new stable and purchase machinery such as the milking equipment and a tractor. More labour is needed if a dairy farm is to be maintained, yet the wage remittances and returns from milk sales are not sufficient enough to hire any extra-household labourers even for several hours per day. Perfecto, Amparo, and Elena earn good salaries and will not risk quitting their jobs to take a chance that their full-time dedication to the household's dairy production will turn it into a profitable operation. Therefore, it is likely that small producers such as the Casa de Miguel de Lado will be forced to contract the size of their herd and retreat to subsistence farming. The climate of insecurity about the future of small farming in Europe has made this an attractive choice despite the fact that migrant remittances earned by Guillermo and Perfecto were invested so heavily in the modernization of dairy production over the last decade. In other words, the members of this household will continue to maintain a mixed worker-peasant livelihood that they have discovered is more secure and viable over the long run than capitalist dairy farming.

Figure 2.3

The household and occupational cycle of Casa de Miguel do Lado in 20th century municipal census records

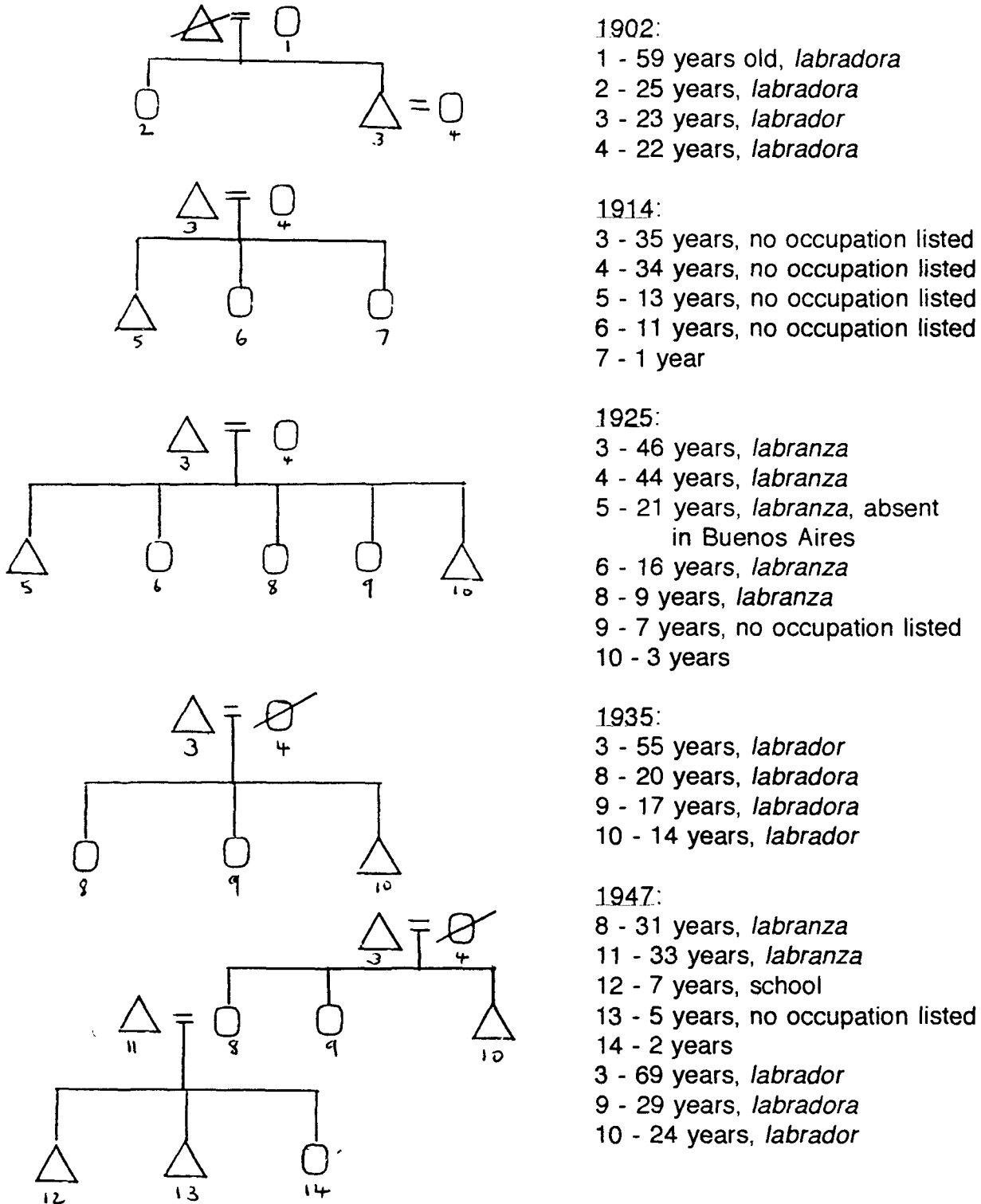
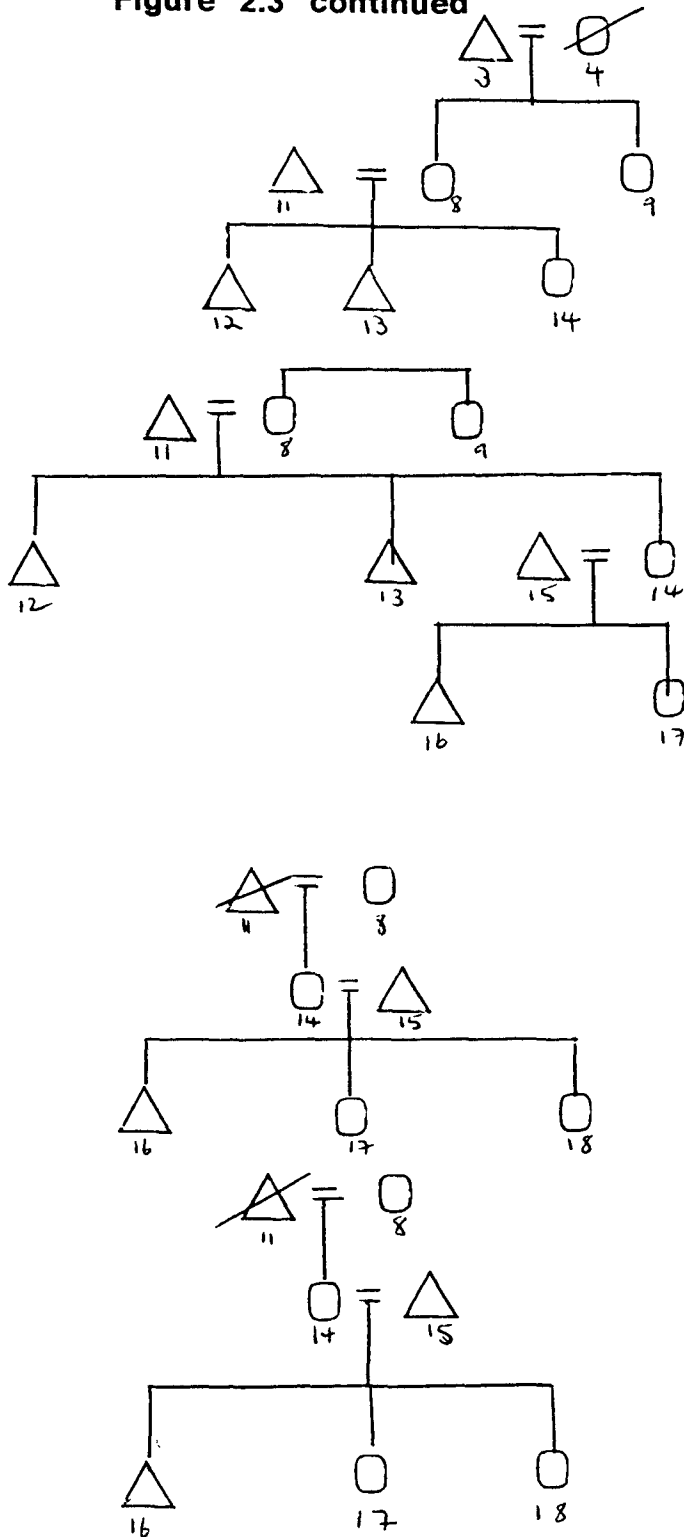


Figure 2.3 continued



1955:

- 3 - 78 years, *campo*
- 9 - 18 years, *campo*
- 8 - 41 years, *campo*
- 11 - 43 years, *campo*
- 12 - 17 years, *campo*
- 13 - 15 years, *campo*
- 14 - 12 years, *campo*

1965:

- 11 - 53 years, *labrador*
- 8 - 51 years, *sus labores*
- 12 - 27 years, no occupation, absent in Buenos Aires
- 13 - 25 years, no occupation, absent in Buenos Aires
- 9 - 49 years, *labranza*
- 14 - 22 years, no occupation
- 15 - 27 years, no occupation
- 16 - 2 years
- 17 - a few months old

1975:

- 8 - 57 years, *labradora*
- 14 - 32 years, *sus labores*
- 15 - 37 years, *labrador*
- 16 - 12 years, student
- 17 - 10 years, student
- 18 - 7 years, student

1986:

- 8 - 68 years, retired
- 14 - 43 years, *sus labores*
- 15 - 48 years, *labrador*
- 16 - 23 years, construction, absent, Switzerland
- 17 - 21 years, domestic work in private home
- 18 - 18 years, *sus labores*

### **Casa das Herbas**

This household, diagrammed below in Figure 2.4 (on pages 108 and 109), is also one of those which has been regarded as a 'strong' peasant household over the century. Like the Casa de Miguel do Lado they have also invested in a small herd of dairy cattle, although not in milking machinery. During the first part of the century, several young men from the family went to South America to work either temporarily or permanently. Those who remained behind are labelled *labradores* by the census takers from 1902 until 1935 when we find that they are called day-labourers in the municipal population census despite the fact that they are never referred to in this way when villagers talk about the history of this household. Locally, this household is considered to have always been one of the six or seven 'strong' landed peasant households. In 1947 and 1955, however, the generic terms *labranza* and *campo* are used in the municipal census instead of *labrador* and a daughter, Delfina (#14) is listed as a seamstress. Her father, Manuel (#13) spent nine years in Argentina as a young man, working for a pharmacist and for a slaughter house. Throughout his married life in Carreira, Manuel worked as a 'skinner' and butcher in households in the region. People called such specialists whenever they slaughtered an animal and Manuel would pay for the animal skins which he then sold to middlemen who supplied leather factories. Manuel's youngest son Fernando (#17) learned this trade and practices it today. After several years working in construction in Switzerland, Fernando settled in Carreira, opening a tavern to supplement his skinning work. Fernando's two brothers, David (#15) and Miguel (#16), also worked abroad, the latter in cargo ships which transport lumber from the west coast of Africa to Europe. Fernando and

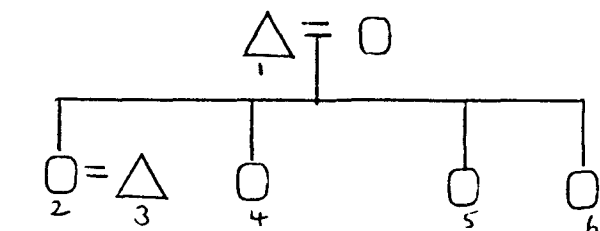


Miguel remained single, but David married 'into the household' (*en casa*), bringing his wife Marina (#18) to live with his parents and siblings. Marina was the daughter of a blacksmith and she had helped her father in this business when she was a teenager. David and Marina have three children. Their eldest son Eduardo (#20) now works in Switzerland as a construction worker, and his sister Delfina (#19) helps her mother and father with their herd of cattle and other agricultural tasks. She has not migrated to work although she took a course in cooking offered by the government with the goal of combatting the high rates of youth unemployment in Spain during the late 1980s. The youngest son who was fourteen in 1991 remains in school.

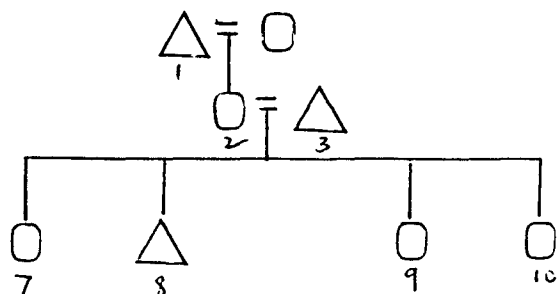
The history of this household demonstrates once again that even relatively wealthy 'peasants' turned to side occupations, both as migrants and at home, in order to make ends meet and to gather capital to invest in land, dwellings and machinery. The Casa das Herbas owns a tractor, plough, metal cart, grader, a gleaning machine, a compressor for storing grass (*ensilador*) and jointly owns a potato harvester with several other households. With their substantial investments in outbuildings, land and machinery, as recently as a decade ago they would have imagined themselves as moving toward a successful expansion into a profitable 'modern' farming enterprise. However, like the members of the Casa de Miguel do Lado, they are currently wary of making any further investment. In 1991, members of the Casa das Herbas were content to refer to themselves as successful 'peasants', as *labradores* of the old days who built up through inheritance and migrant remittances a *casa forte*, a 'strong house'.

Figure 2.4

The household and occupational cycle of Casa das Herbas in 20th century municipal census records



1902:

1 - 68 years old, *labrador*2 - 26 years, *labradora*3 - 27 years, *labrador*4 - 22 years, *labradora*5 - 20 years, *labradora*6 - 20 years, *labradora*

1914:

1 - 76 years, no occupation listed

2 - 37 years, no occupation listed

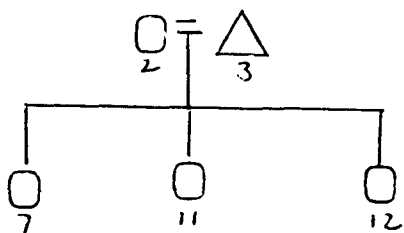
3 - 38 years, no occupation listed

7 - 11 years, no occupation listed

8 - 9 years, no occupation listed

9 - 6 years, no occupation listed

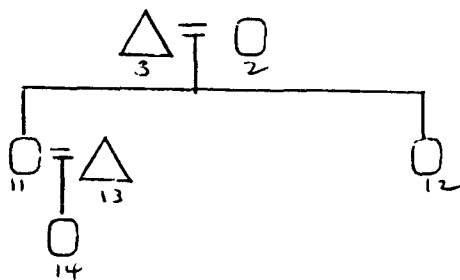
10 - 3 years



1925:

2 - 45 years, *labradora*3 - 48 years, *labrador*7 - 21 years, *labradora*11 - 14 years, *labradora*

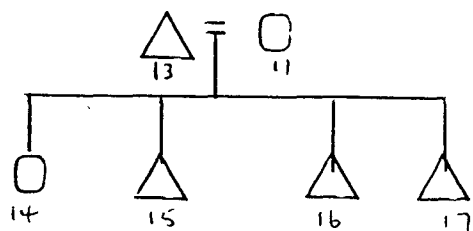
12 - 10 years, school



1935:

2 - 56 years, *jornalera*3 - 55 years, *jornalero*11 - 25 years, *jornalera*13 - 36 years, *jornalero*12 - 22 years, *jornalero*

14 - 1 year



1947:

13 - 46 years, *labranza*11 - 35 years, *labranza*

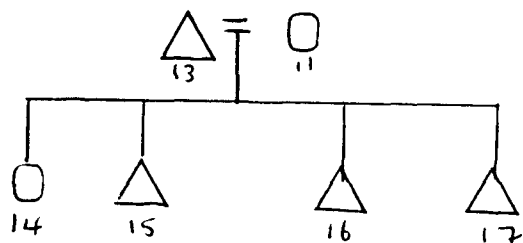
14 - 11 years, school

15 - 8 years, school

16 - 5 years, school

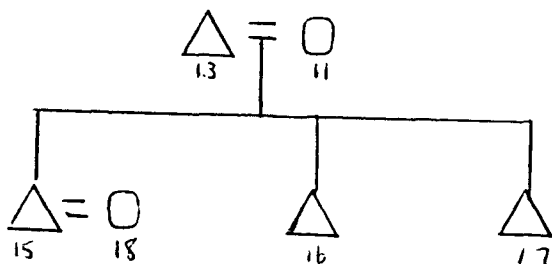
17 - 2 years

Figure 2.4 continued



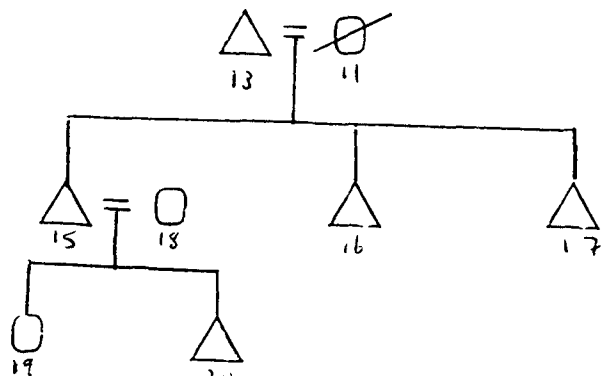
1955:

13 - 55 years, *campo*  
 11 - 45 years, *campo*  
 14 - 21 years, seamstress  
 15 - 18 years, *campo*  
 16 - 14 years, *campo*  
 17 - 11 years, student



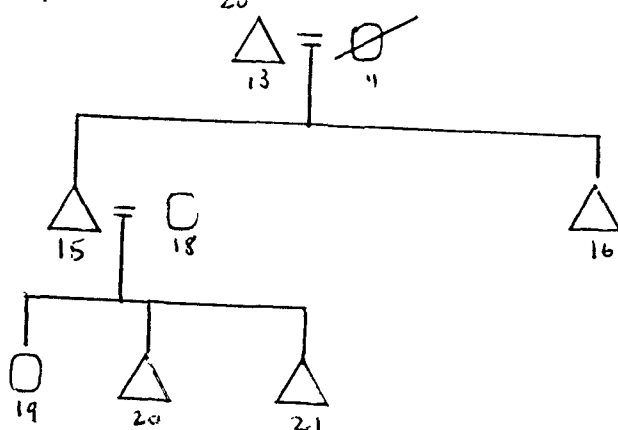
1965:

13 - 65 years, *labrador*  
 11 - 65 years, *sus labores*  
 15 - 29 years, *labrador*  
 18 - 26 years, *sus labores*  
 16 - 25 years, *labrador*  
 17 - 22 years, *labrador*



1975:

13 - 75 years, *labrador*  
 15 - 38 years, *labrador*  
 18 - 36 years, *sus labores*  
 16 - 35 years, construction  
 17 - 32 years, shopkeeper  
 19 - 9 years, student  
 20 - 8 years, student



1986:

13 - 87 years, retired  
 15 - 49 years, *agricultor*  
 18 - 47 years, *sus labores*  
 16 - 46 years, construction, absent  
 19 - 20 years, *sus labores*  
 20 - 19 years, construction  
 21 - 9 years, student

### **Casa de Susana**

In the series of diagrams which outline the occupational history of Susana's household (in Figure 2.5 on pages 114 and 115), we see that all members are listed as working in agriculture from 1935 through 1965. Together with all fit men his age, Pedro (#10) also served as a soldier during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). Like the majority of Galicians, he was drafted to fight on the side of the Nationalist army led by Francisco Franco. Both Susana (#14) and her husband Pedro (#10) went to quarry wolfram and quartz in a nearby mine in the early 1940s, along with other villagers from Carreira and surrounding parishes. This kind of sporadic 'work' activity is an example of the 'makeshift', *bricoleur* lifestyle of worker-peasants that is not usually recorded in 'occupational' records (Hufton 1974).

By 1965, the eldest daughter in the family, Rosa (#15) is listed as a seamstress in the municipal census. She then moved to Madrid, married and remained there. Rosa was soon followed by her brother Marco (#16), who became a waiter and also established a family in Madrid. Both married non-Galician spouses. As a teenager the youngest daughter María (#18) lived with and worked for an aunt who owned a store in a nearby town. She later married another shopkeeper.

The middle daughter, Encarnación (#17), was chosen to be the main heir to her parents' property when she married 'into the household' (*en casa*) to Ovidio (#19), a man from a village on the other side of the Pico de Meda mountain. Pedro died at a young age. According to his wife, Pedro's health had been broken during his service in the Civil War. His son-in-law, Ovidio is listed in the 1975 population census as a construction worker. Both he and

Encarnación migrated to Switzerland in their early twenties, taking whatever work they encountered. For example, like many Galician men, Ovidio worked in construction at first while Encarnación served meals and cleaned in a migrants' hostel. This couple was ambitious, however, so they learned the butcher trade. Within a short time they were both working at the butcher counter in a supermarket; in addition, they worked during the evenings and weekends in their own small business. Most of their clients are other Spanish workers living in the same town. Their eldest daughter, Delfina (#20) went to Switzerland with her parents as a teenager, where she completed several years of schooling. Unlike the majority of Galician migrants, Delfina mastered both Swiss German and French. In 1990, she married a Portuguese man, also a recent migrant, and had a child in Switzerland. Her brother Jorge (#21) had remained in Galicia with their grandmother Susana and youngest sister María (#22). Jorge disliked secondary school and he quit at sixteen years of age to apprentice himself to a local carpenter. In 1991, he was preparing for the obligatory period of army service and had registered as a carpenter. Jorge and María both disliked Switzerland the only time that they visited; they prefer to remain in the village with Susana for the time being. Encarnación, Ovidio, their daughter Delfina and her husband and child, all visit the village each year for a month's holiday. Aside from these short visits, Encarnación and Ovidio have spent the last twenty-nine years in Switzerland. Like many other long-term migrants, they say that they dislike Switzerland and plan to return to Spain permanently as soon as they have saved up enough cash to begin their own business (Brettell 1979; Gmelch 1980; Rhoades 1980). This couple would like to open a butcher shop in a nearby town centre. Remittances earned in the past have been

invested in the remodeling of the family house which in 1991 was one of the most luxurious in the parish, with a central heating system, elaborate woodwork and a fenced and paved yard.

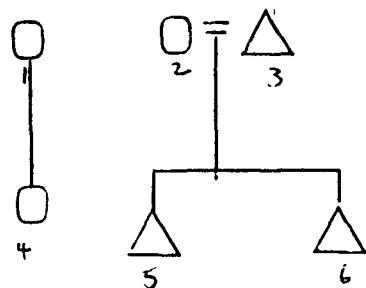
Susana, the aging head of the household, is kept busy tilling the land and raising livestock to feed herself and her two youngest grandchildren throughout the year. She collects a state pension and a few years before I knew her had been persuaded by Ovidio and Encarnación to give up her cattle. She must now borrow her sister's cattle when she needs draught labour for tasks such as grading her fields. In return, Susana allows her sister to pasture the cattle on her land. Susana, and her co-resident grandchildren Jorge and María, help their neighbours and kin with planting, weeding and harvesting so that they in turn are loaned labour and tools.

The Casa de Susana has combined subsistence agriculture with wage work throughout the century. During the early decades, both men and women worked as day-labourers in the area and sold what products they could, from beans and maize to minerals and lumber. The remainder of their time was spent growing crops and raising livestock to meet their basic consumption needs. Two family members migrated permanently to Madrid during the 1960s. In the early part of the century, two brothers of Pedro's also emigrated, one to Cuba and the other to the United States. The migration of Ovidio and Encarnación provided the largest amount of cash to Susana's household and set up a long-distance 'worker-peasant' household. If they return or if Jorge or María continue to live in the village, earning wages locally, the household will be brought back to the same physical location again. Susana is the one who continues to spend her days in subsistence work. Encarnación, Ovidio and

even the town daughter María (#18) praise this work and argue that home-raised food is of superior quality when they visit the village. The degree to which subsistence agriculture is maintained alongside wage work in this family in the future, however, will depend on whether or not someone eventually takes Susana's place as the main subsistence worker.

Figure 2.5

The household and occupational cycle of Casa de Susana  
in 20th century municipal census records

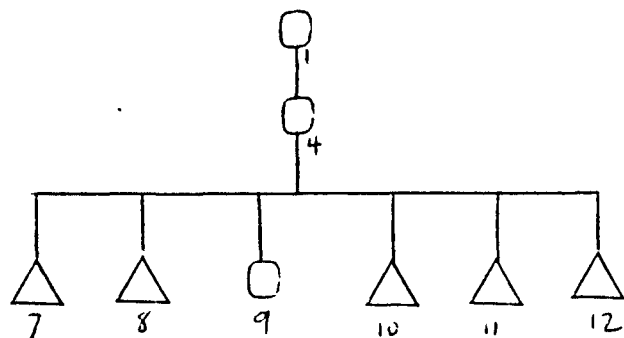


1902:

- 1 - 56 years, *labradora*
- 2 - 58 years, *labradora*
- 3 - 55 years, *labrador*
- 4 - 22 years, *labradora*
- 5 - 30 years, *labrador*
- 6 - 27 years, *labrador*

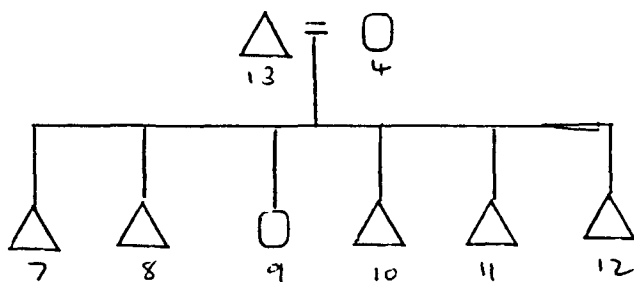
1914:

incomplete data



1925:

- 1 - 80 years, *labranza*
- 4 - 43 years, *labranza*
- 7 - 19 years, *labranza*, absent in Cuba
- 8 - 13 years, *labranza*, absent in the United States
- 9 - 11 years, *labranza*
- 10 - 9 years, *labranza*
- 11 - 6 years, *labranza*
- 12 - 3 years, *labranza*

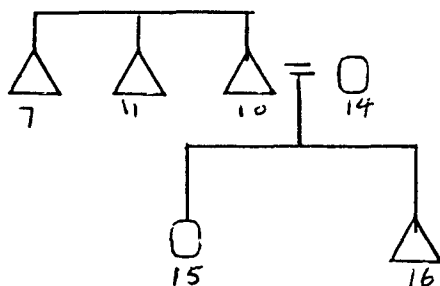


1935:

- 13 - 56 years, *jornal*
- 4 - 54 years, *jornal*
- 7 - 30 years, *jornal*
- 8 - 22 years, *jornal*
- 9 - 20 years, *jornal*
- 10 - 18 years, *jornal*
- 11 - 14 years, *jornalero*
- 12 - 10 years, school



Figure 2.5 continued

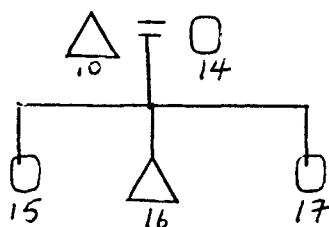


1947:

7 - no age, *jornalero*, absent in the United States11 - no age, *jornalero*10 - 30 years, *labranza*14 - 24 years, *labranza*

15 - 4 years

16 - 1 year

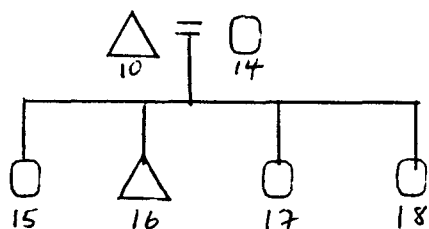


1955:

10 - 40 years, *campo*14 - 34 years, *campo*15 - 16 years, *campo*

16 - 11 years, student

17 - 8 years, student



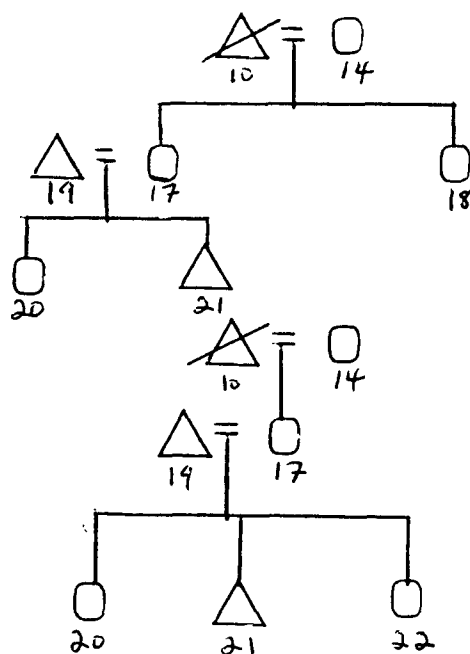
1965:

10 - 50 years, *labranza*14 - 44 years, *sus labores*

15 - 24 years, seamstress

16 - 21 years, *labrador*17 - 19 years, *sus labores*

18 - 9 years, school



1975:

14 - 54 years, *labradora*

19 - 32 years, construction

17 - 29 years, *sus labores*18 - 19 years, *sus labores*

20 - 6 years

21 - 2 years

1986:

14 - 65 years, *sus labores*

19 - 42 years, butcher, absent

17 - 40 years, butcher, absent

20 - 17 years, student, absent

21 - 13 years, student

22 - 10 years, student

### Casa de Curros

From the census records, we only gain a bare description of this small, relatively poor household of worker-peasants. In the diagram in Figure 2.6 (on page 120), the household heads Pepe (#1) and Celia (#2) and their children are shown to be peasant agriculturalists -- whether they are listed as day-labourers in 1947, workers of the 'land' (*campo*) in 1955, or just plain 'peasants' from 1965 to 1986. In reality, their labour histories are more complicated and they describe themselves as *caseteiros* (land-poor labourers) who have always had to grow their own food and earn a day wage (*xornal*) to make ends meet. At present they rely on income from Pepe's old age pension which has replaced the wages he earned in previous years; however, they stressed to me that without their 'peasant' work of cultivation they could not survive on this stipend (see Holmes [1983] regarding the importance of welfare state incomes such as pensions as a third source of livelihood for worker peasants.)

The Casa de Curros originated with a couple who had both previously lived with their employers. Pepe (#1) and Celia (#2) had been servants since their teenage years in a series of households. Celia's favourite job had been with a young couple, a husband-wife team of teachers who were from Murcia. This couple had hoped to take Celia with them when they left the region and she often reflected on what her life might have been if she had gone with them. As a female servant, in addition to helping with cooking and cleaning, Celia did a lot of the heavy tasks such as stoking the fire, bringing water to the house, washing clothes in the stream, and caring for the livestock. She also helped out

in the fields and with shepherding when it was necessary.

Pepe also did agricultural and shepherding work as a full-time servant. In addition, he often worked as a carter for his employers who owned oxen and carts that were used to transport lumber to the sawmills and stone down from the quarry at the top of the mountain. Pepe and Celia met while working in the same household. When they met, Celia was raising a young son Santiago (#3), whom she had conceived by another man (see Brettell 1986; Cole 1991a; Kelley 1991; and O'Neill 1987 on the high incidence of illegitimacy in northwestern Iberia). When Pepe and Celia married, they took Santiago and moved out of their employer's household, renting a small dwelling. They made their living doing whatever day labour they could, and renting land to cultivate their own food. Celia had inherited a small plot of land from her father, but it was far too tiny to support even their subsistence crops. In addition to agricultural day labour, Pepe earned day wages working for a sawmill owner, as a stonemason constructing the walls of the nearby wolfram mine in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and for a construction company that had contracts for housing and road construction in the northern tip of the province. During the latter period, he would be away for five days of the week and returned home only on weekends to help with the agricultural chores. From 1972 to 1975, Pepe spent eight months of the year in Switzerland, also working as a *peón* (unskilled) construction worker. He paid into a pension plan at this point and was able to save enough money to purchase their small dwelling and the land surrounding it, which is still used for their garden. Therefore, even though Pepe only spent a few years in Switzerland, the remittances from this period of migration have had a radical effect on their lives. Now they receive Pepe's old

age pension and are able to grow their own potatoes, maize, and other crops and raise their own chickens and pigs to eat.

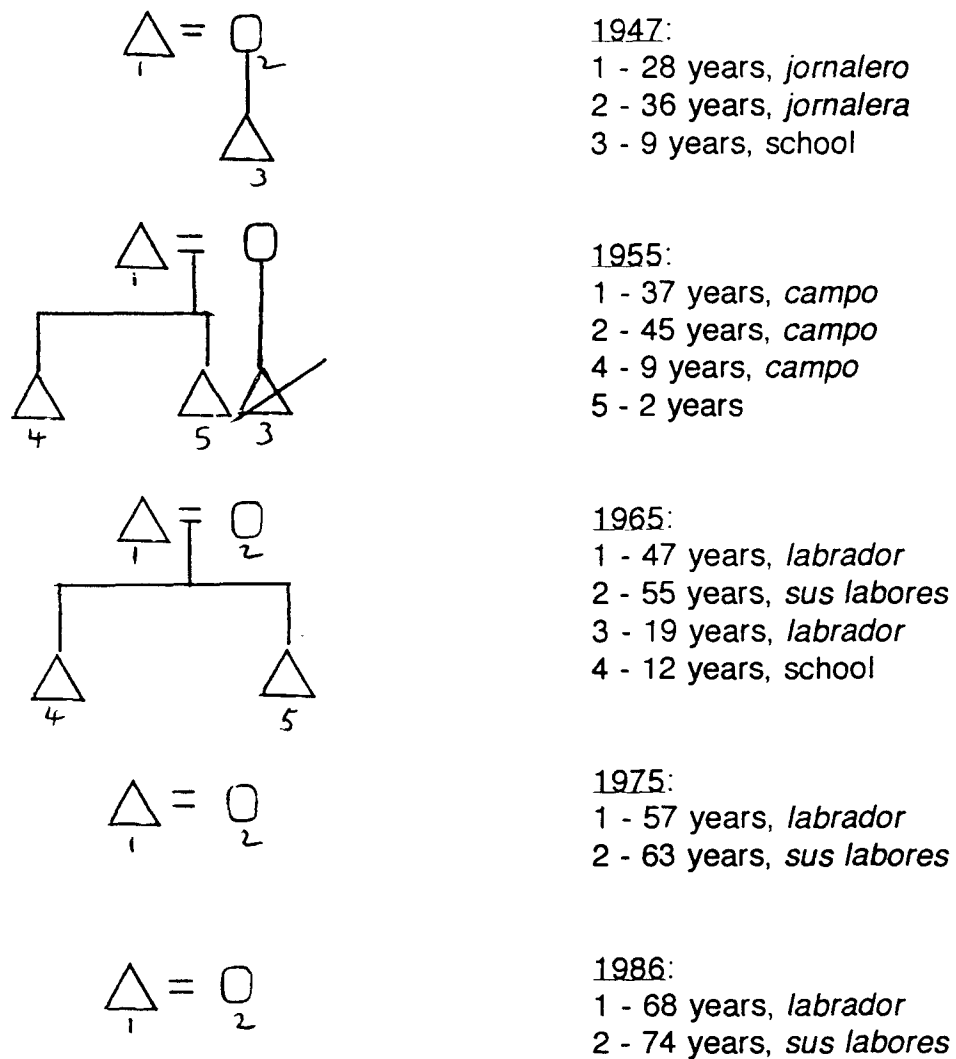
While Pepe was away, Celia worked hard at maintaining their subsistence crops and caring for the cattle and their other livestock. For several years, Pepe and Celia established a sharecropping arrangement with Antonia who was a single, elderly woman. In return for access to land, they paid Antonia half of the crops they harvested; they also cared for Antonia's cattle in exchange for their use as draught animals, and half of the profits obtained through the sale of any calves that were born. This contract disintegrated after a few years when Antonia died. Reflecting back on their experiences, Pepe and Celia now feel that it was better for them when they had a more arm's length relationship with other landowners, when they had rented land for a set annual amount of wheat. They felt exploited by Antonia, who demanded that they do tasks for her which went beyond the bare terms of the sharecropping agreement. Pepe and Celia had hoped that Antonia would act as a patron toward them, and perhaps even lend them money to purchase their own land. The relationship became full of mistrust on both sides, however, culminating in Pepe and Celia accusing Antonia of ensorceling their crops and pigs. Celia was therefore relieved when she and Pepe managed to save enough money to purchase their own three cows. Cows were necessary to do the agricultural work, to provide manure for the fields, and also for the milk and calves they provided. The yearling calves were sold to traders, providing a significant, annual source of income for the Casa de Curros.

Celia's son Santiago (#3) died suddenly at the age of twelve; from her description, it sounds as though the cause of his death was a severe case of

food poisoning. Celia and Pepe had two more sons together: Marcos (#4) and Francisco (#5). They both worked with their father when he went to do day labour for the sawmills. Later, they migrated to Switzerland and learned the construction trade. In fact, it was Marcos and Francisco who provided information which allowed their father to migrate briefly in the 1970s. Marcos (#4) married a woman from Carreira and he became a part of her parent's household because she was the main heir chosen to 'marry in'. This family maintains a house in the village but have purchased an apartment in the city of A Coruña. After many years abroad, Marcos returned to Spain and set up a small construction business with his brother-in-law. Prior to this, Marcos and his wife and children worked for several years in Barcelona where he found work in a rope factory. His brother Francisco also 'married into' his wife's household in a village near Carreira. He worked in Switzerland for years and then in Spain as a truck driver, his present employment. His wife helps her parents grow their own food, and owns several dairy cattle whose milk she sells to one of the large regional dairies.

Figure 2.6

The household and occupational cycle of Casa de Curros  
in 20th century municipal census records



### **Casa do Peña Grande**

This particular household existed at the beginning of the century, and the census records provide details about its development throughout the next nine decades. In Figure 2.7 (on pages 124 and 125), one can see that from 1902 to 1947, the Casa do Peña Grande was inhabited by two generations of single mothers, María (#1), Asunción (#3) and their children. All are day labourers and one son migrated to Argentina. Asunción's son Estevan (#5) married 'into' the house and he and his wife Matilda (#9) became the new household heads in the 1960s. Estevan and Matilda had nine children. According to the census records, we only find non-agricultural occupations attributed to Estevan in 1965 and 1975 and to Estevan and Matilda's children during the 1970s and 1980s. Estevan is a stonemason in 1965 and a cow trader in 1975. His sons are working in construction and carpentry and his daughters are domestic servants.

The oral reconstruction of the history of work of the members of this household also provides some key details missing from the sparse 'occupational' labels of the census. Estevan lived away from home as a boy and teenager, working as a servant in various households. As a young woman, Matilda was a successful itinerant seamstress and only ceased working when her mother-in-law, Asunción, suffered too much from arthritis to carry on the subsistence agriculture herself. Before becoming a stonemason Estevan, like so many other men in the area, worked in the lumber industry carting wood and sawing it at the mill. He also worked in the wolfram mine in the early 1950s constructing tunnels. A short trip to Switzerland confirmed for Estevan that he

did not like working so far away from home and he never left the village again. However, Estevan's sons all spent some time in Switzerland. The 1986 census indicates that Estevan and Matilda's daughters' worked as servants locally while, in fact, they had jobs as maids in the city of A Coruña at this time. In 1991, their eldest daughter and two sons were married and living in Bilbao, where the men worked in the shipyards. A third son lived in the Galician town of Padrón where he had purchased a bar, while another son and his wife managed a bar in the city of A Coruña.

Estevan and Matilda had raised several of their grandchildren while the parents worked either abroad or in Spain. One grandson, eleven year old Manuel (#19), still spent all of his weekends and summer holidays with them. He spent the rest of the time with his mother in A Coruña, where she worked as a housekeeper. Estevan and Matilda's other children and grandchildren visited them regularly, especially during the summer months.

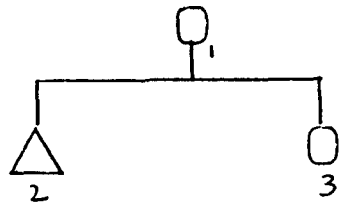
By 1991, Estevan had begun to receive the old age pension he had been paying into as an agriculturalist for the last thirty years. Neither he nor Matilda were in good health and they welcomed the steady monthly income. Estevan's work as a trader had involved a great deal of uncertainty; he could never be certain that he would make a profit. He and his partner purchased cattle from worker-peasants living in villages in the area of Zás and in surrounding townships. They then sold them in the large weekly livestock market in Santiago de Compostela, in an attempt to raise more through these sales than they had paid previously. The price of veal, like the price of the milk Matilda sold daily to the passing truck from the Leyma dairy, had declined dramatically since the late 1980s. Estevan and Matilda, like other Carreirense said that they



were beginning to pay more to maintain the cattle, than they received for the veal and milk when they sold it. Since the time when she ceased to work as a seamstress, Matilda has assumed major responsibility for cultivating the household subsistence crops. She makes sure to always produce enough fresh greens and eggs to give to her children when they visit from the city. In turn, they bring her 'urban' foods such as biscuits and coffee which are less expensive in the city stores than the rural ones. During labour-intensive periods such as hay-making in July, Matilda and Estevan's children come to stay with them and help on the weekends. The Casa do Peña Grande is also involved in cycles of labour exchange with its neighbours, which makes it possible for them to borrow a tractor and the labour of its driver when necessary.

Figure 2.7

The household and occupational cycle of Casa do Peña Grande  
in 20th century municipal census records



1902:

1 - 40 years, *jornalera*2 - 9 years, *jornalero*

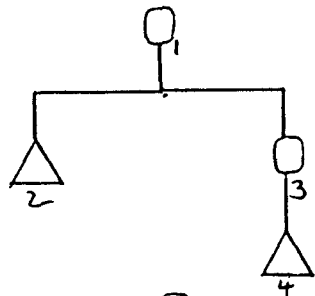
3 - 6 years, no occupation listed



1914:

1 - 52 years, no occupation listed

2 - 18 years, no occupation

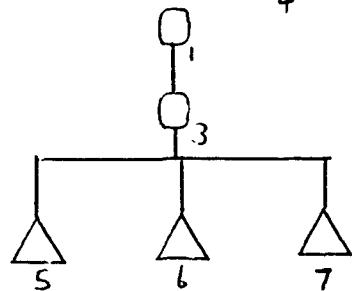


1925:

1 - 58 years, *jornalera*2 - 33 years, *jornalero*, absent in  
Buenos Aires

3 - 28 years, employee

4 - 6 years, no occupation



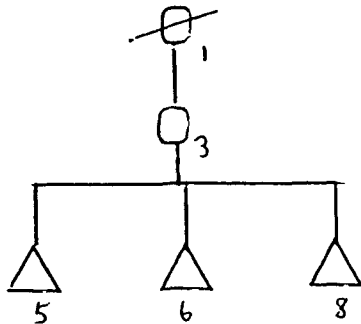
1935:

1 - 70 years, *jornal*3 - 40 years, *jornal*

5 - 9 years, school

6 - 7 years, school

7 - 4 years

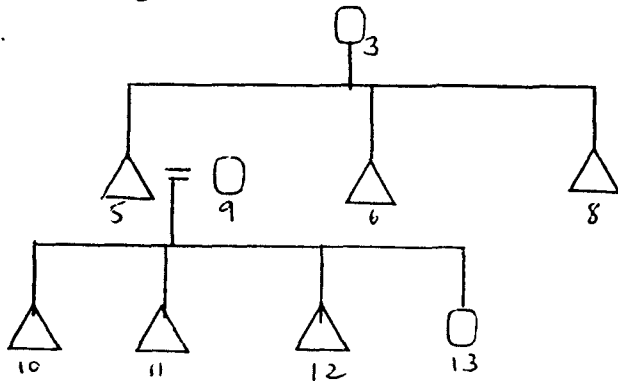


1947:

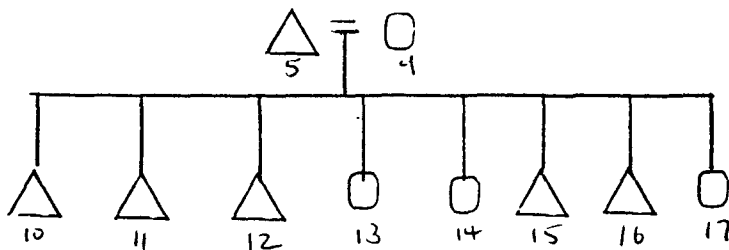
3 - 51 years, *jornalera*5 - 19 years, *jornalero*6 - 16 years, *jornalero*

8 - 13 years school

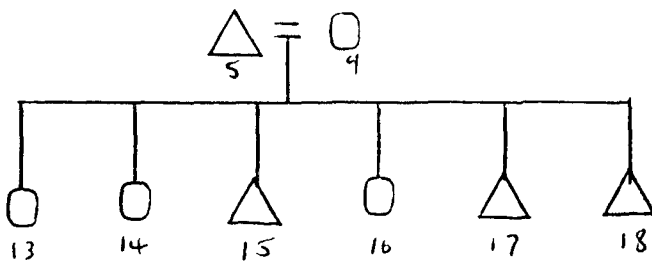
Figure 2.7 continued



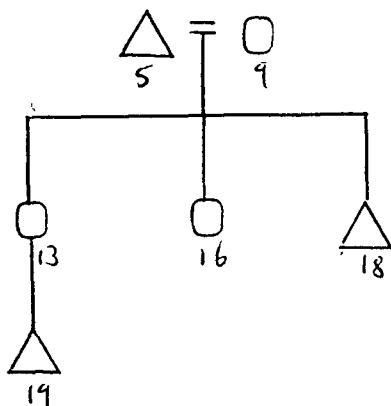
1955:  
 3 - 61 years, *campo*  
 6 - 26 years, no occupation,  
 absent in Uruguay  
 8 - 23 years, *campo*  
 5 - 29 years, *campo*  
 9 - 30 years, *campo*  
 10 - 7 years, no occupation  
 11 - 5 years  
 12 - 3 years  
 13 - 1 year



1965:  
 1 - 39 years, stonemason  
 9 - 40 years, *sus labores*  
 10 - 17 years, *labranza*  
 11 - 15 years, *labranza*  
 12 - 13 years, school  
 13 - 11 years, school  
 14 - 10 years, school  
 15 - 7 years, school  
 16 - 5 years  
 17 - 3 years



1975:  
 5 - 49 years, calf trader  
 9 - 50 years, *sus labores*  
 13 - 21 years, *sus labores*  
 14 - 19 years, servant  
 15 - 17 years, construction  
 16 - 14 years, carpenter's  
 apprentice  
 17 - 10 years, student  
 18 - 6 years, student



1986:  
 5 - 60 years, *agricultor*  
 9 - 61 years, *sus labores*  
 13 - 32 years, housekeeper  
 16 - 21 years, cleaning woman,  
 absent  
 18 - 17 years, *labrador*  
 19 - 8 years, student

### **Chapter Summary**

A close examination of the occupational history of five Carreirense households illustrates important similarities among them. Despite the fact that they belong to different economic strata within the parish -- ranging from peasant (*labrador*) to day-labourer (*caseteiro*) status -- all of these households have reproduced a worker-peasant pattern of livelihood over the course of the twentieth century. Subsistence agricultural production has been maintained by each household as well; however, the sale of milk, veal, and other commodities has declined during the early 1990s, as mandatory European Economic Community standards and low prices have driven down the incentives to develop commercial farming. The only household whose members have invested substantially in the technology necessary to compete in the dairy industry is the Casa de Miguel de Lado; the capital for these improvements was largely earned through wage labour employment in Switzerland. It is unlikely that they will continue to expand their dairy business, though, since this family is caught in a double-bind situation whereby they cannot afford to either take members out of wage jobs or to retain enough unpaid household labour to support a large herd of dairy cattle. Therefore, wage labour performed both abroad and locally, and remittances from government pensions and unemployment insurance, have been more important sources of cash income than the sale of agricultural commodities in Carreira and are likely to continue to be so.

It is also important to take into account changes over the longitudinal cycle of each household. One can see that although there is a general trend toward the ideal of three-generation stem-family households in Carreira, not all

households achieve this ideal. Nor will several households be identical at any one point in time, even if they are going through the same developmental phases. For example, in 1925, both the Casa de Miguel do Lado and the Casa das Herbas are nuclear family households composed of a married couple and three unmarried children. In contrast, at the same point in time, the Casa de Susana and the Casa do Peña Grande are stem-family households composed of unmarried, female heads of household, and their unmarried daughters and grandchildren.

The examples of these five households also indicate that written information on occupations must be supplemented with oral history. Census documentation does indicate, however, that multioccupationality is prevalent in the parish throughout at least the twentieth century. The census data on the formally recorded occupations of the Carreirense are summarized in Tables 2.1, 2.3, and 2.4 (on pages 90, 94-95). In Table 2.2 (page 91), I provide a parallel summary of the range of non-agricultural occupations gathered through interviews with members of the parish. It is likely that this complex pattern of shifting occupations and the mixture of agriculture and wage work extends back for a considerably longer period. The Catastro de Ensenada data for the region of Zas in the mid-eighteenth century, for example, indicates the existence of worker-peasant households.

Several historical trends contextualize the reasons why the worker-peasant strategy is effective and desirable today in rural Galician communities like Carreira. The Galicians have experienced fluctuations in the regional economy; one of the most dramatic was the growth and decline of the linen textile industry from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century. The

peripheralization of the Galician region within the context of the industrialization and capitalization of industry in other areas of Spain has made the Carreirenses reluctant to trust themselves fully to the wage economy. Therefore, families have maintained subsistence agricultural production as either tenants or smallholders. The lack of steady and secure wage employment has also led to extensive temporary and permanent out-migration from Galicia. Temporary and seasonal labour migrants are still considered to be members of rural households, however. Therefore, I highlight the similar role of wage employment carried out locally and in migrant destinations and show how it is continuously combined with agricultural production.

This analysis of the occupational history of the Galician parish of Santiago de Carreira indicates that we must consider the economic, as well as cultural, forces that lead to a stem-family pattern of household formation. In addition to the sub-regional variation that Lisón Tolosana (1976, 1983a[1979]) has outlined, one can identify the developmental cycle of households and shorter-term fluctuations that are responses to localized socio-economic changes and shifting opportunities for members of particular households (cf. Buechler and Buechler 1984; H. Buechler 1987). Furthermore, the stem-family household system is remarkably elastic when combined with the development of a worker-peasant work ethic. In the next chapter, I focus on this work ethic and identify emic notions of household reproduction. Whether producing food for household consumption, or working for wages, the Carreirenses say that they are “working for the household.”

## Chapter Two - Endnotes

- 1 The term *caseteiro* is derived from the word *caseta*, which refers to the humble, one-room stone dwellings that house both humans and animals. *Caseteiros* also own little or no land.
- 2 This preference for oral contracts is reported in other cases in Galician ethnography. See, for example, Rodríguez Campos (1990). Compare with Holmes' (1989) discussion of Friulian sharecropping contracts.
- 3 The census data is more accurate than parish data. Individuals often own land in several parishes that they either purchased themselves or inherited from parents who were originally from distinct communities.
- 4 Szelenyi (1988:127) discusses this process in the context of the mixed economy in Communist Hungary.
- 5 I did not find evidence of any natolocality, however, reported as a frequent pattern in northern Portugal (O'Neill 1987) and in the Galician provinces of Ourense and Lugo (Gala González 1990; Rodríguez Campos 1983). In the case of natolocal post-marital residence, each member of a married couple continue to work for and be fed by their respective natal households after marriage. The man often goes to his wife's house to sleep, however.

### **Chapter Three : 'Working For the Household'-- Household Reproduction and Work Identities**

Anthropologists have contributed to vigorous debates about the division of labour by demonstrating, with ethnographic examples, not only the rich variety of work activities cross-culturally, but also the symbolic significance which people attribute to their labour -- their work identities and values (Cole 1991a; Kelley 1991; Kondo 1990; Phillips 1990). The focus of this chapter is the set of local conceptions of the significance of working for one's household in Santiago de Carreira and in surrounding communities of Galician worker-peasants. I illustrate that agricultural production and animal husbandry, whether for household consumption or for sale, and the earning of wages in cash and food are more similar than they are dissimilar in local conceptions of the reproduction of the household. I will show that in practice cultural constructions of work identities and household reproduction are part of a moral system which softens the contradictions of a mixed economy.

My analysis draws together the series of local metaphors which are evoked to discuss the significance of working for one's household. In Chapter Two, I traced the incidence of wage work locally and in migrant destinations over the twentieth century through the use of census records and extensive oral history. Villagers from this parish have a history of combining agricultural production with wage work. Men and women have performed wage



labour, both locally and in foreign destinations during the past and present periods (see also Bauer 1983; H. Buechler 1987; Kelley 1988; Labrada 1971[1804]). In addition, men and women alike are regarded as contributing significantly to peasant agricultural production and animal husbandry at home (see similar findings reported in Fernández de Rota 1984; Fidalgo Santamariña 1988; Iturra 1988; Lisón Tolosana 1976, 1983a[1979]; Méndez 1988; Rodríguez Campos 1983). The majority of peasant work, however, has been dominated by women, the elderly, adolescents, and children over the last three decades.<sup>1</sup> In Chapter Four, I provide a detailed description of peasant work which consists in the present-day of raising crops and animals for domestic consumption with only a limited sale of commodities (mainly milk and veal). As in the northern Portuguese context discussed by Cole (1988, 1991a), it is the productive work of women rather than their sexuality and fertility which is most often emphasized in this Galician community.<sup>2</sup> In Carreira, women spend most of their time performing tasks related to agriculture and animal husbandry rather than indoor housework. There are structural reasons why both wage work and subsistence agriculture must be sustained by members of these households. However, subsistence production is not only an important aspect of an attempt to retain the economic benefits of self-provisioning in an increasingly commodified world,<sup>3</sup> it is also a crucial aspect of household and community prestige and identity. In addition, as I illustrate in the second part of this chapter, the opportunity to display openly one's willingness and ability to work hard through the production of foodstuffs and the raising of livestock is intimately tied to a history of insecure wage labour opportunities. Therefore, a

worker-peasant work ethic cross-cuts both wage and non-wage contributions to households.

In the first section of the present chapter, I specifically discuss a theme that is central to Carreirense work identities -- the notion that individuals work for the benefit of their households over both the long-term and the short-term. There is an explicit notion that, over the long term, younger household members work for household heads in return for inheritance portions. In addition, no-one should be a burden on other household members. Over the short-term, every able-bodied adult and teenager is expected to work to ensure her or his own daily consumption needs. This is referred to as earning one's "bread".

In the remainder of the chapter, I show how these constructions and a strong work ethos are embedded in the stories of labour recounted by two Carreirense, Sara and Pepe. Similar themes were emphasized in the many stories of work that were recounted to me in Carreira. The jobs discussed ranged from local artisanal apprenticeship and work contracts, to migrant labour performed in other countries. Furthermore, there is an important connection between an ethos of labour as applied generally to notions of household reproduction and to scarce and insecure opportunities for wage jobs. As the Carreirense narratives transcribed throughout the chapter illustrate, the display of diligence and skill in one context is perceived to carry over into other contexts.

***'Traballando pra a Casa'* (Working for the Household)**

The women and men of Santiago de Carreira frequently said to each other and to me: "One has to work . . . always." (*Hai que traballar . . . sempre*) and "One must do a bit of everything." (*Hai que facer de todo*). This expectation is applied to all household members aside from young children and frail individuals. Even working animals such as cattle and oxen, are expected to enact this strong work ethos. For instance, men from Carreira who worked during the weekdays on construction projects within commuting distance of the parish raced home to help with agricultural tasks during the evenings and termed themselves '*labradores*' rather than the derogatory term *peón*, as many are labelled when working as unskilled construction workers. Lockwood (1973:98) found that a similar attitude prevailed among the Yugoslavian peasant-workers he studies where "Even now, wage labor is regarded as somewhat degrading, as compared with the traditional economy. The devaluation of farming noted in less remote regions of Yugoslavia (Halpern 1958:316-318) has yet to occur."<sup>4</sup>

Seasonal migrants from Carreira, who have contracts to work for eight or nine months of the year in other European countries work hard during the third of the year which they are required to spend in Spain. Like the female and male villagers who are considered to be full-time 'peasant' workers, these individuals are compelled to participate in household and community work parties as often as they can. And like the former group, they too frequently comment that "One must work always. Peasants must always work."

Carreirenses should be 'hard-working' (*Hai que ser*

*traballador* ) in order to help ensure the long-term and short-term reproduction of their households. Both wage and non-wage labour -- whether performed by men or women -- are viewed as contributing to the reproduction of households. The dynamic, shifting characteristic of the 'makeshift' economy (Hufton 1974) of worker-peasants and other land-poor and landless Europeans is embedded in local views of work and the economy which cross-cut any division of labour by gender or type of participation.

### **Earning the Land**

The first cultural construction is related to the long-term reproduction of the household.<sup>5</sup> An estate, no matter how small, must be constantly augmented and "maintained" through tilling the land and raising livestock. A proverbial expression summarizes the ethic that owning property and being free of debt is a first priority: "That which isn't of one, isn't one's own." (*O que non e dun , non e dun* ). Individuals who rent their land and perhaps their dwellings work to save money for their purchase. Property can be 'earned' or gained through both wage labour and inheritance.

As I mentioned in Chapter Two, post-marital residence in most of rural Galicia is either uxorilocal or virilocal. Neolocal residence is confined to parts of the province of Ourense, to urban settings, and of course to those cases in which there is no property to entice young people to make their homes with aging parents. These residence patterns are embedded in unequal and generally post-mortem inheritance practices (Bauer 1983, 1987; Iturra 1988; Kelley 1988; Lisón Tolosana 1976). An explicit connection is made in people's comments about the exchange of property for 'work'. Nieces, nephews, or other

fostered children may inherit property when they live with and work for or 'under' (*debaixo de*) household heads in lieu of nonexistent or departed children. The important construction is not a kin or genetic 'lineage', but exchanging work over the long term for property. This 'work' is described as consisting in the end of care for the elderly and dying as well as the ritual work surrounding death and mourning.<sup>6</sup>

This cycle of work and property is strongly linked to a cycle of caring for or working the land and livestock so that they produce for you. The verb *mantere*, in local dialect, means to sustain or to feed and is used to describe feeding people, animals and the land. It may be used to refer to a short-term daily maintenance, an annual cycle of planting and harvesting, or to longer term care and production. People in Santiago de Carreira say that the fields must have a lot of fertilizer, be "very full"<sup>7</sup> so that the crops have strength to flourish. Similarly, people must eat to work: "If one doesn't eat, one can't work. The land is like we are. (*Si non se come, non se pode traballar. A terra e como nos*)". In fact, if one does not work hard, contributing cash wages and manual work, and care for one's parents, one cannot expect a significant inheritance portion from them. Even sharecropped land and livestock must be maintained over the long-term in order to retain access to them and ideally earn profits (*ganancia*) that can be invested in one's own estate.

An elderly couple, José and María, described to me how they sharecropped land and raised cattle 'by halves' (*a medias*) after they married. José helped with subsistence production and cultivation of the crops for the onerous rent but spent as many days as he could earning day wages. It was

María's responsibility to maintain the cattle which were owned by the landlord. As sharecroppers they were responsible for feeding the cows, and calves born to them were sold and the profits split between the sharecroppers and the owners. José describes the division of labour in their household during this period as follows: "She had to gather food to maintain the cattle and I worked 'outside' [the household]."

Many landless and land-poor villagers from Carreira were able to purchase dwellings and land with migrant remittances only during the latter half of this century. Therefore, manual labour was needed at home and capital from abroad to invest in the estate. In the overwhelming majority of households, sons or sons-in-law worked abroad for varying periods of time and their remittances were invested in land, new houses and stables, tractors and other agricultural machinery, and in three cases, milking equipment for an expanded dairy herd. A few men were also able to save substantial sums from periods of work in South America during the first third of the century as well. The female villagers from wealthier, landed households stayed behind to work the land and care for the livestock and children with their mothers-in-law or their mothers during this early period of migration as well as the later one which began in the 1960s. In poorer households, female members often joined brothers and husbands abroad since these families had a desperate need for cash remittances. The mothers and mothers-in-law of these women would normally bring up their grandchildren and maintain subsistence production. However, when individuals from the eldest generation were no longer able to carry on themselves, the women and sometimes their male kin returned to the village to work.

In Carreira, the decision regarding which child should remain in the natal household upon marriage and thus become the major heir is a negotiable, contestable decision which is sometimes reversed. Under the terms of the Spanish Civil Code of 1889, in a system of preferential partible inheritance the major heir can inherit up to two-thirds of a parent's property plus an equal portion of the remaining third that is divided equally between all the heirs. This main portion is called "*a millora*" (Galician for the Castilian *mejora* that is usually translated as 'improvement') or "*a manda*" (bequest). Minor heirs must receive at least the prescribed minimal portion (*legítima*) of their parents' property and other assets. In practice, minor heirs often cede or sell land that they have inherited to the major heirs. Parents have sometimes provided the minor heirs with early forms of inheritance, such as paying for their education or passage to a migrant destination. Unmarried, minor heirs may also remain in the natal household and work under the authority of siblings who become household heads after the death of their parents. In choosing a main heir, the relationship that the chosen child has with her or his parents is usually more important than gender or birth order in this area of Galicia. Celia, a woman in her early seventies talked to me about why she and her husband had decided to grant the majority of their property to their second eldest daughter, one of four children:

If it's a woman, then a woman. If it's a man, a man. Some are better than others. Perhaps the eldest. Perhaps the one in the middle. And perhaps the youngest. One doesn't know. Its the parents who decide . . . The one who takes good care of you, the one who appreciates you.

*Si e mullere, mullere. Si e home, home. Alunos son mellores que outros. Se cadra o mais vello. Se cadra o de medio. Y se cadra o mais novo. Non se sabe. Son os pais que deciden . . . O que te cuida ben. Que te aprecia ben.*

This child and his or her spouse should care for the household heads and contribute to the augmentation and maintenance of the estate. The estate composed of land and livestock, if not exploited, is perceived to be foundering. Passing on unworked property is considered sad and somehow the end of the estate's growth (Bauer 1983:44-60, 198-199; Harding 1984). Reproduction through generations is tied to ongoing husbandry production. In telling me of land that was untilled near the end of the life of its owners, a man said: "They had property. But property, if it's not worked, nothing happens. Alone it does not 'give' [produce]".

The same expectation is held when a childless individual or couple chooses a younger person (almost always a close relative such a nephew or niece) to inherit the bulk of an estate. People in Carreira frequently tell stories about the relationship between young heirs who inherited significant amounts of property from childless individuals. In these accounts, narrators always emphasize whether or not the elderly person had companionship in addition to bare, physical comforts. The Carreirense, like other Galicians, say that a major heir must 'work for' (*traballar pra*) or 'earn' (*ganare*) his or her inheritance. This is achieved primarily by working hard 'under' (*debaixo de*) the aging household heads without complaint. The elderly must also be treated with great respect and compassion, especially when they become frail and near death. The most poignant stories the Carreirense tell about individuals who 'earned'



their inheritance are also stories about 'good deaths' which in this cultural context involves younger kin (especially main heirs) sitting with and comforting dying household heads.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, both waged and unwaged labour are directed toward the corporate household and both are viewed as necessary in order to achieve the goal of reproducing the households over the long-term. Earning wages helps maintain poorer households and augment wealthier ones. In addition, caring for the land, the livestock and the elderly are intertwined activities since inheritance awards are contingent upon this care.

### **Earning One's 'Daily Bread'**

A second cultural emphasis is on short-term reproduction, that is, the provision of the daily consumption needs of all household members. A work ethos in communities such as Carreira emphasizes that no-one should be idle while other household members work to feed them; each person should earn her or his "bread" daily. Esteva Fabregat (1976:168) describes the same expectation held by cattle keepers and wage workers living in the Pyrenean valleys of Bielsa and Xistau (Gistain): "At the same time there is still an ethic surrounding work with an aura of prestige . . . Public opinion condemns someone who is not fulfilling his duty of working, that is, the duty to 'bring bread to his house.'"

In Carreira, it is frequently said that one must produce food to eat because "Money one can't eat (*O dinheiro non lo come*)". Likewise, however, people have had to earn wages because with little land "There was little to eat. They went to earn wages (*Había pouco que comer. Iban a ganar o xornal*)".

Speaking of his wage work, seventy-two year old Pedro explained to me: “I went to work to eat (*Eu viña trabalhar pra comere*)”.

The following, one of many proverbs used by older and middle-aged individuals to punctuate their stories of work, indicates a short-term conception of wages being consumed to meet the labourer’s daily needs:

<i>Gracias a Dios</i>	Thank God
<i>que vou a ganhar</i>	that I go to earn
<i>de dia e comer-lo</i>	by day and eat [the wages]
<i>de noite.</i>	by night.

The use of proverbs such as this one also underscores the fact that the notion of “daily bread” is likely partly derived from the Catholic doctrine the Carreirenses were taught, which includes the memorization of the Lord’s Prayer. Metaphors which refer literally to earning one’s bread in another household are also prevalent in Carreira because there were numerous tenant and day-labouring households in this parish. Past wages were day wages and consisted partly of food (usually one or two meals of broth and bread). In some cases, this form of payment remains the same today when agricultural workers are hired to do a day’s work and are fed several meals and modest cash wages.<sup>9</sup>

This notion is voiced by the landed peasants as well. They valorize wage work and also specifically emphasize the importance of working to provide for as many of one’s food requirements as possible. Achieving the goal of self-sufficiency is an important cultural ideal in Carreira and has been widely documented in the ethnography of northwestern Iberia to be a significant element in the worldviews of peasant and fishing communities (Buechler and Buechler 1987; Cole 1991a; Kelley 1988; Pina-Cabral 1986). Elena, a middle-aged woman who married into one of the wealthiest peasant households in

Carreira spoke to me proudly of how they used to provide for household consumption needs by working the land: "There was no thing that the peasants couldn't make. Those who had land, had a house of bread."

Social stratification on the local level is identifiable in the two phrases used to speak of earning bread by working in one's own household or hiring oneself out to another. Elena refers to day wages as earning one's *pan*, meaning wheat bread. Villagers from poorer households, in contrast, speak of earning one's *broa*, or maize bread. Severe economic times during and following the Spanish Civil War forced some individuals to work for a day wage consisting solely of food. People worked in return for some broth and maize bread; they would thus provide for their individual daily consumption needs. During this period of time, the meagre resources of poor households were not sufficient to support all their members. In the following comment Juan, who was a tenant and day-labourer earlier in the century, explains the difference between villagers of different statuses: "Those who had a lot of land worked and ate. The poor earned a piece of bread ( *Lo que tenía muchas fincas traballaba y comía. Os pobres ganaban un cacho de pan* )."

Children are expected to work for their parents and grandparents or for whoever else heads the household in which they live. In the past, many children as young as six and seven years of age took on agricultural service contracts, usually lasting a year. Their parents were forced to contract these children as servants (*criados*) to another household in order to ensure that they were fed. They were generally given one suit of clothes and a pair of wooden shoes for the year in addition to their daily food. Children who lived with their parents were also sent to earn day wages shepherding and during weeding

season. Delfina, who grew up during the 1920s and 30s, reminisced about how she was often pulled out of school to work: “Youth has so few days. There should be more . . . My mother would say to me in the evening: ‘Tomorrow you won’t be going to school’”. Delfina would thus know that she was expected to work for another household or for her own parents the next day.

The notion that individuals should earn the bare minimum of daily food in exchange for a day’s work, whether performed for one’s own or for another household, applies to other circumstances. Itinerant artisans who completed as much work as they could on their clients’ premises for a day wage were generally also fed. Apprentices to seamstresses, carpenters and other artisans, when accompanying their teachers to work at peoples’ homes to work are fed, although not paid wages in cash. Someone who neither earns wages nor labours on the land, is viewed as not contributing to their own daily needs. For instance, urban-dwelling children who visit their parents on the weekends are chastized if they do not help with the animals or participate in domestic tasks such as cooking and fieldwork. They are likely to be told that their parents or siblings are ‘feeding’ them.

Subsistence production is thus the work of men and women, of the elderly and of children. The annual agricultural cycle of preparing the land, sowing, weeding and harvesting is one of the main topics of conversation among villagers, whether or not they are also wage labourers in a non-agricultural occupation. However, the meaning of contributing to one’s household also applies to experiences of wage work.

### **Working Outside the Household: Stories of Wage Labour**

In the remainder of this chapter, I show how the stories individuals tell of working as artisans and migrants voice the centrality of being a hard worker over both the short and long-term. Remittances earned in wage jobs are used for (1) for one's own daily needs; and (2) for the maintenance of one's household over the seasonal and annual cycle and if possible for the accumulation of additional property. These narratives also emphasize that in order to be able to hold onto wage jobs, it is crucial to have a reputation for being a 'hard-worker' (*traballador/a*). Those who are 'hard-working' are hired repeatedly to do artisan and other jobs in households in the region of Carreira; in migrant destinations, it is the 'hard-workers' who are sent contracts by the same employers to return to work each season. As I demonstrate throughout the thesis, subsistence work is a crucial part of Carreirense identity in numerous ways. In the particular context of wage opportunities, it is a chance for an individual and a household as a unit to display the desire and skill to work hard in the hope that it will eventually lead to wage work locally or abroad. Being a member of a family with the reputation for being hard-working can also lead to possibilities for apprenticeship to local artisans and tradespeople such as carpenters and mechanics. In general, only young people from industrious and steady families are taken on as apprentices. In short, the non-commodified work of producing food for one's household is an activity which has implications not only for subsistence, but also for wage opportunities.

I now turn to two stories of work that were narrated by Carreirense individuals. Full-length narratives have been used by ethnographers to provide holistic examples of particular lives in specific cultural contexts (for e.g., Behar

1993; Brettell 1982; Cole 1991a; Cruikshank 1992). As I mention in Chapter One, life stories are incorporated into ethnographic texts with the goals of providing richer accounts and voices that juxtapose with the anthropological analysis. The inclusion of long portions of indigenous narratives allows readers to evaluate better the interpretations ethnographers construct. The careful transcription and translation of indigenous 'voices' as part of the core of ethnography is one of the steps we can take to be more explicit and reflexive about the transformation the fieldwork experience and conversations undergo as they become inscribed in academic texts (Gluck and Patai 1991; Marcus and Fischer 1986:57-59; Tedlock 1983; 1987).

#### **The Work of an Itinerant Seamstress: Sara's Life**

Sara was a seamstress until she retired in the early 1980s. When she told me her labour history in 1991, she was seventy-seven years old. Sara receives a pension from the government fund for agriculturalists to which she contributed to ensure her security in old age. Sara was married as a young woman, before the Civil War began in 1936. Her husband was a tradesman, a builder. They were both apprenticed to skilled artisans as teenagers because their parents owned little land and knew that their children would have to make their own way in the world by earning wages. Sara's husband, Ernesto, was an intelligent man who loved to read and talk about politics. He was known in the region as a 'leftist' when the war broke out. He fled to South America and never returned. He is acknowledged to have been a political refugee in Carreira but is criticized simultaneously for not having kept in touch with his wife and children. Sara raised her three sons with the help of an unmarried sister who lived with Sara until her death. At present, Sara lives alone. Each of her three

sons lives in the city of A Coruña and visits on weekends and holidays. All of Sara's sons and her daughters-in-law worked for many years in Switzerland earning money to enable them to buy urban apartments at home in Spain. In the story which follows, Sara talks about her life as a seamstress and subsistence agriculturalist. Her narrative is set within the context of her position as a single parent and a land-poor worker-peasant who relied on the day wages she earned working for her neighbours as an itinerant artisan.

### Sara's Story

"The land was the main thing. We cultivated all the little plots of land ( *A terra era o principal. Se traballaban todos os cachiños* ). Those who could go to work as stonemasons, went. The women went to work as seamstresses ( *As mulleres iban de costureiras* ). The shoemaker's wife helped him. The tailors made men's clothes. They set themselves up with a workbench and then they had it. But the women, the seamstresses went to the houses. There was something of everything [i.e. some women also set up workshops]. But those who did not set up a workshop went to the houses, from house to house. You were paid by the day, well actually you collected when you could. A day wage was tiny ( *Un xornal era pequenino* ).

I went like many others did in those years. Forty or fifty years must have passed since I began. I went an entire day to work for this *peseta* . It was a similar thing [to the coin she shows me as she speaks]. I went to learn when I was thirteen years old and stayed until I was fifteen. Two years learning ( *Fun de 13 e anduven hasta 15. Dous anos aprendendo* ). With a woman who was already married and who went to the houses and took me with her. At that time she earned little. Near the end of my apprenticeship, they paid me two *reales*

(1/2 peseta ). And she earned two pesetas . They only paid me a bit once I knew something.

When I was a young girl, I went to work behind the mountain. At that time, I went off for a week. I'd go on Monday and come back Saturday. At that time, my mother was still alive. I wasn't married and didn't have children. I slept in the houses. Then, I had to work with the gas lamp until 11 or 12 at night before they'd give me supper. They were like that. It was worse than ...it was like working with [the light of ] this candle (*Eran-che así. Era peor que . . . era como traballar co esta vela* ).

My trade was that of a seamstress (*Meu oficio era de costureira* ). A seamstress might have twenty or maybe thirty houses. Perhaps you'd spend four days in one household. At the end of a certain period you'd have to return (*A volta de unha temporadiña había que volvere* ). When the summer *fiestas* came around, you had to work day and night. When I was a young woman, I couldn't go to our Patron Saint's festival because I had to sew for the festival of Gándara [a neighbouring parish]. I'd just go at night to the dance after coming home from earning a *peseta* that day.

I went 'calling' people [that is, asking for work] at their houses (*Fui-me chamando xente por as casas* ). I also applied myself. People got along well with me. I worked a lot (*Entendiase ben a xente co migo. Traballaba muito* ). When I had a lot of houses to attend to and a lot of work, that Susana went with me. Close to one year. She went with me. Later, she brought her baby girl with her. It was hard to go to the houses for an apprentice. They did not want to even give them food to eat and they could do little work. I took very few apprentices. One finished and another began. They went for one year or two or



more. I attended to my 'parish' ( *Atendía a miña parroquia* ). It was better not to teach. They were obligations. [those apprentices she took on] "Take me, take me,' they'd beg, don't you know?"

Sara now mends and sews for herself. She does so as she learned to, without pre-cut patterns (*modelos* ). Her failing eyesight does not allow her to work for others any more. However, she made herself the blouse she was wearing when she narrated the following excerpt:

"I made it [the blouse] and I didn't pay anybody [to have it made] ( *Fixen-e eu e non paguei a nadie* ). I don't know the years I've sewed. I sewed for more than forty years ( *Anduven mais de 40 anos* ). I had the children, three sons. I went sewing with my machine on my head and a child on my arm. When they were tiny, I took them with me. A lot of troubles ( *Muito conto* ). When the kids were older, they stayed with my sister. People said that I could bring the babies with me. They wanted me to go [to sew for them], I was hard-working ( *Quería que fora, eu era traballadora* ). They gave them, at that time, a little milk and maize dumplings from the soup. There weren't fancy foods then. Then there weren't biscuits even for the rich ( *Xa non había galletas non pra os ricos* ).

I brought them up. I brought up three [her fourth child died as an infant]. At fourteen years, they began to work ( *Aos 14 anos, xa me colleron por así traballiños* ). Several years later, they already left to work in other regions as construction workers. All three of my sons and my daughters-in-law worked in Switzerland. The men went first and the women spent less time there. Now they all live in A Coruña. Each has bought his flat and they [the men] still work in construction ( *Cada un comprou seu piso e aínda andan traballando en as obras* ). We were so foolish . . . we could have had more. It hasn't been a joke.

My husband took off. He went to South America. He left and he never sent me even a word. I kept going and my sons came out very well . . . as good earners. Their wives also go out to work. One cleans houses. Another has a small shop with children's clothes. Another one runs a bar she and her husband set up after he stopped going to work in Switzerland. They have one girl and one boy. Everything has been done through manual labour (*Todo fui a conta de mano*). I have four grandchildren in all. The eldest is eighteen years old and he is my godson. I raised him for five years, starting when he was just over a month old and his parents went to Switzerland. His mother now cleans houses, as I said. His father, my son works in construction. My children are thrifty (*aferradores*), hard-working (*traballadores*). They held the value that one shouldn't spend foolishly (*Valeron non gastara mal gastado*).

At present I have planted potatoes, a garden, and greens. I can't work (*Non podo traballar*). I would still like to but I can't. They [her sons] tell me to rest. They tell me that I worked enough (*Din-me que traballei bastante*). I collect [a retirement pension]. My sister lived with me (she died twenty-six or twenty-seven years ago), and she did the agricultural and housework. We had an [agricultural] 'living' (*Tiñamos vida*). . . with cows and so on. My sister wasn't very well. I made use of all my time (*Eu aproveitaba o tempo todo*). I helped with the land and the house. She took care of the children and when they were about fourteen, they took over the work. Then they went to work in construction. While they were learning, they didn't earn anything (*Non iban de ganar nada mientras que aprenderon*). When they were eighteen, they went to Switzerland. One of my sons went at a younger age. I had to go to the notary to sign a permission slip allowing him to migrate so young [as a minor]. 'Where

there is no rooster, the hen doesn't sing' ( '*Onde non hai o galo, non canta a gallina*' ). I had to do it because my husband wasn't here. Someone had to go sign for my sons.

We used to live in the house off the *plaziña* where María now lives. It was rented. We paid for it, with a measure of wheat each year ( *Pagabamos por ela. Por ferrados de trigo ao ano* ). I 'built' this house. It was I who contracted the masons to build it. My brother was a builder and he and my sons did a lot of the work. My sons helped. One of the partner masons was Xan from this village. I contracted with one of the partners. He had workers, helpers but they set their own agreement about wages. The contract stated that they should arrange everything. The contractors paid a certain amount per day for the transportation of the stones from the quarry at the top of the peak. The agreement [with me] was simply to finish the job. When it was half done, I paid them half the amount of money ( *O trato era por nada mais de pagar de acabar a obra. En o medio de traballo, dei-lles a mitad dos cartos* ). And then the other half when they finished. It took about four months to build. They had good weather. It was in summer and took less time than it might have. If they finished earlier, they made more money. They had to pay the labourers, the man-power ( *Si acababan mais axiña, fixeron mais cartos. Había que lle dar do corpo, aos brazos* ).

One went to the houses. There were few workshops. With a machine on one's head. From here to O Sisto, to Quintáns, to Villaestevez, and to Gándara. They were households. Each one had her households [clients]. I didn't sleep there [where she worked]. I left for the houses very early in the morning. If not, the people didn't want you. If they didn't pay that day you worked maybe when

you returned, perhaps after three months or two months. You had to wait in the case of those who couldn't pay (*O que non podía había que esperar*). I also had contracts for the year. *Ferrados* of wheat for the year. The rich peasants, they paid this way because they had the wheat. They paid in August, after the wheat harvest [usually in late July]. At night we didn't eat supper at the houses. You worked until you couldn't see anymore by daylight and then you left. You were afraid along the path and you came home without eating supper (*Tiñas medo por o camino e viñas sin ceare*). They gave you a bit of maize bread to eat at home with broth. A lot of poverty, a lot of troubles (*Muita pobreza, muito conto*).

The customers bought the cloth, the buttons beforehand. You brought the machine, the needles and your body to work. They paid me to do it, they paid me for the work (*Pagabame por o facere. Pagabame por o traballo*). Now no one goes sewing, no one. Now people buy ready-made clothes. They do other types of work. They work for a factory, for another boss. The cloth comes pre-cut."

I asked Sara if the working conditions and relationships were similar for other artisans and tradesmen such as stonemasons.

"Stonemasons? The old ones have died and the young men don't learn. Construction workers, carpenters and other studies -- teachers, other things. Stonemasons, seamstresses, carpenters all went to the houses. Pedro [the carpenter] worked in our house. He came to make our cart. He came to make a grade or a ploughshare (*Viña-nos facer o carro. Viña -nos ao grade o arado*). Construction workers [or builders]? Few. My husband was one. He worked hard, my husband. He knew [was skillful] (*Valía ben pra traballar, meu home*).

*Sabia* ). He left the land. I don't know if he's dead or not. We don't know anything. There were tailors before. Tavern-keepers. There were lots of them ( *Hubou os de cote* ). Not as many as today though. As well, people didn't drink as much as they do now. Some had more work and others had less ( *Úns que tuvesen mais traballo e outros que tuvesen menos* ). The tailors here had a bench, a workshop in the house."

Knowing that basketmakers and wooden shoemakers also worked out of their homes, I asked Sara about these two occupations that are sometimes referred to as trades (*oficios*) or artisanal commodity production (*artesanía*) in rural Galicia.

"Basketmaking wasn't a trade. There were many who knew how to do it. Each one for himself [or herself] or for a friend. Wooden shoes? There were those who knew how to do it. Not everything was a trade ( *Non era todo como oficio* ). There were those who did it . . . for their own needs. Or, someone would do it for whoever, charging. But as a trade, not much.

Then each little piece of land was planted. There was a lot of necessity. It was appalling at the time of the war [Spanish Civil War]. There weren't even any spools of thread to buy. Before the war, things were already pathetic. But afterward, it was the whore of poverty in the houses (*a puta de miseria en as casas*). There was already poverty. Then it got worse. A slavery (*Unha esclavitud*). I made use of everything. For sheets and sacks, we used this flax. It was shameful. Pants even if they had to be of this rough flax. Sweaters of wool. I had a lot to do . . . 'The people want a lot well.' ( *A xente quere muito ben* ). That is, they want a lot of work and it to be well-done. Of this now there is no day wage. They pay for the piece, by the piece. By the quantity. When there

was the war, . . . I sewed underwear for the men, for the soldiers . . . and towels and handkerchiefs, and shirts. They distributed bundles to us [the seamstresses in the area]. The day they called me I had to go ( *O día que me chamaban tiña que ir* ). They didn't give anything to eat. We went to a workshop. They got the seamstresses together. First they called us to go to this house in Zás. It was to the town hall, to the Falange that these orders came and they made us comply. [Later they distributed the work between the seamstresses to do at home.] It didn't matter if you didn't have time or didn't want to. They didn't want this kind of talk. For a certain day it had to be done. They didn't pay anything, nothing ( *Non querían esa conversa. Pra tal día tiña que estar feito. Non pagaban nada, nada* ).

I fought hard with this work. I didn't earn a lot ( *Luchei muito co este traballo. Ganei muito, non ganei* ). I worked for an annual rent for five or six households. I had to go and mend their clothes when they wanted me. They had good clothes. In poor households, they had less. 'The seamstress of the household.' 'Our seamstress,' they said this ( *'A costureira da cas.'* *'A nosa costureira,' decían eso* ). For the *fiestas* . . . they were the clients for all the year and you weren't about to leave them without new clothes for the festival. You had to do it even if it was during the night with this candle or a gas lamp. The memory [of the gas lamp] is black. If I didn't finish, I'd work at night so the people would be happy. I complied with people. One's body is destroyed [with work].

There was no one to go for me so I had to go ( *E non tuven quen me fora e tiña que ir eu* ). I didn't work for money, but to eat. My kids had nice clothes because I made them. Like rich kids' clothes. I used to buy remainders of cloth

at the fair. My kids had patches, but they didn't go around ragged. I made use of everything. I was economical ( *Eu aproveitaba todo . . . Era económica* ).

In those days, there was no work with the [rich] peasants except going to hoe the maize. If you went they'd give you a little . . . then you'd eat and it would end. It was only for the harvests. And for husking the maize. And for hoeing. I did what I learned to do anyway. I learned a lot from here [pointing to her head] afterward ( *Aínda fun sacando muito de aquí* ). Also the world teaches you. 'You have to make it by working. If you don't work, what do you expect?' ( '*Si traballando non tes, si non se traballa, qué queres*' )."

#### **Seamstresses and Other Artisans in the Rural Galician Context: Economic Stratification, Skill, and Socialization**

In this narrative, Sara alludes to the economic differentiation which existed in rural Galicia until her sons' generation left to work in large numbers in other European countries. The seasonal migration of individuals from Galicia and other less industrialized European regions to wealthier regions such as Switzerland coincided with the disintegration of widespread artisanal employment locally and the importation of more factory-produced goods into the countryside. Many women in Galicia are employed in producing clothing for large manufacturers by working directly for clothing factories, or clandestinely as pieceworkers in their homes, as is reported for other regions such as Catalonia (cf. Narotsky 1990). Some seamstresses and tailors still work independently for individual clients in rural Galicia, from small-scale kitchen table operations or out of large workshops and 'academies' which also train apprentice 'dressmakers' (*modistas*) for substantial tuitions. However, like carpenters in the 1990s who are also successfully competing with mass-

produced furniture suppliers, seamstresses or dressmakers charge for each piece of clothing they create and no longer work on the premises of their clients or for a day wage. In addition, the identity and status of rural-based seamstresses contrasts strikingly with the emergence of an indigenous Galician fashion industry that has developed successfully and become prominent in Spain and Western Europe since the 1980s.

Until the 1960s, a stratification system existed which ranked artisans according to the types of work relations they had with clients; this system fit into and in many ways paralleled the relations of production in the agricultural domain. Other authors have pointed out the prevalence of artisan work among the poorest Galician 'peasants' in different periods and certainly into the latter half of the twentieth century (Carmona Badía 1990; Rodríguez Campos 1990; Saavedra 1985:307-376). For example, Rodríguez Campos has focussed specifically on the valuation given to different types of artisans (1983:86-107; 1990:129-137). Like the situation in the Ancares communities that he studied, in Carreira artisans were evaluated according to the following criteria: (1) whether the producer was itinerant or operating out of a stationary workshop, (2) the amount of capital they had invested in their tools and machinery, and (3) the number of employees and/or apprentices they had working under them. The ways in which the artisan's labour was calculated varied. As in agricultural service and land contracts, some artisans were paid with an annual rent (often in kind). Others were paid day wages no matter how many commodities they produced, in a similar fashion to the payment of agricultural day-labourers hired during intensive periods in the annual cycle. Still other artisans sold their products as commodities, like those peasants who sold crops and livestock



rather than their labour. And the artisans who ran the larger workshops and employed others paralleled the wealthier landowners who hired agricultural labourers. These individuals were known as 'bosses' (*jefas* or *patronas*). Household heads and elderly individuals were and are still called 'boss' as a sign of respect. This correspondence makes sense because, as in the past, the workshops continue to be viewed as extensions of the households to which they are attached. Unmarried seamstresses who had women working under them were addressed and referred to as '*Señora*,' a term used for married women and elderly women. Those who could afford to set up a workshop and invest substantially in tools were often related to migrants who had saved substantial sums of cash from wages earned abroad. For women of Sara's age, the cash used to set up workshops or even to buy a sewing machine was mainly earned in the American continents. Pilar, a seventy-two year old seamstress told me how one of her neighbours was able to afford a good machine: "She already had a foot-pedal machine. Her father had gone to America and he had lots of money (*Xa tiña ela unha máquina de pé. O pai de ela viña de América e tiña moitos cartos* )."<sup>10</sup> Those with less capital were itinerant. Pilar explained that it was impossible for her to set up a stationary workshop: "I didn't set up a workshop because I couldn't (*E non puse taller porque non podía poner* ). A neighbour of mine set up a workshop and sewed in her house. But I didn't. I went here and there (*Pero eu non. Eu iba por ahí* )."

Apprentices fit into this stratification system at the very bottom since they are dependent initially not only on clients but also on those experienced

artisans who instruct and employ them. Some artisans in fact paid a small fee to be instructed; this was most common in the cases of those who learned in the larger workshops. The blurring of the student/worker status of artisans' apprentices is evident in the terms of reference applied to them (see also Hufton 1974:25-37 for comparative material from 18th century France). Both the terms 'apprentice' (*aprendiz*) and 'servant' (*criado* or *criada*) may be used. In 1990, the carpenters' apprentices who were being instructed in the workshop in Carreira were sometimes called 'workers' (*obreiros*); this term is considered to be a more 'modern' and less derogatory than the term 'servant'. In other moments they were called 'apprentices'. Stonemasons did not apprentice in such a formal manner; as young men they were initially unpaid and, in addition to observing the skilled workers, were asked to do odd jobs around building sites. They gradually learned enough to earn a small wage doing one of the easier tasks such as fetching the clay used to make mortar for the stone constructions in this area. Oral accounts of stonemasonry teams that worked in the past also included the term 'servant' for the less skilled labourers who were paid by the head masons who had drawn up the contract with the client. This stratification is also evident in Sara's description of the building of her house.

Apprentices, like skilled artisans, would dedicate their time to their craft more intensively during certain periods; and would remain at home to help with planting, hoeing and harvests on those days that their own and neighbouring households required their labour. Speaking of the period when she was an itinerant seamstress, Pilar said, "And then when there were harvests, when there were harvests, we remained at home ( *E depois cando había cosechas, entonces cando había cosechas, quedabanos* )." Susana, a twenty-seven year

old woman who was apprenticed to a seamstress in a workshop in the early 1980s, describes a similar pattern: “[During] the time of haying, of planting potatoes, we had to remain [at home] (*O tempo de herba seca, plantar as patacas, había que quedare* ).”

Aside from agriculture, animal husbandry, and other labour performed in the context of the household, some artisans had more than one extra-peasant occupation. Pilar helped her mother who cooked for the households of wealthy peasants during large-scale occasions such as weddings. Some artisans always had apprentices while others like Sara enjoyed instructing them less. It could make a seamstress' work easier to have apprentices; not only could she actually earn something by charging them a small sum, but they also helped with the work. Pilar always had two apprentices with her: “Yes, I always went around with two. One who knew more. And another who knew a little less [was less experienced] (*Sí, andaba siempre con duas. Unha que sabía mais. E outra menos* ). I didn't charge anything [to the clients] for them. Yes. They paid me 150 pesetas each year. A year. It wasn't much. Where I ate, they ate. Where I slept, they slept. They worked but they didn't charge.” It was also common to be an apprentice to two or more artisans, to learn something different from each. Matilda (of Casa do Peña Grande) remembered when she apprenticed to her second teacher/employer who, unlike her first, was itinerant: “But then I went with Mercedes to 'help' her (*Pero despois fun con ela , Mercedes, pra lle axudar* ). We went 'by the houses' to O Sisto, to Gontalde, to Villaestevez and others. I learned other things. For example, how to make men's underwear, skirts, jackets, ties, mens' trousers, corsets. I helped so she'd finish earlier (*pra acabar mais axiña* ).”

Sara noted, on the other hand, that she only took on apprentices because of 'obligations' to their parents and other relatives. She also speaks of being obliged to finish clothing for steady clients in time for the *fiestas* : "I complied with people." The relationships established between artisans and apprentices and/or employees, as well as artisans and their clients are links in a chain of exchanges. Among these are included horizontal exchanges of labour and tools, as well as vertical relationships between rich peasants and the land-poor. Wealthy landowners and professionals (such as priests, doctors, and notaries) employed the land-poor and acted as patrons to them. Poor worker-peasants provided gifts of food and labour for years in return for job opportunities and acts of intercession by wealthy patrons. Loyalty is an important aspect of all relationships in this region, even in the context of the commodified relationships between shopkeepers and customers. A full discussion of the range of exchange relationships in Carreira is contained in Chapter Five. It is important at this point to view artisans' work relations as one instance of a network which binds households and individuals together in long-term exchanges which ideally never become closed or fully balanced. Sara was not always paid for her labour; she granted her clients credit and relied on their continued loyalty to her. As a land-poor artisan, she was not in a position to deny clients credit or risk damaging her reputation for flexibility. In the story I transcribe below, Pepe recounts his experiences as a migrant labourer in Switzerland and describes his relationship with Swiss employers in similar dyadic terms. Thus to a large extent, it is loyalty, hard work, and ongoing reciprocity which guarantee successful relationships both in rural Galicia and in migrant contexts such as urban Switzerland.

In many cases, young women learned the skill of sewing as a form of insurance. However, as I discuss in detail in the following chapter on subsistence production, it is also women who do the majority of the 'peasant' work in these worker-peasant households (cf. Beck 1976; Holmes 1983). When Sara states near the end of her narrative "There was no one to go for me, so I went," she is referring to the fact that her husband had left the village permanently and she had no choice but to take on the wage-earning role in a land-poor household. Many women told me that they stopped sewing soon after marriage because they had to take care of the land and livestock, often because their mothers-in-law or mothers were no longer able to do so. For example, this is the reason why Matilda -- now sixty-five years of age -- had to stop working as a seamstress a few years after she married: "My mother-in-law had a lot of arthritis. I would have 'earned' as much sewing as doing this work but since we had the land, we had to work it ( *Eu ganaba tanto cosendo que andar en o traballo ese. Pero como tiñamos a terra, había que facer-lo* )."

It is rare for women to say that they stopped working as seamstresses because of child-care responsibilities. Older women still perform a substantial proportion of child care in this community, which retains a long-standing pattern of three-generation stem-family households. Young women leave for migrant work in other countries when they are able to, often leaving infants as young as a few months old with mothers and mothers-in-law (regarding this pattern, see Buechler and Buechler 1981:188-189; H. Buechler 1987:222, 236). Sara herself took care of her godson when his parents went to work in Switzerland. We can also see that during an earlier period, her unmarried sister took on the 'female' role of subsistence production (in addition to childcare), with help from

Sara and the children, kin and neighbours. However, some women continued to sew even when they had husbands who earned wages. It was not solely single (or separated) women who continued throughout their lives. Delfina, a middle-aged villager well-regarded for her skillful sewing, worked as a seamstress until her husband died suddenly and both of her parents became seriously ill.

Delfina dedicated herself to caring for her bedridden parents, and completing all of the household agricultural and animal husbandry tasks. Her granddaughter Beatriz was eleven years old during my fieldwork and she helped Delfina as much as possible. However, because she attended school during the day and was so young, Beatriz could not fully replace the contribution of an adult family member. Of Delfina, another seamstress commented: "Oh yes, she sewed. And she sewed really well. But of course now since . . . of course . . . she kept on sewing after her marriage and everything but . . . those who have other work, then they don't sew anymore. Lives change." The same phrase was used by a woman in her late thirties who had also been an accomplished seamstress to describe why she stopped sewing to help her husband and in-laws take care of their land, cattle and small tavern-bar: "Lives change ( *As vidas cambian* )."

Like Sara, Pilar worked as a seamstress until her retirement. Yet she had four children and a husband. Her husband was a stonemason and her mother and later her children performed most of the household subsistence agriculture. When I asked her if they had always had livestock she replied, "Yes, but the children and my mother worked [took care of] them. And I went to earn [wages]. And my husband as well ( *Sí, pero trabajabanos os rapaces e mais a miña mamá. E eu iba ganar. E o marido también* )." Therefore, although

in many cases women worked for wages only during the childhood, teenage and young adult periods of their lives (most often as seamstresses, servants and agricultural day labourers in this locality), others continued to produce clothing and other commodities throughout the majority of their lives.

Sara mentions that she was largely self-taught: "I learned a lot from here [pointing to her head] afterward." Artisans often defined their ability in terms of both dedication to work and a 'natural' gift. Pilar says of an apprentice who did not continue learning to sew beyond three days, "That one didn't understand. She couldn't anymore. Three days. She came and went. You see." When I explained that I too had not been successful in learning to sew from my mother as a teenager, Pilar replied, "You didn't take to it? (*Non che daba?*)" When people in Carreira spoke of any ability, often in the context of an artisan or healing specialty, they would say 'so-and-so had the idea' (*tiña idea*). The capacity for developing this skill, like any other characteristic is widely believed to be the result of an individual's 'fate'. I was told that children are born with their lives and their deaths mapped out. However, a skillful seamstress was guaranteed clients even when her capacity to work freely was encumbered by young infants. Pilar, like Sara, told me that her clients allowed her to bring her young children with her when she went to sew because they wanted her services. They wanted her services because she was hard-working and skillful: "I even took the children. Out and about, to sew. Even when they were tiny. No [it didn't matter to them]. What they wanted was for me to go (*O que quería era que fora*). There were few seamstresses who could do everything [i.e. mens' clothes in addition to mending and simpler garments]."

The level of an individual's skill and the extent of her or his experience

are defining characteristics of the local reputations of all those community members with specialized skills. A range of specializations includes artisans (seamstresses, tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, quarrymen, stonemasons, carpenters, weavers); healers and spiritualists (bonesetters, herbalists, card-readers, 'curers', midwives); and professionals (priests, teachers, lawyers, notaries, doctors). On more than one occasion, men told me that they had been stonemasons or carpenters during a particular period of their lives, yet their neighbours would retort that they had never truly earned the title, had never been these artisans but had only worked in the craft, often under the direction of others. Some who had worked in crafts for substantial time periods were said not to be artisans because they had never grasped enough of the subtleties of the required skills to be regarded locally as specialists. In other words, for some reason, they did not gain the necessary level of skill; they did not attain what Hobsbawm has called the skilled "labour aristocracy" (Hobsbawm [1964]1979). In another case, a man who had migrated to a Spanish city was said by his mother to be working as a 'carpenter' there. The carpenters in Carreira and in surrounding parishes scoffed at this, saying that this man was working on an assembly line at a furniture factory, but knew nothing of carpentry. They were angry at the use of the label, stating that "now everyone can be a carpenter". Individuals who claim to have special knowledge and experience, but who do not have artisanal training or much practice are regarded as acting out a fraud. Of course, not everyone with limited training or work experience makes such claims. As is indicated in Chapter Two, many men and women who had apprenticed in their youth to artisans but had not pursued the craft referred to themselves as having been "apprentices only".



However, when individuals have particular skills and largely make their living from the practice of these skills, they also gain a specialized place in the community. Their roles are symbolized by the widespread use of personal nicknames such as 'Sara the seamstress' (*Sara a costureira*) and 'Ovidio the carpenter' (*Ovidio o carpinteiro*) and household nicknames such as 'the carpenter's house' (*a casa do carpinteiro*).<sup>11</sup>

Finally, the work of artisans like Sara has always been embedded in an exchange system, combining elements of both commodified and generalized exchange relationships (Lem 1988; Smith 1990). When her labour was extracted outside the parameters of culturally-relevant exchange networks -- as it was during the war when she and others were forced to work for neither wages, food, nor the favours which are granted by patrons -- she makes clear her outrage at this appropriation. While making clothes for the soldiers, she was not able even to sew in return for her daily reproductive needs: "They didn't give anything to eat. . . . They didn't pay anything, nothing." The demand for her labour was intractable, the consequences of her refusal unimaginable: "It didn't matter if you didn't have time or didn't want to. They didn't want this kind of talk."

Although the story of labour that follows deals with the experiences of a Carreirense working in Switzerland, it compares significantly with Sara's account. The narrator, Pepe, interprets his work experiences in this migrant destination in similar terms to those I have outlined for worker-peasants who remain in Carreira, working in household agricultural production and in local wage employment.

### **Pepe: A Story of Migrant Work in Switzerland**

Pepe was born into a poor household similar to Sara's and was sent as a young boy to other households as an agricultural servant. He was a servant into his twenties, when he married a fellow servant and they set up an independent household -- Casa de Curros, the occupational history of which is discussed in Chapter Two. Both Pepe and his wife Celia continued to work as day-labourers in a variety of capacities. He transported logs and stones, cleared brush and did other agricultural tasks much as he had as a servant. Later, he worked for steadier day and weekly wages, for two sawmills and in the wolfram mine that operated in Varilongo (Santa Comba) intermittently between the 1940s and the 1970s. Pepe and Celia rented a house and some land during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. During that period, Pepe began to get jobs farther from home, as far away as a day's drive to the north coast of Galicia, doing construction work on highways and buildings for a small firm which operated out of the city of Santiago de Compostela. When he and others from the parish worked in distant locations in Spain, they rented rooms near the construction sites during the week and came home together for the weekends. In addition, Pepe spent four seasons in Switzerland, also working for a construction firm. He secured all of these non-local jobs through men from the parish, a pattern well documented for Galician and other European migrants (Brettell 1986; Buechler and Buechler 1987; Cole 1991a; Kelley 1988).

Celia remained in the village. As Pepe began to earn more substantial wages, especially when he was abroad, she was able to do less day labour herself and concentrate more on their animals and crops. As teenagers, Celia and Pepe's two sons Marcos and Francisco left the village and spent many

years in Switzerland before they married, both moving in with their wives' parents. Marcos married a woman who was originally from Carreira but whose family had since settled down in a suburb of A Coruña; Francisco's wife was from the neighbouring district of Santa Comba. Prior to their marriages, the two boys and their father helped Celia whenever they were home, helping with the numerous tasks she otherwise had to complete alone. These ranged from seasonal work such as preparing the land for planting, to weekly chores such as taking maize to the watermill for grinding. Daily chores included fetching water from the stream to use for cooking, and watering the animals. Celia was extremely lonely when Pepe was in Switzerland; since he went fairly late in life as a middle-aged man, it coincided with the period when their sons had also left home to work for wages abroad. However, Celia has never had to sleep without human companionship or spend her evenings alone since her half-sisters, nieces and nephews have always kept her company when she was alone. In Carreira, a young girl or unmarried young woman is generally sent to sleep with female individuals who are widowed or temporarily alone so that they will not be lonely or frightened at night. Usually the younger woman is a niece, granddaughter, god-daughter or other relative.

After he returned in 1975, Pepe intended to return to Switzerland at least once more, but Celia asked him not to go. Although Celia disliked Pepe's absences, she agrees with him when he argues that if he had not worked in Switzerland for four years, they would not have been able to save enough to buy the house and land they now own. In addition, Pepe paid into a mandatory pension once he began working in Switzerland, and they would not have his old age pension to count on had he not migrated abroad to work.

At eighty years of age, Celia's health is poor; she has severe diabetes and many problems with her vision. She has been operated for cataracts once and will likely choose to undergo another operation since in the spring of 1991 she became almost completely blind. Pepe's 'work' as an officially 'retired' individual now consists of taking care of their pigs and fowl and exchanging work with neighbours and kin so that Pepe and Celia can manage to plant and harvest their subsistence crops each year. Pepe also has to take care of Celia. She did much of the laundry, cooking, cleaning and other chores until her eyesight failed her completely. Pepe then took over all of the household work, both inside and outside their small, stone dwelling. For example, she was no longer able to walk to the other side of the village where a friend's daughter, Marta, gave Celia her insulin shot twice a day, so Pepe learned how to do it. He had the additional worry of measuring out and inserting the insulin correctly, but was freed from the obligation to help with Marta's household which he had done previously in order to 'balance' the exchange for the help with Celia's insulin shots.

Pepe always told me that he had 'done a bit of everything' during his lifetime. Like so many of his fellow villagers, Pepe is a man of many trades. At the age of seventy-two, he has learned to administer insulin and other medications and treatments to Celia. When he went to Switzerland, he learned to read and write so that he could write home and arrange money transfers at the bank. Whenever I walked into their house to visit, Pepe would make a joke which had developed out of our talking so many hours about his life of work. He would say, gesturing toward whatever task he was inevitably doing at the moment I entered, "I'm many things. A nurse, a servant, a husband, a peasant.

*(Eu son muita de cousas. O practicante, o criado, o marido, o labradore )."*

During the latter part of my stay in Carreira, Pepe listed these 'occupations' in this order because he was preoccupied with Celia's health and spent most of his days with her rather than in the fields helping his neighbours as he had done when I first knew him. In his seventies, Pepe has turned inward, to the quiet hearth inside his home, to the work of healing. As in the story of migrant work in Switzerland transcribed below, Pepe's descriptions of all the periods of his life indicate that he has always been versatile and concerned about whatever task is imminent.

### **Pepe's Story**

"I went there, I went there in '72. I went for the first time, for the first season in '72. I went until '75.<sup>12</sup> I put in four seasons. It was in Switzerland. I worked in construction. My company, my boss had more than one hundred people. More than one hundred people working. The truckdriver was one thing. The truckdriver worked as a driver. The excavator worked with the shovel. I . . . and those of us who were [unskilled] labourers, [worked with] 'pick and shovel', no? (*Eu ... e nosoutros que erámos peóns , de pica y pala , no?*).

Those of us who were *peones* [unskilled labourers], we always had the same thing to do. And the one who was the longest in the company, began to know things. And the one who came new . . . already the one who has been there a longer time, two or three men are sent with you to work. I understood things and they sent two or three with me (*Yo entendía la cosa y mandaban dos o tres conmigo*). We had to go to a cable car (*un teleférico*). Do you know what a cable car is? It goes through the air, with a cable. You can't take more than

four [in the car]. God knows [if you did]. Not one more than this. We passed from one mountain to others, like that, but at an immense altitude (*Pasabámos de una montaña a otras, eso, pero a una altura inmensa*). Some didn't want to go up there . . . Me nothing, nothing. I went up and came down relaxed. And I took the four with me, or the two, those that they told me to [take]. The boss said: 'Pepe, take the two or three that I send you. Let's go! To work at such and such a place.' (*Mandaba el patrón: 'José, coge, coge dos o tres que te los mandan. ¡Venga! A trabajar a tal sitio'*). And I knew where to go to work. This I knew. For the first seasons, no. No, in the first years I didn't know anything. But later, yes. A boss would say, 'Take these and go to work in that place and you will tell them to work.' As though I were a boss (*Como si yo fuera un jefe*). I worked the same. I wasn't responsible for them. All of them were responsible for their work. They had to do what I told them to do. According to what I told them. I had to do it. Those who were new, they didn't understand thing[s] and I explained (*Los que eran nuevos no entendían la cosa y explicaba yo*).

There were few Spaniards with me. Italians. Yes, Italian. I picked up some words in Italian. During the first trips, no. But afterward I spoke it. It stuck to me there, Italian did, better than Portuguese. Everyone spoke in French and Italian. Yes. They emigrated to Switzerland [the Italians]. And from Yugoslavia. There were three [Yugoslavian] brothers. And one of them, the youngest spoke Italian and Spanish correctly (*Había tres hermanos. Y uno de ellos, lo más nuevo, hablaba ya italiano y español correcto*).

I worked for the same company the four years. It was a good company. I was loaned to this company by another one. This first company had too many workers and it didn't have work for so many people and they sent them to other

companies. And I was let to another company and then I remained there all the four years (*Y después me quedé allí, todos los cuatro años*). Afterward they sent me contracts. To me, the same company sent contracts from Switzerland. The first years I had to pay for the journey. And then afterward, for the other years, they sent me the contract with everything paid for, food and everything. I had to present the receipts there to be reimbursed for the money. The first years I paid for this. And then the company, since I was valuable for the company, they sent me everything paid for. The trip and everything (*Y luego la empresa, como yo valía para la empresa, me mandaba todo pagado. O viaje e todo*). The trip, but by train, eh? By plane, I had to pay the difference.

And without knowing how to read or write or anything at all, things stayed here [gesturing to his head] better than the 'Host'<sup>13</sup> (*E, yo sin saber leer nin escribir nin cosa ninguna me quedaron la cosa aquí más metida que la hostia*). And I worked with Castilians, well Spaniards, no? But there were Castilians. And they called me 'The Gallego'. '*¡Gallego!*' 'The Gallego.' Well I had to speak everything. Castilian, Italian and everything. There were tons of Gallegos there. But not in that company. In others.

The first year I went there my contract arrived here. They sent it to us. Pedro from the tavern had already spent two years there. And it was he who asked for contracts for us. It was '72. Fifteen of us went together, all arranged by him (*Y fue lo que pidió el contrato para nosotros. El, el setenta y dos. Quince juntos pedidos por él*). Fifteen together. My brother-in-law went. Fifteen people arranged by him [Pedro], by contract. Some went to one part, others to another. Wherever they were called. Yes, all from Carreira. My

brother-in-law went there and another guy, and they came back after twenty-six days. They didn't even put in a month (*Fui un por allá, mi cuñado y otro y vinieron veinte seis días. Todavía no botaron un mes*). Things didn't go for them, it didn't suit them. I stayed there, alone. I stayed there all the four years, always in the same company. It was, 'Pepe, do you want a contract, do you want permission for here or for another?' (*Estaba, 'Pepe, quieres la, el contrato, quieres el permiso por aquí or por otro'*). 'It doesn't matter to me. Since I've worked here all the years, to me it doesn't matter.' 'Then we'll send you the tickets.' There! All paid for.

And even after I came back here, and had been back two years, working [here], they sent me a contract another time. With more money. It was a lot. For a *peón*, it [the contract] came to me [offering] eleven, thirty. Pay attention to what that is. Eleven francs thirty, per hour. It [the wage] rose a lot for me (*Fija-te bien lo que es. Once francos treinta a hora. Ya me subiron mucho.*) It was seven per hour at first. Then they passed me to ten. Then they passed me to ten. Because I was worth it for the work, I was valuable (*Luego me pasaron a diez. Porque valía para el trabajo, valía*). I worked like a horse. 'We have to raise him' Each year, a franc. Each year, a franc. They raised me without my asking. They raised me because I earned it well. He who doesn't work, they lower him. If the boss doesn't send you the thing [papers], and doesn't ask for the permission from them [the officials], it's because you aren't worth it (*Porque si el patron no, no mandaba la cosa, y no le pedía el permiso a ellos, era porque ya no valía*). Because those who worked with me, for two years, for some of them, later they didn't send them any more contracts because they weren't good workers. I never stayed in [missed a day of work] from being sick or anything.



Always strong like a horse. It's luck, isn't it?

We lived in the boss's 'house' there. He had a house, but a good house, eh? It had two floors. Two floors above. And the ground floor. The ground floor also had a place to live. That's where we had water to wash the clothes and everything. And for cooking, each floor had a kitchen. Of course I cooked. I washed clothes and I did everything (*Claro, yo cocinaba. Yo lavaba la ropa y hacía yo todo*). If not, if I sent them out to be washed, one franc per piece of clothing. A sweater, a shirt, some handkerchiefs, a franc each. Look at how many francs I'd have to pay. I'd have to pay half of my, of the hourly wage (*Mira cantos francos tiña que pagar. Tiña que pagar a mitad do sueldo da, de hora*). I washed, made things to eat, went to do the shopping, bought meat, bought pasta, brought potatoes and everything. Don't you see? I went to work for the peasant (*contadino*) and then I didn't pay for the potatoes. The *contadino* is a 'peasant' (*labradore*). He worked the land, no? With a machine [tractor]. And maybe a peasant had a huge restaurant [Pepe is referring to the man for whom he worked] (*Y a lo mejor tenía un restorante grandísimo*). He saw to the restaurant and with the machine went to work [the land].

Food? A chicken cost you, a chicken, a little chicken when I was there, three and a half francs. Or four, depending. One was larger, one a little smaller (*Un poco más grand, un poco más pequeño*). Now, the last years, already things cost you. Something that cost you at first three francs and fifty or four and fifty, already cost you eight or nine francs. The cost of living had risen some (*Lo que te custaba en primero tres francos y cincuenta o cuatro y cincuenta, ya te valía ocho o nueve francos. Ya subió la vida un poco*).

You had to get used to the food. The meat isn't like this meat [here]. There is no meat like that of Galicia (*Como la de Galicia, carne ninguna, no hay*). Nor pork. It's meat, no? But it's not ... And the home-grown potatoes aren't like those here. They're raised in other earth, in other earth. They don't do it like here, eh? We put gorse on it [the earth], and that [bedding] from the stables on the land. Then the plant has another, another flavour (*Nosotros le echamos esto de tojo. Ese de las cuadras a las tierras. Ya tiene la planta otro, otro sabor*). One has to accustom oneself [though]. I made the food the same as here. In order to make the food, the soup, I took a piece of this [motioning to the piece of smoked pork hanging from the chimney].

And after [work] I made the food, washed the clothes, and worked for the peasant, with the permission of my boss. I went to work [for the peasant] when . . . Saturdays, Saturdays. Saturdays we didn't work. And if the company had one day, had to work some hours, you went clandestinely. The boss came clandestinely: 'Go and we'll watch for you.' There! (*Y si la empresa tenía un día, tenía que trabajar unas horas, ibas camoflago. El patrón iba camoflago: 'Véte que te vigilamos nosotros.' ¡Alá!* ). There it was. So that they didn't post a fine. For us, nothing. The one who they [the officials] fined was him, the boss.

And he [the boss ] came to get me Saturdays for two or three hours or four before the mid-day meal. He said to me: 'Pepe, come and do this thing for me.' (*Y me cogía a mí a los sábados así dos o tres horas o cuatro antes de, de la comida. Dí-me: 'Pepe, vienes a hacer-me esta cosa.'* ). Because the others weren't worth it. That which they would do in a week, I could do in half a day.

In the boss's house, the rent didn't rise for us, the whole time it didn't go up because, let's see if you understand me, when they send a woman to clean,

to make the beds, to clean . . . But we cleaned ourselves each Saturday. We four, all four together, did it each Saturday. We cleaned everything (*Cogíamos cuatro, y los cuatro juntos, la hacíamos todos los sábados. Fregamos todo*). With hot water and detergent and everything. We did the cleaning every Saturday. And the kitchen everyday. One day, me. The next day, the other roommate. The next day, the other roommate. Like that. Everything as if it were here in our house. If not, [it was ] a pigsty. You understand? We had to wash the plates, there were spoons, we had to do everything with detergent and a sponge. The kitchen shone (*¡La cocina brillaba* )!

Each one did his own cooking. And when we lived all four in one room, we made a pot together. 'The Gallego is the best. The Gallego makes the food better than the others.' (*Cada uno hacía su comida. Y cuando vivimos cuatro en una habitación, hacíamos una potage todo juntos. 'El Gallego e el mejor. El Gallego hace mejor la comida que los otros'* ). Because I had this [the pork in the chimney] when I made Galician soup. I went to the supermarket and bought a package of dried beans and made two pots. As long as that [the pork] lasted. I saved it for the winter. The fat there, I saved it for the winter. It was very cold. Now in summer, no. In summer, one day rice. Another day, potatoes with meat. Another day, potatoes with chicken. And with tomato. We made spicey chicken with tomato. Whew! Aah, how delicious it was. I learned everything (*Hacíamos el pollo picado con tomate. ¡Whew ! Aah rico que estaba. Yo aprendía a todo*). I left here not knowing how to wash clothes or anything. She washed the clothes. Not I. I learned how to wash clothes, and to make food. If not, a franc for each piece of clothing . . .

I bought food [to cook]. And potatoes, when I didn't go to work for the

peasant, I had to buy them. At first, I didn't go [there] to work. I didn't go to work, and I had to go and buy them. And later I went . . . and he would come to me with a sack of potatoes, 'Pepe, here you have the bag of potatoes.' They produced the potatoes. I went to help them to do the work (*De primero, no iba a trabajar. No iba a trabajar, y las tenía a ir a comprare. Y luego fue a . . . y me llegaban con un saco de patacas, 'Pepe, ahí tiene la bolsa de patatas '*). They came to [get] me on Saturdays. Or a Sunday. They knew me because they had a restaurant. It was here and I lived in this other house. They knew me from all the years. 'Pepe, will you come give me a hand?' 'Yes, right away. I'm coming.' Well, let's go! (*Me conocían de todos los años. 'Pepe, me vienes dar una mán?' 'Sí. Ahora mismo. Ya voy.' Bueno, ¡Venga !*) He would take a sack of potatoes and fill it as far as it would go.

### **Wage Work: Specialization, Networks, and Moonlighting**

Among wage workers in construction jobs, there is a concern with being known as a dedicated and skillful worker. The less specialized one is, the more important it is to be regarded as a hard and loyal worker. Pepe worked as an unskilled 'labourer' for most of his life. However, in Carreira he has the reputation for always putting one hundred percent of his effort into any job he undertakes. In his account, Pepe mentions some of the specialized jobs that were performed on the construction sites in Switzerland: truck drivers, and those who drove the bulldozers. He also indicates that he knew more than a *peón* needed to know: "I understood things and they sent two or three with me." Some months after I recorded this narrative, I asked Pepe if he was ever tested in Switzerland to be hired officially as a specialist and he explained that he only worked as an *oficial* afterward. Furthermore, many workers on Swiss

construction sites (and on Spanish sites as I learned from other men) perform specialized tasks without being openly paid for them. Employers attempt to avoid the additional costs of higher social security payments for more qualified employees along with the higher hourly wages: “There are those of second [grade]. Almost all are of second [grade]. Of the first [grade] there are few. They call them all ‘second’. Because if you respond [call yourself] as a first [grade], they have to pay more social security for them (*Hai-os de, de segunda. Casi que todos de segunda. De primeira hai poucas. Porque . . .si responde por primeira, ten que pagar más por eles. En a seguridade social* ).” In Pepe’s long narrative, it is clear that workers expect their explicit loyalty to be reciprocated by employers. For example, a skilled worker might accept a lower official wage in return for opportunities to also work extra hours ‘under the table’ as Pepe did. He worked periodically for his regular boss on weekends, and also for the Swiss restaurateur and agriculturalist.

Moonlighting is one of the frequent themes which surfaces in the stories people tell of working in countries such as Switzerland, Germany, France and England -- the most common destinations of individuals from Carreira. Many Galician migrants moonlight as Pepe did, working in agriculture and animal husbandry (H. Buechler 1987:246 mentions Galicians working full-time in agriculture in Switzerland). Pepe’s son Marcos, for example, told me that he worked on a rabbit farm on the weekends after his five day construction job. Whether or not they also have other, full-time jobs, Galician women who migrate to other European countries always find clandestine jobs cleaning homes and businesses, cooking, and caring for children or invalids. Encarnación, a young woman from Carreira, who married and went to Switzerland with her husband,

cares for an elderly woman during the weekends after her weekly job as a gardener. Women say that once they get to Switzerland or another country, they can 'do anything'. They perceive themselves to be, in fact more flexible but less well paid than men in wage work. Another woman, Teresa, told me that while accompanying her husband in France in the late 1970s, she got a job cleaning a movie theater in the evenings. She was underpaid, but the employers allowed her to take her young infant with her to work (see Brettell 1982; Buechler 1975; and Goodman 1987 regarding female migrants' occupations). Pepe worked for the Swiss agriculturalist and restaurateur in return for payment in kind, rather than in cash. He was bored during his Saturdays and Sundays. The available leisure-time diversions in Switzerland required him to spend the wages he earned, something most migrants try to curtail. The goal is to accumulate as much cash remittances as possible. Pepe not only worked for his food in order to be thrifty, but also to enact the ethos that 'One should work always.' His description of cleaning the rooms and the kitchen each week, and of spending time cooking and washing clothes are repeated in other stories recounted by both male and female migrants. Migrants claim that, as in the village in Galicia, they are always busy while abroad, 'working' (see H. Buechler 1987:247-248 on the same theme). Part of the reason for this preoccupation with demonstrating industriousness is that labour migrants do not want fellow villagers to suspect them of contravening the norms of the local moral community while abroad. In Carreira, as in the northern Portuguese community Cole (1991a) describes, individuals work hard to avoid being accused of being shiftless or 'without shame'.<sup>14</sup>

Another theme which Pepe elaborates on extensively in his story is his steady relationship with the one boss. In describing this relationship, Pepe's account resonates with descriptions of the construction of patron-client relationships between wealthier clients or employers and dependent labourers in Carreira. In narratives told by artisans such as Sara, the same stress is voiced on continuity in relationships with clients. Pepe states that he was valued for working hard and rewarded with steady offers of employment and unsolicited raises; he was also offered extra hours of work and asked to lead new workers in learning their tasks. Rather than viewing the annual raises in the context of a cost of living increase due to the employees as a group, as an urban worker with a proletarian class consciousness might, Pepe usually speaks of them only with regard to himself and his relationship to his boss. Pepe is not completely consistent in his insistence about the primacy of this relationship, however. He displays another understanding of how his wages were determined by a general work contract sent to him in Spain by the Swiss employer about which Pepe says the following: "The contract stated the wage already (*Lleva el contrato , ya el precio* )."<sup>15</sup>

Pepe also elaborates the theme of the migrant's responsibility to be a good co-worker. Cooperation is important on the job and even in the hostel. Those who migrate get their jobs through co-villagers or others from their home region. In Pepe's case, he went to Switzerland with seventeen others from the parish the same year. Another man explained that he used local networks as a teenager to find a construction job as a teenager in A Coruña in the 1960s: "You go there. You go [to work] with him [an acquaintance]. He asks the boss if

he has work (*Iba ún por alá. Ibas con él. Decía-lle ao jefe si tiña traballo* )."

Some labour migrants cross into other countries without contracts and live with relatives and other villagers, eventually finding jobs through these contacts. It is rare that this strategy proves unsuccessful. Galicians living abroad visit each other frequently and are thus able to continually gather valuable information about possible job openings. In larger urban centres, cultural clubs provide locales for Spaniards in general and even Galicians in particular to meet. The same process of networking to find jobs and apartments occurs in the American destinations where many Galicians from parishes like Carreira have migrated, often permanently. Teresa, a Carreirense woman of seventy years, told me of her son Juan's experience in Buenos Aires soon after he had arrived in the 1960s. He initially migrated with a job working for a co-villager who had returned to Carreira and invited him to go to Argentina. When Juan discovered that this job was exploitative, he was so desperate that he burst into tears upon meeting an old friend from a neighbouring parish in Galicia. This friend soon found Juan a new job and better living quarters. Juan is now a partner in a bus company and owns a house. His is a migrant 'success' story. Migrants' stories, like those of Pepe and Juan, always mention sponsors who either arrange for work contracts or visas or help fellow Galicians find work once they are in the migrant destination.

Companionship is important for more than arranging jobs and housing. The migrant destination, if temporary like Switzerland, is spoken of in negative terms by many migrants, even by those from the parish who, in some cases, have worked there for more than twenty years. One way to voice one's identity as a Galician and to define the cultural boundaries separating migrants from



other groups is to stress the inferior quality of the food in non-Galician contexts as Pepe does. He describes taking his smoked pork and lard with him from home in order to make the hearty Galician soup (*caldo*) which is the key dish consumed during the winters in rural households. Pepe states that even the 'home-raised' potatoes he worked for do not taste as good as potatoes produced in Carreira, where the bedding from the stalls, a mixture of prickly gorse, manure, and hay is spread on the fields as fertilizer.

In the first part of this chapter, I describe a conception of the long-term cycle of land, work, humans and livestock that links members of Carreirense households over generations. Villagers maintain an annual cycle of planting and harvesting alongside the income from wage work and state welfare remittances such as the old age pensions both Sara and Pepe receive (cf. Holmes 1983). By keeping the land in production, these worker-peasants have some insurance against insecure wage opportunities; over the long-term, young Carreirense who contribute their wages and physical effort to their natal household also retain a moral right to major inheritance portions in this system of preferential, partible inheritance.

Pepe's story demonstrates that the household cycle remains a focus for villagers who migrate to work abroad but who retain strong ties to their rural households while earning money to maintain and augment them. Individuals contribute both waged and unwaged labour to the corporate household over the long-term; an additional emphasis is placed on each person earning what is required to cover his or her daily consumption needs. As worker-peasants, the Carreirense 'work for the household' in a variety of ways: through migrant wage labour, through local wage work such as Sara's work as an itinerant

seamstress, or the non-wage labour of subsistence agriculture.

### **Chapter Summary**

Two forms of livelihood -- wage labour and household agricultural production -- have been combined in Carreira for at least the duration of this century. This worker-peasant livelihood has involved a dedication over the long-term to building up estates through the purchase and inheritance of land, livestock, dwellings and machinery. Over the short-term, each individual must work to ensure that she or he contributes to the cost of her or his daily consumption needs. This can be achieved through the actual provision of one's daily fare or its equivalent in wages -- in either case, one's 'daily bread'. An emphasis on both wage work and agriculture accommodates a flexible work identity for villagers who frequently cross the boundary from non-wage subsistence production to wage labour work outside the household.

These two activities are combined to form a worker-peasant strategy that ensures the livelihood of the rural poor from marginalized areas of Europe. In Chapters Two and Three, I have demonstrated that individual Carreirenses do not work for themselves alone, but to ensure the reproduction of their households. The example of Carreira points toward a long history of this combination of wage work and peasant production; and a correspondingly long history of viewing both wage work and subsistence production as equally necessary and valued contributions.

I would like to suggest that the rural poor who have had to supplement peasant production with sporadic wage work over time throughout Europe have developed a 'worker-peasant' work ethic which is distinct from portrayals of classic 'peasant' and 'proletarian' ones (Shanin 1971; Thompson 1963; Willis

1981[1977]; Wolf 1966). Unlike 'pure peasants', worker-peasants cannot and do not subsist mainly on what they produce and sell -- they must sell their labour in order to earn wages in cash and kind to supplement household agriculture. In addition, they are not satisfied with producing and earning a 'subsistence income' -- only enough to reproduce themselves from one year to the next (cf. Scott 1976). Worker-peasants are concerned with accumulating better houses, more land and other means of production, and investing in training for skills that will enable their household to rise in social status. On the other hand, unlike fully proletarianized workers, worker-peasants do not commit all of their labour to the wage market nor identify strongly with working-class organizations such as trade unions. Some members of worker-peasant households are retained for the purpose of maintaining a fully-operating agricultural estate. A strong work ethic is enacted in the contexts of both unpaid, household production and wage work performed outside of the household.

I argue in this chapter that when the Carreirenses enact the norms that 'One must work always' and 'One must do a bit of everything,' their achievement has a significance that goes beyond general household and individual reputations. Villagers clearly view a reputation for being a hard worker as closely tied to opportunities to earn wages either locally or abroad. Men, and sometimes women, tend to migrate in groups and are able to get each other jobs by telling their bosses that select kin and neighbours are hardworking like themselves. The display of industriousness in the context of household agriculture is a way of gaining such a reputation.

Individuals may be hired to do agricultural or artisan day labour because

of their reputation for being hard workers. The structure of a day contract like those Sara laboured under as an itinerant seamstress for half a century, when being paid for the amount and quality of work done from 'sun up to sun down' rather than by the piece, reinforces this connection. Sara, Pepe and others voice their concern with being able to hold on to those wage opportunities available to them. The long history of insecure wage conditions and the types of contracts European worker-peasants have laboured under must be incorporated into anthropological analyses of local work ethics and class consciousness (cf. Holmes 1989).

Villagers in communities such as Santiago de Carreira stress the contribution of both male and female members to the long-term and short-term reproduction of the household. Although the division of labour by gender is patterned (as is illustrated in Chapter Two), women or men in different historical periods or at different stages of their life cycles may contribute either their labour, their wages, or both to the household. In addition, the reputation for hard work performed in any context is viewed as crucial in ensuring access to work contracts either abroad or locally. Multiple occupational identities enacted in the parish and in migrant destinations are constructed to a great extent around local reputations and values.

In the next chapter, I focus specifically on the non-wage labour which worker-peasants like the Carreirenses dedicate to ensuring their partial self-sufficiency. It was women, the elderly and children who were performing the majority of this work in Carreira in the 1980s and 1990s, although men and young adults of both sexes were expected to help with peasant production in the evenings, during holidays, or full-time whenever they were unemployed. In

addition to outlining the various stages of the annual crop cycle and daily labour of animal husbandry, I also consider the symbolic construction of those work activities that are considered to be emblematic of Galician 'self-sufficiency'.

### Chapter Three - Endnotes

1 Rodríguez Campos (1983) finds that this was also true in the Ancares region of Galicia until extensive mechanization of agriculture occurred in the 1970s.

2 Ethnographers of northwestern Iberia who have focussed on women's labour in agriculture, fishing and wage work include Brettell (1986); Cole (1988, 1991a); Gala Gonzalez (1990); Kelley (1988; 1991); Lisón Tolosana (1983a[1979]); and Méndez (1988). Also see Masur (1984a; 1984b) and Riegelhaupt (1967) on southern Iberia.

3 See especially articles in Collins and Gimenez (1990) and Long (1984b).

4 This self-identity contrasts with reports of other male wage labourers who are members of worker-peasant households (see, for example, Gal 1979). Sozan (1976) illustrates the variety of attitudes toward wage work and household agriculture among Hungarian "worker-peasants," "peasant-workers," and "pure peasants" living in one village in Central Burgenland, Austria.

5 My use of reproduction here draws upon but does not completely articulate with marxist and feminist theoretical elaboration on its utility since I focus on emic conceptions. Examples of critical summaries of theoretical debates regarding this term can be found in Beneria (1979) and Harris and Young (1981).

6 Bauer (1983); Brettell (1986; 1991); Gondar Portasany (1989); Lisón Tolosana (1983a[1979]) and others have remarked on this relation of long-term reciprocity between the young and old.

7 In the local dialect of Galician this phrase is "*ben chea*". The desire to be a good cultivator, a good maintainer is similar to the ideal of a good hostess or host when someone eats at one's home. It is enacted during *fiesta* and wedding meals when guests are served numerous courses of food and encouraged to eat and drink until they are physically unable to do so anymore. Dubisch (1986) discusses this emphasis on hospitality in Greek communities.

8 For excellent descriptions of the distinction made between "good" and "bad" deaths in Pacific societies, see David Counts (1976-77); Dorothy Ayers Counts (1980); Counts and Counts (1983-84, 1985); Jorgensen (1985); and Scaletta (1985).

9 Day wages for agricultural work presently range from 2000 pesetas to 5000 pesetas (approximately \$25 to \$62.50 in Canadian dollars in 1991), depending on the job required, the relationship between the employer and employee, and the reputation of the worker.

10 As outlined in Chapter Two, many artisans left for migrant destinations during the first half of the century.

11 Brandes (1975b) and Gilmore (1987) discuss other elements of nicknaming practices in southern Spain which apply in some cases to Galicia.

12 Pepe, like many other Galicians, had difficulty getting labour contracts to work in Europe during the 1972-1976 worldwide economic recession (Rhoades 1978b:136). This theme is highlighted throughout his narrative.

13 Pepe is referring to the Communion Host. Religious terms are used frequently by Spaniards to exclaim and swear.

14 In particular, see Cole (1991a:77-107) where she deals specifically with womens' reputations. Esteva Fabregat also notes that "a lazy woman was considered socially more dangerous than a lazy man. It is said, for instance, that women must always stay at home and keep themselves busy so that they will have no time for evil thoughts, such as thinking about sexual behavior outside marriage. This was true for both single and married women. Such anxiety is based on the fact that the performance of the woman has more repercussions" (Esteva Fabregat 1976:167).

15 A similar ambiguity was evident when I asked the Carreirense about differential wages paid to men and women for artisan and agricultural day labour. During the first half of the century, women were paid one *peseta* and men two *pesetas* (in addition to a meal) for a day's work weeding, harvesting or clearing the brush for new land. In general, more men than women were hired to clear brush; the reasons given for this gender bias is that this task requires a lot of strength. However, those telling me about this task would always think of women, now elderly and middle-aged, who had been hired for this work alongside men because they could do it well. Pepe's brother-in-law Marcial, one of three sons of a single mother who was noted for her strength, told me on more than one occasion: "There were women who worked more [harder] than men (*Había mulleres que traballaban más que homes*)". When I asked them, people of both genders and different ages concluded that "Women were paid less than men 'because' (*porque*) . . ." "Because men are stronger, because men do more work, because men are men (*porque son homes*)." In some

cases, especially among women the final answer was that it was not just, that it should not be so ("*Non e*" ) (see Kelley 1988:212-333 for an interesting discussion on ambivalent definitions of women's work in a Galician fishing village). Therefore, although Pepe and others hope that those who work hardest should be rewarded with steady employment and good wages, they know that it is not always so. "Women do everything that men do here" is another comment I heard frequently. They also "work harder than men" at some paid as well as unpaid household tasks; in other words, they enact the cultural ideal that one should work hard for the household both 'within' and 'outside' it (compare with Cole 1991a).



#### **Chapter Four: 'Working to Eat' -- The Emphasis on Subsistence Labour**

In the last two chapters, I have shown not only that individuals in this rural parish combined occupations over time, but also that cultural emphases on being a hard-worker (*traballadora*) and working for one's household contextualize flexible and multi-occupational work roles and identities.

In this chapter, my argument shifts to a consideration of the organization and significance of subsistence labour in worker-peasant communities such as Santiago de Carreira. The data in Chapter Three illustrates that those who work for wages also help with agricultural production for their own households whenever and as much as possible, and that other household members dedicate all of their time to this work because each able-bodied person must provide the equivalent of his or her own 'daily bread'. In the chapter that follows this one, I also explore the emphasis in Carreira on the positive aspects of producing food through the continuous mobilization of reciprocal relationships between extra-household kin and neighbours. Home-raised food is presented by Carreirense and other rural dwellers in Galicia as superior in quality and healthier than the mass-produced food urban-dwellers purchase. The moralistic tone of discussions about the superiority of rural over urban life mirrors the romantic despair of many bourgeois writers who idealize the lost rural 'past' in opposition to the alienation and sin of 'progress' and the city

(Fabian 1983; Rogers 1987; Rosaldo 1989). Both groups share a similar discourse. Urban Galicians, like regionalists in other areas of the world, draw upon rural images and 'folk' activities such as the revival of popular music, dancing, material culture, and even healing and religious practices, to construct a distinct regional, ethnic identity (Handler 1988; Linnekin 1983; McDonald 1989). As rural dwellers, the Carreirense also use objectifying symbols like the food they produce, in their own process of identity formation.

In this chapter and the following one, I demonstrate that for the majority of Carreirense households, 'peasant' work -- as it is encompassed in its activities, productive and exchange relationships and discourse -- is becoming solely directed toward the goal of providing for the majority of household and community consumption needs. Agriculture and the exploitation of natural resources (stone, lumber and water) are not being abandoned wholesale throughout rural Europe. Worker-peasants and part-time farmers are continuing to produce food for household and community consumption and to exploit raw resources creatively -- sets of activities that ethnographers must continue to describe and analyze in the context of a post-industrial world economy (Bentley 1992; Halperin 1990; O'Meara 1990; Robben 1989; Zonabend 1984).

The Carreirense regard themselves to be 'peasants' (*labradores*) as well as wage labourers. The majority of residents of this worker-peasant community focus not on producing agricultural commodities for sale, but on raising most of their own food. In the opening section, I briefly consider the theoretical characterizations of the reproductive labour of producing and processing food. Then, the ethnography of 'working to eat' in Carreira is outlined in the order of the following topics: the symbolic significance of being able to consume rather

than sell those food items considered to be 'festive', the wide range of activities performed as part of subsistence work daily, and the annual cycle of crop production and labour requirements for different tasks. The focus throughout the discussion is on the way in which this labour is used to construct symbols of 'land', 'food' and 'work' that unite members of different generations and households. Carreirense present their past as a life of 'slaves' (*a vida dos escravos*) and a life of poverty. Yet at the same time, they describe this life as 'healthy' (*sano*) and virtuous (*bueno*). This past is selectively and self-consciously reenacted in the present with the recounting of shared memories and it is also extended into the present through the work of 'peasant' production and the preparation of 'typical' foods. My aim is both to describe these activities and to interpret the symbolic aspects of domestic and subsistence work that are infrequently elaborated upon in scholarly discussions of local, economic priorities.<sup>1</sup>

Agriculture, like other work, is not carried out merely for pragmatic reasons -- it is a meaningful activity through which identities are constructed. Moreover, as James Fernandez demonstrates in the case of Asturian coal miners and cattle keepers, agricultural metaphors can be extended to new domains: "What may be more surprising is the ease with which the lore of the agricultural life can be aptly employed for communication between miners. In part, this power to speak about the affairs of miners in agricultural terms arises because practically all Asturian miners are *mixtos*, which means they preserve, by choice or necessity, some tie with the agricultural life through possession of cattle and responsibilities to haying. Metaphoric references to the agricultural life are not dead metaphors to them" (Fernandez 1986a:119). His observation

is particularly relevant for the case of the Carreirense who, as worker-peasants, are also *mixtos*. Paul Richards (1989) has argued that ethnographers have paid insufficient attention to the "performance" aspects of agriculture (also see Fernandez 1986a, 1986b for a more extended analyses of performances). In this chapter and the following one, I show that in this Galician rural community, those villagers who have retained ties to Carreirense households valorize and continuously enact 'peasant' identities.

### **Subsistence Labour: The Unpaid Work of Producing and Processing Food**

In Chapter Three, I demonstrated that local notions of household reproduction incorporate wage and nonwage work, and that a strong work ethic is applied to peasant, artisan and migrant wage work. Theoretical models of reproduction often attribute reproductive work to female labourers, to the household sphere, and consider this type of work as secondary to production. The data in Chapters Four and Five are employed to question this characterization of reproduction and nonwage subsistence work. I interpret these data with the aim of contributing to recent critiques of the dualistic characterization of 'formal' and 'informal' or waged and unwaged economic activities and relationships in the anthropological and sociological literature on these themes.<sup>2</sup> In this chapter, I present data on both the production of food and its processing and preparation in order to demonstrate that 'domestic' work (*traballo da casa*) and fieldwork (*traballo do campo*) are most often performed by women of all ages and are best regarded analytically as a unified series of tasks involved in self-provisioning that are indirectly and directly tied to the capitalist economy. Unpaid labour carried out by women, children, and the

elderly of both genders, and by men who are under or unemployed as wage workers, is intrinsic to the reproduction of their households and local communities.<sup>3</sup> More specifically, in the case of worker-peasant households in rural Galicia, a primacy is placed on raising as much food as possible over the year in order to provide for the majority of household consumption needs. This means that subsistence agriculture is considered to be of more importance than other unpaid household tasks (cleaning, cooking, laundering).

Reproduction is distinguished from production in Marxist and feminist treatments of the relationship of workers to the means of production, and to the distribution and consumption of goods and services (Beneria 1979, 1982; Beneria and Sen 1981; Bouquet 1982; Lem 1988). However, the analytical boundary between non-wage labour that involves what are termed 'domestic' tasks such as cooking and cleaning, and the unpaid production of food for household consumption has not been resolved. Both domestic work and subsistence agriculture contribute indirectly to the overall reproduction of capitalist relations of production.

Prior to the 1970s and the widespread florescence of feminist critiques of portrayals of both urban housework and the role of women's unpaid labour in developing economies, domestic labour was assumed to be 'natural', common to both precapitalist and capitalist economies and most importantly, conceptually distinct from wage labour. In addition, because women cross-culturally do most of the work of biological reproduction and nurturance as well as 'domestic' work such as cooking and cleaning, "the reproduction of the labour force is easily seen as a specifically female activity, separate from the process of production" (Edholm et al. 1977:104; also see Harris and Young

1981).

A major direction that has been taken by theorists is to circumscribe the 'domestic mode of production' as separate from, although articulated with, the capitalist mode of production. In this model, the unpaid production of household and community consumption needs is part of the same mode of production as other types of reproductive labour, including the biological reproduction of new generations. Authors such as Meillassoux have constructed models of reproduction based on patrilineal descent systems and thus overemphasize the subordination of women and the exploitation of their labour: "In fact, despite the dominant place they occupy in agriculture as well as domestic labour, women are not granted the *status* of producers" (Meillassoux 1988[1981]:77; emphasis in original text).

A second, although closely related, approach is to consider the reproduction of households and local communities through agriculture and domestic labour to be contributing both to the accumulation of capital by the employers of those family members working in the wage market locally and those working abroad. Within this model, both peasants and urban housewives are 'overexploiting' their own labour. Rosa Luxemburg's (1951) discussion of the intrinsic role the reproduction of labourers within families and peasant communities played in the accumulation of capital provoked researchers such as Bennholdt-Thomsen to examine closely the contradictory "separation of subsistence production from social production" (1981:41) within Marxist models.

A third approach and the one I take in this thesis, is to consider the manner in which local -- in this case worker-peasant -- ways of working serve as a filter through which capitalist penetration occurs variously in different cultural

contexts. As Norman Long points out, “Non-capitalist forms are not, of course, outside the capitalist framework but represent the way in which local or subordinate social structures mediate the effects of capitalist penetration.” (Long 1984a:14). This is true of both urban, industrial contexts as well as peasant or fishing ones (Lowenthal 1975; Stack 1974). The organization of bureaucracies and the relationship of state agents and clients will be different in a Greek town and an English one (cf. Herzfeld 1991). There is also a “need to take cognizance of the cultural and ideological dimensions of domestic labour” (Long 1984a:14) in a variety of case studies rather than assuming that ‘housework’ or ‘domestic work’ like laundry, cooking and childcare are defined in similar ways cross-culturally and through different historical periods. In an early critique of Meillassoux’s study in the original French (published as *Femmes, Greniers et Capitaux* in 1975), Edholm et al. make the comment that “Terms such as reproduction, the family, marriage, domestic, are used too often with scant regard for historical or cultural specificity” (Edholm et al. 1977:102). Anthropologists can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of cultural variation in both the ideology and practice of non-wage domestic labour by collecting fine-grained ethnographic data on this universal realm of activity. Although members of all societies must organize daily tasks such as cooking and cleaning, these activities also involve significant cross-cultural differences. These differences may be found between communities that share other characteristics such as a common history and ethnicity. In Galicia, for example, worker-peasants and town-dwellers have distinct priorities with regard to domestic labour.

As I mention above, worker-peasants like the Carreirense place as much

or more emphasis on producing food and caring for livestock as opposed to doing housework. Both men and women express an ambivalent attitude in regard to 'urban' or bourgeois preoccupations with indoor housework. In fact, if a young and healthy woman does not have any cows people gossip about her, saying that she has nothing to do all day. Women who make their beds first thing in the morning rather than milking the cows or searching for the hens' eggs are said to be acting as though they do not live in a village and are from the city (*da capital*). A few women from Carreira who are now able to afford to purchase all their food and spend time in such bourgeois activities as lace-making and shopping in the city maintain a minimal number of crops and raise their own fowl in order to avoid being censured in the rural setting. Returned migrants or migrants who are visiting for a short period of time also wear work clothes and help with animal husbandry and agricultural tasks in order to demonstrate that they too are 'peasants' (*labradoras*).

Fina is a Carreirense woman of thirty-five years. She was born in a parish adjacent to Carreira and when orphaned at five years of age, was raised by nuns in an orphanage in the city of Coruña. When her schooling was completed, Fina worked as a doctor's receptionist for several years in Coruña before marrying a Carreirense carpenter. Although Fina was born into a rural household and maintained close ties with her siblings and godfather's households in the village, she did not feel comfortable performing many 'rural' household chores. She told me about how she asked the slaughterer the best way to kill, butcher and clean chickens and rabbits soon after her marriage. When she first arrived in Carreira, Fina was teased about her knowledge of Castilian and the fact that she had completed primary school. She



disappointed her husband's grandmother who had been eager to buy a large herd of dairy cows and had assumed that having a young woman in the household would make this possible. For the first years of her marriage, Fina raised goats and pigs along with fowl and rabbits. She now only keeps the smaller animals, but also cares for her four children, helps keep the books and answer calls for her husband and father-in-law's carpentry business, cooks and cleans for her family and periodic boarders (teachers or anthropologists like my husband and myself!), maintains a substantial kitchen garden, and plants wheat, rye, potatoes, rape, kale, walking cabbage, white cabbage, peas, and beans. When we stood in the center of the crops as they blossomed in the early summer, Fina sighed peacefully and took as much pleasure as other Carreirenses in the satisfaction of producing one's own food. Fina has won acceptance into the village through her dedication to 'peasant' work and she makes sarcastic comments with her neighbours about the 'fine' ladies (as *señoras finas*) of the city and nearby towns like Bayo who spend their days dusting and attending meetings of the 'Housewives' Associations' (*Amas da Casa*).<sup>4</sup>

It would be very difficult for Fina and returned female migrants to resist the social pressure to participate in those activities that dominate the village subsistence economy. Women who do not work hard and are not seen working both outside (in the fields and gardens) and inside their houses are suspected of being either lazy or open to suspicion of witchcraft or adultery. Heidi Kelley describes the suspicion of witchcraft that falls on a female migrant who returned to Ezaro but who refused to work in the fields as did her neighbours. This woman's reputation for being a hard worker as a young woman and as a

successful emigrant “is damaged, nonetheless, by the fact that she is not an agriculturalist” (Kelley 1988:324).

The Buechlers report a similar emphasis on hard work voiced by Carmen, a former servant who now lives in the Arteijo district of the province of A Coruña. In telling her life story to the Buechlers, Carmen emphasizes that she continues to work hard caring for her animals and fields even though her husband now earns a substantial wages as a construction worker: “Today I have more than I ever had before and yet I have to work harder than ever. What a life this is!” (Buechler and Buechler 1981:174). Carmen’s personal and household identity has been tied to being a hard worker ever since she was a young girl. Her continuing emphasis on it through both her behaviour and what she chooses to say in telling her life story is consistent with the work identities of inhabitants of Carreira. Another continuity with the situation in Carreira is the gendered division of labour in her household; although Carmen works part-time doing domestic work in the Buechlers’ home (1981:vii), she dedicates the majority of her time to caring for her parents, performing agricultural work and fixing up her house.

The division of labour by age and sex has changed over time in Carreira. Although subsistence agriculture is practiced by all the members of the household who are present and available (as I describe in Chapter Three), there have been several periods of time with distinctive patterns. From the beginning of the century until the 1960s, only wealthy peasants were able to concentrate full-time on agricultural production. Some individuals of both genders migrated for long periods of time, or permanently, to destinations in other parts of Spain, and to South and North America. Most land-poor and

landless men who remained in Carreirenses households worked locally and seasonally for wages as agricultural day-labourers, carpenters, stonemasons, quarrymen, miners, sawmill employees, and animal traders while women did the majority of daily agricultural and animal husbandry work.<sup>5</sup> During the most intense period of the agricultural cycle, the men would remain home to help plant, weed or harvest crops. This gendered division of labour was also found in Galician fishing villages where the men fished, and the women performed the majority of subsistence agriculture in addition to cleaning and selling the fish the men caught (Kelley 1988; Lisón Tolosana 1983a[1979]:243-272). In mountainous interior Galicia, Rodríguez Campos (1983; 1990) reports that during the first half of the century, men from the Ancares region of Lugo worked itinerantly as stonemasons or reapers, as well as artisans, charcoal-makers, candle-makers, traders and carters while the women remained behind to produce the majority of the family's consumption needs. He describes a situation with a "strict exclusive assignation of women to fieldwork" (Rodríguez Campos 1983:107) that has only changed during the last few decades with the mechanization of agriculture and the commercialization of beef production in the area.

A second period of time from the 1970s until the mid-1980s involved the extensive seasonal migration of both men and later young women to other European countries. The main destinations of those from Carreira, as has been documented by the Buechlers for other Galicians from the province of Coruña, were Switzerland and what was then called West Germany (J.-M. Buechler 1975; H. Buechler 1987). Other Carreirenses worked in France, Great Britain (England and Scotland), and Holland. For this decade and a half individuals

from most of the households in Carreira joined other southern Europeans in taking advantage of opportunities for work contracts and clandestine employment in the wealthier countries of Western Europe. At home, most of the childcare, animal husbandry and agriculture was performed by middle-aged and elderly women as well as elderly men. As is shown with specific examples in Chapters Two and Three, different households used this strategy to varying extents depending on their particular resources and needs during different periods of time.

This flexibility and the maintenance of a three-generation stem-family system made it possible for many young women to migrate with their husbands, brother and fathers.<sup>6</sup> In fact, it was rare to hear of a young woman remaining in Carreira because of young children. In one case, Marta had joined her husband who had been working in Switzerland for fifteen years only once she reached middle age. When I asked her if she had waited until her children grew up, she looked surprised and said that she had been caring for her sickly mother-in-law who was too ill for many years to care for the children, the livestock or the land. Once Marta's mother-in-law died, she made the decision to sell her cows and help her husband earn wages abroad so that they could afford to build a new house and save money for retirement. Other women who had worked in migrant destinations told me frankly that they did not know their children well, not having raised them. In these cases, as with commentaries on situations where young children had left their natal homes at a young age to be fostered or to work as servants in other households, the Carreirense said that it was 'natural' that ties develop with those among whom one lives and works. Children and teenagers who have grown up under their grandparents' tutelage

frequently call them 'mother' or 'father'. I also overheard other villagers telling these children to bring an item to their 'mother' when they meant their grandmother.

The high incidence of grandparents from this area raising grandchildren, when added to the articulation by the Carreirense themselves that there is nothing 'natural' about the mother-child bond, strongly suggests that the strategy of flexible multioccupationality was more important in this community of worker-peasants than a rigid definition of the reproductive work role of young women. It is rare to find a man raising a child alone, however, and the fact that there were usually both older and younger adult female household members made it possible for the younger women to work for wages while the older women maintained subsistence agriculture and performed the indoor housework and raised grandchildren.

The migrant opportunities in Switzerland, Germany and other countries were curtailed almost as swiftly as they had arisen. Since the mid-1980s, despite new European Economic Community rules pertaining to an open labour market for citizens of member countries, it has become much more difficult for either men or women to obtain contracts for wage jobs in wealthy countries where unemployment figures have risen sharply. Pina-Cabral notes the similar effects of the recession in France (from 1974/5 until the early 1980s) on Portuguese labour migrants from the Alto Minho. As less work became available abroad, peasant agriculture became an important activity that ensured the livelihood of rural households and hid widespread underemployment and unemployment in this area of Portugal (Pina-Cabral 1986:80-81). A transition back to agricultural work for many men became reflected dramatically and

visibly in the transformation of physical spaces: “. . . secondary kitchens (with all the ‘traditional’ peasant facilities) were built anew or added to the old ones; ‘garages’ returned to their traditional definition as *lojas* where products are stored, wine is made, implements are repaired, and cattle are kept; . . . ” (Pina-Cabral 1986:47). A similar process has occurred in Carreira with the closing of opportunities in Switzerland and Germany. Many unemployed or sporadically employed men and women have become more involved in agricultural production and other unpaid household labour than they had previously been for several decades. In this chapter, I demonstrate that the continued emphasis on subsistence production in Carreira throughout these swings in the wage labour market makes this a viable possibility. However, in order for some members of a household to move in and out of wage work, others must remain committed to the full-time work of subsistence production.

In coastal and some inland communities of rural Galicia, women may inherit as much as or more property than their male siblings. They may also sell their labour in local or foreign markets, and commodities produced at home to local customers or multinational corporations.<sup>7</sup> Yet it is frequently the case that Galician women with ties to rural households have less secure and less formal employment situations than do the men in their families, and that they are more likely to perform the majority of unpaid subsistence and domestic work necessary for the reproduction of their households than are male members. How do we conceive of these various ‘reproductive’ tasks in the context of a worker-peasant livelihood being maintained over generations? How have changes in the political economy of Spain and Europe in the last several decades affected the social organization of subsistence and domestic work in

Carreira?

**Images of Self-sufficiency from the Past:  
Linen Cloth and Maize Bread**

The emphasis on a 'natural economy' that is an integral part of the often neopopulist arguments of academics, and politicians from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries (O'Brien and Roseberry 1991; Roseberry 1989) is also a strong element in the discourse of the Carreirense and other European smallholders. The concept of a 'natural economy' is best defined as a constellation of characteristics that are assumed to pertain to an economic system that contrasts with the market or commodity economy. This stereotype is often constructed in a similar fashion under the terms 'peasant,' 'family,' or 'household economy'. Participants are assumed to produce goods for their own use rather than for exchange, to be satisfied with achieving a bare means of subsistence rather than focussing on the accumulation of land or other means of production, and to be relatively self-sufficient and independent from the market economy. O'Brien and Roseberry (1991:3) have made a good argument for a re-evaluation of "this sort of oppositional critical theory" where "the attempt to construct a noncapitalist economics or an anticapitalist discourse founders on the unrecognized use of capitalist categories, . . ." While these authors have focussed on the problems inherent in academic analyses of "tradition" and social change, I demonstrate here that it is also important to consider how the actors in peasant contexts formulate their own traditions of production.

Two of the most salient symbols of home-production (*caseiro*), purity and authenticity evoked by the Carreirense are the linen cloth and maize bread that they produced into the latter half of the twentieth century. This time period in the

near past is referred to as “at that time” (*en algún tempo* or *daquela*).

However, Carreirenses do not rule out the possibility of having to return to a less commoditized lifestyle. During the Gulf War in the spring of 1991, there were reports of hoarding on the television and radio. Apparently, individuals in urban centres were buying up large quantities of staples in case the war affected supplies in Europe. In Carreira, people reflected on their experience of the Spanish Civil War and Second World War and remarked that they felt secure because they had access to land on which to grow food, and even flax and tobacco. While urban people might have cash, they could not buy food and other products if they were not available for sale. “You can’t eat money (*Non se pode comer dineiro*)” and “We can grow what we need” were comments I heard frequently in relation to both the sense of crisis during the Gulf War, and generally when the subjects of subsistence production and a peasant lifestyle were discussed between villagers and with outsiders. The Galician woman Carmen, whose autobiography Judith-Maria and Hans Buechler transcribed, also makes similar remarks, “I don’t buy eggs, chickens, (stewing) hens or anything: I raise them all, with my husband’s help. We buy bread and oil and clothes that we wear. But my brother and his family have to buy everything, from start to finish.” (Buechler and Buechler 1981:173).

Carreirenses who have worked in factories in large cities such as Barcelona and Bilbao describe the feeling of being alienated from the objects they produce. They also dislike being controlled by a supervisor or employer. Working for oneself, controlling one’s own time, and being responsible for each step in a productive process are highly valued in Carreira. The goal of owning one’s own business, whether it is a store or bar, a construction company or a



small-scale commercial farming operation, is related to these preferences. Similarly, people in this area prefer to purchase products made by local craftspeople. The Carreirense and other rural Galicians like to deal with local artisans with whom they can confer about the quality of the raw materials and the design, and whom they trust to work carefully. For example, local carpenters are kept busy filling orders for doors, kitchen cabinets, and wardrobes for the new or renovated houses being built with remittances from migrant jobs.<sup>8</sup>

In the case of the production of both linen cloth and maize bread, Galician peasants were involved in every stage of production, from planting the flax seeds (*linaza*) and grains of maize (*granos do millo*) they had saved from the previous year, to spinning the thread and baking the ground maize into bread. Each of these steps is labour-intensive, involves a lot of skill, and a year-round commitment. The memory of the tasks associated with producing flax and maize are vivid and detailed: these items are also emblematic of the labour-intensive nature of agricultural work for both wealthy and poor households in this parish until recent decades. For example, harvesting and processing flax is similar to, but much more work than, processing wool as Carmen and other elderly Carreirense women remarked to me: “Wool has its work also but as not nearly as much as linen does ( *A lán da su traballo también pero tanto , tanto como liño non* ).” Linen production also involves a series of activities that is associated with female work although men generally helped with various steps in harvesting the plant and processing the fibre. Similarly, maize bread was almost always made by women although members of both sexes were involved in planting, weeding, picking, shucking, and milling the

maize. In addition, rough linen clothes and heavy maize bread are ambivalent symbols of both poverty (*miseria*) and health. As I elaborate throughout this chapter, pure simple clothing and food are strongly associated with good health and the robust strength necessary for completing agricultural tasks in a 'peasant' lifestyle.

### **Flax into Linen**

The years following the Spanish Civil War are remembered in the region of Zás and throughout Spain as the 'years of hunger'. In Carreira, people remarked on an increased production of cloth at that period made from flax and wool: "We all dressed [ourselves] in sheep's wool . . . in wool and linen (*Todos vestíamos de lán de los ovejas . . . de lán y liño*)." Prior to the war, some households could afford factory-made cloth that was sold in the fairs and city shops. The paucity of cloth after the war -- due to the destruction of factories in the Catalonian industrial centre and elsewhere, and strict government control of the distribution of goods -- forced many households to return to an earlier practice of making clothing, bedsheets, and sacks from locally-produced cloth. Wearing rough linen clothing is portrayed by the Carreirenses and throughout Galicia as a sign of rural poverty. The production of linen involved a lengthy, labour-intensive process, with most steps the work of women and teenage girls. When I first met many elderly women, and told them that I was interested in the 'old' ways of working, they frequently outlined the work involved in flax and linen cloth production. The procedure that led from the cultivation of the flax plant to the woven cloth was elicited as the epitome of female, peasant work of the past. Each step was remembered in detail, an illustration of how meaningful this activity had been in individual women's reconstruction of work identities.

Although we can see from Mercedes' account below that men did some stages of the work, older men who had participated in linen production did not outline the stages for me as thoroughly as women did. In fact, many men told me to ask women about it to gain accurate information.

Mercedes is close to eighty years old and was the main heir to a sizeable estate. Her family has been regarded as wealthy peasants for the duration of the twentieth century. Mercedes lives with her daughter, son-in-law and grandchildren in an old two-storey stone house, and still helps with their seven cattle and other agricultural and household tasks. Her memories of linen production in the nineteen thirties and forties are as vivid as those shared by women from poorer households. These are the stages she outlined for me:

1. You plant it [the flax] in the month of May.
2. You harvest it [the flax] in the month of July.
3. You take off the grain and take it to the river and leave it in the water for nine days. It's left in the water, all covered with the water almost still and it thus becomes much softer.
4. We spread it out in a pasture, very thinly [She uses the pronoun 'we' for the first time likely because most individuals told me that the third step was generally men's work].
5. You gather it up when it's dry and bring it to the yard (*eira*) and with the cows, around and around [stomp on it].
6. You take a handful and tie it up [into a bundle].
7. With a heckle (*tascón*), made from wood, you make it fine . . . it is left all very fine.
8. You put a spinning rod (*unha roca*) in your belt and put a bit [of linen] in [it].

With the *fuso* (spindle) in your hand and your hand close to the *roca*, you pull and with the *fuso* it turns until the *roca* weighs more and then you take it [the spun thread] off very carefully.

9. You turn it in the reel (*sarillo*) to make skeins (*medejas*).

10. You cook these bundles in the large pots with ashes and soap. You boil it a long time and the next day you wash it in the river. You bleach it until it is white and then you leave it to dry.

11. After it is dry, you turn it on the swift (*devandoira*) [to make loops of thread].

12. And then [you take it] to be woven.

Another older woman, nicknamed Pepita, remembered slightly different steps:

“It was the women who picked the plant and the men who washed it in the river. Then, two men would *ripaban* (ripple) the dried flax, on a wooden bench with a wooden stick in the middle with nails sticking out of it. The seeds would fall out. The women would spin the thread with the *rocón* [a hand-held spinning rod made from wood], the *roca* (a spinning rod finer than the *rocón* because it was made of reeds -- *de canas*). [Other spinning rods that were more expensive to make but were also frequent in Carreira were the *fusos* that had metal tips. The *roca* and *fuso* were also used to spin wool].”

Lorenzo Fernández (1983) provides us with an even more detailed description of the labour-intensive nature of cultivating and processing flax in rural Galicia. He notes that there is written evidence in the form of testaments and accounts of sale that flax was used to make cloth throughout this region since the medieval period. It is also likely that better archaeological evidence would demonstrate that this crop was grown in previous eras as well. Members of all social classes, from the feudal owners of Galician manors (*pazos*) to the

sharecroppers and peasants with *foro* holdings wore the linen cloth (Lorenzo Fernández 1983:224). However, the finest linen (*lienzo*) would have been reserved for the clothing and bedclothes of the wealthy. Lorenzo Fernández also notes that the decline of localized flax production in Galicia since medieval times has not been unidirectional. At various points in history, like the post-Civil War period of this century that I mention above, there has been a revitalization of the “homemade [artisanal] linen industry (*industria caseira do liño*)” (Lorenzo Fernández 1983:225). Such a revitalization did not occur with wool which was a ‘subproduct’ that members of rural households usually sold to traders rather than processed for their own uses (Lorenzo Fernández 1983:225).

The flax seed (*liñaza*) was planted in a well-fertilized and ploughed field in May and the only work until harvest was to hoe the plot three or four times in June to loosen up the soil and remove the weeds. The harvest in July involved both female and male tasks. Women pulled the flax plants out gently by their roots, laying them one on top of each other on the ground in bunches (*feixes*). The men then took these bunches to long benches called *ripadores* (ripples) for the first stage of processing. These benches were long enough so that two men could sit on either end of a central piece of vertically upended wood over which they rubbed the flax to loosen up the seeds and fibres. The men then soaked these bundles in a well or in communities like Carreira in the river or stream where the flax was held in place under the water with heavy pieces of wood or stones for approximately a month. Lorenzo Fernández (1983:229) cites forty days as the length of time necessary. This period of soaking was required to soften the hard outer shell containing the flax seeds; in English, this process is known as “dew retting” (Spencer 1968[1964]:10-11). The bundles were then

spread out in the yards adjoining the houses or in a clean pasture and the heat from the sun would cause the seeds to fall out from the fibre. The seeds were gathered to be sold in the fair, for home remedies, and for planting the next year (Lorenzo Fernández 1983:230). The reader will notice that Mercedes mentioned using cattle to stomp on the dried plant in the yard to separate the seeds from the rest of the plant. This method is also used for threshing grains in this area of Galicia (see below). Lorenzo goes on to state that after drying the flax in the yard, cultivators used the leather thongs called *mazas* to beat the grain -- this is the alternative way in which threshing is performed in other areas of Galicia (Fernández de Rota 1984; Gala González 1990; Lisón Tolosana 1983a[1979]; Rodríguez Campos 1990). In addition, Pepita reverses the order of the stages Lorenzo outlines, stating that the men used the *ripador* or ripple bench after soaking and drying the plant, not previously. Lorenzo also mentions that the flax was soaked once more in between threshing sessions. Young people are often called to their neighbours' houses for the next several processing tasks. The first is called *deluba* which requires two individuals to pull apart the clumps of flax and completely remove the chaff from the fibres that will be spun and woven into cloth. The fibre must then be beaten with wooden paddles on either side of an upright wooden instrument known as an *espadeleiro*. These two steps are called "scutching" or "swingling" in English (Spencer 1968[1964]:12). It is subsequently further softened and sorted into different qualities by being rubbed between two *restrelos* -- carding paddles constructed with metal nail-like teeth (Lorenzo Fernández 1983:232-235).

Two types of cloth resulted from this processing. A rougher blend (*de estopa*) was separated from the finest fibres (called *de lienzo*) and they were

spun and woven separately. Local weavers ( *as tecelanas* ) working out of their homes wove these lengths of cloth and were paid in cash, a percentage of the thread or cloth or in grains, commonly maize or wheat. Seamstresses were hired to make clothing and other items out of this locally-produced cloth. Seamstresses also made buttons and other accessories out of the same linen thread. Tablecloths like those considered luxuries today would be made from the fine linen, and sometimes bordered with lace. Members of wealthier households that were able to plant larger plots of flax would also make clothes from the *lienzo* . Most Carreirense remembered the linen trousers, shirts, and sheets they wore earlier in the century with distaste and humour because this rough cloth had been so itchy: “They itch (*Pican* ).” and “They itched a lot (*Picaban mucho* ).” Despite the fact that linen was a sign of poverty and uncomfortable, it was widely regarded as the healthiest fibre to have next to one’s skin because it was natural. Linen seeds were saved each year to make compresses (*plasmas* ) to break boils (*tumores* ), upon the advice of doctors and popular healers. Linen sheets and wool mattresses (*colchóns de lán* ) were recommended for sick individuals, to allow them to keep warm and to sweat out the illness.

Women and girls spun the thread throughout winter days and evenings when there was less agricultural work to do outside.<sup>9</sup> Women from wealthy households distributed bundles of flax to be spun into thread by their neighbours and then hosted a dinner and dance for young, unmarried people to repay everyone for their work. In Carreira, these dinners were called *fias* . Other names used in Galicia include *fiadeiros* (Lorenzo Fernández 1983:242-246). Only the young women were invited to eat, since it was they and their

mothers who had spun the thread. Young men came afterward to join in the dancing. Although women from different households often got together by each other's fireside to chat and spin together during the long, cold winter nights, these spinning bees or *fias* were remembered more for the meal and dance than for any significant amount of work that was done during the one evening. In fact, the older women joked with me that the young women (themselves in mid-century!) were not very skilled at spinning and got their mothers and grandmothers to do the work for them so that they could go to the dance. The *fias* were therefore an important social institution that served several functions. Wealthier households received the labour of other village women in return for their hosting of a dinner and dance for unmarried youth -- an important opportunity for courting during the winter months. The Carreirense explained to me that only these wealthy households had enough space to host a dance. These age-specific, interior dances contrast with the community-wide *fiestas* that are also important occasions for courting. The former are organized around a form of vertical reciprocity between the patrons who own significant amounts of flax and large domestic spaces -- salient signs of class in worker-peasant communities of the early twentieth century (Fernández de Rota 1984) -- and around young women. In contrast, patron-saint festivals are usually organized by a group of young men (often the group entering army service, the *quinta*) who appeal to all members of the community to contribute funds toward a dance held in an open-air public space. These examples and others in this chapter and the next illustrate that exchange and communality are important aspects of both subsistence production and ritual occasions in Carreira.



### Maize Bread -- Galician Broa

Historical records indicate that maize was first introduced into the Galician region in 1604 by a Spanish admiral, Don Gonzalo de Castro who had returned from a trip to the American continents. It replaced a similar prehistoric species of grain called *paínzo*. There is evidence that by the first decades of the seventeenth century, maize was being cultivated in the province of Coruña where Carreira is located (Lorenzo Fernández 1982:39-40). We know from the Ensenada records cited in Chapter Two that maize was being harvested in the area of Zás in the mid-eighteenth century. Like its predecessor *paínzo* and other products such as chestnuts (and later potatoes also imported from the Americas), maize was an important human and animal staple throughout much of Galicia in addition to a form of payment for rent, tithes and services (for instance, to artisans such as the weaver as mentioned above). Until the 1970s, the Carreirenses were obliged to pay the priest pre-Lenten tithes. Each married couple (*cada matrimonio*) owed him "a half measure of wheat, a half measure of maize and a dozen eggs (*medio ferrado de trigo, medio ferrado de millo, unha docena de ovos*)." Payment for marriages and baptisms were also made in maize. A landed peasant (*labrador*) paid for his or her daughter's wedding mass "with a large basket of maize." If you wanted to have the mass for life-cycle occasions in the morning, before the mid-day meal (*antes de comer*) it was free. However, an afternoon or evening service cost this large basket of maize (*Por la tarde . . . un cesto grande de millo*) that only some households could afford. These payments, and annual tithes, are now made in cash in the parishes of Zás. Some priests in other parishes I visited in the province still demand payment in products. However, a former resident of one

of these parishes, a young woman named María, pointed out to me that it would actually be less expensive to pay tithes in products since the dozen eggs and measures of grain cost less than the 700 pesetas presently charged by the priest in Carreira.

The ubiquitous use of maize in Galicia for human consumption as well as for tithes, rents, and other payments is rare in western Europe. As Stanley Brandes notes, "northern Italy and northwestern Iberia are anomalies for their inhabitants' longstanding appreciation of corn" (Brandes 1992:333). Ecological reasons partially account for the success of maize in these areas; for example, it grows well in the acidic soil and humid climate of many parts of Galicia, and thus easily led to intensified agricultural production there. In addition, maize is nutritious, stores well, and once dried, is easy to transport. For these reasons, maize did become an important source of animal fodder throughout Europe. However, it is only in limited areas that it was accepted as a human staple equivalent to other grains. Brandes (1992:334-336) argues that the overwhelming rejection of maize as an acceptable food for human consumption by most Europeans was related to a stigma it acquired because of the reliance on it by poor peasants in areas like Galicia. The contrast between the virtual taboo on maize in most of the continent and the preference for it among peasants in northwestern Spain and northern Italy is striking: "In fact, far from despising corn, it was virtually adored. At least in Galicia, we have evidence (Bouza Brey 1953:41) that maize assumed an almost religious significance, the husks being used for everything from medicinal protection against miscarriage to sacred offerings to the Souls in Purgatory" (Brandes 1992:334).

During most of this century, maize was one of the main sources of food

for the Carreirense in the form of bread, porridge, and dumplings. Maize is still harvested for animal fodder, but maize bread and other products are no longer consumed regularly by humans in the parish. The Carreirense, like other rural Galicians, now reject maize because of its association with the poverty they experienced in the past. However, owing to the economic and cultural significance of this grain in recent decades, they have maintained a discourse of rejection that is somewhat ambivalent. In this discourse, the labour-intensive process that was required to produce the maizebread (*broa*) staple is elaborated as a metonym -- as a core example of peasant self-sufficiency that parallels the example of linen cloth.

After the maize is harvested in September or October, it is shucked and the ears are stored in granaries so that they may dry. The leaves are piled in conical *palleiros* and fed to the livestock: "You arrange them in a stack. You tie the maize leaves for the cattle to eat (*Se arrima en un palleiro. Se ataba coas cordas en os palos grandes. Allí se ponía a palla do maiz para comer as vacas*)." The dried ears of maize are stripped of the kernels (*debullar*) throughout the year, whenever maize is needed to mill.

The Carreirense also roast young ears of maize in late summer. They test whether or not the maize is ripe enough by pressing on the kernels to see if a milky liquid secretes. These young ears are called *chorillos* and therefore roasting young ears of maize in the hearth is referred to as "*asar chorillos*": "When they're green, 'milk' comes out. When they are [at the stage of] secreting 'milk', ears are roasted in the fire. One or two, nothing more (*Cando estea verde, echas leche. Cando pasar a echar o leite, asan os chorillos en o fogo. Uno o dos, nada más*)." In this explanation, the speaker -- a middle-aged

Carreirense called Marta -- indicates that roasted maize was only consumed at a particular point in the year when the maize were not yet harvested for annual storage. It was always considered to be a seasonal treat rather than an intrinsic part of the diet.

Each house in Carreira had a large oven in the wall beside the hearth where a large loaf of maizebread was baked each week in the past. I was told that in most households, bread was made on one specific day (for example, Saturday), after the maize had been taken to a watermill for grinding on the previous day. The baking day was fixed because the day of milling was set for those who owned mills in common with other households. Each household had the right to use the mill for a half-day, full day or two days of the week. A portion of milling time was measured in terms of *pezas* (pieces). Those who had to rent time at a mill (necessary even for those who owned mills if the water ran dry in particular streams during the summer months) had to pay a portion of the cost of using the mill in grain or cash to the owners. A dramatic change has occurred since the 1970s when many households began to purchase electric mills that can be operated from the households whenever it is convenient. The physically taxing job of carrying the grain to the mill and back has disappeared. Celia remembered having to perform this task when her husband was working for wages and could not take the maize to the mill to be ground: "One carried the maize on the head and a child in the arms. To [the village of] Sisto. To [the village of] Piolla as well. We had to rent it [the milling time]. Now its like the washing machine: electric mills (*Llevaba o millo en la cabeza y el crío en o brazo. Hasta O Sisto. A Piolla también. Había que arrendar-lo. Agora es como la lavadora. Os muiños do corrente* )."

Most people remember baking maizebread with a great deal of nostalgia. On one occasion, Concepción and her brother Constantino reminisced about the way they made maize bread in the past on a cold, rainy winter day. We were sitting by the hearth in the stable while Concepción and I were stripping maize off dried ears to be ground for feed for the cattle. They explained that the first step was to knead the dough made from maize and let it rise in the narrow wooden table with a cavity and a cover called an *arteixa*. Concepción gestured to their dusty *arteixa* by the doorway to the kitchen when she explained this. A coil of rope, some empty sacks, a basket of maize cobs and some old clothes sat on top of it. She commented that in the past the *arteixa* was only used to make maizebread and would have been spotlessly clean: “It was very clean to make the maizebread when we did so (*Estaba limpiña para facer a broa cando se facía* ).” The dough was a mixture of ground maize, salt and water. Sometimes a few scoops of rye or wheat flour were added to make a mixed bread (*unha mostura, unha mosturiña* ). To make the loaf rise, bakers added a cup of fermented dough. It took about three hours to rise and two to three hours to bake, depending on the size of the loaf. The stone oven beside the fireplace was heated with wood until it was white-hot to ready it for the thick loaf of bread: “It was when the oven was all white that you put in the [loaf of] maizebread (*Cando o forno estaba branco de todo e cando se botaba e broa* ).” Fresh leaves were placed underneath the dough to separate it from the bottom of the oven: “Some leaves underneath the maize dough (*Debaixo de masa do millo, unhas follas de berças* ).” The dough was placed into the oven with a flat wooden shovel called a peel (*pau* ).

In order to make this large loaf that lasted for a week or at least several

days, households required sufficient inputs of maize meal and firewood to heat the bread oven. Even if there was enough fuel, a small amount of dough would burn in the oven. When there was either not enough wood nor enough maize for a large loaf, a smaller loaf was baked in the open hearth. Concepción demonstrated how this was done by cooking some chestnuts for me in the hearth as we talked. She commented as she pushed the chestnuts under the burning ashes: "In the past, they baked a small loaf [a *bolo*] in the hearth. With ashes on top and some leaves underneath. You took it out of the fire and the leaves from underneath and it was clean just as though it came from the oven (*Sacabase do lume e sacabase as folliñas do abaixo e xa quedaba limpiño como do forno*)." Concepción insisted that I eat the chestnuts, saying that she could not chew them because of a tooth infection. Constantino also refused to eat. As I peeled the chestnuts and enjoyed the warm, fragrant nutmeat, Concepción smiled at me and at Constantino and commented on how delicious the small *bolos* used to taste when she was a child, hungry and cold: "And [you] ate that warm dough (*Comían aquela masiña caente*). Your mother would dole out the bread [made in the hearth] (*Sua nai repartió e bolo do lare*)." I asked if women always distributed the food and she replied, "Grandmothers and mothers (*As avoas e as nais*)."

**The Transformation of the Festive into the Mundane:  
Ambivalent Constructions of 'Peasant' Food**

One important area of symbolism that is elaborated by Carreirense concerns the food they grow, raise, harvest, prepare and eat. In the context of the household and kinship, 'peasant' identity is constructed around 'working the land' and eating food from the land -- homegrown and homemade food (*comida*

*caseira* ). Heidi Kelley has elaborated on the importance of food symbolism in the construction of gender, work, household, village and even regional or ethnic identities in the Galician coastal village of Ezaro (Kelley 1988; 1992). Of particular importance in relation to the multiple work identities discussed in the present thesis is Kelley's focus on the 'peasant' food that the majority of returned female migrants and young women harvest and prepare: "Indeed, for some younger women who have chosen an agricultural life for themselves, the values of self-sufficiency, purity and freshness figure in their understanding of their Galician ethnic identity" (Kelley 1988:265). However, there is also noticeable ambivalence and contradiction implicit in these images of self as 'peasant' producers for many of the women and men of Ezaro and of Carreira move between periods of commitment to agriculture, and periods of wage labour (often abroad) and other forms of earning cash.<sup>10</sup>

In this section I want to elaborate on another reason for a significant degree of ambivalence attached to praising this home produced food: members of many households that were landless or land-poor in the past were unable to afford to enjoy many of these foods that are now described as 'authentic' (*auténtico* ) Galician peasant food. In many cases, these foods were only consumed in the past during festive occasions (for example, eggs for Easter, crepes for Carnaval, and roasted meat and fowl for Christmas and patron Saint days). This explains my use of the subtitle 'from the festive to the mundane'.

In Carreira, homegrown food is the concrete expression of annual cycles of work and exchange. Serving this food and discussing its superior qualities are the most frequent and immediate ways to express the local significance of

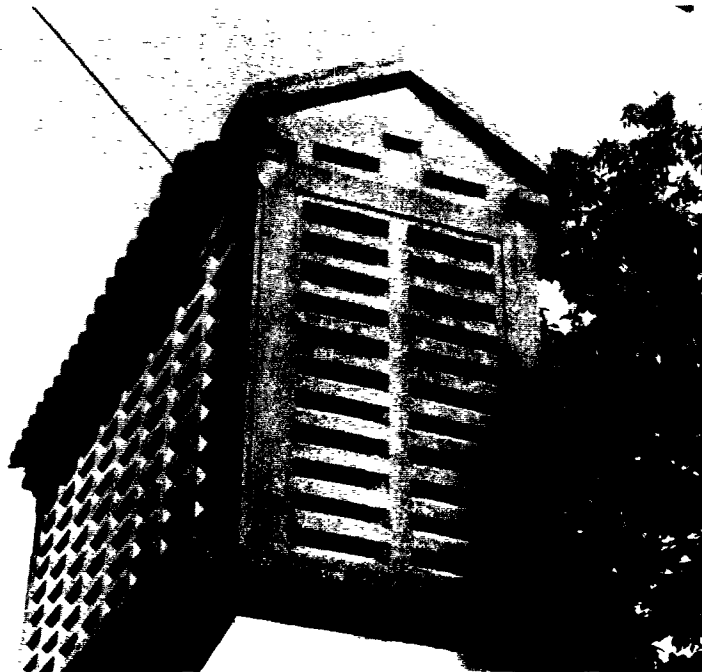
work and exchange relationships to outsiders such as myself. Therefore, I begin this discussion of subsistence production in Carreira by focussing on food symbolism, in order to characterize accurately the discourse I encountered in talking about 'peasant' work with the Carreirense.

The goal of self-sufficient 'peasant' production is to harvest enough food staples to last throughout each year. Visible evidence of success in achieving this goal is part of the village architecture and landscape. Staples fed to humans and livestock (such as potatoes and grains) are stored in dry-air granaries or *cabazos* made of stone, wood or most recently, cement (See Illustrations 1 and 2 on page 219). The most common granaries resemble the older houses, being constructed from the same locally-quarried granite and red tile roofs (see Lema Suárez 1977:67-76). Hay for bedding and livestock feed during the winter months is harvested during the hot days of July and stored in conical haystacks, lofts in sheds and stables. Green grass from the spring harvest is now stored in plastic-covered ground silos. The livestock are themselves viewed as storage units that will be slaughtered or that produce by-products -- such as eggs and milk -- that are consumed by humans. Over the growing season for particular plants, these too are described as storing food.





1. A granary built several decades ago with locally quarried granite (photograph by author, 1991).



2. A cement granary built in the 1980s (photograph by author, 1991).

As in many other areas of the world, in worker-peasant communities such as Carreira, food products are sites for the construction of meaningful identities about activity and local control of consumption (Dubisch 1986; Halperin 1990; Zonabend 1984). The insistence by Carreirenses that 'Galician' food is the 'best' and 'freshest' in Spain, and that locally they have maintained the important standards of homegrown production is at the centre of their commitment to a worker-peasant livelihood. It is also an important element in narratives about historical conditions of poverty, struggle and inequality in the parish. It makes sense to interpret the commitment to 'peasant' dishes such as the Galician broth *caldo* as a reappropriation of an imposed food of poverty. However, only foods that can be prepared as symbolic documentations of recently-achieved 'peasant' (*labrador*) rather than 'day-labourer' (*xornaleiro* or *caseteiro*) status continue to be central elements of the diet of Carreirenses. For example, *caldo* has been transformed from a watery broth into a rich stew. In contrast, maize bread (*broa*) has been almost totally replaced with wheat bread (*pan*) purchased from commercial bakers. Unlike *caldo*, it has not been transformed from a 'poor' food into a 'rich' one. However, despite the fact that *broa* is no longer baked weekly, people talk about how 'healthy' (*sano*) and 'tasty' (*rico*) it was in the past. Narratives of the poverty of the past are the beginning point of the process of reappropriation. Therefore, it is important to take note of those foods that composed the diet of villagers earlier in the century.

The discourse I wish to highlight here deals with the transformation in the consumption of 'mundane' and 'festive' foods. 'We make better *caldo* now than the peasants did in the past' (*Agora facemos millor caldo que os labradores daquela tempo*). I was told this many times by individuals from poorer

(*caseteiro* or *xornaleiro* ) households. As I mentioned above, many worker-peasants can now afford to make a 'rich' (with the double meaning of 'tasty' and containing expensive ingredients) peasant broth with a large slice of pork, chunks of sausage, sometimes a slice of veal, a whole chicken, and lots of greens (mainly leaves of kale or rape), beans, and potatoes. In the past, it was not uncommon for this broth to contain only a few stray greens, potatoes and lard. It was the staple food. A large pot would be set over the hearth one day and all the household members and anyone else eating there (such as itinerant artisans or agricultural day-labourers) would drink the *caldo* for every meal until the pot was finished. Reminiscing with bitterness on the sparsity and monotony of meals in the past, elderly Carreirense explained to me: 'You ate broth in the morning, at mid-day meal and again at night' (*Se comía o caldo por a mañan, a hora de comer e a noite, outra vez* ).

As was discussed above, other staples were made from the maize flour (*fariña do millo* ) that was ground each week at a watermill. Pieces of maize bread or *broa* called *sopiños* or *sopas de caldo* were moistened in the broth. People took chunks of *broa* with them to the fields, to the top of the hillside where they pastured sheep, goats and cattle, and on the long walk to the weekly markets or to work at the wolfram mine. Other maize products were the dumplings (*bolas* ), also used to thicken the broth and maize grits with milk (*papas do fariña do millo con leite* ).

Instead of coffee, a malt drink was sometimes made with roasted oats. Eggs and fowl were raised to sell and were only consumed by poor villagers on special occasions. Nursing mothers were given eggs. Godmothers still give a dozen eggs to their godchildren at Easter. Chickens were roasted or boiled for

festive occasions such as patron saint days or weddings. Other products had to be purchased with cash and were only brought into the household for such occasions. I was told that there was simply no cash to buy what were regarded as luxury items: "There wasn't the wherewithal [the money]. You didn't buy [these things].' (*No había con que. No se compraba* ).

In juxtaposition to the stories of the everyday foods of poverty are narratives about the feasts that were prepared for festive meals. Wheat bread (*pan* ), coffee, sugar, cake, roasted meat and fowl, cheese, wine, the Galician *empanada* (a square pie made with an egg dough and filled with fish or meat and onions) and *callos* (a stew made with chickpeas and pork or veal feet) were served to guests (*festeiros* ). One or two kilograms of sugar, five *pesos* (a measure worth twenty-five *pesetas* ) of coffee and a bottle of wine filled at the tavern were brought into village households and like the pots of broth, were served until they were gone. However, people had to wait for months or longer for another taste of these luxuries.

A dramatic transformation has occurred so that in most households, Carreirense can now afford to eat like *festeiros* most days of the week. For instance, potato omlettes are frequently made with a dozen eggs. Men drink wine during every meal and coffee with *aguardiente* or purchased brandies and whiskies is served to guests. Several men in Carreira now make wine and *aguardiente* from grapes imported from the vineyards in the warmer areas of southern Galicia. The production of large quantities of liquor to serve to one's guests year-round is a symbol of the wealthy lifestyle only possible among the *propietarios* in rural Galicia in the past. Roasted fowl and meat are not uncommonly served for the large mid-day meal. Some new vegetables are

harvested during the warm summer months and 'urban' raw salads are served (with lettuce, tomatoes and onions). And luxury foods such as fried potatoes have been incorporated as daily fare (especially for children) with cash remittances and new technology. Gas and wood stoves and burners are easier to use than the hearth and old stone ovens. Children are fed white bread (three bakers deliver bread in the mornings in their trucks), packaged biscuits and milk flavoured with cocoa powder for breakfast and sometimes hotdogs for after-school snacks and supper. Despite the recent introduction of numerous "foods of vice" (*vicios*) as older women refer to them, Carreirense still choose to continue to cultivate and consume mainly locally produced foods.

Since everyday meals now include the meat and eggs that were formerly sold in addition to purchased items such as sugar and coffee, festival meals now include excessive numbers of dishes in order to differentiate them from other meals (compare with discussions of conspicuous consumption in Brandes 1981 and Dubisch 1986). A meal served to as many as fifty guests who attend a baptism or patron saint day festival in a village house may include five or six main dishes. A wedding meal served in a hotel or restaurant is even more of an exaggerated feast -- nine or ten dishes that include expensive seafood and steaks is common. In addition, the transformation of festive foods into mundane foods is accompanied by a curious inversion so that people will buy a chunk of maizebread from the baker on a festival day as a treat.

It is the ubiquitous activity of peasant agriculture going on daily throughout the parish that results in annual supplies and 'peasant' meals. Which animals and crops are raised now and how is the present repertoire different from that earlier in the century? How have changes in the distribution

of private and commonland, and the incorporation of new technologies, altered subsistence strategies? What are the stages of household labour that go into the cultivation and preparation of these foods? I would now like to answer these questions in the following pages by concentrating on the continuities and transformations in subsistence activities over the daily and annual cycle.

**'Always Working' (Sempre Traballando ): Daily Labour in Carreira**

In the introductory passage that begins this thesis, I quoted Concepción, an elderly Carreirense, describing her daily labours. In Chapter Three, I showed how, in the context of proverbial sayings, life stories, and normal conversation, individuals demonstrate a constant concern with working hard. I argued that subsistence work provides an opportunity to demonstrate a commitment to this ethic of hard work that shapes social identities and cultural values among Galician worker-peasants. In this chapter, in addition to outlining the range of unpaid work performed daily and annually in Carreira, I want to stress how these forms of labour are -- like all work -- more than merely pragmatic. They are tied to enactments of identity. In the village and surrounding landscape, unceasing physical activity is accompanied by discussions and debates about work. The topics range from the best way to store grass in plastic-covered ground silos, to whether or not a crop is ready to be harvested to the most efficient way to heat water quickly over the open hearth for a cow that is birthing. Subsistence production, and the household or domestic tasks often indistinguishable from it, is highly significant and neither wholly separate from, nor secondary to, the wide range of wage work Carreirense also engage in.

In all Galician households, whether located in the city or the countryside,

there is an essential repertoire of self-provisioning and household tasks that must be completed daily. These include cooking, cleaning, and childcare. An additional series of tasks is performed only by rural dwellers. These tasks have not changed dramatically over the past century, and the necessity that they be fulfilled daily distinguishes rural dwellers from urban ones, and blurs the distinction between 'housework' or domestic labour and the work involved in the annual cycle of agricultural production that I elaborate in the last section of the chapter. These tasks can be divided into three categories of activities that I discuss in sequence below. One set deals with the supply of basic energy inputs. A second set of activities involves the daily requirements of livestock care. A third and last set has to do with the manner in which human food is gathered and processed.

### **The Work of Provisioning Water and Fuel**

The Spanish state does not directly organize nor carefully monitor the use and cleanliness of water used in rural communities such as Carreira. Unlike the systems of garbage collection, water and sewage disposal, and other services for which urban dwellers are heavily taxed, rural inhabitants have been left to devise many of their own systems. For example, in the mid-1980s, several cement water reservoirs were built half-way up the Pico de Meda in Carreira in order to supply running water to each house in the village. Although locally-organized, it is true that this type of community activity is not undertaken without official consent; permits are granted for building such structures. The written contract to cooperate in collectively using the reservoir is signed by representatives of each participating household in the village and is registered in the municipal records. Pipes run from these reservoirs to the houses; some

households have also invested in supplementary sources. Water access and rights are a contentious and secretive subject in rural Galicia, and in at least one case I encountered a deep well was dug on privately owned hillside land and the water from it is channeled down through underground pipes to fields below.

During hot summer months, many houses do not receive much, if any, water. Water supply partly depends on the location of the house in these villages that are built on significantly sloping land. Throughout the year, many women continue to wash their clothes in one of several washing sites along the narrow rivers and streams running through the communities in the Valley of Soneira. One of these sites in Carreira has a cement overhang constructed in the mid 1980s that provides protection from the rain. This was promoted as a 'modern' improvement when it was paid for by the municipality. In the past, all of the women brought their washing to collective washing sites where particular households had their own scrubbing stones. A minority of parish households have washing machines, but in some cases these do not function or are not used because of the prohibitive amounts of water and electricity they require. No one owns or uses other major appliances such as drying machines or dishwashers. Most households have installed indoor toilets and full-size bathtubs over the past fifteen years although many villagers still use outhouses. Older Carreirenses, even those with indoor plumbing, complain that the toilets and baths use up the local water supply unnecessarily so that over the drier months of June and July the supply is lower than it should be. When a household no longer receives water out of the indoor taps connected to the pipeline leading from the reservoirs -- which may happen because the supply is



low or not infrequently because a pipe has been intentionally or unintentionally blocked or cut -- individuals living there must carry water from the river to the house as they have done for most of the century.

Another labour-intensive task is the provision of firewood for many of the household heating and cooking needs. Although all of the Carreirense households have a butane gas stove and burners that can be used for cooking, especially during the winter season, the hearth and wooden stoves continue to be used extensively. Wood from felled trees has to be chopped into logs and stacked to dry during the spring and summer months. Those who do not own sufficient stands of lumber will purchase standing trees or chopped lumber from neighbours or larger landowners living in nearby settlements.

People say that they prefer the taste of food cooked over the wooden stoves or even over the hearth (in some households, meat is periodically grilled or stewed over the open fire in the hearth). However, small tasks such as warming coffee and milk for breakfast, are usually done on the butane stoves. Butane is expensive however, and people say that they like to use wood if they own significant supplies of it, because they do not have to pay cash for it. Butane tanks that only last several weeks if they are used frequently rose in price to 800 pesetas (over eight Canadian dollars) in 1991. Some households also use these tanks to heat water for washing dishes and baths. This practice is also the norm in urban Galicia and is most frequent among the land-poor in rural communities such as Carreira. Those with more land tend to have more lumber at their disposal. In these households, water is either heated in the old, iron three-legged pots (*potes*) purchased in the markets or in a tank suspended above the hearth that feeds directly to the kitchen and bathroom hotwater taps.

The hearths must therefore be kept warm throughout the day and fired up for dishwashing or when people want to bathe. The fireplace and wooden stoves are kept warm in any case during the winter months because they are the only sources of heat in all but three houses (where emigrant remittances have made it possible to install electric heating systems). The temperature is fairly low throughout most of the year, especially after sundown. From September to April, people gather around the hearths to warm themselves and to talk before and after the mid-day and evening meals. Refueling the fire is a labour-intensive task that is performed most often by women; children are often asked to bring wood in from the sheds and other locations where it is stored to keep dry.

### **The Work of Animal Husbandry**

Cross-cultural studies have shown that women are reported to do most of the labour associated with livestock used for household needs (Burton and White 1984). In a particular community or society, this pattern, like other divisions of labour by sex, may change along with other factors (Boserup 1970). In the case of Galicia, Iturra (1988) and Rodríguez Campos (1990) have shown that with increasing mechanization and capitalization of animal husbandry and agriculture in some zones over the last several decades, men have taken over decision-making and many tasks -- including those concerning cattle and dairy production -- from the women who were previously the major contributors to this work.

In Carreira, women are almost exclusively the sole providers of daily care for small animals (fowl, rabbits, dogs, cats) while men frequently help care for large livestock (cows, sheep, goats, pigs). As with other tasks, the ratio of

contributing to husbandry work varies depending on the situation in particular households. Although there are exceptions (especially in households without female members), the majority of the work of feeding and watering all animals is performed by women. It is not unrelated to their dominant role as food providers for human members of households. However, members of both sexes will use cattle to pull wagons, ploughs or graders.

In addition, both men and women will take cattle, sheep or goats to the pasture to graze. Shepherding, considered to be a child's task in the past, is now dominated by elderly household members because children must attend school during the daylight hours. On weekends and during summer holidays, teenagers are often sent with the livestock to the mountain pastures. A few teenagers take their homework with them when they shepherd on sunny days and they will sit under a shade tree and read while the animals graze. Older people and others who are not students are expected to 'work' while they supervise the animals: clearing stones off the pasture and piling them along the side; clearing the brush lining the field; or in cleaning out the canals bordering those lower pasturelands that have been irrigated in recent years.

Several household members, and not infrequently, neighbours will help every few months to clean out the thick layer of gorse and hay and manure that forms in the stalls. However, there is a local understanding that it is a 'female' task to feed and maintain household livestock on a daily basis, and to milk cattle and find the eggs laid by the hens. Men -- especially returned migrants who are temporarily underemployed and the elderly men who no longer work for wages -- will help with these daily tasks when they can and almost always intervene when an animal gives birth, or when a large animal such as a pig is to be

slaughtered. The daily work involved in livestock care is labour-intensive and year-round. The demands of animal husbandry require at least one member of the household to dedicate him or herself full-time to agriculture; even if employment opportunities were plentiful, it would not be feasible to retain large livestock and send all the members of a household out to full-time wage jobs. As people told me, "Even if you all want to go out, you cannot because someone has to remain (*Aunque queren salir non poden. Un ten que quedare*)." Older people usually prefer to remain in the house while younger kin attend wedding feasts or visit the beach for a day. On a rare occasion, if a family member is in the hospital or getting married, someone from outside the household will be entrusted with caring for the livestock. All the animals must be fed, watered and supplied with clean bedding daily, while other animals have special needs -- the most urgent being the necessity of milking lactating cattle. The main species of domesticated animals found in Carreira and the specific work associated with the daily care of each are outlined below.

### **Cattle**

There are three main categories of cattle in Carreira. The first type is the indigenous rust-coloured cattle referred to in local terms as the *vacas rosas* and in the literature as the *Rubia Gallega*. These cattle are raised for their veal and also to full growth as breeders and as draught animals. They are thus distinguished from the second category of bovine livestock, dairy cattle, 'as *vacas leiteiras*'. The main breeds of dairy cattle that were imported into Galicia are the black and white Holstein-Friesians (*frisonas*) and the dark brown Alpines (*pardo-alpinas*). A third category are the many cattle of mixed heritage (*as mixtas*) that are the result of extensive inter-breeding. As Bentley (1992)

pointed out for the case of smallholders and worker-peasants in a Minho parish in northern Portugal, dairy cattle are also used for traction when necessary in rural Galicia.

In 1990, it became mandatory in the province of A Coruña to allow veterinarians employed by the Sanitation branch of the Ministry of Agriculture to test all cattle for disease. After the first tests were administered in the autumn of 1990, residents of Carreira were required to dispose of diseased cattle. Significant proportions of the cattle from many households were found to be ill with bovine tuberculosis and brucellosis. It is difficult to report on an exact census of the total number of cattle in the parish at any one point in time. In addition to the enforced removal of up to half a household's herd owing to illness, other cattle were sold and purchased frequently. Individuals who lost animals because they were discovered to have serious diseases could not necessarily replace these animals immediately; the small sum the government paid in compensation was not enough to pay for a beast of equal weight and quality. This testing programme, the low prices of milk and veal, and the availability of tractors and other machines for rent and loan, has also led many households to decide to give up all their cattle either permanently or temporarily. However, two-thirds of the households in the parish held cattle adding up to a total that always included approximately one hundred animals. A few households kept only one cow, while the greatest number in a herd of dairy cattle was ten.

The disappearance of working draught cattle from many households in this parish is one of the most dramatic changes occurring during this decade. Many older people from these households talk about missing individual cows

as well as the general experience of caring for and working with all cows. For these emotional reasons and also economic ones, people will often borrow a neighbour's cows to perform a particular task. Cows are used for most grading and weeding work, as well as for transportation. One task that many men help with is the training of cows for this work. This process of socialization begins at approximately one year of age, when cows are first let out of the stables to graze. Prior to this time, calves nurse their mothers' milk and are fed grass, maize meal and other items in their stalls. Coincidentally, this is the point in their development at which they are given personal names such as *Pinta* or *Rosa*. It makes sense to interpret this transition in terms of a passage from an edible animal to a working animal. Veal calves are frequently either slaughtered for household consumption or sold for their meat at an age ranging from six months to one year. They contribute to the household resources mainly by recycling vegetable products into meat and/or cash profits that can be gained from their sale. However, full-grown cows belong to the social universe; they are household members that work over many years in providing milk, offspring, and traction.<sup>11</sup> These cows are trained to do each job with the least amount of resistance, lethargy or confusion. When a pair of young cows pulling a cart or grader demonstrate that they have successfully joined the ranks of the working animals, people will remark, "They are already taught to work (*Xa están elas ensinadas a treballare*)." Owners are as proud of their cows' work habits as they are when a cow's sleek coat and full stomachs and teats indicate good care and health to onlookers from neighbouring households. The job of instructing young cows to work is performed by both men and women and takes several months of patient work. Over the last half-decade, the rapid increase in

the use of tractors and other machinery has meant that middle-aged and older women and men are much more adept at this task than are younger people (the majority of them men), who in turn know more about driving and repairing motorized vehicles.

In addition, since many women and older people of both sexes cannot drive, it is they who will use cows most often to transport grass, gorse, and other items by cart even if their household owns a tractor. Cows also provide a key link in the ecological cycle I mention in Chapter Two -- they provide the majority of non-chemical manure used on the fields of crops. This manure is extremely beneficial because it has been mixed with gorse, hay and other decaying vegetable material in the cow stalls over several weeks and months before being spread on the fields. Cows and other grazing animals also promote the regeneration of fallow fields when they graze there periodically. Households without cattle will also borrow loads of manure and allow animals to graze on their fields in order to attempt to retain this stage of the agricultural cycle.

The daily labour involved in caring for cattle is unequalled by any other species. They must be milked two times per day. If they are still nursing recently born offspring, someone must make sure that the newborn calves suckle several times each day. Each morning, those individuals who sell milk bring it in plastic and metal buckets down to the highway to meet the dairy trucks that pass by. A truck from Leyma passes by at 8:30 a.m. and another from the Remy Picot dairy collects from sellers at 9:00 a.m.

The cattle must be well fed throughout the day. They are taken to a pasture to graze on all possible days. The cold, rainy winter weather of this corner of Iberia often makes this impossible. On rainy days, cows are fed and watered in

their stalls. In either case, cattle are also fed fresh grass, hay and the stalks of harvested maize and grains periodically while in their stalls. They are given water two or three times a day, usually in the morning or evening. This liquid usually contains a mixture of maize flour, often a cup of commercial feed or another flour (barley, rye, oats), potatoes, greens (rape, kale, cabbage) and sometimes salt. During the coldest winter months, this water is warmed over the fire, lengthening even more the duration of this twice daily task.

The stalls must also be kept clean. Fresh bedding is laid down two or three times per day, usually in the morning and evening.

### **Pigs**

Pigs used to roam about the villages, rooting through unfenced gardens (for this reason, most older kitchen gardens have stone walls around them) and fields of maize, greens and potatoes. Pigs were thus able to garner nourishment wherever they could find it, but this unrestricted behaviour was also the cause for many inter-household disputes. At present, domesticated pigs are kept in darkened pens. One of the reasons for this change is said to be the construction of roads into the village and arrival of motorized vehicle traffic since the late 1960s.

Much work is involved in the care of the one or two pigs each household raises every year. They must be fed in the morning and evening with a mixture of water, maize flour, a cup of another grain or commercial feed, cooked potatoes, greens and edible garbage from human meals. Prior to being slaughtered (in November or December), pigs are fed quantities of maize flour and kernels. Fresh bedding of gorse and hay must be laid down in their stalls one or two times a day. These stalls must be mucked out whenever necessary,



usually about as frequently as the cattle stalls.

Pigs are usually slaughtered in November or December. Most households raise pigs for approximately eight or nine months. In other cases, young pigs of only five or six months are slaughtered twice a year. It is more frequent, however, to purchase a young piglet of one or two months at the market in spring and raise it until the end of the year. The lard, smoked sausages and ham, and salted pork from this animal provides for a household's needs over an annual cycle. A common saying regarding this practice: "The yearly pigs are for making [the] soup (*Os porcos de ano pra fazer o caldo* )."

Pigs can only be slaughtered at the mid-way period or "*entre-lunes*" of the lunar cycle. It is believed that the worst time to kill and butcher a pig is at the new moon, "*o punto de luna*". Similarly, a candle, rainbow, lightning or moonlight itself are liable to spoil the meat while it is laid out in baskets lined with bay leaves prior to being butchered and salted. The most urgent night is the one following the day the pig is slaughtered, skinned and bled. Many women use the recently built living rooms (*salas de estar* or *salóns*) of their 'modern' homes for this purpose because these rooms have the thickest sets of curtains to keep out the moonlight (*o luceiro*) (see Chapter Six). Similarly, women who are menstruating are not allowed to participate in butchering and salting the pork, as they are believed to endanger it because of their own cycle.

Although it is mainly men who perform the initial tasks of slaughtering pigs and other large animals -- cutting their throats, washing and burning off the hair on their skins, and then skinning and butchering the main sections -- women are responsible for the more time-consuming jobs of butchering the main sections into small pieces for salting or freezing; preparing the lard and

hams to be smoked; chopping, spicing and mixing the meat for sausages (over a week's period) and stuffing the tripes for smoking (Gala González 1990; Rodríguez Campos 1990).

As I mention in Chapter Five, the slaughter of the pig is an occasion for inter-household exchange of both labour and meat. The labour exchange is segregated by gender, with the women working inside the house and the men outside.<sup>12</sup>

### **Fowl**

Unlike the larger livestock, domesticated fowl are rarely cared for, slaughtered, or prepared by men. Men who live alone or with disabled or unwell wives or sisters will certainly do this work as they will other 'female' tasks such as cooking. However, raising chickens and hens is considered to be a female chore. This association with a gendered work activity is reinforced by the fact that women keep the fowl in pens that lead out to kitchen gardens, another almost exclusively female work site in Carreira and throughout rural Europe.

The main species of domesticated fowl found in this area are the white eating chickens (*os polos blancos*) and rust-coloured laying hens (*as gallinas*). The white chickens were uncommon in the past, the rusty hens having been used for both the production of eggs and for meat. All of the women in Carreira now raise a small flock of each variety, slaughtering the chickens when they are anywhere from two to four months of age, and the hens when they stop laying well. These fowl are kept in enclosed pens during the night to protect them from predators (mainly foxes and dogs). A daily task is to lay down clean bedding on the floor of these pens while the fowl are let out during the day to roam the

kitchen garden, yard and often even the road.

The Carreirense say that the eggs and chickens they raise are better tasting and healthier than the products raised on commercial 'farms' (*granjas*). The reasons for the higher quality is that village hens and chickens are free-ranging, and they eat products other than commercial feed. Maize flour, maize kernels, grass, insects, a variety of greens (kale, rape) and water compose the diet of home-raised fowl in this area of rural Galicia. However, in recent years most women have begun to mix in some commercial feed with the maize flour. They still feel ambivalent about doing so because of the local emphasis on 'natural' food. However, a competing motive for using commercial feed rather than solely home-raised grains is an increasing emphasis among worker-peasants on investing capital in inputs for not only commodities that will be sold but also on items destined for household consumption. In addition, there is also pride in having raised large chickens and consistently large numbers of eggs. The commercial feed contains steroids that enable hens to lay during the cold winter months when they would otherwise stop or lay few eggs. Another time-consuming task that must be performed daily is searching both inside the pens and in the yard for the eggs the hens have laid. Children are often asked to assist women with this work. They will look for eggs several times a day if possible since there is a danger that the hens will break or eat their own eggs.

A few women raise pheasants, ducks and rabbits that are also kept in pens. Wild fowl were hunted and trapped more frequently in the past. Pigeons were kept in large, round pigeon-houses (*pombeiros*); only one such house was being used in Carreira in 1991. The general task of slaughtering, cleaning, butchering and cooking these animals as well as the ubiquitous chickens and

hens is described below.

### **Other Animals**

Additional animals that are found in most households include guard dogs and cats that are also considered to be valuable workers because they catch mice and rats. Although people become fond of individual dogs and cats, these animals are not pets and rarely sleep or spend time in the human dwelling spaces. They live outside or inside stables or sheds and are fed the leftovers from human meals, competing with pigs. Both cats and dogs are hunters and may catch birds as well as rodents, and thus supplement their own nutritional needs. Many dogs are trained to be vicious and are chained to prevent them from scavenging neighbours' fowl or hurting young children. Formerly, dogs were used to shepherd the large herds of sheep in both villages.

A few households also raise sheep and goats. Prior to the mid-1960s, when the commonlands were exploited collectively, large numbers of both sheep and goats were kept in Carreira. The limited resources of both pasture and labour for shepherding has made these species rare. Horses and oxen were also frequently owned by the *propietarios* and the wealthy peasant households (*casas fortes*), although none are found today in this parish.

In the past, prior to a serious epidemic in the 1980s that affected all of European apiculture, many Carreirense households raised bees for both honey and wax. Local candlemakers (the closest in Quíntans) who themselves owned large numbers of hives, would exchange utility candles in return for the wax from the hives. Honey was used as an all-purpose sweetener in rural Galicia in place of the expensive store-bought sugar that was purchased only for 'festive' occasions. In the spring of 1991, two households initiated new hives

(by attracting a passing swarm of bees into specially built boxes). They should be able to successfully raise bees once again since information on treating the disease is now widely available.<sup>13</sup>

### **The Daily Gathering and Processing of Food**

Many of the food items served to humans and given to animals require a daily investment of time for gathering and processing. The Carreirenses expressed a preference for maintaining this work of self-provisioning as opposed to expanding the consumer work that urban and town inhabitants must perform in order to provide food (Gimenez 1990).<sup>14</sup> As Segalen (1984:176) noted in the case of rural France, refrigerators and freezers are being purchased by more Carreira households and are becoming important ways to store food. However, most people are reluctant to trust completely in cold storage since the electrical supply for the parish is erratic. During the stormy winter months in particular, the lines are often blown down and not repaired for several hours or days. Electricity is also expensive and considered by some Carreirenses to be less 'natural' than older ways of storing meat. In most households, women continue to smoke sausages as well as lard and salt pork. Smaller animals such as chickens and rabbits are killed and cleaned when they are required for a meal. Vegetable products are generally picked the day they are used, rather than being cleaned and stored in the refrigerator as they are in urban Galicia. Potatoes and grains are stored in the dry-air granaries ubiquitous throughout rural Galicia and Asturias but must be processed when they are needed. These daily tasks, like those of livestock care and fuel provision described above, and not unlike the seasonal tasks of the annual cycle of agricultural production, mean that these worker-peasant households

must have some family members available to complete them. The unwaged work discussed in this section is undertaken largely by women and girls, with some help from older men and young boys. The reproductive labour of food gathering and processing is both emically significant and etically a crucial part of my analysis of unpaid work in Carreira. It provides us with a conceptual link between the 'housework' of cooking and the unpaid work of producing food that is most often incorporated into an analysis of economic contributions as equivalent to wage work.

The rape, kale and cabbage mentioned above are gathered by women from their gardens (*hortas*) during the day so that they may be used to feed both animals and humans at mid-day and in the evening. Because both the villages that make up Carreira are laid out in a dense settlement pattern with the fields for each household surrounding the core of dwellings, many women only have small kitchen gardens close to their houses and must walk some distance to gather those food products needed frequently. It is common to gather rape, kale, and cabbage in the late morning or the late evening, prior to beginning preparations for one of the two main meals. Large quantities of greens may be transported in wheelbarrows or animal-pulled carts; however, most often older and middle-aged women carry bundles of any kind on their heads, balanced on a ring of cloth or hay. The gathering of daily food directly from the fields is often combined, like many other reproductive tasks, with socializing. Women carrying large bundles of greens and hay can be seen chatting at the crossing of paths leading to the gardens, in the main *plaza*, outside each other's entranceways, or as they walk to or from these daily tasks. They begin their conversations by commenting on the very greens and other products they are carrying. Villagers

tell each other where they went or are going to gather the food, what they will make with it, how many people they have to feed that day, and how well or poorly their livestock and crops are doing.

Each household owns a granary -- in Galician a *cabazo* and in Castilian an *horreo* -- made from local stone or in some cases wood and more recently from cement blocks or clay bricks. The grains and potatoes from the annual crop are stored in these granaries and must be processed frequently. Maize, as described above, must be processed in several stages after it is harvested, shucked and stored in a dry place. It must be degranulated and milled prior to being fed to livestock or incorporated into human dishes -- this is often done daily or weekly. Many women still grind and sift their own flour from the grains they grow: wheat for human foods such as breads and cakes and rye and oats for the livestock. They do this as often as they need the flour, keeping the grains in the dry storage granaries until needed for their own household consumption, or until they sell or give them to neighbours.

Another labour-intensive task is the slaughtering, butchering and cleaning of fowl, pigs, calves, rabbits, lambs, and goats. While pigs, lambs, goats and veal are slaughtered only once or twice a year, and most often by men, women slaughter their household fowl and rabbits on the day of or the day before they intend to use them for a main meal. Not all Carreirense households keep rabbits, but all of those with female members maintain a small flock of chickens and hens. A few women, all from wealthier households, have begun to experiment with ducks and pheasants. All of these small animals are kept enclosed in pens behind or near each dwelling during the night to protect them from foxes and dogs, but are let out into an open yard during the daytime. It is in

this yard that most women also slaughter their fowl several times a week. The work of plucking, washing and butchering a chicken or other fowl thoroughly takes about a half-hour. It is common to find women killing several fowl to accommodate large families, especially on the occasion of a festival meal. This work can take up a significant portion of their morning. The pre-cleaned and packaged fowl purchased in supermarkets and butcher shops are available to Carreirense who travel to nearby towns (Zás or Bayo) or the city of A Coruña, but are regarded as less healthy and nourishing because likely raised on a *granja* -- an industrialized chicken 'farm'. One family in the village of Villaestevéz has begun to sell pre-butchered and locally-raised fowl and meat in their dry goods store. There is still a reluctance for Carreirense women to talk about using 'bought' (*comprado*) chicken or meat in their family's meals. When women butcher the fowl, they make sure to talk about it with their neighbours to emphasize that they use home-raised food. As in the case of discussing the greens they bring in from the gardens, the activity of butchering and cleaning fowl is a focus for narratives about 'peasant' community and work identity.

The greens must also be carefully cleaned and sorted each time they are used to make *caldo* or other stews. Children are often sent outside to find herbs such as bay leaves and parsley in kitchen gardens while their mothers are preparing meals. The reliance on potatoes as a staple for each mid-day meal means that children are also sent out to the household granary to bring in a basketful to be peeled, washed and cut up daily. The preference in rural communities like Carreira for large meals that require several hours of cooking means that women must begin their mid-day meal preparations at approximately 11 a.m. or 12 p.m. in order to be ready for 1:30 or 2 p.m. when



most households sit down to eat. Evening meals are served when the sun sets and everyone's major chores are finished -- ranging from around 8:00 p.m. in winter until 11:00 p.m. during the busy summer evenings. Morning coffee and milk with bread is less important and time-consuming. In households where there are cattle to milk, this is done prior to eating breakfast. Milk from the evening before is pasteurized by being heated to the boiling point on the stove at night so that it can be served in the morning. An integral part of the labour of preparing these meals concerns the additional tasks of gathering and processing the food items that have been described.

The gathering and processing of food in worker-peasant households is thus more labour-intensive than the urban woman's work of shopping and cooking. One reason for this is that both livestock and human members of the household must be fed daily. Another aspect of this reproductive work that makes it distinctively time-consuming is the preference in Carreira for 'peasant' dishes made from home-raised and daily harvested and processed food. This daily commitment of female-dominated labour is intertwined with an annual cycle of agricultural production that involves household members of both genders and all ages.

### **Crop Production**

There have been significant changes in the methods of crop production in Carreira. With the addition of new breeds, and a few new species, the same repertoire of crops are found in Carreira today as were cultivated earlier in the century. Maize, potatoes, wheat, kale, rape, grass and hay have been important crops throughout the century. Less wheat is planted now that neither tithes nor rents are paid in this grain, and the majority of households purchase their bread

daily from the three bakers from nearby towns who deliver it each morning. Despite the reduction in the wheat crop, both this and other grains (rye, oats) are planted by most households for human and animal consumption throughout the year. As I discuss in detail below, over the century, this crop has gone from being one of the most labour intensive to the one requiring the least person-hours. Maize and potato production still involve several stages of inter-household work parties and are considered to be crucial crops for maintaining the goal of some degree of self-sufficiency.

The 'garden' crops of rape, kale and cabbage are planted collectively but weeded and harvested by individual households. The introduction of grass silage in the 1980s, only done by households with large numbers of cattle, has created a new focus for collective labour. Therefore, as is developed at length in Chapter Five, relationships of long-term reciprocity at the intra-household and inter-household levels are enacted around the cultivation of these core crops as well as the exchange of other types of obligations. The transformation of production has meant that the Carreirenses do not exchange and hire each other's labour to the same extent as they did in the past; however, the seasonal migration of household members to wage jobs in other parts of Spain and abroad has meant that inter-household labour exchange is still both crucial and symbolically valued as intrinsic to the maintenance of 'peasant' production.

Transformations in production methods are the result of several main shifts: the widespread introduction of metal tools and elimination of wooden tools such as ploughs and hoes, the use of herbicides that limits the amount of weeding necessary for many crops, the use of pesticides instead of unsuccessful attempts at hand-removing insects during epidemics, the

introduction of mechanized rather than animal draught power in the area, and the recent redistribution of miniature plots of land.

The *minifundía* system of fragmented, tiny landholdings prevalent throughout northern Spain has been criticized for making it impossible for agriculturalists to intensify or mechanize production. This system created difficulties in Carreira where individuals who owned irregularly shaped, tiny adjoining plots (see Map 4 on page 248) had to be careful not to step on newly planted crops in neighbouring fields, and to plant, hoe and harvest at approximately the same time period as their neighbours. Moreover, many agriculturalists could not use tractors or other machinery because of the multitude of tiny, curving plots they owned. In addition, tasks such as ploughing and hoeing were more time-consuming because workers had to travel between fields often located at some distance apart during the brief peak seasons when specific tasks had to be performed. These tasks took several weeks rather than the two or three days they occupy now. Both the use of machinery and the cultivation of only one, two or three large fields has enabled worker-peasant families to do many tasks on Saturdays or during the light summer evenings, when commuting wage workers can remain home to help.

It is too soon to speculate about the far-reaching effects land consolidation in Carreira might have on subsistence agriculture and petty commodity production in the future. Owing to the significance of this factor in effecting the actual or potential mechanization of many stages of crop production, I begin this section by outlining briefly the lengthy procedure that only recently allowed the smallholders in Carreira to take advantage of new consolidated rectangular plots in the valley of Soneira.<sup>15</sup>

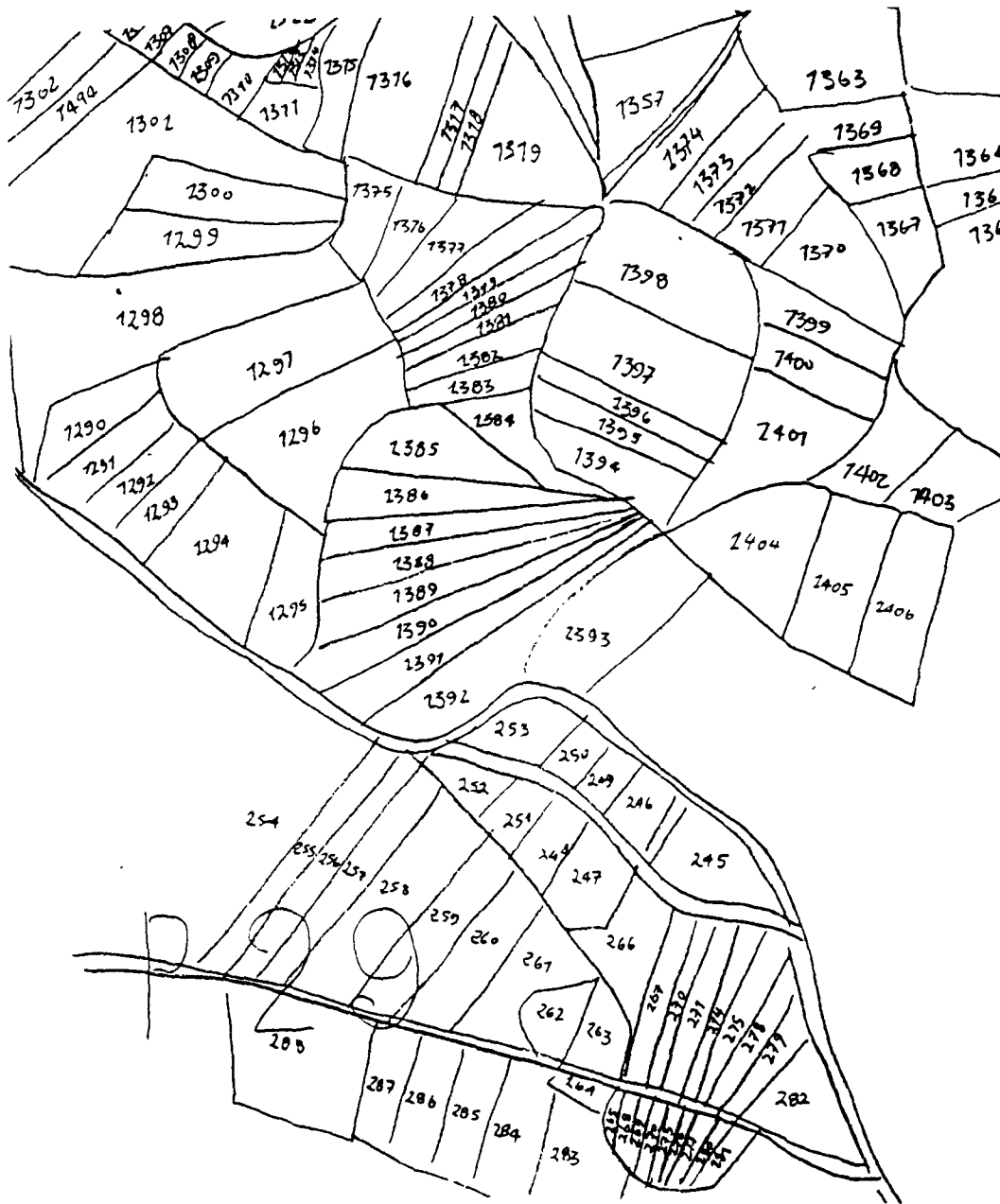
## **Land Consolidation**

As one aspect of a general move to promote the modernization of agricultural technology and production techniques since the 1950s, the Spanish government has undertaken to consolidate and redistribute the holdings of agriculturalists living in areas of extreme land fragmentation. The Galician region became one of the main sites of the project of this programme of *Concentración Parcelaria* because of the prevalence of miniature plots there. Map 4 (page 248) illustrates the way in which land was fragmented into tiny, non-linear plots prior to its consolidation. As Bentley (1992) points out for the case of a parish in the Minho region of northern Portugal, this fragmentation is not due solely to subdivision through inheritance in Galicia. In Carreira, the majority of households have been purchasing land -- many of the plots that they worked as renters or sharecroppers -- gradually over the twentieth century, mainly with remittances from wage work abroad and locally. Residents attempt to consolidate their holdings whenever possible. Main heirs often buy their siblings' shares of land, especially in cases where these heirs have migrated permanently to other countries (most often South American destinations) or to other villages or cities in Spain. Villagers exchange or purchase particular plots of land from neighbours and relatives as well, in situations when they can obtain access to land that their neighbours own. There is a local understanding that anyone selling land must first offer to sell it to owners of adjoining plots (*lindantes*) whether or not they are interested. The government does not impose the land consolidation onto communities. Community members must officially petition the land office in order to set the lengthy and complicated process in motion. In actuality, in most areas, influential individuals in the

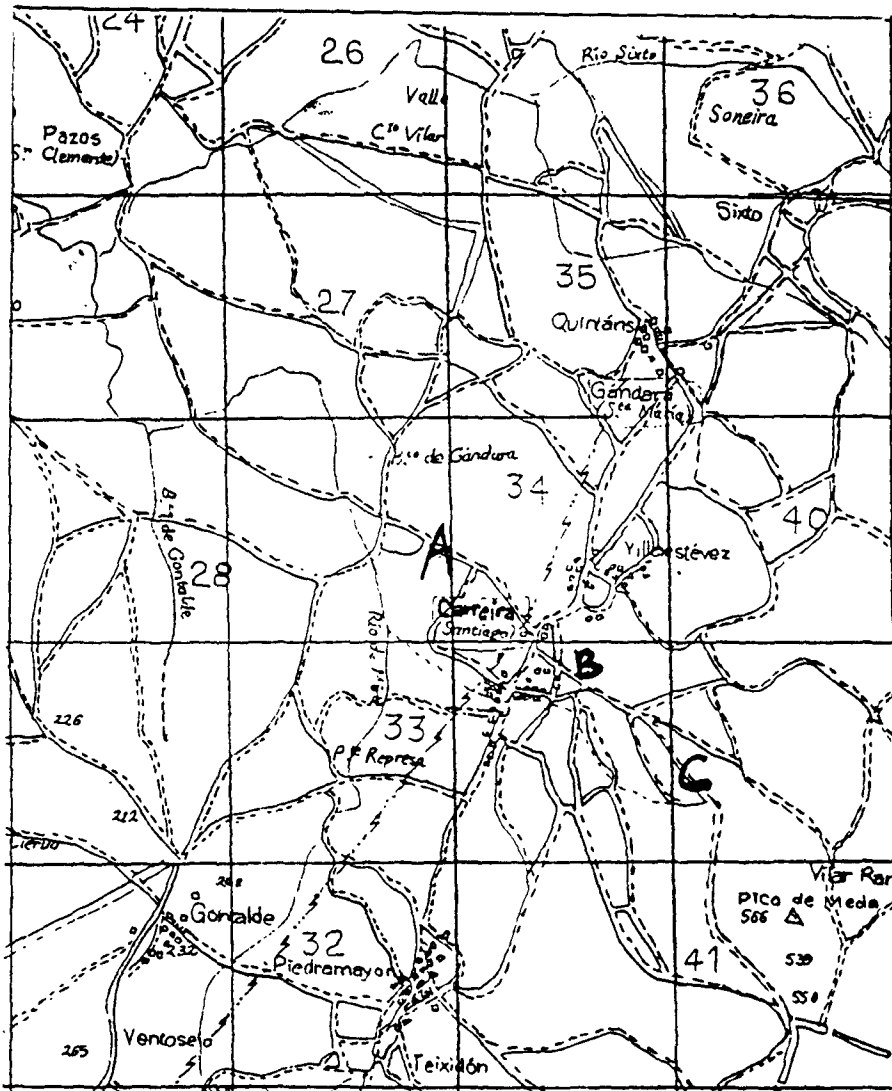
community convince other residents to form the necessary local committee and to persuade all the landowners to sign the document.

The *Concentración Parcelaria* of Carreira and the adjoining parish of Mira was initiated by a petition of residents to the provincial land office of A Coruña in 1975. The residents of Carreira decided to include only the land below the main road in the consolidation census and redistribution (see section A on Map 5, page 249). The plots in sections B and C, although generally small in size, are already consolidated. Several medium-sized and large households own fields in the northern side of section B and other plots are kitchen gardens nearby or directly adjoining dwellings and stable and storage buildings. Section C is the woodland that was formerly the village commonlands. The commonland in Carreira was initially subdivided into privately owned plots in 1943; the top of the Pico de Meda was appropriated by the government as public land and is now used mainly for a recently installed telephone signal tower. Residents continued to use the mountainslope in common -- for grazing, gathering gorse and wood, and quarrying stone -- until a revised survey and subdivision was conducted in 1964.

The initial recommendations of the team of land surveyors regarding section A of Map 5 were registered and approved by the head office (Xunta de Galicia 1975-1991) at the end of 1978. A modified plan was submitted in 1981, following a series of appeals by residents. Further appeals slowed down the finalization of the redistribution; all appeals were only resolved in 1989, nineteen years after the initial plan was completed.



**Map 4. Section of land in Santiago de Carreira  
when land consolidation petitioned in 1975  
(Scale 1:1000)  
(Source: Xunta de Galicia 1975-1991)**



**Map 5. Map of Santiago de Carreira in relation to surrounding fields. Section A: land consolidated in 1980s; Sections B and C: not subject to consolidation process (source: Ayuntamiento de Zás)**

In Carreira, as in most parishes in the interior of the province of Coruña, the land was classified into five types, with different classes (in order of descending quality) of each type. There are five classes of *labradío* or arable land, three classes of *prado regadío* or irrigated pasture, four classes of *prado secano* or dry (unirrigatable) pasture, three classes of *monte* or woodland and one class of *erial* or uncultivable land.<sup>16</sup> A census of holdings was undertaken by the agronomists who both consulted all available legal documentation and interviewed residents in order to determine the boundaries and quality of distinct holdings. Maps of holdings were constructed with the help of aerial photographs and six polygons became the basis for redrawing the distribution of land. A coefficient of compensation was established for each class and type of land in order to calculate an equitable distribution of new plots. The coefficients for each class and type is listed in Table 4.1 below:



**Table 4.1****Classification and compensation coefficients of land in Mira-Carreira**

(source: Xunta de Galicia 1975-1991)

Land type	Class	Compensation coefficient
arable land	1st	100
arable land	2nd	85
arable land	3rd	70
arable land	4th	55
arable land	5th	45
irrigable pasture	1st	150
irrigable pasture	2nd	115
irrigable pasture	3rd	85
dry pasture	1st	90
dry pasture	2nd	75
dry pasture	3rd	60
dry pasture	4th	50
woodland	1st	40
woodland	2nd	30
woodland	3rd	15
uncultivated land	single	5

The initial consolidation can be summarized as having achieved the following reduction in both numbers of plots per owner and size of average plots, the two goals of the *Concentración Parcelaria* :

**Table 4.2**  
**Summary of initial results of land concentration in Mira-Carreira**  
(source: Xunta de Galicia 1975-1991)

	<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>
Total number of proprietors	442	448
Total number of plots of land	2,792	791
Number of plots/proprietor	6.32	1.77
Total area (in hectares)	295.8750	278.6165
Average area of plots	0.11	0.35
Reduction index = $2,792/791 = 3.53$		
Concentration coefficient = $\frac{2,792 - 791}{2,792 - 448} \times 100 = 85.36$		

The reader can see that although there has been a significant reduction in the number of plots per proprietor, down from a total number of 2,792 to only 791, as well as a relatively important increase in the size of the average plot, most residents in these parishes still work on small areas, the average size being approximately 0.35 hectares. Most Carreirense households still have access to two, three or even more plots of agricultural land. The surveyors tried to minimize (without success) the number of appeals and therefore gave most owners more than one concentrated piece of land in exchange for the myriad of miniature plots owned previously. Different members of a household -- especially spouses from two natal households -- often own distinct pieces of land, having inherited them individually. In other cases, access to several land plots is maintained because individuals who have migrated allow relatives to work their land without charge since it is preferable to letting land become

unfertilized and overgrown.

The major change has been the outlining of larger, square and rectangularly shaped plots with access to roads or paths. This has meant that all the villagers with land in the lower part of the villager are able to use purchased or rented machinery such as tractors to work their land.

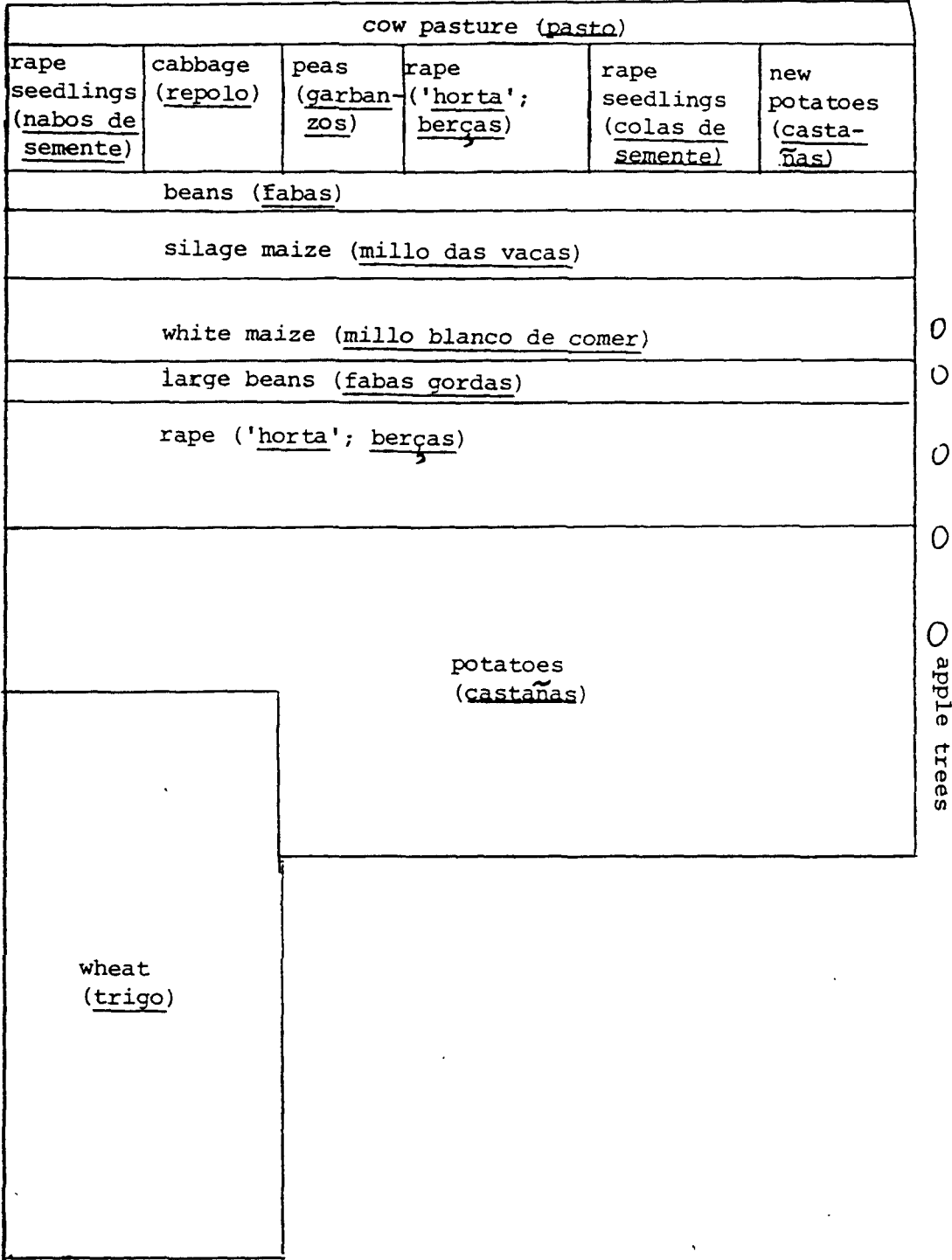
### **Combining Crops on Unitary Fields**

In 1989, for the first time, the newly consolidated rectangularly-shaped plots of irrigable land -- called *leiras* or *fincas* locally -- were cultivated by those parish householders who owned land below the highway in the valley of Soneira. A few households of medium and large peasants have been able to cultivate large fields for several generations on land that was consolidated prior to the official redistribution. Ironically, two such households in Carreira are unable to hire the wheat thresher that comes to the parish to harvest and thresh grains for an hourly charge because these fields do not have access to the main road. The diagram below indicates how one squared field of 30 *ferrados* (one *ferrado* in this locality measures approximately 424 square metres) was planted with all the major crops in 1991. The owner of this consolidated field is seventy year old Susana, the head of Casa de Susana (see pages 110 to 115 in Chapter Two). This is a worker-peasant household composed of Susana's daughter and son-in-law, Encarnación and Ovidio, who both live and work in Switzerland for most of the year, and Susana's two unmarried grandchildren whom she raised in Carreira. Susana worked for day wages in her youth and early years of marriage, but as a landed widow she now spends most of her time working this land. Although she does much of the hoeing and weeding work herself, Susana could not plant and harvest her crops without the help of

her two teen-age grandchildren who live with her, as well as the exchange of labour with kin and neighbours.

I drew the map of these crops on a day in May when Susana and her sister Concepción were working there. Susana had borrowed Concepción's cattle to grade her newly planted maize and potato fields. They told me that no portion of this field was ever left fallow, and that the two other plots Susana owned in another section of the parish were planted in maize and pine trees. This particular field has been cultivated by Susana ever since her husband died thirty years ago. Therefore, unlike other many other village householders, she has also has apple trees growing on the borders of the field. A pine grove planted behind her land is owned by another villager.

Figure 4.1  
Distribution of crops on Susana's plot in 1991



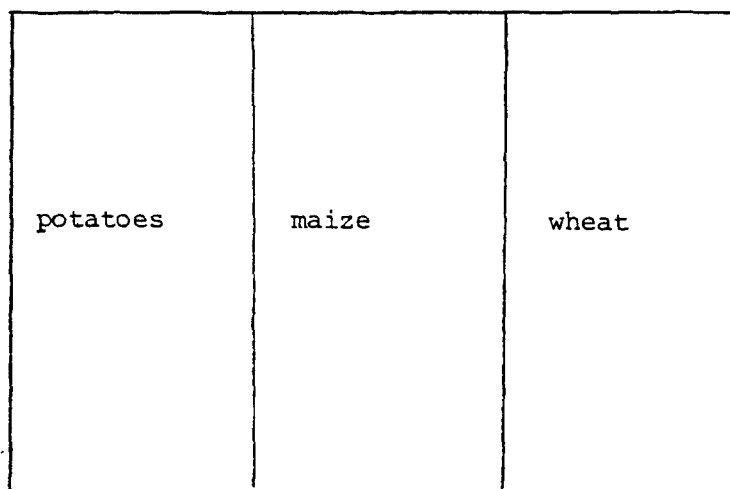
### **Crop Rotation**

Land rotation is a simple system in most households in the late twentieth century. Each fall after the harvest, those fields that are not replanted with grains or other consumption crops are transformed into pastures, planted with new crops of young pines or eucalyptus trees for later sale or even left fallow. Generally, especially in households with small amounts of land, a simple rotation between four categories of crops is followed on a two or three-field system. The categories people mention when they describe their rotation are as follows: potatoes and beans (*castañas* or *patacas* and *fabas*), maize (*millo* or the Castilian *maíz*), grains (*o trigo* - the generic 'wheat') and garden products, including large fields of rape and kale (*a horta*). Earlier in the century, little valley land was left fallow because of the great need for large crops of maize, grains, potatoes and greens for household consumption needs for both human and livestock. Some wealthier households allowed poorer villagers to clear land through a slash and burn method on the mountain slope to grow the hardy grains like rye. These villagers were thus able, by offering their labour free, to cultivate a small crop of grain with which to feed the animals they might own 'by halves' (*a medias*).<sup>17</sup> In other cases, clearing woodland (*cavar en o monte*) was a task performed by men and strong women for themselves or for a day-wage. More commonly, one finds residents planting tree groves or creating pastures on these mountain plots of woodland -- *herbal en o monte* -- during the 1980s.

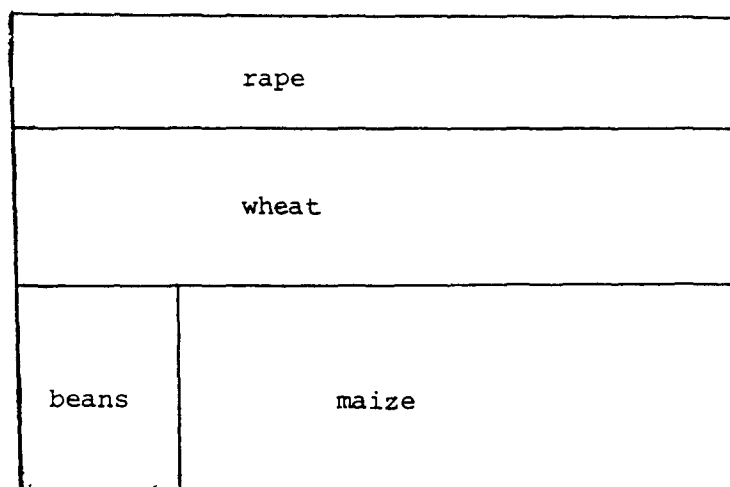
The Carreirense were reluctant to commit themselves to transforming the valley fields until recent years because of the nineteen-year long process of land consolidation described above. An example of crop rotation is provided by

the newly constituted field owned by Concepción (in Figure 4.2 on page 258). This field is bordered on two sides by the highway and on the other two sides by land granted to other households. Prior to 1989, Concepción's land was distributed throughout the parish, in a series of small parcels mainly purchased since mid-century by her grandparents and parents from inheritors who were descendants of wealthier peasant households. The government land consolidation program has enabled Concepción, her daughter-in-law Beatriz and her son Enrique for the first time to plant large, square plots of different crops with their recently purchased tractor, one beside the other in the several plots they were granted in exchange for the series of miniature ones. This is how they chose to use the plot in 1990 and then again in 1991.

**Figure 4.2**  
**Concepción's field rotation**  
**(1990 and 1991)**



1990



1991



One can see in this example that there is often a cross-over of a portion of the same crop. Concepción decided to plant maize and wheat twice; however, the first year (1990) maize and wheat ran vertically along the entire field and the following year (1991), they were planted horizontally. Concepción owns a sizeable kitchen garden near the house that is dedicated to spring and summer plants like tomatoes, lettuce and garlic and the raising of the young greens (cabbage, kale and rape) for later transplantation. The family also now owns several other large plots, one belonging to Beatríz who recently inherited land from her mother, where in 1991 more maize and greens were planted as well as the yearly crop of potatoes and a hayfield. Another lower plot, Concepción's, has been dedicated to a young pine and eucalyptus grove; she intends to sell this lumber when it is mature. Enough firewood and pasture for their household needs are provided from the upper lot they received when the commonland was redistributed in the 1960s.

### **Annual Cycle**

In Table 4.3, I have summarized the annual cycle that Carreirense follow in their production of grains (wheat, maize, rye, oats), garden products (rape, kale, cabbage, lettuce, onions, garlic), pulses and legumes (beans, peas), and tubers (potatoes).

**Table 4.3****Annual cycle of agricultural production**

January	transplant greens (rape, kale, cabbage)
February	sow early potatoes begin to prepare fields for spring planting
March and April and May	sow barley prepare all of the fields for planting sow potatoes sow peas sow lettuce, carrots, and other kitchen garden products and transplant seedlings of tomatoes, onion and garlic sow maize with beans cut and ensile spring crop of green grass (few households)
June and July	hoe maize (3 times) hoe potatoes (2 times) hoe beans, peas, and greens (2 times) harvest lettuce, tomatoes, and other garden products cut, gather and store hay harvest wheat, oats and rye
August and September and October	harvest barley sow forage wheat and oats (for animals) sow seeds of greens (rape, kale, and cabbage) harvest and store beans and potatoes harvest, shuck and store maize
November and December	sow winter wheat, rye and oats harvest chestnuts

During January and February, little work is done on the fields. The weather is rainy and cool (5 to 10 degrees Celsius most of the time) and people spend a lot of time indoors by the hearth fixing tools and performing other small tasks that cannot be attended to during the more intensive months of agricultural production. Animal husbandry tasks are similar to those of other months: the bedding must be kept clean with fresh layers of hay, gorse and other indigenous forest products. The animals cannot be taken to pasture as frequently because of the winter weather, so they are often left in the stalls all day and their owners bring them fresh grass and hay to eat periodically.

The main agricultural tasks that must be performed are the transplanting of greens (rape, kale and long-stemmed cabbage) from small kitchen garden plots to areas where they can be spaced out in wider rows. This, and the planting of new (or 'early') potatoes and white cabbage is done anywhere from late January until late March, depending on the weather that year and the decisions made by particular householders.

By February and into the period of early spring (March and April), the ground is prepared for planting in those fields that are needed successively. These fields must be fertilized and ploughed. The mixture of manure and decaying vegetable material from the stables is dumped in piles onto the fields and left there for several days or even weeks. It is then spread out in a layer over the entire field before ploughing. A few households now have 'modern' stables where they collect the manure in liquid form and this fertilizer is transported to the fields in a cistern. Ashes from the hearths are also spread on the fields, as was done in the past. With the iron ploughs and tractors, the fertilizer can be left until soon before planting, when the earth is turned

(*retobatar*) and then ploughed into furrows (*defender* or *deregar*) for planting.

Rye is planted in March or April on the fertilized and turned field. Again depending on the year, over the months March to May, one finds the Carreirense householders planting the bulk of potatoes and garden products (peas, lettuce, carrots, peppers) and transplanting pre-planted or purchased tomatoes, onions and garlic.

Planting is done with a full-size tractor (*tractor*) and iron ploughshare or with a smaller tractor (*motocultor*). Some households still use cows to pull the plough, especially in cases where only a few rows of beans or new potatoes are planted. In kitchen gardens, women plant completely by hand, digging furrows with long-handled spades. Seventeen households in Carreira and six in Pedramaior either own their own tractors or own one in partnership. Those individuals who do not own tractors or other machinery are ordinarily able to make arrangements to pay a neighbour (in cash or with labour) to have the use of their tractor for a particular task such as ploughing. In the case of the greens (rape, kale, cabbage) and potato sets, after the furrows are ploughed, a few individuals walk behind the tractor or cows laying down a mixture of lime and chemical fertilizer and then the plants into the ground at intervals. The plough and other workers with spades then return along the length of the furrow to cover it with earth.

The Carreirense are therefore using a mixture of agricultural techniques. They still spread the vegetable matter and manure from the stables on the earth prior to ploughing a new field for planting, yet they also add some chemical fertilizer to the furrows when they plant. They often use mechanized tools such as tractors, yet they also require five or six individuals to perform the tasks like

laying down the plants and fertilizer behind the tractor. And the decision to plant (and to some extent to harvest) kale, rape, cabbage, or potatoes is made on the basis of the lunar cycle, rather than according to any other criteria. As with the pig slaughter, the new moon (*a punta da luna*) is the most dangerous time to plant or harvest most garden products. An exception is the fresh grass that is cut once or twice a day for the livestock. The danger of planting plants such as kale or rape during the new moon is that they will then grow very thick stems and many small tough leaves rather than tender ones. This is referred to with the verb "*grelan*" after the name for the kale leaves consumed in the late spring, "*grelas*". It is said that if the kale is not planted during a safe period, it will "only grow children (*Sí non, botan todos fillos*)." In reference to an association made between the lunar cycle, the dangers of planting during certain periods, and the dangers of having sex during the female menstrual period, the following joke is made: "Don't mess with that woman because she's at the point of the moon. She's at the point of the moon [i.e. she has her period] (*Non te metas co esa mullere porque está a punta de luna. Anda da punta de luna*)." Zonabend (1980:30-31) found that similar beliefs about the lunar cycle and planting were relied upon for good harvests in the French village of Minot where kitchen gardens are an important activity.

The last items of the spring to be planted are the maize and beans. These are often both furrowed at the same time in adjoining rows either by hand or with a wooden box planter (*sementadora*) containing one compartment for maize and another for the beans. The seeds for the two plants fall out of funnels at intervals as the seeder is pulled along by one or two cows, or the small tractor referred to as a *motocultor*. Maize and potatoes are often graded with a

wooden frame grader (*grade do pau*) pulled by one or two cows soon after being planted.

In other cases, as in the example of Susana's crop layout (Figure 4.1), although planted near each other, maize and potatoes are no longer planted intermittently. One reason for this pattern is the various types of maize that are planted. The two main strains of maize used in Carreira are the white maize (*millo blanco*) or 'French maize' (*millo francés*) used for both human and animal consumption, and the smaller-kerneled yellow forage maize only fed to the livestock (*millo forrajero*; *millo amarelo*; *millo das vacas*). A reddish and black variety (*millo forte*) is also planted for forage. These seeds are either purchased or a portion of last year's crop is planted. Although seeds and seedlings of some species can be exchanged between parish households, new maize, wheat and potatoes must come from 'outside' the area: "In order to change it purely, one has to change it from 'outside' (*Para cambiar-lo puramente, hai que cambiar-lo afora*)." Ordinarily, the plants are thus 'changed' every two or three years although in the past many of the land-poor peasants and sharecroppers could not afford to purchase any of their seeds and relied solely on crop rotation as a way of enriching new crops. In addition, when purchased, particular crops must be imported from zones lying in certain directions -- wheat 'from above' the parish (that is, inland), and onions and garlic from the coastal area to the northwest (Noya, Betanzos).

The members of one household in the parish continued to plant maize in the fashion that was common earlier in the century. This method is called '*al vuelo*' in Castilian Spanish, meaning 'to the wind'. It is a dense, broadcast method of planting whereby workers throw the seeds onto the ploughed earth in

a sweeping arc, rather than sowing them in neat rows (Bentley 1992:78). This is the way in which grains (mainly wheat) and grass seeds (to create new pastures) are still planted.

It is during June that these products, as well as the potatoes and garden products must be hoed to remove weeds and stir up the earth around the plants. The three hoeings (*sachos*) for maize and the two hoeings for potatoes, beans and other products are the subject of many verses and jokes. For example, the three hoeings are called as follows: (1) '*o cru*' or '*cruar*' (2) '*o arrendo*' or '*arrendar*'; (3) '*o cabo*' or '*acabar*'. The Carreirense have a proverb about this work that emphasizes the increasing urgency from the time of the first hoeing to the last one: "From the first hoeing, walking. And to the second hoeing, running. And to the last hoeing, like lightening (*De cruando, andando. E ao arrendo, correndo. E ao cabo, o rabo*)." The first two hoeings are done either by hand with a long hoe or with single cow or *motocultor* pulling a single-blade weeder (*sachadora*) between the rows. For the second hoeing of potatoes, the earth is mounded (*acolarse*) around the plants with a hoe so that there is room for the roots to expand and space for several potatoes to develop from the one set. In the case of maize, the last weeding also involves thinning -- pulling up every fourth or fifth plant to allow those remaining to benefit from the nutrients in the soil and to grow to maturity with abundant ears.

In the past and to some extent today, hoeing is an occasion for large work parties made up of individuals from several households. Children were and still are expected to learn how to hoe at an early age so that they can contribute to this labour-intensive and important task. For approximately twenty years, it has become common to also use a hand-pumping tank to spray

(*sulfatar*) herbicides and pesticides onto the plants to ward off pests such as the destructive Colorado potato beetle (*escaravello*).<sup>18</sup> While all the households must spray the potato plants because of this particularly destructive pest, the decision to spray other plants varies by households and year. Wheat and other grains are generally sprayed with herbicides, although some individuals still spend time in the wheatfields pulling up the ubiquitous clover (*trébol*) that grows there and can impede the growth of the wheat. Maize is also generally sprayed, although beans are not.

Beginning in late June, many of the garden products can be harvested as they mature for immediate consumption. In general, the early or new potatoes (*patacas tempranas*) are ready by June or July, as are the early lettuce. Peas grow quickly, being ready to be picked by May and June. Carrots, tomatoes and peppers are usually ready at the height of the warm weeks of summer, in July and August.

Households with large numbers of cattle (nine in 1991) have begun to store a spring harvest of green grass in ground silos covered in plastic. The grass is pressed tightly into a depression in the ground, mixed with salt as a preservative and then covered with a thick plastic sheet that is held down with tires.<sup>19</sup> This innovation has not completely replaced hay as a base for winter feed, however.

An important labour intensive task in July is hay-making. Grass must be cut (by hand with scythes or more recently in some households with a mower), turned with a pickfork and stacked on a wagon to be transported to a dry storage place for the winter months. Some households also build conical haystacks around a pine post. This is an efficient way to store the hay if no



building is available because if properly constructed, the rain runs off the outside layer of the cone shape keeping the inside hay dry. Hay harvesting is also usually accomplished with the help of extra-household labour as I discuss in detail in the next chapter.

At present, the task of harvesting and threshing wheat, rye and oats in this same month is less labour intensive than in the past. This is the stage that was the most time-consuming and required the most labour prior to the 1960s. Not only was it a tremendous job to cut down the sheaves by hand, but the threshing or *malla* is described at length in Galician ethnography was an occasion that involved large work parties consisting of neighbours and kin from several households in the community. In the mountainous areas of Lugo and Orense, as well as some parts of A Coruña, the *malla* was done by beating the sheaves of grain with leather thongs on a threshing floor (Fidalgo Santamariña 1988; Lisón Tolosana 1983a[1979]; Rodríguez Campos 1990). In Carreira the grain was threshed with the weight of large animals such as cattle and horses. This stomping of grain is not unlike the process whereby grapes are often pressed in southern Europe, although the human weight is not sufficient to press the grains out of their husks. One person would lead the animal around and around on top of the grains on the threshing floor. Another walked behind to catch the animal's manure in a bucket and thus keep the grain as clean as possible! The threshing floor was the yard (*eira*) outside the house and stables. Winnowing was done only by hand with a wire mesh sifter (*o cribo*).

In mid-century, although the grains were harvested by hand, four households purchased early threshers and generator-operated winnowing machines (*limpiadoras*) that were rented and loaned to neighbours. Harvester-

threshers (that also winnow) can now be rented from several owners who live in the vicinity of Zás and who come to surrounding parishes in sequence during July for this purpose. The use of the machine, the fuel and the labour of the operator are rented for an hourly cost (1500 pesetas in 1991) as the reaper goes from field to field in each parish. This harvester-thresher is referred to as the 'modern machine' (*a máquina moderna*) or simply the 'thresher' (*malladora*). Only a few households also hire a separate baling machine (*empacadora*) that has only recently become available for hire in the area. Some Carreirense who own land without access to wide paths must still reap their wheat and other grains by hand, with sharp iron sickles or scythes.

The summer or forage grains (wheat, rye and oats) are also planted in August. In addition, new gardens are begun in kitchen plots with the planting of dried seeds from the rape, kale and cabbage of the previous year. These are the same plants that will eventually be transplanted and consumed the following winter.

Through August and September, the last major crops of the year are harvested: first the beans and potatoes and last of all the maize, which is sometimes collected as late as October. A silage-cutter (*ensiladora*) for maize is now available in the area for hire but is used infrequently by the Carreirense. Potato and maize harvesting is done with the help of inter-household work parties (*rogas*). Several households own a potato harvester in partnership and they work together gathering up the potatoes that are churned up with the blade of the machine. Many individuals prefer to dig up all of their potatoes by hand because they dislike the way in which the potatoes are either slashed, bruised or lost with the action of the mechanical harvester. Even when it is used, the

number of workers is as high as eighteen or twenty. In the case of maize being harvested by hand with sickles, a similarly large work party (*rogas*) is necessary. The ears of maize are also shucked (*esfollarse*) in a large group before being stored in the granaries. The maize leaves are tied together in bunches and conical stalks are built around a pine pole (as with some hay) until they are fed to the large livestock over the winter.

By mid-November and December, the winter grains (mainly wheat but also rye and oats if desired) known short-hand as grains 'for people' (*'pra persoas'* or *pra asasón*) are planted in the newly ploughed land where crops such as potatoes and greens were harvested a few months earlier. Several fruits -- mainly chestnuts and apples -- are also picked and stored. Chestnuts fall from the tall trees and are gathered from the ground carefully and placed in baskets to be transported back to the house. The prickly shell encasing the nuts can only be removed by stomping on the chestnuts, throwing them onto the hard ground or even using stones and sticks. Chestnuts are roasted in the hearth or on top of the wooden stove or boiled as long as they last through the holiday season of Christmas and New Year's.

The annual agricultural cycle of work is therefore twelve months long in Carreira because of the multi-cropping the residents continue to practice as a way of ensuring the majority of their consumption needs.

### **Chapter Summary**

In order for the goal of some degree of household self-sufficiency to be met each year, it is necessary for at least one adult individual to remain in each household as a full-time agriculturalist. It is equally important that cash income is earned in the wage market and/or collected as unemployment insurance, old

age or disability pensions. I have demonstrated that this goal is feasible in this area of Galicia because of the maintenance of an ideal of a stem-family household system that involves the flexible movement of individuals of both genders in and out of the wage market and peasant agriculture.

The emphasis in rural Galicia on producing food for household consumption also means that this activity is given priority over the indoor housework -- another arena of unpaid labour cross-culturally -- that defines the work identity of Galician women who are members of urban households. A parallel deemphasis on the identity of 'mothers' as nurturers means that there is no role conflict when young women work for wages abroad rather than raising their own children. This pattern (common in Carreira and other Galician communities during the 1970s and 1980s) also demonstrates the importance of examining the labour patterns of the household as a unit rather than those of individuals and contextualizing the age as well as the gender of members performing different work roles (Buechler and Buechler 1984; H. Buechler 1987). A third factor of crucial importance in the reproduction of worker-peasant households and communities is the consistent mobilization of inter-household exchange relationships, a topic I turn to next in Chapter Five.

In addition, an examination of the persistence of agriculture in communities such as Carreira where farming has not become commercialized, contributes to our understanding of the role of subsistence agriculture in rural Europe. The material presented in this chapter underscores the symbolic significance of 'peasant' work and 'peasant' foods in Carreira. The Carreirenses construct their identities around agricultural activities, and the preparation and consumption of meals made from homegrown products. These "natural," home-

raised products are objectified as representative of a rural way of life that is described as healthier than the urban lifestyle many Carreirenses experience while working in migrant destinations.

Roy Wagner has argued that "The productiveness or creativity of our culture is defined by the application, manipulation, reenactment, or extension of these techniques and discoveries. Work of any kind, whether innovative or simply what we call 'productive,' achieves its meaning in relation to this cultural sum, which forms its meaningful context" (Wagner 1981[1975]). In the case of Carreira, these worker-peasants self-consciously articulate their maintenance of a 'peasant' community identity through the activity of subsistence labour. This work is inscribed on the landscape and architecture where crops are raised and then stored. As I mention in this chapter, the dry-air granaries found throughout Galician and Asturian Spain continue to be built in Carreira with new materials such as cement. In addition, new methods of silage-storage are being adopted to supplement older methods of grain storage. To a large extent, mechanical tools are replacing manual ones. Yet many Carreirenses continue to rely on the draught labour of their cattle, and to plant and harvest their crops manually. In addition, they are guided by the lunar cycle in deciding when to plant particular crops and when to butcher pigs. They feed their livestock home-raised maize and greens, as well as purchased feed. The land is fertilized with the manure and gorse from the animal stables in addition to some chemical fertilizers. The flexible, shifting mixture of old and new techniques characterizes subsistence agriculture in Carreira and reflects a general capacity among these Galician worker-peasants for *bricolage*. By using the term *bricolage* in this context, I mean the versatile way in which worker-peasants subsist by taking advantage

of a variety of opportunities in order to ensure their livelihood. In the broadest sense, this includes moving back and forth between wage work and subsistence agriculture. More specifically, as I have illustrated in this chapter, worker-peasant *bricolage* also frequently involves the mixture of old and new production techniques.

Another important theme I discuss in this chapter is the way in which the Carreirense construct their 'peasant' identities around memories of activities carried out in the past. The activities that are highlighted in stories about the past are those that exemplify priorities and values that remain salient today. As Linnekin has argued with reference to Pacific societies such as Hawaii, the formulation of identities is both selective and dynamic (Linnekin 1990:158-161). In Carreira, the production of linen cloth and maize bread are key metaphors for subsistence agriculture in Galicia. These two activities, although no longer performed in the parish ordinarily,<sup>20</sup> stand for ideals that remain important: self-sufficiency, authenticity, and a reliance on natural products (cf. Kelley 1988). In the current period, the 'peasant' identity with which these ideals resonate is constructed both around stories of the past as well as the continued enactment of subsistence agriculture. Although the Carreirense have ceased relying on the staple of maize bread that was so important in this area throughout the last few centuries, they continue to prepare 'peasant' meals made from food items that have been cultivated in the parish.

The idealization and enactment of the rural way of life is not, however, lacking in some degree of ambivalence and irony. Despite the fact that villagers praise home-raised food and describe themselves as 'peasant' producers, many of them also work for significant periods of time in migrant

destinations. Another aspect of this ambivalence is the fact that it is only recently that the majority of Carreirense households have been able to consume regularly foods now described as “authentic”. In the past, dishes such as roasted meat and fowl, crepes, and the Galician pie called *empanada* were only prepared on festive occasions. With the general increase in income levels and average property holdings over the last two decades, these foods have been transformed from symbols of festivity into symbols of mundane, everyday life. In addition, other dishes have been retained as staples yet transformed in quality and meaning. The example that I analyze at length in this chapter is the Galician broth *caldo*, formerly a watery soup and now a rich stew. This dish was indicative of the poverty experienced by the landless and land-poor in the past. In the present, however, *caldo* has been revitalized -- Carreirense can afford to prepare a bountiful stew that contains chicken, pork, veal, and the piquant sausage smoked in the hearth. All of these products, as well as the greens, potatoes, and beans that complete this wholesome dish are raised in the parish. For this reason, the Carreirense frequently say “We make better *caldo* now than the [rich] peasants did in the past.”

In this chapter, I have examined the unpaid work of producing food that is completed by members of Carreirense households. At any particular period, subsistence agriculture is practiced by all those villagers who are free from wage work obligations. Wage labourers who work close enough to the parish to commute also help with agriculture and other household tasks in the evenings and on weekends. During the first half of the twentieth century, women did the majority of daily agricultural and animal husbandry work while men earned wages locally and abroad in migrant destinations. From the 1970s

until the mid-1980s, significant numbers of young women and men migrated temporarily and seasonally to work in other European countries. During the latter period, middle-aged and elderly women and elderly men performed the majority of unpaid, household agricultural tasks. The maintenance of a stem-family system of three generations made it possible for the Carreirense to both maintain agricultural production and move flexibly in and out of wage work. This strategy was supported by a strong valorization of unpaid as well as paid labour so that villagers who are unemployed in the wage market can construct their identities around the priority of “working to eat”.



## Chapter Four -- Endnotes

- 1 Recent exceptions include Robben (1989).
- 2 See, for example, papers in Collins and Gimenez (1990); Redclift and Mingione (1985).
- 3 Although over the last several decades it has become common to invest capital in subsistence agriculture through the purchase of inputs such as pesticides and gasoline to operate machinery, people do not calculate the labour costs involved in this production.
- 4 In contrast, see a superb description of the culture of women's work in Andalusia by Jenny Masur (1984a, 1984b).
- 5 The only exception to this occurred during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) when all the young and middle-aged men were drafted. Women, children and elderly men necessarily did all of the work in the community during that period.
- 6 Ethnographic portrayals of the experiences of Spanish and Portuguese female labour migrants include Judith-Maria Buechler's (1975) discussion of Galician women, Caroline Brettell's (1982) life histories of three Portuguese women working in Paris and Charity Goodman's (1987) treatment of Andalusian women working in Germany.
- 7 Dairy conglomerates such as Nestlé and the nation-wide clothing chain *Sara* are relevant examples of large-scale industrial enterprises in the Galician context.
- 8 Herzfeld (1991) describes the success of Greek carpenters in transforming their artisanal operations into profitable machine-operated small businesses.
- 9 Bentley (1992:151, note 4) describes the same activity in an inland parish in the Minho region of Portugal.
- 10 In Ezaro, sewing, lace-making, selling fish, and working in a nearby factory and whaling plant (Kelley 1988:267). Kelley and Cole (1991a) also point out that despite praise for female-dominated agricultural work, 'male' work and/or wage work is labelled as superior to it (Kelley 1988:269-282).

11 From birth to school-age, children are also referred to more often as 'the child of the house of the stream' (*o neno da Casa da fonte*) than by their proper names (*Alfredo da Casa da fonte*). When they, too, begin to go out of the house alone to school and to perform small tasks for their kin, they also gain more individuality.

12 Susana de la Gala González (1990) interprets this division of labour to symbolize a hierarchical set of dualities -- male:female/culture:nature -- not unlike those described by Brandes (1980) and Pina-Cabral (1986) in the case of the sexual division of labour during the olive harvest when men work 'in the air' of the trees and the women 'on the ground' stooping and collecting the fallen fruit.

13 Personal comment, Abel Yañez, Galician apiculturist and agricultural extension agent.

14 In contrast to the situation in the United States that Gimenez (1990) describes, there are fewer self-service grocery stores in Galicia. Large chains such as *El Continente* only opened in recent years in large cities. Small grocery shops in towns like Zás, Bayo and Santa Comba as well as in cities still provide complete service to customers.

15 Many Carreirense are also frustrated because they invested hard-earned migrant remittances to modernize old houses or build new ones within the cramped spaces of the densely settled villages. In Carreira and in surrounding parishes throughout Zás and Santa Comba, the ideal of a 'migrant house' is to build it away from other households, beside a consolidated plot of land in order to allow space for kitchen gardens, orchards, new stables and other work spaces (examples include carpentry workshops, stores, sawmills, and restaurants) alongside it. This type of house is epitomized as the independent house of a large landowning *casa forte*, the exact opposite of the small stone rowhouses of sharecroppers and tenants.

16 Local names for six main types of fields are as follows: (1) arable fields -- *leiras*, *fincas*; (2) kitchen garden plots or arable fields planted with greens (rape, kale, cabbage) -- *horta*; (3) pastures -- *herbales* or *pasto* -- further specified as *herbal en a agra* (irrigable pastures near arable fields) or *herbal en o monte* (usually, but not always unirrigable pastures created on former woodland); (4) woodland -- *monte* or *chousa*; (5) pine stands -- *pinales*; (6) unarable land -- *baldío*.

17 This system of raising animals is normally accompanied by a sharecropping arrangement, as I describe in Chapter Two. Wealthy landholders lend adult livestock, usually cattle, to poor villagers who are responsible for maintaining the beast through a year's cycle as well as for delivering, raising, and selling any offspring. The sharecropper gains the benefit of using the animal as draught labour, its manure for fertilizer, and consuming its milk. The major benefit, however, results from the sale of six month or yearling calves born during the period of contract. The sharecropper keeps half of the sale price, while the original owner receives the other half. It is this aspect of the arrangement that led to the label 'by halves' (*a medias*).

18 Both the Castilian terms *escarabajo de la patata* and the Galician *escaravello* are used locally. Bentley provides the botanical classification for the beetle that the Carreirense remember suddenly appearing and destroying their potato crops in mid-century, "*Leptinotarsa decemlineata* (Coleoptera, Chrysomelidae)" (Bentley 1992:150).

19 Bentley (1992:47) discusses a similar process of simple maize silage adapted in the Minho region of Portugal.

20 Over a year after I left the field, I received a letter from friends in Carreira informing me that the community has begun to plant flax once more with the goal of creating a permanent summer school in the parish for young people interested in Galician "folk culture". In the letter, my friends mention that the older women are instructing them how to produce linen cloth but that, unlike the situation in previous decades, they are learning to process flax "for culture" this time and not for subsistence purposes. As I mention in the concluding chapter of the thesis, linen cloth and 'peasant' food had been objectified as salient symbols of a peasant identity prior to my arrival in Carreira. However, I am certain that through our many conversations about these symbols, I unwittingly contributed the anthropological concept of "culture" to the ongoing formulation of past and present identities among the Carreirense.

## **Chapter Five: Kin, Neighbours and Community -- The Meaning and Practice of Exchange**

The focus of this chapter is the crucial role of inter-household linkages in ensuring the reproduction of a worker-peasant livelihood and community identity in Carreira. The ongoing elaboration of a series of complex exchange relationships, like the maintenance of three-generation households and some degree of subsistence production, provides rural smallholders with social and emotional security in the face of insecure wage-earning opportunities.

Lisón Tolosana (1973a:826) points out that despite a strong emphasis on household autonomy and the persistence of conflictual relations between households and individuals in Galician hamlets, continuous acts of reciprocity, cooperation and commensality characterize neighbourly interaction throughout rural Galicia. He proposes that these expectations of a positive relationship between neighbours shape local discourse in order to counter through both word and deed long-standing feuds and animosities that are also played out and that “the neighbor relationship” can thus be viewed “as a basis and frame of reference for the moral structure of the community” (Lisón Tolosana 1973a:829). Lengthy, detailed descriptions of examples of labour exchange and other acts of reciprocity in Galician ethnography demonstrate the continuing significance of inter-household exchange throughout the region (among these, see

Fernández de Rota 1984:109-165, 1987; Fidalgo Santamariña 1987, 1988:156-186; González Reboredo 1990a:69-90; Iturra 1977, 1988:123-171; Lisón Tolosana 1973a, 1983[1979]:123-172; Moreno Feliú 1987; Rodríguez Campos 1990:139-144).

Yet many of the activities that involve labour and tool exchange, and the collective use of resources such as watermills, ovens, threshing floors and pastures are no longer as prevalent as they were even a decade ago. Technological change, the redistribution of commonlands, a greatly improved infrastructure and other transformations have affected specific activities. However, Erasmus's conclusion that "Throughout the world the employment of wage labor is replacing or has already replaced reciprocal forms of farm labor . . ." (Erasmus 1956:444) is not warranted in the case of northern Spanish agriculture. For example, Greenwood (1976) in his detailed study of a Basque district involved in garden farming, found that the high costs and low availability of wage labour largely accounted for the failure of many operations. In communities like Carreira where most households focus mainly on subsistence production and have many members engaged in wage labour in migrant destinations during crucial periods in the agricultural cycle, inter-household reciprocity ensures that each household is able to maintain a successful annual production of basic crops. In his study of production strategies in the Galician parish of Vilatuxe where agriculturalists have specialized in dairy production as well as continuing to harvest multiple subsistence crops, Iturra argues (following Stenning 1958) that the institution of cooperative labour resolves a fundamental contradiction: "At the present time households [in Vilatuxe] are incapable of providing the number of persons necessary for them to fully exploit the available

means of subsistence yet the available means of subsistence, assuming the [present] economy, does not allow for the maintenance of many individuals in each domestic group" (Iturra 1988:124).

In the discussion that follows, I demonstrate that even with the added use of machinery like tractors for planting garden crops, the Carreirense still rely on inter-household labour exchange to complete basic agricultural tasks. As I illustrated in Chapter Two there has been a much greater decline in the number of wage labourers in Galician agriculture over the last several decades than there have been individuals willing to continue to be involved in labour exchange with their kin and neighbours. Rodríguez Campos (1990:143) argues that in the mountainous Ancares region of Lugo a recent "increase in machines did not contribute to accentuating individualism in peasant cooperation" since individuals who own threshing machines and tractors willingly help others with their planting and harvests in return for help with their own crops. And Brandes reports a similar pattern in the Castilian village of Becedas where extensive out-migration has led to a depletion of the wage labour pool and "a significant increase in the amount of interfamily cooperation and communalism" in haying, potato and fruit harvesting, and the use of new production methods (e.g. insecticide spraying) (Brandes 1975:104).

Furthermore, the ethic of good neighbourly relations is also elaborated in other ways. "The art of exchange" that Zonabend (1984:46-56) describes as central to kin and neighbour relations in the French village of Minot is woven into daily interaction in Carreira. As well, Carreirense of all generations participate in these exchanges; one does not find the strong "clash of values between generations" that Scheper-Hughes (1979:45) records in the rural Irish

community of Ballybran. She recounts that young village men refuse to help an elderly, childless couple bring in their hay despite the fact that the wet weather could result in their annual crop being spoiled if not cut, turned and stored quickly. The cooperative tradition of “cooring” or “taking turns” bringing in each others’ hay had almost disappeared in this community where “The boys were incredulous that anyone would be so ‘stupid’ as to work for nothing” (Scheper-Hughes 1979:45).

One approach previous researchers have taken in discussing the prevalence and significance of inter-household reciprocity in rural Europe and elsewhere is to focus on the crucial economic role that the exchange of labour and tools plays in the production of commodities and subsistence needs in activities organized around household labour (Bouquet 1982; Lem 1988). According to this analytical framework, the social economy of the urban working-class and the organization of labour reciprocity among agriculturalists are both similar ways of collectively filtering the structural constraints of capitalist markets and state policy (Lowenthal 1975; Pahl 1980; Smith 1984). Another approach centres as well on the maintenance of strong ‘community’ bonds and identities through non-market exchange relationships, even in communities that send out a significant number of members to work in migrant destinations or capitalist labour markets nearby (Brandes 1975; Cohen 1979, 1982b; Fernández 1986a; Halperin 1990; Mewett 1982:111-116; O’Meara 1990).

With the aim of contributing to the elaboration of both of these approaches with data from Carreira, this chapter is organized around a variety of examples of exchange. It is not possible to separate out the ‘making of a

livelihood' from the construction of community around ritual events. When the Carreirense say "We help each other (*Axudamos os úns aos outros*)," they might be referring to a work party or to the presence of representatives from each parish household during the long hours of a death vigil. The ideology of being a 'good neighbour' is expressed with reference to a range of cases by the Carreirense themselves. Cooperation among villagers is espoused as a defining characteristic of a rural way of life, as well as economically necessary at particular periods of the year and over the household cycle. A similar value is placed on inter-household exchange to that placed on subsistence agricultural production. Both are recognized as necessary strategies for worker-peasants who neither rely solely on wage work nor attain complete household autonomy over the long term. And both are crucial vectors in the construction of meaningful individual, household and community identities.

In the discussion that follows I first examine the prevalence of incidents of both generalized and balanced reciprocity. The former is characterized as transactions for which "The material side of the transaction is repressed by the social: reckoning of debts outstanding cannot be overt and is typically left out of account. [Yet] This is not say that [it] . . . generates no counter-obligation. But the counter is not stipulated by time, quantity, or quality: the expectation of reciprocity is indefinite" (Sahlins 1972:194). In contrast, with balanced reciprocity "The parties confront each other as distinct economic and social interests . . . there is more or less precise reckoning, as the things given must be covered within some short term" (Sahlins 1972:195). These transactions between households vary widely, from the exchange of food, tools and labour to the exchange of ritual obligations. I also demonstrate in the first section that



principles of non-market exchange and cooperation are not completely separated in practice from wage labour and commoditization.

In addition, I illustrate an important distinction between patterns of vertical and horizontal exchange. In some cases, the ideology of horizontal reciprocity -- the exchange of relatively equal amounts of labour and/or tools between households over the course of the agricultural cycle -- belies the unequal, vertical exchange that has frequently been reported as a way in which the labour of poor peasants is donated to wealthier households in return for implicit acts of patronage (Fernández de Rota 1987; O'Neill 1987:172; Pina-Cabral 1986:156-157). In a study comparing different societies, Erasmus (1956:445) makes a similar distinction between "festive and exchange forms of labor reciprocity" arguing that they are often mobilized in the same community concurrently. The former type of exchange involves the provision of an extensive feast to workers in exchange for the labour and little or no expectation that the host will return the favour. In contrast, in the latter type of exchange "the obligation to reciprocate is very strong and any food or drink provided are usually considered ordinary fare. A day's labor is expected in return for each day given" (Erasmus 1956:445). As in the Galician context, festive work parties are large and ordinarily involve a vertical and obligatory relationship between large landowners and small landholder or tenants: "In hacienda or "feudal" situations where land owners control their labor through the ability to withhold perquisites, such as the use of subsistence plots, pasture land, firewood, and roads, attendance at 'festive' work parties is almost mandatory" (Erasmus 1956:448). Instances of what Erasmus calls "labor reciprocity" are organized instead around relationships between social equals (Erasmus 1956:447).

A second type of horizontal exchange relationship that I focus on with examples below is the rotational provision and use of resources and labour. An institution of rotational shepherding operated in the parish when the commonland pastures were still being exploited communally prior to their subdivision into private plots in the early 1960s.<sup>1</sup> Collectively owned and operated watermills were also used by several families who had rights to twelve hour 'turns' when grinding their weekly supplies of maize. Another example that is no longer practiced is the turn-taking involved in maintaining a pig (known as 'St. Anthony's pig') that was then sold to pay for the patron saint festival. In the 1990s, rotational exchange is still practiced in the stewardship of the village water cisterns and the supply of firewood and water to the village schoolhouse by parents of those students attending.

By presenting examples from different domains as well as both obsolete and ongoing practices, I demonstrate that principles of inter-household reciprocity cut across time and distinct activities and are transferred to new situations when they arise. The maintenance of ties between kin and neighbours is thus not unique to one period of time nor to one form of livelihood.

Some forms of cooperative labour are community-wide, involving neither exchanges between particular households nor rotational turn-taking. The repair and construction of pathways, roads, churches, schools, and bridges were customarily completed by the entire community, each household providing a labourer or paying a fine (Lisón Tolosana 1983 [1979]:115). I conclude the chapter with an example of how the Carreirense have constructed a memory of a particular event of this kind, an example where the state relied on the continuing salience of this tradition to oblige the villagers to help build a paved

road leading into the village in 1964. This event and the telling of it almost thirty years later lead to two broader issues: agency in the context of the self-conscious creation of community (Cohen 1982a; Ortner 1984), and the continual reinvention of traditions of cooperative labour (Smith 1984). The significance of these processes of self-definition is illustrated through the examination of this key event in the history of Carreira -- the social memory of collectively labouring to build the paved road that connects the village to the main state infrastructure. People recount this narrative frequently, emphasizing that it was the inhabitants of Carreira who constructed the highly significant 'modern' road of passage to new forms of wage labour and agriculture. The correspondence of the date of its construction with the beginning of a large-scale migration of parishioners to well-paying wage jobs in other European countries and the consequent purchase of tractors, cars, trucks and other vehicles form a meaningful cluster in peoples' memories (cf. Pina-Cabral 1987). Paved roads, migration, and the ownership of mechanized vehicles are symbols of 'progress' and 'modernity' in the everyday discourse of politicians and the mass media, as well as that of rural people themselves. The construction of the road highlights two images -- of projecting outward and of being penetrated. To contest a feeling of losing control over history and local identity, the Carreirenses highlight their own 'traditional' role in the building of the road and construction of the past.

#### **Layered Expectations: From Generalized to Balanced Exchange**

One debate in the literature on exchange relationships in this area of Europe concerns the extent to which actors calculate and keep accounts of favours. Generosity and hospitality are valued behaviours in Atlantic Galicia as

they are in Mediterranean Europe and elsewhere (Herzfeld 1987b; Sahlins 1972:194). The public display of these qualities is important, but cannot be separated from the ambivalence and hostility that often accompanies reciprocity in small communities (Brandes 1975; Gilmore 1987; Kelley 1988; Lisón Tolosana 1973a, 1983[1979]).

In his analysis of interpersonal social networks in the Castilian village of Navanogal, Stanley Brandes points out that "openness and distrustfulness are not antithetical traits, but rather are outgrowths of one another, inextricably linked in a comprehensive behavioral syndrome" (1975:751). He describes how openness and trust are demonstrated in Navanogal through an ongoing, generalized system of reciprocity on a daily basis. People borrow each others' tools and ask neighbours to help with work or other favours without saying 'please' or 'thank you' and without being expected to immediately return the service (Brandes 1975:760). In discussing the system of labour exchange in the Minho parish of Pedralva in Portugal, Jeffery Bentley calls it "a form of generalized reciprocity" (Bentley 1992:128) because the ideal stated by the villagers is that these exchanges do not involve careful calculation: "They say '*não fazemos contas*' (we do not keep track)" (Bentley 1992:128). In his footnote to the same passage, he clarifies his own opinion of these layers of openness and calculation in neighbours' relations in Pedralva noting that this is likely "somewhat a polite fiction" (Bentley 1992:156) since people appear to privately keep a mental record of favours paid and owed.

My aim here is to illustrate that principles of both generalized and balanced reciprocity shape exchange relations in Carreira. However, I agree with Mewett (1982:112-113) when he points out that Sahlins' distinction is too

stark to account for the range of reciprocity found in rural European neighbourhoods and community networks: "Sahlins (1972, pp. 185-275) argues that balanced reciprocity implies the existence of uncertainty in relationships, whereas generalised reciprocity implies closeness. In the neighbourhood set, though, both these types occur within the *same* social relationships." Mewett (1982:113) goes on to note that the possibility for tension and fission is always present among members of the Shetland neighbourhood sets that he studied. In the following anecdote from Carreira, recounted by Delfina, a Carreirense in her late seventies, it is clear that the same potential for conflict exists in Galicia even among closely interacting neighbours. The story is about a crisis in a longstanding relationship between two neighbours who exchanged favours on the basis of both generalized and balanced reciprocity.

Delfina's narrative demonstrates that people in Carreira do keep careful track of most exchanges; they expect them to be balanced eventually and in an appropriate fashion. In some cases, there is an understanding that the favour will be returned in the future but no particular time period or return favour is established. In this example, the expectation was spelled out clearly. Delfina is able to use this particular story as a didactic device because the fact that one person did not comply with a shared understanding leaves space for the narrator to lay bare the unspoken rules of good neighbourliness -- to balance exchanges and to keep one's word. Delfina's story dates from the time when her widowed grandmother María [nicknamed Meruga] headed the household that consisted of Delfina and her sister Marta, their unmarried mother Ana, and Florinda who was a single, childless aunt of Delfina and Marta's. Delfina began recounting her anecdote as follows:

“Another old lady [*outra velliña* ], that Rosa who lived up by the schoolhouse said to my grandmother: ‘Meruga, I’d like you to bring me two carts of manure to my plot in ‘the mills’ [name of a field].’ This land was rented but she paid for it and worked it and it was hers [to use] ( *Era de arrendo pero ela pagaba e traballaba e era de ela* ). Then she said, ‘Then I’ll go shuck [your maize] for you ( *Despois vou-che desfollare* ).’

Delfina interrupted the narrative to reiterate for me that this is an example of non-monetary exchange, of ‘*intercambio*’: “It is an ‘exchange’ of work because no one pays money.” Returning to her tale of the contract between Meruga and her neighbour Rosa, Delfina said in a hushed and disapproving tone that after Meruga had delivered the requested manure and begun the labour-intensive task of harvesting and shucking her maize, Rosa “didn’t come to [help] her ( *Non lle fui* ).”

“She didn’t come to our house for several days. She went to shuck for others who gave her a basket of maize ( *un cesto de espigas* ) in return. She came to [help] her another day but that doesn’t matter ( *non ten que ver* ).”

Thus, the failure to live up to reciprocal obligations is significant enough to be remembered even across generations. Gossip is one sanction used as a method of social control in such cases; individuals and households who do not return favours will find that their neighbours will not help them in the future, and in cases where this behaviour persists they may be accused of envy, witchcraft and/or ostracized from normal interactions in the community (Lisón Tolosana 1983[1979]). Therefore, the reputation for being a good neighbour must be reinforced continuously through the exchange of favours in appropriate contexts, and without either completely closing or overbalancing the account.

### 'Good Neighbours': Examples of Generalized Exchange

In rural Galician Spain, there is an expectation that anyone living in the same village or in nearby settlements is integrated into a system of generalized exchange. Inhabitants of a hamlet, village or parish are called *veciños* (neighbours) and are expected to demonstrate good neighbourliness by reciprocating small favours on an ongoing basis. Within larger settlements, like the fifty-one household village of Carreira and Pedramayor with twenty-three inhabited households, there are usually clusters of neighbours who interact as a more manageable network for intimate occasions (borrowing food, helping during a calving) and a series of time-consuming and onerous favours (in particular, labour exchange).<sup>2</sup> In Carreira, those living in the 'upper' village, literally 'those from above' (*os de arriba*) are distinguished from those living in the lower section (*os de abaixo*) that is laid out along the road and around the *plaza*. Smaller subsets of contiguous neighbours exist within each of these two subdivisions. In addition, the claims of kinship and friendship cross-cut the accidents of propinquity in the creation of long-term exchange networks between particular households.

However, as I mentioned at the outset small favours are expected to be performed daily and weekly between all neighbours as a fulfillment of the general ethos of cooperation. For example, when an individual with a car sees neighbours in Zás or Bayo at the medical clinic or a shop, or at the outdoor market in Bayo or Santa Comba, she or he will be expected to offer them a ride home, waiting for them to finish their business if necessary. The same expectation applies if you are driving along the highway and see someone you know walking along in the same direction in which you are going. In fact, it is

difficult to go for a walk in an area in which you are known because so many people will stop to offer you a ride. Similarly, those young unmarried people who have access to vehicles on weekend nights will arrange to transport everyone who needs a lift to the discotheques in Bayo and Santa Comba. In the past, bands of young people from the same village would escort each other on foot to and from the dances held for the patron saint festivals in the surrounding parishes. It is frequently the case nowadays that teenagers as young as fourteen and fifteen stay out at the discotheques until 4 or 5 a.m.; parents entrust their young daughters to the chaperonship of older girls and boys who will make sure that they are safe and have a ride back to the village when the dance is over.

Men similarly take turns buying each other drinks in one of the four bars in the parish, or when they see each other in town bars. If a young child comes on an errand for his or her mother into one of the bars that also sells dry goods, one of the adults there will treat the child to some candy. Men will usually socialize for a long enough period of time that they end up buying each other rounds (Brandes 1979; Driessen 1983; Gilmore 1975; Hansen 1976). In any case, in Galicia unlike the situation that Heiberg (1989) reports for the Basque country, it is considered rude to split the bill between a cluster of men drinking together, or a group of couples eating together in a restaurant.<sup>3</sup> One person always pays for the others, with the assumption that the interpersonal relationships are ongoing and the exchange account can safely be kept 'open'.

In ideal terms, it is also expected that anyone in the same village should lend or borrow food, tools and labour whenever necessary. In reality, as I mention above, particular households have relationships with a small cluster of



four or five neighbouring households with whom they exchange most favours. It is common to send a child to one of these neighbour's houses to borrow some food or for a neighbour to send over a present of food without it being requested. For example, if a woman is making a cake or a large omelette for a special occasion and her hens are not laying well, she will ask a neighbour or a kinswoman if she has eggs to spare that day. Since everyone raises hens, it is likely that the first woman will be able to return the favour at a future date. However, it is more likely that she will not 'pay' back the favour with the same item, or in exactly balanced proportions. She would send over a piece of the cake to her neighbour and perhaps some other delicacy, or else simply respond when she is asked for a similar but different favour at another time. These continuous exchanges of food and tools ensure that clusters of kin and neighbours can rely on each other over the long term. Foster argues that the ongoing imbalance in dyadic contracts or relationships is the key to their maintenance: "A very important functional requirement of the system is that *an exactly even balance between two partners never be struck*. This would jeopardize the whole relationship since, if all credits and debits somehow could be balanced off at one time, the contract would cease to exist . . . As long as they know that goods and services are flowing both ways in essentially equal amounts as time passes, they know their relationship is solidly based." (Foster 1967:217). As Zonabend notes for rural Burgundy, acts of exchange are ongoing in order to maintain important relationships: "These gifts and the counterparts that circulate between old-established neighbours and close relations keep the links of blood and neighbourliness fresh and alive; they keep them, as it were in working order by constant use and attention. Exchange

makes cohesion among families and solidarity among neighbours.” (Zonabend 1984:49).

On a typical occasion, a *veciña* will demonstrate an intimate trust with another villager by allowing her to borrow tools and domestic space. Even between kin, only those who get along well will be found frequently visiting and working together in the confined interior spaces of the Galician kitchens and stables (Fernández de Rota 1984). An example of this frequent type of inter-household exchange follows. It was February and a Carreirense woman known as Minya asked her sister Pepita if she could use her hearth and grill to make a batch of *filloas* -- the Galician crepes traditionally made during the pre-Lenten Carnival period. Minya’s grill was cracked; more importantly, her chimney had been smoking badly for the past several months. The activity of mixing up the batter, building a proper fire, and carefully making the dozens of paper-thin *filloas* takes several hours and if Minya were to do it in her own hearth, she would smoke up the house. While Minya made her crepes, she was careful to make a few dozen extra to leave with Pepita. She also commented when she left that she would have her son Marcos bring up a batch of firewood one evening to repay Pepita. The understanding was that she would pay Pepita back for the fuel she had used while making the crepes.

As the winter season comes to a close, it is frequent to find neighbours asking each other if their stores of crops have lasted the winter. They will offer, “We still have potatoes. Do you [plural] want [need] some? (*Aínda temos patacas . ¿Queredes algunhas?* ).” Or, if they have planted new potatoes early in the season, “Our new potatoes are out already. I’ll send some over.” The Carreirense pride themselves on provisioning their households with staples for

the entire year, so they will only admit that they have run out of a food item to people to whom they are close and with whom they frequently engage in exchanges.

Villagers who specialize in particular tasks will perform them for neighbours in return for unspecified and ongoing favours. Examples of these special skills include midwifery and assistance for animal birthing, haircutting, applying injections, and different forms of popular healing and ritual -- examples include bonesetting, countering the effects of sorcery and witchcraft, and appealing to the saints on behalf of another individual. Some healers are given 'gifts' of money to pay them for their services, but in other cases individuals with special skills are given gifts of food or their help is reciprocated with future favours by members of the household they have helped.<sup>4</sup> In the past, when women helped a neighbour give birth, whether or not they were acknowledged to be expert midwives (*parteiras*), they received gifts of food or labour. The husband or other children of the new mother would present themselves at the midwife's house and help with intensive tasks such as "shucking maize, planting potatoes, harvesting maize." Or, these women might ask about extra food on another day and receive what was available: "Maize bread, milk, a basket of potatoes . . . A voluntary exchange (*Un intercambio de voluntad* )."

Although most women now have their babies delivered in city hospitals, the same principles are applied to new circumstances. For example, individuals who help with specific nursing tasks such as giving diabetic villagers their injections several times a day are repaid continuously. Members of the diabetic individuals' households help with the agricultural labour of these nursing specialists whenever necessary as well as bringing over periodic gifts

of food. In another case, when María (a university student) helped Paco (the young grandson of María's neighbour Estrella) with his homework several weekends in a row, Estrella gave María a few dozen eggs several weeks later. This took planning since Estrella did not have a lot of hens at the time, and she was in the habit of providing as many as possible for her urban-dwelling children whenever they visited on the weekends. She explained to me that one has to reciprocate neighbours' favours: "One has to do it (*Hai que facer-lo*)".

Some villagers are also 'called' (*chamar*) to help with the slaughter and butchering of large animals (usually pigs or calves, but also lambs, goats, and wild colts and deer). Slaughterers are paid in cash and/or given the skin (which they sell) and portions of meat. When the 'annual' pig (*porco do ano*) is slaughtered in November or December, portions of meat are gifted between those households that are involved in close and ongoing exchange relationships. Several individuals from these households may in fact help with the slaughter and the butchering tasks that follow. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, these tasks are gender-segregated with the men killing the pig, draining its blood, and then cleaning and burning off the hair on the outer skin before skinning and butchering the main sections. The women come outside to carry in the blood and different portions of meat. They then work for many hours afterward inside the house butchering, cleaning, and preparing the meat for salting or freezing (Gala González 1990; González Reboledo 1990a:75-76; Mandianes Castro 1990:93-99). Sausages are prepared a week later after the meat has been marinated in spices and wine. This mixture is stuffed into the tripe and smoked for several weeks over the hearth before being consumed. Lard is tied into bundles and hung in the smoke as well to be

used over an annual or semi-annual cycle.

Additional examples that lay bare an operating principle of generalized reciprocity include the reaction of neighbours and kin to cases of serious illness. If a neighbour is incapacitated, other villagers will help care for her or him and also help with any chores that the remaining household members cannot perform without aid. When Marcos, a widowed villager who lived alone for most of the year, became too sick with influenza to attend to his crops a few years ago, his neighbours made sure that his fields were hoed and harvested and his livestock fed and watered. Marcos had been ill during one of the most important periods in the annual cycle. He is a full-time peasant who relies on subsistence production, the sale of some commodities (milk, meat, grains) and at that time, the remittances his brother-in-law sent from Switzerland in order to survive. Marcos did not have to ask directly for help. His neighbours knew that they could not leave his crops to fail, since they might experience a similar crisis in the future. Pilar, a young woman of twenty-five, who told me about this example of generalized reciprocity or inter-household aid (*axuda*), said that it illustrated that the Carreirense were maintaining good neighbourly relations while residents of other villages and parishes did not do so because they were 'selfish' (*egoísta*) and 'lazy' (*perexeira*). Pilar's comment indicates the valorization of both mutual aid and the parochialism in rural Galicia.

In a more general and highly symbolic yet conscious fashion, villagers are expected to demonstrate that they have time to socialize with their neighbours rather than only to selfishly pursue their own work. When individuals pass each other on their way to and from their fields, they always stop to chat about where they are going and what they are going to do. People

banter with each other, making explicit remarks about the contesting demands of 'work' and sociability. Two elderly Carreirense men nicknamed 'The Stonemason' (*O Canteiro*) and 'Chuchu' (after Jesús), who are too weak from health problems to work, spend many hours sitting on a tumbled-down stone fence at a crossroads near their houses. They spend many minutes in companionable silence, but also tease everyone who passes by. When I came towards them one day with my close friend Concepción, who is herself elderly and in poor health, she said out of the corner of her mouth as she often did, "We have to stop and talk to them because one can't act as if one has so much work to do that one can't talk." Chuchu and his companion made their usual comment to Concepción, that she should be resting (*folgare*) like them because she had worked hard enough in her lifetime. Everyone chuckled as they continued with the rhetorical question, "You want to work until you die (*¿Quere traballar hasta que morre?*)" adding "You want to leave your kids rich." Concepción said that they had to pay for her two grandchildren's education and Chuchu said "Put them to work in the fields [in agriculture] like I did with mine (*Bota-os a traballar en as leiras como fixen cos meus*)."

As we left the two men, Concepción remarked to me that they were right to say that she had earned the right to rest (at least sometimes), especially since she 'collects' (*cobra*) an old age pension, but that she could not bring herself to stop working until she was no longer able. She feels compelled to contribute to her household as long as she can do so.

"I work as well as a young woman," Concepción declared defiantly. Then she sighed and admitted to me with a wry smile that she did not have the energy (*forza*) that she used to have. "But I don't want people to think that I'm

lazy," Concepción added as she prodded and encouraged her two cows to keep to the centre of the road.

On that day, Concepción, Chuchu and the 'Stonemason' were joking about those contradictions fundamental to smooth social relations in Carreira. People are expected to be hard workers and also to give their time and energy freely to their neighbours, whether that involves stopping for a casual conversation, or going to an all-day work party or to a ritual occasion. Stopping to chat without demonstrating resentment for taking time away from one's own work is commonly used as a metaphor for good neighbourly behaviour, a lack of envy and inter-household cooperation in other activities. Many individuals proudly pointed out to me that in Carreira, everyone is friendly and works together and that in other parishes and villagers there is nobody in the roads or pathways chatting, and the doors are always closed. This claim is an example of local chauvinism that I heard repeated in other areas of Galicia (cf. Pilar's comment on page 295). The fact that general 'friendliness' is considered to be an important enough quality to brag about is, however, significant. Rural Galicians have been described as peasants who fit into Foster's (1965) model of limited good or Banfield's (1958) argument for "amoral familism," who are uncertain of their neighbours' goodwill and who focus most of their labour and time on producing for their own households. Yet, ethnographers place an equal emphasis on a cultural valorization of 'community' and interdependence between households (in particular, see Fernández de Rota 1984 and Lisón Tolosana 1973a, 1983[1979]). Indeed, rural Galicians admire individuals who work towards expanding their household's wealth and would be suspicious of someone who was completely altruistic and solely interested in inter-household

cooperation. Although government agricultural extension officers and local patrons (frequently priests) have been encouraging Galician smallholders to establish cooperatives for the last several decades, these have not been successful endeavours in many communities. For example, a cooperative initiated in Carreira several decades ago became nothing more than a consumers' cooperative. Members continue to purchase inputs (chemical fertilizers, planting potatoes) but this cooperative never became a mechanism for intensifying production and controlling the distribution and pricing of milk or other commodities villagers sell. In addition, the few families who own machinery in common often run into conflicts and then their neighbours say "We work best on our own. 'To each his own' (*Cada un ao seu*)." A group of men who collectively purchased a still with which to make the Galician hard liquor *aguardiente* has disbanded, as has another group who made wine together in the past. The sawmill owner also had a partner in the past, but now only works with his son. The only successful cooperative in the parish at present is the mink farm, and interestingly only one partner among four is a resident of the parish. As Brandes (1975), Lisón Tolosana (1983[1979]) and Kelley (1988) have emphasized in their case studies, a balance between generosity and cooperation as well as household atomism and selfishness must be reached and maintained within both Castilian and Galician rural communities. Examples presented in this chapter illustrate that rather than collectivization of production, periodic exchanges of time and labour are important forms of inter-household reciprocity in Carreira that counter-balance and support household independence.

These principles of reciprocity and altruism between inhabitants from the



same community are applied to new circumstances. One example concerned the donation of blood for a liver transplant operation on a Carreirense man. Although this man, Maximino, had spent many of his young adult years away from the parish working in Switzerland and neither he nor his wife Sara had married into either of their parents' households, they purchased an old stone house in the parish with remittances that they had earned abroad. Sara died soon after they moved back to Carreira and Maximino was left to raise their teenage son Luciano alone. When Maximino became ill, Luciano helped him as best he could and continued to go to school, expressing few complaints or worries to the neighbours. Maximino finally had to be hospitalized in Coruña, and a teacher from Zás found a place for Luciano in a state-run boarding and trade school in Coruña. Although they were related to many Carreirense, this household of father and son was not closely involved in a reciprocity network with other village households. They had been away for a long time, and had not been able to participate for those years in exchanges of labour and goods. Despite this absence, the Carreirense reacted immediately when doctors requested blood transfusions for a liver transplant operation on Maximino. This operation, although risky, was the only way that Maximino might be saved from the effects of losing his liver to cirrhosis. Men from Carreira arranged to drive together in carpools into the hospital in the city of Coruña to donate their blood over the next several days. Even those who had a different blood type than Maximino wanted to replenish the general store of blood on behalf of Maximino.<sup>5</sup>

This was not the first time that village networks had been employed to organize volunteers to donate blood. One of the first instances occurred several

years previously when an older, anemic Carreirense woman, Ana, had undergone a blood replacement operation that required many transfusions. Her son Manuel had returned from Switzerland and was concerned for his mother. Unsure of how to recruit villagers to make the trip into the city to donate their blood, Manuel appealed to his neighbour Pedro. Pedro recounted that Manuel was shy about asking for this new sort of favour and that he frantically offered to pay people for their cooperation. Pedro became angry with Manuel, saying that he should know better than to insult his neighbours and kin by offering money for such a serious matter. Pedro added that he himself would easily find the necessary number of donors. The village ethos of generalized reciprocity is dramatically opposed in this example to the newly-returned emigrant's notion of mobilizing even relatives and neighbours with cash. Also of note is the fact that this generalized exchange takes place in the hospital outside the village context; in a similar fashion, when they go to hospitals in either Coruña or Santiago de Compostela, the Carreirense visit all those from their rural district who are hospitalized .

### **Loss and Community: Generalized Attendance at Death Vigils and Funeral Masses**

Another significant example of generalized exchange is the imperative in rural Galicia that each household in the parish send at least one member to the house of someone who has recently died for the death vigil and the subsequent burial and funeral masses (Gondar Portasany 1987; 1989). In the densely populated valley of Soneira, it is common to find that inhabitants of adjoining parishes also attend. The number of individuals crowding the house and yard of the deceased during those vigils and funerals I attended while living in

Carreira often exceeded 200 people. This display of community-wide concern, respect and solidarity does not occur for any other life cycle event.

Whenever possible, rural Galicians choose to die in their own beds at home; even if individuals are being treated for a terminal illness in a city hospital they will be released by doctors to return to their homes once nothing more can be done for them by medical professionals (a good example is described in Gondar Portasany 1991:37-44). During the period of weeks or months preceding death, the dying person receives constant attention from members of her or his household as well as from extra-household kin and neighbours who visit those who are seriously ill and help to nurse them as well as to complete household tasks. Badone (1989) examines the shift in responses to death in rural Brittany over the twentieth century by considering Ariès' (1982) developmental scheme of a movement from a "tame" reaction to death to a "denial of death". This shift has not occurred in Galician communities like Carreira. Death is still an experience embedded in the domestic and community spheres rather than having been completely transformed into an institutionalized, medicalized procedure. Friends and relatives of the deceased wash and dress his or her body to prepare it for the death vigil (*velatorio*) which always takes place in the home, and lasts until the moment when the priests arrive to begin the funeral procession leading to the parish church. This custom has not been radically altered in rural contexts since the beginning of the century (González Reboredo 1990b:165-218; Tenorio 1982[1914]:93-112).<sup>6</sup> Gondar Portasany points out that there is a significant in-gathering of the community in immediate reaction to the social and psychological rupture that news of a death creates: "When the bells announce a death, the neighbours of

the hamlet, and also those of the parish, like acquaintances in different parishes as well as relatives from outside [the community] begin to put themselves in motion so that the household of the deceased will not be alone even for an instant" (Gondar Portasany 1989:69). A death opens up the physical space of the house to public view, something that does not occur so thoroughly nor dramatically on any other occasion (Fernández de Rota 1984; Gondar Portasany 1987:32-33). The privacy of domestic space becomes as vulnerable as the emotional experience of mourners throughout the long night of the vigil. Relatives and friends of the deceased are led in reciting prayers by local women known for their piety. Typically, the Rosary and Stations of the Cross are repeated numerous times. These prayers enable the release of feelings of loss with tears and lamentations (Gondar Portasany 1989:133-161). There is an additional reason for the heightened spirituality that accompanies mourning. The emphasis that is placed on the dangers and tensions surrounding death is also evident in Galician popular beliefs regarding 'signs' of impending death and the frequent return of the spirits of the dead who have unresolved relationships with the living (Gondar Portasany 1989:163-260; Mandianes Castro 1990:86-87). Fears that illness and other misfortunes might be caused by angry spirits are partially alleviated by the fact that many masses are said for the dead and that the community of mourners reassembles on the anniversary of each death as well as on All Saints Day and All Souls Day (November 1 and 2 respectively). Similar beliefs and a corresponding attention to masses for the dead to help them escape purgatory are reported by Badone (1989) for Brittany, Douglass (1969) for the Basque country, and Catedra Tomás (1988) for Asturias.

The expectation that all parish households send at least one member to attend the death vigils and funerals of neighbours is strictly respected. The day after a vigil and the funeral, villagers frequently discuss who was in attendance. I never heard of an occasion where a household from the same parish as the deceased did not show this respect; however, after several vigils and funerals I overheard villagers censuring particular individuals from neighbouring parishes who had been particularly close to the deceased but were not in attendance. This example of generalized exchange underscores the fact that it would be almost impossible for each adult member of Carreirense households to work in a wage job. The difficulties of maintaining a community support system and wage employment outside the village are evident on unforeseen occasions such as the death of a neighbour or friend. Individuals who work in migrant destinations or commute to jobs near the village cannot always fulfill the obligations of visiting the dying and attending death vigils and funerals. Employers will only grant leave from work to those who are directly related to the deceased. Those in attendance at such moments are always the elderly, and the young and middle-aged women and men who are currently full-time agriculturalists. It is in the face of the death of a community member that the living renew a commitment to the spirit of collective action and generalized reciprocity that contrasts with the individualism and closed exchange that characterize wage work and market exchange. Yet as I illustrate in the next two sections, these two constellations of modes of interaction are not always completely separated in rural Galicia.

**'O Carreto': Generalized Exchange, Cooperation and Wage Labour**

“*Carreiros de bois para pedras y pinos* (Oxen carting for rocks and pines).” This phrase was often employed by middle-aged and elderly Carreirense to describe the lines of oxen that struggled through the brush or down the rutted cart-path from the parish quarry prior to the 1970s. These descriptions were so vivid that I came to imagine that the *carreiros* or *carretos* might appear around a turn. However this was unlikely since, like the ubiquitous horses of a few decades before, oxen are rarely seen in this area of Galicia in the 1990s. In the past, prior to the construction of paved roads and the purchase of tractors and trucks, oxen supplied the crucial draught labour for both deep spring ploughing and heavy transportation. The wealthiest peasants owned the strong teams of oxen and the sturdy, wooden carts that these animals pulled when transporting heavy loads.

The term *carreto* refers to the physical line of oxen moving in sequence, all pulling loaded carts full of heavy materials like stone and logs. The term also refers to the traditional obligation to provide this service of carting for the repair of roads or construction of local buildings like churches and schools. Carting service was also exchanged between those households with oxen and strong work cattle when one household was building a new dwelling or other structure (Lisón Tolosana 1981[1974]:30). There were seven households in Carreira and several more in Pedramayor that owned oxen. When a particular family built a new house, their neighbours would help transport the necessary building materials with either oxen or cattle. Sixty-year old Delfina and her father, Manuel, ninety-two years old, remembered how important the donation of draught labour and materials were in the past when a new house was

constructed in Carreira: "They went one for another to get the stone from the mountain [quarry] with the oxen. And each donated a pine tree [for the beams, stairs and possibly flooring] (*Iban úns pra outros a buscar a pedra en o monte. Cada un daba-lle un pino* )." Delfina and Manuel were able to afford to build their two-storey house several decades ago because their neighbours helped them. Manuel still remembers the cost of the stonemasons' labour, the only large monetary investment they had to make, because he sold a horse to pay for it: "11,000 pesetas. The horse, we sold it and with that money we built the house (*A besta, vendemos-la e co eses cartos fixemos a casa* )."

In addition to being exchanged between neighbours, carting was also an activity for which wages could be earned, most often from the lumber companies that needed large loads of uncut logs transported to sawmills.

Carting is thus an excellent example of a service that can be either exchanged horizontally between neighbours, donated to large landowners or to the church, or undertaken for a day or piece wage -- the same activity can therefore be exchanged along a continuum, ranging from balanced reciprocity to closed, wage transactions. These bases for this activity were not completely separated in practice. Even when the Carreirense went out to work for lumber companies, they worked together (as though participating in an agricultural work party) to ensure that everyone achieved the day's task and was paid.

Pepe, a seventy-two year old man, remembered taking out the oxen and cart owned by his employers while he was a servant as a young man. Later, he earned some badly needed cash with the cattle he owned 'by halves' with the same landlord by working for Candido, owner of a local sawmill. During the post-Civil war years when this form of transporting heavy materials was still in

use (1940s and 1950s), Pepe remembers being paid “15 pesos [or 75 pesetas] with cows and 25 pesos [125 pesetas] for anyone who went with oxen ( *por o que iba cos bois* ).” They earned the most money from the sawmills, less so from the quarrymen who would pay for stones to be transported down the hillside to the households of those who had commissioned the work: “When we went for stone, we didn’t earn as much. Then the wood place ( *o choi da madeira* ) opened . . . ” Josefa, now fifty-eight, was one of several women who regularly accompanied the line of carts from Carreira. As a young man, Josefa’s father was killed in the Varilongo wolfram mine, leaving Josefa, her mother and three other children to make a living with only a small plot of land and a few cattle. Josefa’s mother sent her eldest daughter out with the carters, knowing that she would be able to manage because she went to work with *veciños* . Josefa remembers singing along the bumpy, often treacherous route to keep everyone awake especially on the long winter days when the sun set early.

“I went with our cows and the cart from the house. I went with the neighbours, like Estevan of the House of the Forge when there was an opportunity to earn money ( *cando iba ocasión pra ganar cartos* ). We’d leave our [field] work and go. I was told, ‘Stick with the men ( *Arrimate cos homes* ).’ I helped carry the pines that weighed the least.

My mother had no less than four children to feed ( *Maman non tiña mais que catro fillos que mantere* ). We were five but my sister Celia went [as an apprentice] with Sara, the seamstress. At that time, she was fed at the houses, she was maintained ( *ela iba mantenida* ). And I went with the pines.

We were paid 25 pesos [125 pesetas] for each cartload. We helped one



another (*Axudamamos nos unos aos outros*). We all went in a line. [In the woods] the men lifted the logs onto the carts and I wrapped the cords around all the loads. While we ate, the cows ate. We didn't return home until the night-time. Many times, I came back sleeping in the cart (*Eu iba muitas de veces durmindo en o carro*).

This example demonstrates that the Carreirense applied the ethos of mutual aid and exchange between neighbours to a situation of a wage relationship with an outside employer. It would have been almost impossible for individuals to work alone, loading and unloading the heavy pines or stones. Since she was a young girl and not as strong as her male neighbours, Josefa was given the task of securing each of the loads with heavy cords. Despite this division of labour worked out by the villagers on the job site, Josefa received the same wage from the owner of the sawmill as did the others with carts and cattle.

The way in which neighbours travelled and worked together in this case did not differ from situations in which the work was done without monetary payment to help a neighbour. When a family decided to build new house or granary, kin and neighbours would help transport the building materials down to the building site from the quarry. The building would then either be completed by a contracted stonemason and his crew, or partially built with the volunteered labour of the same neighbours. A similar flexible movement between closed transactions and open exchange relationships is observable in the complex way in which rural Galicians interact with owners of small businesses.

### **The Importance of Inexact Change: Keeping Commercial Relations Open**

Substantive models of non-capitalist economies distinguish sharply between the categories of commercial, market transactions and non-monetary exchange (Firth 1967; Polanyi 1944, 1959; Sahlins 1972). In recent work on the Pacific, it has been argued that these seemingly opposite principles can influence each other dramatically (Gregory 1980; Thomas 1989). Less research on this topic has been reported for the Western European context, perhaps because this region has been used as an empty comparative category for other areas. The 'Occident' or 'Europe' is assumed to be quintessentially "capitalist," where goods and labour are bought and sold in closed transactions.<sup>7</sup> In this section, I demonstrate that the Carreirenses, like other Europeans, are engaged in a range of complex exchange relationships and that the principles of unbalanced reciprocity influence commercial transactions. For example, not only do both rural and urban Galicians insist on buying each other drinks and meals when at a bar or restaurant, they also engage in open-ended reciprocity with the owners of these establishments.

The same process of negotiation is described by Herzfeld in his discussion of the conflict in the Cretan town of Rethemniot between bureaucratic ideals of order and calculation and "locals' studied inattention to exactness of any sort" (Herzfeld 1991:162). In Rethemniot, regular customers are granted credit and are frequently treated by purveyors of goods and services (owners of coffeehouses, shops and other small businesses). Both bargaining and shows of generosity on the part of merchants as well as clients

are valued in Rethemniot ideology and practice and conceptually opposed to the exact prescriptions of capitalist pricing and bureaucratic rules of procedure, taxes and licensing. Neither party ideally demonstrates a concern with exact amounts of money paid or owed, nor with the immediate repayment of a debt. In the following passage, Herzfeld describes a friend paying for drinks in his cousin's coffeehouse, "When he asked his cousin how much he owed and the latter said, 'A hundred [drachmas] or so ( *kana katostariko* ),' he put down 150 drachmas, thereby demonstrating generosity to both his cousin and this stranger and emphasizing the importance of studied imprecision in informal social relations" (Herzfeld 1991:82).

I found the same "reciprocal, intentional vagueness in economic interactions" (Herzfeld 1991:82) to characterize both non-monetary and monetary exchange in Carreira, as well as in Galician towns such as Santa Comba, Zás and Bayo and cities such as Santiago de Compostela. With few exceptions, shopkeepers in towns and villages treated me to the first few items that I purchased from them and rarely charged me an exact price for those items for which they did allow me to pay. In one of my first experiences with negotiating a smooth relationship with a storeowner, I purchased some hand cream and other small items from Nélide, a pharmacist in the town of Santa Comba who then proceeded to loudly refuse to take any money from me. A few days later I returned to the pharmacy to buy additional products; in my view at the time, by doing so I was 'paying' Nélide back for those items that she had given to me. Again, Nélide refused to allow me to pay. Some weeks later I decided to bring Nélide some pastries as a gift, knowing that she had spent many years in the city and missed urban treats. On this evening she was on call

at the pharmacy all night and appreciated my company. We made coffee and drank it with the pastries, which Névida accepted gracefully. I came to know Névida well over the following months and the next time I went to buy something at her pharmacy, she told me the price and accepted my money. However, like the man in Herzfeld's story, I had already learned not to give Névida the exact amount she quoted. Although most pharmaceutical goods in Spain are pre-priced according to unified standards and the prices are printed on the boxes, in Galicia, customers and storeowners tend to round off stated prices. Névida and other businesspeople say something like the following to their customers, "It comes to 640 pesetas. Give me 600." The customer then frequently gives the owner of the business 700 pesetas to demonstrate their lack of concern with exact calculations. This practice of negotiation is also found in the cities, especially in cases where a steady relationship between clients and business owners has been established.

Although this practice of disregarding exactness when engaged in monetary transactions occurs with members of all social classes, it may be exaggerated to achieve other ends. I have observed restaurant owners treating steady clients to expensive meals in both rural and urban Galicia. In many cases, those who are treated are wealthy and powerful clients such as doctors, police officers and government officials. Even at a local level, it is common to find both businesspeople and other members of the community frequently giving gifts to patrons or potential patrons: priests, teachers, principals, social workers, doctors, politicians and others. Some individuals are uncomfortable with these practices, attributing them to the legacy of bribery that was frequent throughout Spain during the Franco regime. Others argue that this behaviour

and the influence of patrons (who are often equated with *caciques* ["local bosses" ]) in Galicia predates the Franco period from 1939 to 1975. According to the latter viewpoint, class distinctions have influenced interpersonal relations -- including exchange relationships -- for centuries and must be accounted for in examining each case of exchange. In other words, the same ideology can have different implications when used to justify distinct interactions. Downplaying exactness serves to keep relationships open and always out of balance. In some cases, the imbalance may alternate between individuals and serve to keep relationships relatively equal over time. However, even when an individual is permanently in debt to someone, this may result from different reasons. Businesspeople and others continuously 'treat' powerful people because they want to build up sufficient credit to be able to ask for large favours at a future date. Poor people often find it necessary to establish credit at stores, and borrow from their neighbours, because they simply do not have adequate incomes to maintain themselves.

Owners of a variety of businesses in and near Carreira ordinarily run a credit line for permanent customers. More effort is placed on maintaining good relations with steady customers than either charging exact amounts for items or demanding immediate payment. Most households in Carreira have credit lines running at several stores both in the parish and in the towns of Zás and Bayo. These shopkeepers cannot afford to alienate local customers even if they are heavily into debt, because the only way for them to retrieve what they are owed is to maintain good relations and wait for repayment. In some cases, storekeepers may gently tease their clients but it is only in extreme situations that they become openly angry or threaten to report them to the authorities.

Local craftspeople who are hired by neighbours to perform services may find that they are not paid for months afterward or even not at all. These services range from contracting carpenters to build expensive cabinets and other furniture for a house being renovated or built with migrant remittances, to hiring a seamstress to complete a new outfit. This situation is especially difficult for those businesspeople who owe money to outside suppliers; the latter expect immediate repayment when the goods are delivered to local businesses. The ethos of disregard for immediate repayment or exactness at a local level does not mesh well with the expectation of closed, immediate transactions in the capitalist marketplace. Those individuals who set up businesses in a village or close-knit urban neighbourhood may easily become caught between the ideologies of open reciprocity and closed exchange. However, the availability of kin and neighbours as easily gained customers can be outweighed by this problem. In the next several sections, I demonstrate that the negotiation of exchange relations is similarly complex in the context of agricultural production.

#### **'Andabase en Roga' : Vertical Labour Exchange in the Past**

Prior to the mechanization of agricultural production and the improvement of the infrastructure in much of rural Galicia, medium and large landholders required extensive numbers of extra-household workers at the peak periods in the annual cycle. In addition to hiring servants on an annual contract and establishing sharecropping agreements with other land-poor peasants, they gained the necessary labour through the manipulation of an ethic of reciprocal labour exchange.

Households with large holdings and large quantities of crops to plant, weed and harvest necessarily required more labour than they would have to

donate in return to small holdings. There were several ways of dealing with this imbalance. Vertical exchange between wealthy and poor households is described in Galician ethnography as well as in studies of other areas of Spain, and in Portugal and France (Brandes 1975; Fernández de Rota 1987:49; O'Neill 1987:171-174; Rogers 1991:105-109). While in some cases neighbours were paid day wages (*o xornal*) to compensate them for this work, they were often also asked to contribute their labour in return for unspecified, future favours. Furthermore, the distinction between 'favour' and 'wage' was blurred because it was expected that the head of the household benefitting from the work party would act as host, serving snacks and meals to all the participating labourers. Similar meals were also provided as a portion of the day wage paid to agriculturalists and itinerant artisans. In addition, when describing the difficult economic times of the post-Civil war period the Carreirense also refer to a meal as a minimal form of wage. The members of land-poor households understood the request for donated rather than wage labour to have been directly related to either the inability or the unwillingness of the landlord to pay standard monetary wages. Less wealthy households could not afford to pay for labour, so members exchanged favours with each other in a horizontal relationship. When labour exchange involved households of differential status, the negotiation of degrees of debt and recompense was more complicated.

As described at the beginning of Chapter Four, linen spinning bees were frequently hosted by the female heads of wealthy households. Young women and their mothers spun the flax in return for a festive meal and an opportunity for the young people of both sexes to enjoy a winter dance. Only households with sufficient plots of arable land planted enough flax to require the services of

large numbers of spinners. Galicians continued to use hand-held spindles into the twentieth century; this labour-intensive method was not replaced to any great extent in either household production or in the home production of flax for sale to middlemen (Carmona Badía 1990). When factory-produced cloth became more accessible and affordable in the late twentieth century, the production of flax and linen cloth gradually disappeared in the inland parishes of Galicia. This time period coincided with the seasonal labour migration of many Carreirenses and other southern Europeans to countries such as Switzerland and Germany, and the mechanization of other types of agriculture (J.-M. Buechler 1975; Buechler and Buechler 1984). There were no longer as many young men in the area during the winter months to attend the *fías* or women to spend valuable time hand-spinning the flax; nor was there any impetus to invest in machinery to spin and weave the flax for use or sale. Both the wealthy and the poor in turn gradually ceased to produce their own cloth for bedding, sacks and clothing. The period when linen was produced is alive in people's memories; in households where I asked middle-aged and elderly women about this activity, they were able to show me carefully hoarded bolts of the last cloth that they had made.

Spinning bees are a good example of vertical reciprocity because they involve a productive activity that initially requires significant inputs of land and subsequently of labour. Only households with significant holdings could afford to plant much flax; and despite the availability of land, many moderately wealthy and rich peasant households would have found it difficult to invest the amount of cash in monetary wages necessary to complete the processing work involved in transforming the flax into linen cloth -- since spinning is one of the most time-



consuming and skilled activities. Therefore, these households hosted dinners and dances for the rest of the community in return for its labour. Thus, what could have been a purely economic transaction between wealthier and poorer members of the same community was also a festive, community-wide affair. Although the example of spinning bees is from the past, the social reality it highlights is still relevant in the present -- economic relationships are never completely distinct from ongoing social obligations in Carreira.

Other examples of vertical exchange in the past that are frequently described by the Carreirense include the work of planting, hoeing, harvesting, maize-shucking and threshing that was done for wealthy landowners (who were also often local professionals such as teachers, lawyers, doctors and priests). In return for their contribution of labour, poor villagers were compensated with a large meal on the day that they worked and a range of favours over the long-term. These favours varied widely and are of the type commonly associated with the behaviour of rural elites throughout southern Europe (Kenny 1960; Fernández de Rota 1987). In return for free labour, villagers would be chosen to earn wages performing day labour on future occasions. Freely donated labour also enabled villagers to enter into patron-client relationships with local elites. Patrons loaned clients money, food and tools, and acted as intermediaries in bureaucratic matters such as arranging paperwork for migration visas or inheritance disputes.

The same agricultural tasks completed in vertical relationships were also performed in exchange for equal labour or equivalent favours from members of the same class. This is the type of labour exchange most frequently practiced today, as I demonstrate in the following section.

### **Examples of Horizontal Labour Exchange in the Present: Planting and Haymaking**

Horizontal exchange relationships involve actors from households of relatively equal wealth, with similar needs for the reciprocal exchange of labour and other goods. Labour exchange occurs most frequently during the spring, summer and fall periods when crops are planted, hoed and harvested. Exchanges are normally organized between particular households that have long-standing dyadic relationships (Iturra 1977, 1988). Following McGee's (1979) discussion of the different forms of 'making out', Gavin Smith has called the shifting alliances between Peruvian households in Huasicanchino and Lima 'confederations of households' (Smith 1984). Smith (1984; 1989) emphasizes that the changing requirements of each household over short and long-term cycles, varying resources, and the effects of changes in national and international economic structures all influence the exact composition of these 'confederations' at a particular points in time. A similar shifting series of inter-household exchanges operate in rural Kentucky as part of the 'informal economy' that is emically referred to as 'The Kentucky Way' (Halperin 1990). In Galicia similar exchanges are called *axuda* (literally, from the verb *axudar* 'to help'), *rogas* (a parallel of the Castilian Spanish *ruega* ), or *xeira* when they involve explicit donations of labour on particular occasions (Iturra 1988:123-144; Lisón Tolosana 1983[1979]:123; Moreno Feliú et al. 1987). In order to demonstrate the main features of such exchanges as well as the nuances of interactions during work parties in Carreira in the late twentieth century, I have chosen to present narrative interpretations of specific planting and haying parties in which I participated while living in Carreira.

Work parties are composed of a combination of individuals, members of the household whose land is being worked, and extra-household kin and neighbours. Some people are 'called' (*chamare*) to the party. This request, made in an overt fashion, puts the one requesting help under obligation to help at a later date. Therefore, the act of 'calling' for help is generally limited to households with which one is engaged in relatively permanent, ongoing exchange relationships. In most cases, those in the household being "called" are obliged to assist. Other people who hear of the planned work may offer their assistance in order to ensure a particular favour they foresee needing soon, or to keep open the possibility of as yet undefined aid in the future. Although the household is the main unit to which favours are owed and delivered, some individuals help others with whom they are in a permanent bond, independent of ties between their respective households. The best example of the basis for this exchange that can operate at an individual as well as household level is the godparent-godchild relationship.

Many factors, such as the weather, other chores and the inclinations of the household members play a part in the ultimate decision of people to hold a work party. The Carreirense are reluctant to confirm whether or not they will initiate a task until a short time beforehand. Most commonly, in response to my questions about rumours of upcoming events (including work parties) I was told "That's to be seen (*A ver*)" or "God willing (*Si Díos quere*)." Interested persons will stop by the household during the evening prior to the rumoured work activity and chat, but even at that time it is rare for people to commit themselves because of the intrusion of unforeseen obstacles. In the case of agricultural activities, poor weather is the main factor to interrupt human intentions. Rain

can make it impossible both to plough and to harvest. Drying grass cannot be harvested and stored if there is insufficient sunshine to cure the hay.

As a group of individuals moves out to the fields to initiate a big project such as the planting party I describe next, the news travels quickly through the village and other neighbours may subsequently join in. This planting party took place on a Saturday because Enrique, the son of Concepción (the widowed head of the household) was occupied during the week working for wages in a construction project in Bayo. Concepción's household had recently purchased a tractor and whenever possible, they waited for Enrique to be available for tasks such as planting because he was the most skilled driver of the new tractor. Ten people from seven households helped plant for most of the afternoon, although a few other people contributed their labour and company to the endeavour for shorter periods of time. For instance, David the young nephew of Enrique's wife Beatriz left in the middle of the afternoon to do some chores for his mother and then returned to the work party later. Paco, a middle-aged unemployed carpenter left the planting party several times over the course of the day to herd his sheep off the road and back onto a pasture nearby. In the chart below, I have outlined the relationships between the volunteers and the members of Concepción's household. There are representatives from both the 'upper' (*de arriba*) and 'lower' (*de abaixo*) village neighbourhoods. This example, like other cases I observed in Carreira and surrounding parishes indicates that horizontal labour exchange does not only occur between members of particular neighbourhoods or kin groups. A combination of factors influences the establishment and maintenance of these exchange relationships.

On this occasion, three members of Concepción's household helped

plant: Concepción, Enrique and Beatríz. Enrique and Beatríz's two children took care of other tasks while their parents and grandmother were occupied with planting. The teenaged son Luciano herded their four cattle to the upper pastures to graze on the sweet, young spring grasses. His sister María (who was home for the weekend from her teacher's course at the university in Santiago de Compostela) remained at home cleaning out the animals' stalls, caring for the fowls and pigs, doing some laundry in the stream and cooking the evening meal. This distribution of household labour is common; even when a labour-intensive activity is taking place, not all of the household members will necessarily participate. It is preferable to have some individuals perform other important tasks such as shepherding, and accept the aid of members of other households. This division of labour would not occur in the case of other activities that must be accomplished over a particular time limit and require even more labour. Good examples are haying and other harvesting activities. In these cases, it is less common for any members of the household except the frail elderly, the sick and young children to remain behind. However, the fact that extra-household labour was recruited and volunteered for a work activity when some able-bodied members of the host household did not participate suggests that the continual exchange of labour between Carreirense households is not due solely to a need for additional workers in each instance. In addition, the use of machinery such as tractors has reduced the number of workers necessary to perform some tasks. This labour is needed in other cases however, and by continuing to work together throughout the year, the Carreirense never sever those potential relationships that they may need to activate at a given moment. Inter-household exchanges of goods, labour and

ritual obligations are as much about maintaining bonds of community as they are about serving purely material needs.

Concepción and Beatríz talked about going out to plant the kale and walking stick cabbage for several weeks before they did so. Their neighbours (including myself) and kin who intended to help them watched and waited until a fine Saturday arrived. By Friday evening, everyone was fairly certain that the planting party would take place because Beatríz had bought a bag of chemical fertilizer and carried it home through the village balanced on her head. However, when I tried to pin Concepción down to make my plans for the next day she still shook her head and said "We'll see." When I joined her Saturday, dressed in my oldest clothes and rubber boots she chastised me for not bringing gloves, a headscarf, and an apron, and for not wearing the wooden shoes that she, Beatríz and most of the other women wore when working in the fields and around the stables. "You'll ruin your white hands and your clothes," she exclaimed and the other women joined in her consternation and between them provided me with gloves and an apron. I knew two of the women very well: Concepción's younger sister Susana and her neighbour Ana. Ana is married to a half-brother of Concepción's but they usually refer to each other as neighbours rather than as kin; they live close to each other in the 'upper' village. In any case, it is the nature of their relationship that is ultimately more important than the degree of relatedness or the propinquity of residence. "We get along well (*Nos llevamos ben*)," members of both households explained to me when I observed that they exchange many favours. The same comment is used to describe a close sibling relationship; the extent of interaction is not 'natural' or assumed. Inter-household and interpersonal relationships must be crafted

carefully and continuously in any cultural context and one of the salient ways this is achieved in rural Galicia is the sharing of work activities.

Susana also lives in the 'upper' village but she is a five minute walk from Ana's house on the other side of the settlement, further up the hillside. Another member of the work party was Pepe who lives near Concepción and Ana. He is not directly related to Concepción but is married to a half-sister of Ana. The other participant from the 'upper' village was myself, since I lived with neighbours of Concepción. Additional helpers included Beatríz's nephew David. David, rather than another of her nephews came to help because he is also her only godson and they are especially close. David lives with his parents in the 'lower' village as do the other two members of the work party, a married couple Minya and Paco who are 'distant' cousins of Beatríz's. These relationships are summarized below in Table 5.1 (on page 322).

Table 5.1

## Members of Concepción's Planting Party

<b>Member (#)</b>	<b>Kin tie</b>	<b>Household member</b>	<b>Neighbour tie</b>
Concepción (1)	ego	yes	
Enrique (2)	son of 1	yes	
Beatríz (3)	wife of 2	yes	
Susana (4)	sister of 1		yes
Ana (5)	sister-in-law by marriage to 1		yes
Pepe (6)			yes
David (7)	nephew to 3		
Minya (8)	cousin to 3		
Paco (9)	cousin to 3		
Sharon (10)			temporarily



When we arrived at Concepción's fields, the different tasks were divided amongst us although no one was explicitly told what to do except me (because I asked). Enrique drove the tractor pulling the plough. Beatríz and Pepe alternated sitting on top of the plough to guide it and provide some weight to make deeper furrows. Minya and Susana spent most of the time working with hoes and spades to flatten the tops of the mounds made by the tractor. They also ensured that each plant was properly covered after the tractor closed the furrow on the return trip. Paco worked at the end of each row, replacing the earth the tractor disturbed when it turned. Two people, most frequently myself and Ana, laid down the seedlings of kale and cabbage in the open furrows at even intervals. David (when he was present) followed behind us sprinkling a mixture of lime powder (*o mineral*) and chemical fertilizer on the plants' roots.

At first it appeared to me that we were working haphazardly. For example, several times people casually moved the seedlings, tools, and sacks of fertilizer out of the path of the tractor at the last minute. There did not appear to be strong leadership or consultation through most of the afternoon. When someone (most frequently David or Paco) left his particular task, he did not draw anyone's attention to his temporary departure. Another person eventually noticed David or Paco's absence and took up the task him or herself.

However there were moments when I became aware that Concepción and Beatríz were clearly the leaders, as well as the hostesses, of the work party. They were teasingly called 'chief' (*jefa*) or 'boss' (*patrona*) by the men helping to plant. When a decision about the task had to be made, Concepción and Beatríz discussed the possible options out loud and listened to everyone's opinions. For instance, at one point we had to decide whether or not there were

enough cabbage seedlings left to make up a complete row. The women helping who (aside from myself) were all middle-aged or elderly and experienced agriculturalists, offered more opinions and advice than did the men. This pattern is not generalizable; it is usually the middle-aged and elderly of both sexes who offer opinions on a variety of subjects in Carreira. My interpretation of this tendency for women to dominate the decision-making in this particular case is that it relates to the fact that Concepción was the head of this household and the owner of the land being planted, and that both she and Beatriz have more aggressive and outspoken personalities than does Enrique.

The work party created a festive atmosphere for those participating in it as well as for other villagers who walked past us. The Carreirense love to work together and to see others doing so. Individuals who passed by called out greetings and jokes cheerfully. While we worked, people gossiped in clusters, often resuming the same subjects of conversation later in the day when the same people came together to perform another task. Naturally, the topics of discussion reflected the main concerns of a worker-peasant lifestyle and a small community. Concepción and Beatriz worried out loud about the state of their crops and the others insisted that they would have a good harvest that year. One conversation was about a woman with a large family whose husband was sick. About this situation, Minya remarked "Its not a life. Its a huge life (*Non e unha vida. E un vidón* )." Several women said in reply "There is no wealth (*Non hai riqueza* )," meaning that the woman about whom they were talking had a lot of problems and bad luck. These proverbial reflections on the opposing poles of bad and good luck ("You [guys] will have great crops this year, you'll see") are the most frequent topics of conversation during work parties. The act

of planting a new crop necessarily brings out the speculations and fears about the harvest for the year.

After all the seedlings were planted, we sat down by the side of the road and drank beer and water. Beatriz invited us all to dinner afterward. However, only Ana decided to stay for dinner while Susana and myself were prevailed upon to have crepes and coffee. The other members of the work party refused to come to eat, both since they regarded it to be a minor task and because they either felt they 'owed' their hosts the work or desired a favour in the near future. In the case of Pepe, Enrique had been helping administer medication to Pepe's wife who was ill with influenza. Minya and Paco, however, asked Concepción for a wheelbarrow full of seedlings a few days later because they did not have enough to plant their own crop.

On the walk back from the fields to the house Concepción, Beatriz and Susana explained to me why they participated in work parties. They said that they helped each other so that they would not have to hire workers. Concepción proclaimed with pride "Those with friends always have people to help them (*Os con amigos ten xente pra axudar*)." Concepción uses the term 'friends' rather than 'neighbours' or 'relatives' in order to emphasize that potential bonds of reciprocity can only be established and maintained through enactment. Concepción and Susana said that they would make a 'peasant' (*labradora*) out of me yet. To become a 'peasant' I would have to buy land and then work it. Beatriz explained that they were 'small peasants' because they had to exchange rather than hire labour but that they were not *caseteiros*, landless people. Landless people must go to work for others for day wages or rent land. Such comments indicate that these Carreirense women regard

labour exchange to be ideally 'horizontal', something that landed 'peasants' can afford to donate to each other. In reality, landless sharecroppers and renters also exchange labour with each other and with households whose members own more land. Furthermore, as I noted above in the discussion of 'vertical exchange' wealthy peasants also frequently engage their neighbours to donate their labour rather than paying them wages.

In the next example of horizontal labour and tool exchange, members of two households helped each other gather the winter supply of hay on a day in mid-July. In Carreira, the tall, green summer grass is cut (with a scythe or more recently a hand-operated mower). It is then turned gently with pitchforks several times over the next few days so that it dries on all sides in the sun. Cured hay must be stored soon after it is dried.

The cooperative work party described below involved members of two households with different resources. One household operates a tavern/shop and owns a tractor, several dwellings, and enough land to provide for the majority of their main staple crops (potatoes, greens, maize, grains, garden products). When the work party was mobilized in July, only three people were living in this household. Teresa, the widowed, elderly head of the household, had died the previous winter. In July, only Teresa's middle-aged son Vicente, his wife Estrella, and their teenage son Abel remained. They could not supply enough labour to ensure that their hay was gathered quickly on the day it dried. In addition, Vicente and Estrella could not afford to close the tavern and shop for an entire day especially on a Saturday when Vicente was most likely to be able to help with the haying since he worked in road construction on weekdays. Abel was also busy during the week because he had recently begun an

apprenticeship with a car mechanic in Bayo. On the day of the haying, Vicente was actually absent from work on long-term disability pay because of chronic back and leg pain. It was Abel's half-day off from his apprentice work so he served the clients in the tavern and shop while his parents gathered the hay.

The other household was also small in number, consisting only of the middle-aged heads Ernesto and Manuela and their unmarried adult daughter Celia. In addition to a lack of sufficient labour for major tasks, Ernesto and Manuela own little land (renting what they need to provide for themselves and their livestock) and rely on animal traction, hand-operated tools and a wooden cart most of the time. They subsist on a disability pension that Ernesto receives -- he retired from mining and construction work at an early age because of lung disease and other ailments -- and those foodstuffs they raise. By joining together with their neighbours Vicente and Estrella, these members of a poor household benefited not only from an increased number of labourers but also from the use of a tractor and sturdy, metal cart. Vicente and Estrella donated their labour and their tractor in return for the much needed labour of their neighbours. Neither household could gather their hay alone, and Manuela and Ernesto would have had a harder time transporting the hay in one trip with their cows and wooden cart.

Therefore, the entire work party consisted of members of three households, Vicente and Estrella from one, Ernesto, Manuela and Celia from another and myself. I was regarded as a representative of the household in which I lived, and my donation of labour for the haying and other tasks was calculated into future exchanges of tools and labour between the two households. We drove down to the hayfields perched on the tractor. As

occurred during other cooperative labour activities in Carreira, participants freely gossiped and made numerous humorous remarks. The hayfields were at a long distance from the village, at the furthest perimeter of the parish. As we got farther from the settlement, the sense of distance from it and the mixed sex composition of the work party led to the same kinds of sexual joking interactions that are described by Brandes (1980) and Gilmore (1987). For example, Manuela exclaimed to the great amusement of her daughter Celia and neighbour Estrella that Vicente was driving the tractor so hard that, like the experience of riding a stallion, he made her "breasts dance (*tetas bailan*)". This type of joking between neighbours of opposite sexes and of different generations is most frequent during work parties that are held at some distance from the village. At the same time, Manuela's intent was to amuse the entire group rather than to banter solely with Vicente.

In this relatively small work party, all the decisions about matters such as how to stack the hay on the cart were made collectively by the four middle-aged adults, with some limited input from Celia. Once we arrived at the first field of hay (Ernesto and Manuela's) we turned to different tasks without much discussion. Vicente drove the tractor when it needed to be moved and helped to stack the hay on top of the wagon. Manuela also helped stack the hay, grabbing the loads we swung up to her and packing them strategically in a cubical mass. The rest of us alternated between raking the rows of cut hay into piles near the wagon and the more physically demanding task of handing up pitchforks of hay to those on the wagon. By the end of two hours of stacking this hay, Celia joined her mother and Vicente on top of the wagon to carefully arrange the tall stack and tie it securely into place for the ride back. The next

few hours were spent returning to the village and storing the hay in the second-storey shed (*a barra*) adjoining Vicente and Manuela's house. Estrella ran across the square to her store and came back with beer and other drinks for everyone. The sun was high in the sky by this point but there was a feeling of urgency because everyone was certain that it would rain the next day, making it imperative that Vicente and Estrella's hay also be gathered and stored that day.

Each cartful of hay was equal to approximately five *ferrados* of pasture, Vicente explained to me. Their field was closer to six or seven *ferrados* so the trick would be to stack it carefully in order to make it in one trip rather than having to go back twice. The drive to this lower pasture was treacherous because the track went through the woods and over slippery and rocky sections that were difficult to maneuver even for cattle-drawn carts. Several accidents had occurred in recent years when tractors and carts overturned. The risk of the cart overturning is particularly great when loads are heavy and poorly balanced. Therefore, a lot of stress is placed on the skill and experience of those responsible for loading as well as on that of those driving the tractors on the inadequate cartpaths. As the sun began to descend, we rushed to finish loading the hay and begin the long trip back to the village. The darkness would not only make it impossible to complete the task but would make it very dangerous for Vicente in navigating his way back. At one point when the tractor lurched, the load shifted onto those of us riding in front of the cart. Vicente stopped the tractor and retied the load, using supple tree branches and rope to lodge the hay in place. At this stage, the rest of us decided it would be prudent to walk back to the village on foot. It was already dusk and we were all exhausted. Vicente and Estrella were eager to get back to the bar for the

evening rush and they decided to store the hay under plastic sheets in their yard overnight, saying that they could unload it themselves the next day.

The equal exchange of labour over a one-day period meant that neither household provided a meal for the members of the other. I was asked to dinner by both Estrella and Manuela who teasingly said that I would not be fed in the household where I boarded because I had worked for others that day, "Today they won't feed you in the house, you worked 'outside' (*Hoxe non che dan de comer en casa, traballabas afora*)." I declined but both women made it clear that they were repaying me for my labour on other occasions over the next several weeks by insisting that I accept gifts of food. For instance, Estrella would call me into the tavern to have coffee with her. The following week, Manuela invited me into her house to partake of a delicacy (*rinchóns*) that she had prepared from the pig they had slaughtered for the July 18th *fiesta* honouring the parish patron saint, St. James (Santiago). When I objected to her offering me such a large portion of this delicacy, she explicitly stated "And you also went haying (*También fuiches a herba seca*)." It is also likely that Manuela and Estrella were eager to balance the exchange with me since they knew that I was leaving the parish at the end of the summer, and the possibilities for long-term reciprocity were curtailed.

These two different examples of the negotiation of the terms of horizontal labour exchange demonstrate that donations of labour are carefully calculated and mental accounts are kept to ensure that over the agricultural cycle, exchanges are balanced with relatively equal returns of either labour or other favours.

The principles of generalized and balanced reciprocity, and vertical and



horizontal exchange also apply to cases of ritual obligations in Carreira. Labour and tool exchanges allow worker-peasant households to reproduce themselves in cases where they do not have sufficient numbers of labourers, mechanized tools or the cash to hire either workers or mechanized equipment. They also consistently reinforce inter-household ties so that neighbours and kin can be called upon over the long-term if the household experiences a crisis such as an illness or crop failure. There are other ways in which the Carreirenses ensure reliable extra-household relationships. In order to illustrate an example of reciprocity principles applied to non-agricultural work domains, I now examine the relationships of ritual exchange involved in godparenthood.

### **Ritual Exchange: Godparent Obligations**

Godparent obligations and relationships are significant ritual and social bonds in Catholic societies. I shall argue here, in contrast to Foster (1953), that godparent-godchild and coparent (*compadre*) relationships create important social and economic, as well as spiritual, ties in this region of Spain. In comparing Latin American and (limited) Spanish data, Foster (1953:7) dismissed the relative significance of the *compadrazgo* institution throughout Spain: “[it] appears to have little importance in stabilizing and integrating communal life within a village or town, to have few significant economic aspects, and to play no really important role in the whole picture of Spanish social structure.” I found instead that the Carreirenses do value the flexibility of this fictive kin relation which serves to reinforce both intra- and inter-household bonds. This is also reported for Galicia generally by Lisón Tolosana (1973a:834) who considers the institution of baptismal godparenthood to be one of those

forms of behavior which also tend to strengthen bonds of solidarity among all neighbors and thus promote the cohesion of the hamlet. Every time a child is born its parents choose, normally from among the neighbors, a godfather and godmother who are not necessarily related to one another. From the moment they accept the invitation, godparents enter into a unique and very special relationship with the parents of the child . . . Favors and aid are lent, secrets confided, and advice given. In this manner, the monolithic block or isolated castle formed by the house breaches its walls and allies with others. There is no place for envy or ill will between co-parents.

In Carreira, two patterns of godparenthood are identifiable: (1) the predominant choice of biological kin as godparents (mainly grandparents, aunts and uncles) and; (2) an elaboration of new or already existing horizontal exchanges between households through the institution of baptismal godparenthood. Although godparents are also customarily chosen for confirmation and marriage in Galician Spain, I focus here on baptismal godparenthood because it establishes the most significant interactions of fictive kinship on a daily basis. Coparents (*compadres* or *compais*), and godparents (*padriño* and *madrina*) and godchildren (*fillado* and *fillada*), always address and refer to each other with their fictive kin terms and treat each other with special concern, affection and respect. Although I was told that it was not infrequent in prior generations for the land-poor and landless to ask wealthy landowners to serve as godparents, today, when non-kin are asked to be godparents, horizontal ties predominate by far among Carreirenses. Any shift from vertical to horizontal ties in this domain mirrors the movement away from vertical and towards horizontal labour exchange. Over the last several decades, wealthy landowners have come to play a smaller part in the lives of former servants, tenants, sharecroppers and day labourers who have been

able to migrate abroad to work and to subsequently purchase small plots of land in the parish.

Mintz and Wolf (1950), in their survey of the functions of godparenthood in different societies during specific periods of history, emphasized the difference between these two types of bonds: "We shall employ the term "horizontal" to designate the direction which the *compadre* mechanism takes when linking together members of the same class. We shall use the term "vertical" to indicate the direction it takes when tying together members of different classes" (Mintz and Wolf 1950:342). For example, during the feudal period in Europe, godparents for tenants' children would commonly be chosen among the landlords and manorial administrators in order to ensure the poorer family's tie to the land, and to strengthen the patronage obligations of the members of the upper classes. Wealthy and powerful individuals were asked to be godparents to the children of the poor so that they were obligated to be lifetime patrons to these children and their parents. However, the "outstanding characteristic of the *compadre* mechanism is its adaptiveness to different situations" (Mintz and Wolf 1950:347) and in some cases, even during this same period, the institution could function equally to strengthen bonds between 'neighbours' of the same class. During the late Middle Ages, resistance to labour rent and other impositions customary under feudal tenure was dependent on "neighbourhood groups" who used any mechanisms available to them to reinforce horizontal ties between them, including the ritual obligations of godparenthood (Mintz and Wolf 1950:348). Mintz and Wolf argue that godparenthood was more prevalent and salient in southern as opposed to northern Europe during the rise of industrial capitalism because "kinship

mechanisms have been retained most completely where peasants have not yet become farmers" (Mintz and Wolf 1950:352).

The importance of intensifying kin and neighbour bonds in worker-peasant communities like Carreira has been demonstrated throughout this thesis. It is therefore not surprising that godparent obligations both solidify inheritance claims (when grandparents or other relatives are chosen), and are also exchanged between particular households over several generations. In the latter case, these ties supplement the exchange of labour, tools, and food and the lending of money -- practices that ensure social security and belonging in this community.

The godparenthood institution involves a new relationship between both co-parents as well as a strong bond between godparents and godchildren. The general obligation of godparenthood is marked by specific exchanges. Godparents in Galicia typically pay for the baptism as well as providing clothing for the newborn child and food (wine, eggs, chocolate) for the new mothers. Minya, seventy years old, described the tradition to me, "A jug of wine. Some shoes or a dress for the child and one or two dozen eggs to the co-mother (*Unha ola de viño. Uns zapatos o un vestido a criatura e a comadre unha o duas docenas de hovos*)." In turn, the parents of the newborn child invite the godparents to a dinner -- "the dinner of the co-parents (*a cea dos compadres*)" -- several weeks after the birth. Children also receive gifts from their godparents at Easter, on their birthdays and at their first communions and weddings. Significant symbols of these rites of passage are often purchased by godparents. For example, a godmother will give her goddaughter gold jewellery on the occasion of the latter's first communion or purchase her

baptismal or wedding dress. Baptismal godparents also frequently serve as godparents for the marriage of their godchildren. In return, godchildren are often as emotionally close to their godparents as they are to their own parents, returning their affection and acting toward them with a special respect and regard. Parents sometimes complain that godparents have too much influence on a child's decisions about serious matters; for instance, whether or not to quit school, or to migrate to find work outside the community. In cases where the godparent is also a grandparent and household head, these complaints from the parents reflect a general frustration about living under the authority and influence of their own parents or in-laws.

The life-long and serious nature of the relationship is signified by the tradition of allowing the godparents, rather than the parents, to choose the newborn child's name. Sometimes, godparents will consult the parents to query whether or not they approve of those names being considered. However, when I asked different Carreirense whether the godparents ever completely cede the right to choose the name to the birth parents, I was always told that they did not. Children are often given the same name as that of their godparents, grandparents, parents or other relatives. However, it is their godparents rather than their parents who decide what the child's name will be. This naming practice is longstanding; it is described in a series of responses to a folklore questionnaire administered in several Galician communities at the turn of the century (González Reboredo 1990b:59-61).

In Galicia, the stem-family household system of post-marital residence influences the choice of godparents for the first-born child for any couple who resides with the parents of either the man or the woman. The grandparents and

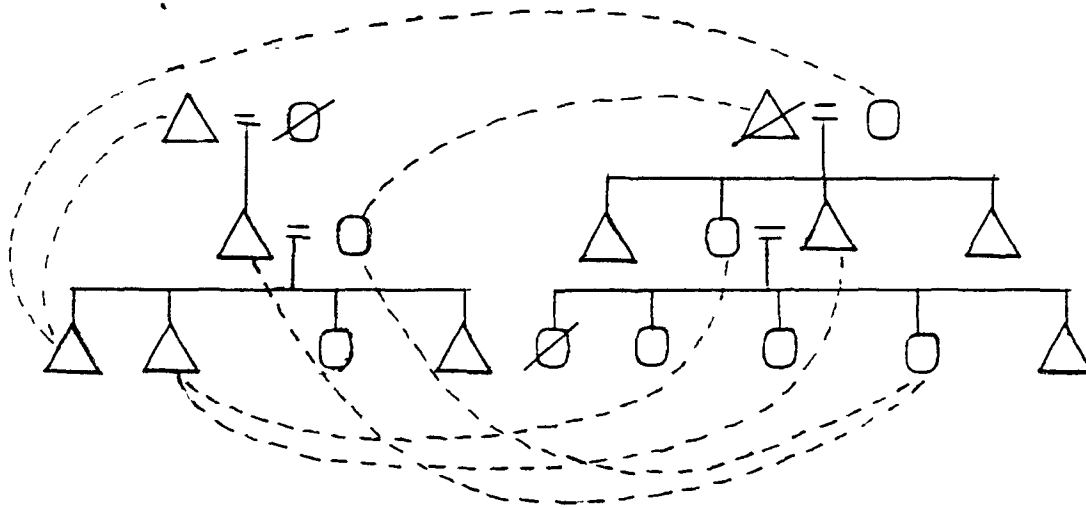
heads of the household are most often the godparents of a first-born child. In fact, all the children in the household will often refer to and address their grandparents with the terms 'godfather' and 'godmother'. The second-born child is frequently the godchild of the other (non-residing) set of grandparents, or aunts or uncles. Eldest children are sometimes the godparents of younger siblings in a large family. Godparents may therefore be a married couple or two unattached individuals of different sexes (who are either married or unmarried). Inheritance and co-residence claims are thus reinforced through the establishment of godparent-godchild and co-parent rights and obligations between household heads and in-marrying couples.

This institution is also used to establish and solidify inter-household relations in a manner similar to the exchange of labour and goods described in this chapter. The following example of exchange between two households demonstrates this practice. The links between the two households are illustrated in Diagram 5.1 on the following page.

**Diagram 5.1**  
**Godparent links between two households**  
(- - - - - godparent link)

Teresa's household

José's household



The cycle of ritual and fictive kin exchange began thirty-seven years ago when José, a middle-aged man with six children of his own, became Teresa's godfather. He was a neighbour of her parents and shared his obligations with Teresa's eldest sister Sara, who was sixteen years old when Teresa was born. Even though she was Teresa's godmother, Sara migrated to Uruguay soon after Teresa was born. When their parents died, José fostered Teresa for a period of time until she entered an orphanage in the city of A Coruña. Teresa continued to rely on her godfather and his wife Carmen for economic and emotional support throughout the years of childhood. She visited them during the summer months and on weekends. After leaving the orphanage, she found work as a maid in the city and still came to visit José and ask him for advice about important matters. Teresa also attended local *fiestas* and began to be courted by rural men although she worked in the city. Even after José died, Carmen insisted that Teresa continue to spend her weekends and holidays with them in the village. At twenty, she fell in love and married Alberto, a villager from Carreira whom she had met at a *fiesta* dance.

Alberto and Teresa continued to remain close to Carmen, exchanging labour and tools and also inviting each other to dinner on festive occasions. When they had their first-born son, they asked Carmen to be his godmother. According to tradition, his godfather was Alberto's widowed father Sebastian who headed the household where Alberto and Teresa lived and worked. It was decided by Sebastian and Carmen that the child should be called José.

Another link between the two households was established a year later when Carmen's daughter Mercedes and son-in-law Manuel asked Alberto and Teresa to be the godparents of their third daughter, Encarnación. Four years



later, Alberto and Teresa had a second child, a boy, and they in turn asked Mercedes and Manuel to be his godparents. They decided to call him Antonio.

At present, Antonio and José often visit the home of their godparents. The fact that these two brothers each have a godmother in the same household, although from different generations, is not unusual in this area. The boys are allowed to eat and sleep in Carmen's household, and will spend many hours helping with the chores their godmothers might ask them to do. Encarnación also visits her godparents and frequently helps her godmother Teresa, especially with female chores such as cooking for the *fiesta*. Teresa relies on Encarnación at these times since her birth daughter Susana is only seven years old. In this case, fictive kin relations have been extended to all the members of the two households. Antonio, José and Encarnación call each other "cousins" (as do their other siblings). Carmen acts toward all of Teresa and Alberto's four children like the grandmother they never knew, giving them treats and telling them stories when she sees them. However, despite this generalized relationship between the households, she focuses her attention and concern mainly on her godson José. He also spends most of his time with her rather than her daughter Mercedes when he is visiting their household and can be seen helping Carmen with a particular task while Antonio helps Mercedes.

As this example demonstrates, inter-household linkages can be maintained and strengthened over generations through the alternate exchange of godparent roles. These relationships may or may not also intersect with kin and neighbour relations, and will ordinarily be supplemented with the exchange of gifts, labour, and invitations to attend each household's respective life cycle and annual holiday feasts. Of additional import is the fact that godparenthood

can operate as a vertical or a horizontal exchange. The parents of a newborn child may ask individuals in a higher social class or others of relatively equal wealth to themselves to serve as the godparents. Although vertical godparenthood was not unknown in Carreira, according to oral history it was practiced more frequently in the past than it is today but did not supplant the horizontal variety or the tradition of asking grandparents to be the godparents. Perhaps the influence of stem-family residence and unequal inheritance on the choice of godparents affected the frequency of choosing godparents of similar social class in Galician communities. The next series of examples deals with another organizational principle of inter-household exchange -- the rotational type of exchange practiced in Carreira in the past and present.

### **Rotational Exchange**

The Carreirense also practice another type of inter-household exchange -- rotational exchange or sequential turn-taking. In her study of a French Basque shepherding commune, Sandra Ott (1981) focuses on the principles of 'rotation' and 'serial replacement' that organize turn-taking in a range of activities that include collective shepherding and a ritual, two-way asymmetric exchange of blessed bread each Sunday. This institutionalized turn-taking -- that may involve all the households in the village or a group of them -- is found throughout Iberia, most often in conjunction with the use of communal property such as pastures and irrigation resources (see for example, Bouhier 1979:977-994; Brandes 1975: 87-106; Freeman 1970:47-51, 1987; O'Neill 1987:143-174). In Carreira, a institution of turn-taking (*turnos*) that disappeared with the privatization of the village commonlands in early 1960s was the shepherding system. Turn-taking also took place in the use of the watermills between

several households. In contrast, although irrigation ditches exist in some lower pastures, the high level of precipitation throughout the year ensures that there is no need for an elaborate system of turn-taking in the use of water for this purpose. Instead, the conflict over water became serious in the mid-1980s when individuals began to install pipes that directed water directly into indoor plumbing systems. The solution was a rotational system of stewardship over collectively constructed water cisterns. Rotational exchange is also practiced between households that send children to the local unitary school;<sup>8</sup> parents take turns ensuring that there is sufficient wood for the school stove and water for the plumbing system.

**'Bota o Gando' (Let Out the Animals): Rotational Shepherding**

Both of the villages in the parish, Carreira and Pedramayor, organized the collective herding of the large flock of sheep and goats separately in the manner common in Galicia reported by Bouhier (1979:977) as herding 'by neighbours'. In Carreira, the animals were gathered in front of the old schoolhouse near the base of the path leading to the upper pastures on the Pico de Meda: "They all gathered here above when someone called '*Bota o gando*' -- let out the animals". Similarly, in Pedramayor there was an open spot or *campo* where the animals were gathered at the sound of a bell. Almost every household owned several sheep and some owned up to a few dozen; poorer households tended to own goats in addition to, or instead of, sheep. The households took turns sending a member, usually a young person, with the collective herd up the hillside to the upper pastures. The animals grazed on grasses and gorse (*toxó*) on the commonlands until the evening. Wealthy households often hired teenagers from poorer families to take their turn

shepherding but there was never a professional shepherd employed communally as was the case in the Castilian hamlet described by Freeman (1970:177-185).

Two elderly sisters, Ana and Sara, told me that they often shepherded on behalf of their grandmother's household or for another household for a small wage (1 *ptacón* ). Like other teenagers during the early and mid-twentieth century, they were largely responsible for the village herd of several hundred. Shepherding was often frightening for young people; they were admonished to remain on the hillside until evening and to watch for and chase away predators (mostly foxes and wolves). However, Sara vividly remembers that when a lamb was born on the mountainside and they brought it safely back down to its owner, they would receive a gift of one or two eggs: "And after an ewe gave birth and you'd bring the little lamb down in your hand (*E despois pariu unha ovella e traia o anino en a mán* )."

In this temperate valley region where the highest hillside can be ascended by foot in a few hours and shepherding was not the mainstay of the local economy, it was possible to entrust local youth with the flock because they were never far from their elders. In mountainous shepherding communities, shepherding is a more serious business; it generally involves the employment of professional shepherds, or summer residence at a higher altitude of a group of adult men and even the initiation of apprentice shepherds into a pastoral syndicate (Freeman 1979; Ott 1981:131-150).

### **St. Anthony's Pig**

This turn-taking institution has not been practiced in Carreira for two decades. 'St. Anthony's pig' (*O porco de San Antonio*) was the name of a small pig that was purchased with a collective parish fund and then raised to be sold for a profit that was used to host the patron saint festival: "It was sold and the money was used to 'make' the saint's festival (*Se vendía e cos cartos facia a festa do santo*)." Each household in the parish took turns feeding the pig, and villagers remember that it would travel on its own along the path between Carreira and Pedramayor. It had a small bell and was affectionately called 'Antoniño'. The turn-taking in this institution was not strictly sequential as it was for the shepherding institution; anyone who had extra food on a particular day would feed it when it arrived at the yard. At that time, pigs were not penned in, and they roamed freely.

Lisón Tolosana (1983[1979]:122) reports that in Randín and Xironda, a stud pig (*porco or marraco*) was named after San Antonio and would wear a bell, and wander from house to house being fed and being allowed to impregnate female hogs. He was also sold to raise money in the name of the saint. It is possible that 'St. Anthony's pig' also served the function of a stud in Carreira and people did not tell me so explicitly because of the nature of the topic. Mandianes Castro (1990:93-94) also mentions that the Taboada reported about a similar custom in several Galician parishes. However, Taboada (1982:20) only mentions that the animal is fed collectively by all the parish households and that it was sold by auction or lottery or around January 17, the festival of San Antonio, the patron saint of pigs and other animals.

Behar reports on a variation of this ritual of rotation that was practiced in

Santa María del Monte, a village in the Cantabrian foothills in León: “In the recent past another facet of praying to Saint Anthony was to promise him a pig’s ear or foot on his feast day and go around the village collecting more pig parts for him on the eve of his day if he interceded in one’s request for help -- and especially if he cured a sick pig . . . The pig parts that were gathered from all the houses were auctioned by the *concejo* (the village council) following the mass for Saint Anthony on 13 June,” (Behar 1990:101; also see Behar 1990:99-103 regarding other aspects of the cult of Saint Anthony).

### **Rotational Use of Watermills**

Until the 1970s, watermills were used in this area of rural Galicia to grind maize, wheat, rye and other grains. They were often collectively owned and operated in a similar manner to wells, ovens, washing stones (*lavadeiros*), threshing floors, pastures and other sites (Lorenzo Fernández 1982:164-180). As Lisón Tolosana (1983[1979]:120) indicates, the use of these “mills owned in common (*moiños propiedade del común de vecinos*)” was organized in a rotational cycle. Each household would use the mill during a particular time slot or “piece (*peza*)”; therefore, this rotation is referred to throughout Galicia as usage “by pieces”. Each ‘piece’ is twelve hours in duration and are distinguished as day or night slots. Those households with the largest amounts of land in production and largest numbers of livestock to feed, and consequently more grain to grind would contribute more supplies, work and money to build the original mill and therefore own two ‘pieces’ rather than one ‘piece’ or time slot in each rotation.

Heads of households that did not have usage rights to these mills were forced to pay millowners with a portion of the grains that they ground. Some

mills located further downstream on a river system would dry up during the summer months; in these cases, collective owners would also be forced to take their grain to another mill where they would either borrow or rent the time they needed to grind it. Poor families were sometimes lent a portion of time to grind a small amount of grain. María José, an elderly Carreirense, remembers asking landlords for some milling time: “Let me grind a little bit of maize because I don’t have anything for the cows . . . to cook a small loaf of maizebread because we don’t have anything to eat (*Deixa-me moer un pouciño millo porque no teño nada pra as vacas. Pra coser unha pouciña broa porque no tenemos nada pra comere* ).”

In Carreira, seven mills were in continuous use until the late 1970s when individual households began to purchase electric mills that they installed in their houses. Like households, fields and other features of the landscape in northwestern Iberia the mills are referred to by names such as “the [mill] of the old stream (*o de Fonte vella* )” (Fernández 1986c). Most of these mills are still standing, but even those that have been mined for the granite and roofing that can be used to repair and construct other structures are maintained in the memory of inhabitants: “There was another but it was also taken down . . . There in the ‘Chestnut trees’ [field name], totally dismantled, nothing (*Había outro pero también lo disfixeron . Alí en As Castañas , desfeito de todo, nada* ).”

A receipt for an electrical mill -- called a “household mill (*muiño da casa* )” -- purchased by a Carreirense family in 1979 indicated that it cost 16 000 pesetas (approximately 180 Canadian dollars) at the time when most families switched from using watermills to using electrical mills. The mill has not been replaced nor repaired over the last twelve years of frequent usage. In

contrast, this particular family did not have rights to a rotational time slot for a local watermill and therefore would have had to pay a portion of their grains each time they ground a weekly supply. The other major reason people have switched to the relatively efficient and simple technology of the electric mills is the convenience of being able to grind maize and other grains whenever they need them rather than having to make the trip to the mill. Poor families in Carreira often travelled as far as O Sisto (3.5 kilometres away), where the strongest currents in the area maintained a series of mills in operation throughout the year.

Those living in Pedramayor owned 'pieces' of, or rented time from, the line of four watermills located in Teixidon, the closest settlement to theirs with strong enough currents for watermills to operate. Not all of the watermills have been abandoned or are in permanent disuse; privately-owned mills equipped with the imported, white grindstones<sup>9</sup> used only for wheat continue to be rented. Individuals from settlements throughout the valley of Soneira, including residents of the parish of Carreira, still travel to a mill in Rosende to grind wheat to make customary crepes (*filloas*) during the pre-Lenten Carnival period. They say that the wheat is more 'authentic' when ground in a watermill than with the electric one, and therefore more suitable for the festive dish of crepes.

Like shepherding, the rotational use of the mills was organized in a set sequence. Most villagers, even those who milled their grains in O Sisto, made the trip each week on the day before they baked their large weekly loaf of maize bread. Young people were often sent with the household's supply of grains to mill at night. Personal memories and humorous verses about watermills often describe sexual dalliances and impromptu dancing and games among young



people who gathered with their friends while waiting for their family's grain to be ground. One of the most popular dances throughout Galicia and famous beyond its borders is the *muiñeira*, named after the ubiquitous watermills in this region with numerous river systems. Middle-aged and elderly Carreirense remember playing a mill courting game in their youth that took place during the evening. A group of young women would bake a small loaf of maizebread in a open pit hearth while waiting at the mill. Then, several young men would attempt to 'steal' the bread from the women. The women would scuffle with the men while attempting thwart this 'robbery'. If the latter were unsuccessful in their intended 'theft', they would usually be invited to eat the freshly-baked snack with the women.

The sequential use of communal mills is an excellent example of the rotational use of collective property. Furthermore, these places that stood outside the settlement were also used by young people for courting.

### **Rotational Stewardship of Village Water Cisterns**

In the mid-1980s, the inhabitants of Carreira decided in a series of community meetings to collectively finance the construction of cement water cisterns to channel the water that flows from the hillside down to individual households. This decision was an attempt to resolve a feud over water that had erupted between the 'upper' (*os de arriba*) and 'lower' (*os de abaixo*) sections of the village when some households installed indoor plumbing. As I discuss in Chapter Four, many women continue to carry their household laundry down to the streams while others own washing machines. In the past, however, all villagers had to transport water from the streams to their households each day for cooking, watering the livestock, washing dishes and bathing. When several

villagers laid down plastic piping to run from the upper streams directly to their houses in the early 1980s, there began to be water shortages in some areas of the village. This problem of the lack of organization for the distribution of water to individual households coincided with a dry period, which made the crisis more serious. Inhabitants of the lower section of the village complained that the residents of the upper slope channelled most of the water to their households, leaving the lower houses, streams and fields without any. Members of the upper village began to discover that their water pipes were being cut overnight and blamed the lower villagers, as well as retaliating with similar sabotage.

Although the nearby towns of Zás and Bayo are taxed for services that include the provision of centrally-controlled, regulated water to their homes, nearby villages and hamlets (such as Carreira and Pedramayor) in the same jurisdiction are left to devise their own systems for installing modernized systems of water use. As does any major programme of construction and alteration, these systems must be registered and approved by the township. The Carreirense decided to curtail any further escalation of sabotage, hostilities, and unequal distribution of water in their community by constructing large cisterns to capture and control the flow of water to their homes. A system was established to control access to the cisterns and ensure an open and collective use of the local water resources. Three different keys were made to gain access to the cisterns. These keys are held by three different households each year and the stewardship of the keys and consequently the cisterns is rotated through all the households in the village in a set sequence. In order to enter the cisterns to examine possible clogging or leakages, an individual must contact members of the three households that hold the keys. This system of rotation

has allowed for a renewal of trust regarding water use between villagers from the 'upper' and 'lower' sections of the village. The fact that the Carreirense decided to employ a rotational system indicates that principles of exchange and collective use of resources that were significant in the past are maintained as relevant ways to organize new institutions.

### **Rotational Supply of Firewood and Water for School**

As I demonstrated in the case of watermills, in some cases rotational turn-taking occurs among a smaller subset of village households. During the school year of 1990-91, only nine households were responsible for taking turns supplying the small one-room school in Carreira with resources. This school is attended by children in the early grades (ranging from preschool to grade two). Once students begin grade three or four, they are bussed to the large centralized school in the town of Zás. The village school in Carreira is heated with a small wooden stove, and mothers and grandmothers of the twelve young children who attend it can be seen accompanying the children to the school in the morning balancing a load of firewood on their heads. There is also an agreement to take turns supplying water for the school sink and toilet; however, one mother Aurora, complained to me that her family had provided the majority of water for the past few months from their private cistern. This example illustrates that the institution of turn-taking does not always work as smoothly in practice as the ideal proscribes, but that the principle continues to be relevant to solve present-day problems of collective provisioning of resources and labour. The Carreirense not only practice inter-household exchange through institutions of mutual aid, horizontal labour exchange and turn-taking, they also express the significance of collective action through stories about the past.

Their agency in reproducing a worker-peasant livelihood extends to an active construction of a collective identity as self-provisioning landholders. Stories of working together in the past are part of this process of self-definition. The final section of this chapter demonstrates that 'traditions' of work and community are selectively and continually reinvented.

### **'Building the Road': Constructing the Past and Reinventing Tradition**

All communities have stories of beginnings, turning-points and endings. People tell these stories to carve out and affirm the parameters of local identity that distinguish them.<sup>10</sup> They also recount these historical narratives to assert an active role in the 'making' of the past and thereby particular 'traditional' rights in the present and future. Traditions are continuously reinvented and contested in the context of ongoing transformations.

The residents of the village of Carreira tell a story of working together in 1964 to build a road connecting the village to the national highway infrastructure. They assert that it was the community that worked collectively to bring the parish into direct contact with the 'modern' network of paved roads. This memory is elaborated because it reflects contemporary behaviours and concerns;<sup>11</sup> stories of collective labour projects in the past (such as this one) are embedded in the ongoing labour exchange practices that are described throughout this chapter.

The important aspect of this historical narrative about 'traditional labour' is the layers of reinvention implicit in it. Stories about the past and tradition are continuously reconstructed (Lowenthal 1985). Whereas the historians Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) have drawn a distinction between 'invented'

and 'authentic or genuine' traditions, anthropologists have questioned these categories. For example, Handler and Linnekin (1984) have contested the essentialist portrayal of traditions as bounded entities. Along with Wagner (1981[1975]), they argued that all cultural conceptions are "symbolically reinvented in an ongoing present" (Handler and Linnekin 1984:280).<sup>12</sup> The Carreirense narrative about building the road with reference to a tradition of collective labour on communal property is an example of the ongoing 'invention' of culture and history.

Yet traditions of collective labour, like any other, are not elaborated in a bounded social or temporal space, nor are they unambiguous. As Herzfeld notes, there is a "discursive chasm, separating popular from official understandings of history" (Herzfeld 1991:10). The narrative the Carreirense tell of their collective effort in building the road is a good example of the political ramifications of the everyday formation of traditions. This story and the event itself are part of a new definition of the obligations and rights that are involved in the relationship between rural Galician smallholders and the state in the late twentieth century. As in past centuries, this definition centres on labour, land and taxes. Both large landholders and state agents commonly receive donations of labour under the guise of reciprocity by playing on the ambiguity of labour exchange traditions and networks. They refer to peasant practices of horizontal reciprocity in order to perpetuate the vertical exchange of labour for implicit acts of patronage; the example of spinning bees presented earlier in this chapter demonstrates this dynamic. However, in response, rural smallholders also re-invent and re-appropriate these practices by recounting their employment and its significance. Thus Carreirense, like state officials,

politicians and large property owners, are asserting a desire to control their future by elaborating the past: "History is a question of power in the present, and not of detached reflection upon the past. It can serve to maintain power, or can become a vehicle for empowerment." (Rappaport 1990:15). Emphasizing a 'peasant' tradition of cooperative labour, the villagers assert their authority over the road and an autonomy from the state.

**'How We Built the Road.' ( *Como Facemos a Carretera* )**

Pedro told me about important events in the history of Carreira and the region of Zás a few weeks after I began living in the parish. For instance, he spoke of a Roman bridge and gold mine in the nearby village of Brandomil, and of the way in which priests controlled water sources during the past. He stated: "The chapels and churches are always near the streams. Priests have studied the problem [of water] since Roman times. They discovered and used radiestesia." As Badone explains in her analysis of the practice of radiestesia in the context of non-biomedical healing in rural Brittany, radiestesia is similar to dowsing and "is both a method of diagnosing illness and a divinatory technique for discovering things hidden beneath the earth, such as springs or buried objects" (Badone 1991:518). The locations of springs are discovered by surveying an area with a pendulum and divining rods to reveal the pathway of underground, telluric lines of vibration (Badone 1991:522). In fact, Pedro has himself used radiestesia to discover a well on his father's property. It is likely that he learned this method from similar sources to those that have influenced the New Age practice of radiestesia that Badone (1991) describes for Brittany since he showed me a book on the subject he had consulted that was translated from a French volume written by Richard Chevalier.

Pedro is an entrepreneur: he built up his father's modest carpentry workshop into a machine-operated small business employing five men. He is also dedicated to democratic government and was elected to several terms on the Zás township council (as a *concejala*) in the mid-1980s and again in 1991. Many of his stories of the past are about village solidarity, and the phenomenon of reversal whereby the poor worked hard to become richer while former landlords, petty capitalists and priests declined in status and power. This theme is the focus of his comments about priests controlling water in previous centuries. One of the stories of the past he told to me concerned the construction of the road linking Santiago de Carreira to the main highway:

"It was a great problem to build this road from Carreira to Zás. The villagers all did it together years ago (*Todos los del lugar lo hicieron hace años*). The mayor of the time objected. He objected because [without the road] everyone had to shop in his dry goods store. Once the road was built, people could take cars and buses to other towns and shops, even to the cities (*las capitales*). There was a teacher here who was also a *perito* [a land surveyor hired to organize land divisions for inheritance disputes]. He was the village *cabeza* [leader] who told the people to build the road despite the mayor trying to stop them. Everyone brought their livestock (*ganado*) -- cattle and oxen and tools and worked by hand (*a mano*) if they didn't have animals. The people of Carreira could do it because they all had a bit of land which they could contribute to the road. They worked on it bit by bit (*Trabajaban pouco a pouco*).

My mother and others like her died because the road wasn't built yet. She had a difficult birth and couldn't be taken to the main road and the hospital

fast enough [to be saved].”

The story of how the road was built is central in village discourse about the past. It is, to use the words of Fentress and Wickham (1992), a significant “social memory” because in contrast to personal or individual memories *per se*, “much memory is attached to membership of social groups of one kind or another” (1992:ix). Therefore, there is a striking resemblance between the narratives I was told by different individuals. Like Pedro, other narrators equally emphasize that their contribution was freely donated, collective labour. In addition, the construction of the road is presented as an example of village unity, led by a local patron (the teacher and *perito* Don Eduardo) in the face of outside opposition (the objections of the mayor and storeowner). The Carreirense gained direct access by motorized vehicles to urban services (such as hospitals) and a choice of commercial establishments. The implication is that the mayor, as a storeowner and local *cacique*, had purposefully attempted to retain a monopolistic hold over surrounding communities such as Carreira by denying them access to ‘modern’ infrastructure.

A yellowing photograph in an old frame hangs conspicuously in one of the three taverns in Carreira (reproduced on page 355). It is a portrait of the people who worked on the road on a particular day. According to the tradition of collective labour projects in Galicia, each household sent one member each day the community worked on the road project. The owners of the tavern, ‘the widows’ Sara and Delfina are not sure who took the photograph but they hung it back up on the wall of the tavern in its old frame after they redecorated several years ago.





3. Building the road, 1964 (anonymous photographer)

Whenever I asked people about building the road, they referred me to this photograph, “Go and see the photo in the tavern. You’ll see. Those from Carreira built the road (*Os de Carreira fixeron a carretera* ).” Elvira, now in her mid-sixties, is a member of the work group captured in this photograph. She told the story of building the road one rainy day while we sat around her next-door neighbour María’s hearth warming ourselves. She began as Pedro did, by mentioning Don Eduardo’s leadership role:

“Well, Don Eduardo began it [the road] you know. It was he who pushed to have this road from the bridge to the church. It was done by all of the neighbours, from [all] the households. Since the kids were young and my mother was old, I always had to go (*Como os rapaces eran pequenos e miña, e mama era velliña, tiña que ir eu sempre* ).

“We began, all of the neighbours . . . and the women and the men carried the rocks and others were above working on the road and others in the quarry . . . And afterward in the evenings, at six or seven they came from Zás with loaves of bread and some tins of sardines . . . and wine. And then the women, the men opened the tins and also the white wine and the women partitioned the bread. It fell on me to also pass [it] out, and I didn’t because I wanted to eat. I didn’t want to work! (*¡Eu no quería traballare!*) And then one day [they said]: ‘No, come on, let her pass [it] out. Come up front, she should come as well. Let her pass [it] out here. Come on, come on’ (*Chega por diante, que veña también. Que reparta aquí. Que veña, que veña* ). And I went. I had always stayed behind, I didn’t want to pass out [the bread]. I stayed behind . . . There was a lot of hunger then.”

“Who paid for the food?” I asked.

“Those from the town hall. They sent those loaves of bread, the wine, and the sardines in the afternoons,” Elvira replied.

I began to ask another question, “But they didn’t pay . . . “

Elvira cut me off, adamantly responding “No. Of payment, nothing (*Non. De pagar, nada*). Not a meal, not anything. Nothing but this sardine at night . . . But, of course since everybody wanted the road . . . Everybody went. Everybody. And we [she and a friend called Isabel] took out that tree, and another one as well. We were girls then. And with an old spade and an old ax, we cut into its [the tree’s] roots. ‘*Tras, tras*.’ One on one side and another on the other [side]. And I said to her: ‘It won’t go, it’s not going to go Isabel. And she said to me: ‘It’s going to have to. Even if it takes us days (*Ben va a ter. Aunque nos leva dias*).”

“You had to take it out?” I queried twice.

“That’s right . . . And people came over and said: ‘Leave it there, leave it here (*Deixa-ahí. Deixa-ahí*). Let it go beneath the road.’ Don Eduardo wasn’t there. If he were, we wouldn’t leave the wood. They rot. You don’t know? They disintegrate and rock doesn’t. They said, ‘Leave it there, leave it there.’ And we left it there and it went beneath the road. And we worked like that all the way around (*E viñemos así toda en a volta*). The contractors brought trucks of gravel. And we had to do everything. This entire village (*Este lugar inteiro*). We didn’t go alone. All of my chums went (*Fuimos todas as compañeiras miñas*). Well this one [gesturing to María who laughs] didn’t go because she’s been a cook all her life [i.e. she does a lot of ‘inside’, housework]. She was a cook and had people to go for her. She had her father, her mother and her husband. And I had to always go. Always. The whole village [did it] (*Así o*

*pueblo todo* ). They didn't pay anything. Nothing. Nothing more than bringing [material] and that's it."

"And Señora Isabel told me that there used to be a large rock in the *plaza* , " I interjected after Elvira paused. "Where the young people used to sit?" I probed.

María answered when Elvira did not. "Ay. It was there in the *campo* [another word for *plaza* or square]. There was a rock big like this as if it were a horse and the young people sat there and the stone cross that is below was there up beside the rock. And we were always there."

"And behind our house, right against the house, there was another [rock] and all the women rested there when they came back with baskets of greens and oats on their heads (*E por trás de nosa casa, pegaba a casa mesma, había outra. Alí pousaban as mulleres todas cando se viñan cos freixes en a cabeza de berças e aveas* )." Elvira added.

"Did the women sit and chat . . . ?" I asked her.

"Yes. At that time ( *en algun tempo* ), they sang there. All of the young people got together and sang and danced there, one with another . . .and had games . . . Well! Yes indeed. And then that road came and those rocks had to be split up. They went below the road as well (*Vai, vai debaixo da carreteira también* )."

"And Señora Isabel also said 'Now it's [the rock] below and the young people don't even know it," I concluded.

The two women nodded nostalgically: "*Sí Señor, está debaixo* [Yes Sir, it's below]."

Elvira's memory of the time when the villagers like herself built the road is more nuanced and detailed than Pedro's. She also emphasizes the volunteered contribution of their labour, the leadership role of Don Eduardo, and the fact that everyone wanted access to the main road. Yet, in her telling of history, she also evokes an image of the changes in the landscape and activities of her youth (Rodman 1992; Rosaldo 1980). The tree and the rocks that were fragmented and laid beneath the road are rich metaphors of the labour that, unseen by future generations, went into its construction. History is embedded in the transformations of the landscape that young people cannot perceive. Each generation hears a new story of the past, and sees a different retelling.

Elvira also talks about how the food was redistributed between all the workers, the division of labour mirroring the everyday consumption of food within Carreirense households and during agricultural work parties. The men opened the wine, the women partitioned and handed out the large loaves of bread. Although provided by the township, the food was distributed among themselves as it would be if the cooperative labour project was hosted locally. Elvira is embarrassed that they were so hungry then that they were eager for the simple meal of sardines and bread. Her ironic commentary about her own desire to eat rather than 'work' (that is, partition and pass out the bread to the others), which contradicts an ideal of cooperation is revealing. She also exhibits frustration that they were not paid for their work as men like her son Manuel are today when they work on highway construction jobs nearby: "Of payment nothing."

### **Volunteered or Appropriated Labour? The Reinvention of Horizontal Reciprocity in Late Twentieth Century Galicia**

Several lines of evidence led me to reconstruct another kind of narrative about why and how the road was built. I want to argue that both state officials and the Carreirense have reasons for portraying the roadbuilding as a 'traditional' collective labour project. Although the state can save money on public works by mobilizing unpaid labour, villagers can use the invocation of 'tradition' to assert their autonomy from forces of the state. I will now summarize the evidence that supports this interpretation.

Minutes from the municipal council meetings (*Libro de Actas*, Zás, 1963/64) indicate that a provincial subvention had been granted to the township for use in constructing new roads in several zones. Therefore, the road was not built as an act of resistance; at least there is no record or memory outside the community that the mayor officially attempted to block or vote against the proposed road. This narrative fits into a larger series of stories about resistance to outsiders and upper classes in the past in communities like Carreira. In their comparative overview of 'peasant memories', Fentress and Wickham (1992:92-113) stress that, among other themes, European peasants in different regions share the perception of 'the past as resistance'. Bauer (1992) elaborates on this theme in relation to Galician smallholders in the mountainous region of Sierra del Caudel.

The project of repairing and modernizing the infrastructure in northwestern, rural Spain was part of a broad policy that coincided with the repartition and partial state appropriation of village commonlands (C.I.E.S.

1979). The commonlands of Carreira were first subdivided in 1943. Villagers were unhappy with the results and disregarded them, continuing to use the land in common for herding, quarrying, and the collection of firewood and gorse before the land was re-subdivided to broader local consensus in 1961, three years before the road was built. Perhaps village resistance to the appropriations of commonlands during that period has become mixed with local perceptions of the construction of the road as an act of resistance.

Along with the road, the unpaved paths, washing spots along the streams, the school and schoolyard built in the mid-1980s, and the village squares are still referred to as though held in common. "Its all of ours, *nosa terra*," Alberto, a sixty-four year old animal trader argued one day. His nephew Celestino, a younger man of forty-five who had worked for twenty years abroad disagreed: "Its municipal," he explained.

"What does that mean? Its in Carreira and we all use it so its *comunal*," Alberto concluded and everyone listening nodded.

The document outlining the final privatization of portions of commonland is a good example of the use of 'tradition' in legal texts, a practice that is based on and continues to buttress oral claims of local autonomy from the larger township of Zás that consists of seventeen parishes like Carreira. In the legal text summarizing the privatization distribution, the following is noted ". . . that the inhabitants of the parish of Santiago de Carreira . . . **since time immemorial** have been owners, proindividually, publically, peacefully and uninterruptedly of the woodland with the names of . . ."

Based on other stories of collective labour in the Carreira region, and other ethnographic and historical case studies, it is also unlikely that the

villagers all donated their labour to the road project without protest or strong pressure from the patron Don Eduardo, and other neighbours. As has been illustrated throughout this chapter, the forms of collective labour mobilization are complex and varied in rural Galicia. Community-wide construction work on village lanes (*camiños*) was and is contributed only when it is widely regarded as beneficial to the entire community. Monetary penalties for failure to appear are commonly set and imposed on household members by representatives of the community *xunta*. In Carreira and neighbouring villages, community *xuntas* continued to impose fines in the 1980s and 1990s on those who did not contribute their labour to collective projects such as the construction of water deposits.<sup>13</sup> The contribution to the 1964 building of a public, state road is thus narrated as though it also involved work on property owned in common by the villagers. These rural Galicians were in fact taxed with their labour. In an urban setting, it is more likely that urban-dwellers' taxes would have been used to pay construction crews to do all of the necessary labour on public works.<sup>14</sup>

Another story about the road is told by Don Eduardo. This is the man whom villagers identify as their leader and patron within their version of the road story. Don Eduardo, however, indicated to me that the villagers merely "helped" (*Sí, ayudaban*) with the road construction. It is true, he said, that they worked on it, but contractors paid by the township brought in materials and equipment by truck. Hence Elvira's remark that "The contractors brought trucks of gravel." Nor did Don Eduardo speak of overcoming outside resistance to the project and he refused to lend credence to this theme when I brought it up.<sup>15</sup> He did agree that it was he who mobilized the villagers to participate, using the phrase "Yes, it's I who 'did' that." (*Sí, lo hice yo*). His downplaying of the event,



in contrast to the central place he plays in the narrative the Carreirense told, may be due to both his humility and his wish to obscure the way in which he, as a large landowner, has been involved in establishing complex relationships of obligation with clients in Carreira. By attributing a leadership role to Don Eduardo, the Carreirense are affirming his responsibility to them for reciprocal favours. If it were he who asked them to help build the road, it would be he, rather than an anonymous bureaucrat, who must live up to the reciprocal obligations of a patron.

Don Eduardo and other narrators like Elvira do mention that he and “those from Zás” provided the snack of bread, sardines and wine for villagers on some evenings after they completed work on the road. The provision of food by patrons in Zás (attached to the township government) and by the local patron Don Eduardo evokes the metaphor of people contributing their labour to work on privately owned land, rather than on communal property in an example of vertical labour reciprocity such as those described in this chapter. However, the villagers resented the fact that this metaphorical relationship was not fully extended. Villagers complained that this snack was all that was offered, rather than the kind of meal expected to follow harvests or linen spinning bees in the past. Nor was the other possibility, a wage contract established as Elvira affirms: “No. Of payment, nothing.”

Fernández de Rota (1987a:49-51; 1987b) has demonstrated that early twentieth century wealthy Galician peasants, rather than paying people a day wage (in food, cash or both) often received ‘free’ labour during intensive periods in the agricultural cycle in return for future favours. Agents of the state, with the help of local patrons -- as in the case examined here -- have also been

able to coopt rural labour under the guise of these traditions.

My observations of several occasions when bureaucrats and politicians required labour from Carreira households during 1990-91 further confirmed my impression both that (1) the state has reinvented 'collective' labour on communal property to include the repair and construction of state property and (2) the Carreirenses have in turn, reconstructed the road incident as if it had been locally-organized in order to assert their claims over the road and its place in their own history.

In the months preceding the Spanish municipal elections in May of 1991, many promises were made to the Carreirenses and other inhabitants of Zás by the five mayoral candidates regarding 'modern' improvements they would make in particular parishes if elected. The promises of new roads and also more elaborate infrastructure and services such as athletic fields, 'riverine beaches', and garbage collection soon became a focus for humorous commentaries about the politicians and the political process. In one incident, young people in Carreira called out to a candidate at a village meeting that they would like to see a discotheque in the village if he were really committed to making them 'modern'!

As the election neared, some local projects were actually sponsored by the mayoral incumbent. In Carreira, for example, a group of residents were given the cement and loaned municipal equipment necessary to pave a path running in front of their houses. They paved the path one Saturday, praising the mayor for paying for the materials. Other villagers did not contribute nor were they asked to, since although this path is regarded as communal property (as it is a public thoroughfare) it is mainly used by the households that provided the

labour. This project is an example of what Fidalgo Santamariña, in distinguishing between different categories of collective labour tasks, calls collective labour of “partial utility” because only a portion of the community contributes labour to and benefits from the project (Fidalgo Santamariña 1987:113-117; 1988:161-164).

On another occasion, the fathers of children attending the large, centralized elementary school in Zás were asked to contribute their labour to repair the yard and roof. Much resentment over this request was expressed by parents. The majority did not participate, stating that the township should pay people wages to fix up the school property in light of the high unemployment levels in the region. In contrast, as I note above, Carreirense parents regularly donate firewood and water to the local school, regarding it to be village communal property. The principal’s specification of gender also elicited a sense that this was not a ‘traditional’ request. Village households that had male members working for wages on Saturdays would have sent the mothers of the children or the children themselves to work on collective projects under ordinary circumstances. The women in Carreira were surprised and insulted to have been excluded from work that they ordinarily do alongside men (Buechler and Buechler 1981; Gala González 1990; Kelley 1988, 1991; Lisón Tolosana 1983[1979]; Méndez 1988). As Elvira describes in her story of the road-building project, women like she and her friend Isabel were the ones in their households who worked on the road.

### **Agency and Historical Narratives**

The improvement of the infrastructure in rural Iberia is attributed in standard history texts and newspapers to the funding decisions and will of politicians (Menéndez Pidal 1951; Raposo Santos et al. 1974). This example from Carreira allows us to focus instead on social memory of labouring to build a particular road. In this way, the construction of history and the physical construction of its lasting monuments are brought together (Herzfeld 1991).

Here, villagers refuse to allow the road to be appropriated from them in the manner that their labour was: "Its all of our land, *nosa terra* ." This suggests that the 'modernization' of the countryside (Weber 1976:195-220) has been locally reinvented in a way that the politicians and patrons most likely did not intend. Rather than solely continuing a 'tradition' of collective labour in roadbuilding and other projects, villagers are using memories of their work to construct histories of resistance and agency (Bauer 1992).

Nor is the significance of these memories bound by a certain period of 'modernism'. Carreirense villagers are aware that their road was once a significant 'royal' road and their village a notable landmark and administrative centre. This knowledge may have been passed on through generations of villagers or communicated to them by intellectuals in the region; it is certainly borne out in published studies of medieval roads (Ferreira Pogue 1988:142-143). The remains of pre-Roman and paved Roman roads that declined in the medieval and modern periods throughout Europe are not insignificant to peripheralized communities. The Carreirense refer to these remains when they speak of their desires and plans to make the road once again a significant thoroughfare. Pedro is building a new showroom and carpentry workshop just

off the road, and members of another household have almost finished a restaurant nearby. People are ironic in their praise of these endeavours and hopes for the future: look how such an out-of-the-way place will once again become known. Therefore, the recounting of an historical event is as much about the present and the future as it is about memories of the past -- the Carreirense merge the past, present and future to emphasize their agency over time, space and the continual re-invention of tradition.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter has investigated inter-household reciprocity in Carreira. Despite a commitment to household prosperity and autonomy, Galician smallholders rely on extra-household aid at crucial points in the agricultural cycle and during life crises. In between these events, daily discourse and small acts of exchange ensure that bonds between villagers are maintained. A principle of generalized reciprocity is self-consciously enacted between inhabitants of the same parish; one of the times when the notion of 'community' is articulated through ritual exchange is the event of a death of a member of the parish. These examples are outweighed, however, by the calculated, shorter-term exchange that characterizes the elaboration of ties between particular households and neighbourhood sets. Accounts of participation in two work parties -- a spring planting party and summer haying -- demonstrate the nature of balanced reciprocity in Carreira. In addition to the exchange of labour and tools, other strategies are employed to heighten inter-household relationships; the establishment and continuation of bonds between households is also achieved through ritual and fictive kinship. In order to demonstrate this other side of long-term balanced reciprocity, I have discussed the horizontal nature of

those inter-household ties that are often reinforced through the institution of godparenthood (*compadrazgo*). I have also explored cases of rotational exchange or turn-taking in Carreira.

Throughout the chapter, I have emphasized that the terms of reciprocity are not set; they must be constantly negotiated. The Carreirense view their reliance on non-market exchange as similar to their commitment to subsistence production and three-generation households: it is an important strategy that ensures their achievement of a livelihood in the face of extremely insecure wage-earning opportunities. There is no clear-cut dichotomy between market and non-market exchange, however. Large landlords manipulated an ethos of horizontal exchange in the past in order to gain the 'free' labour of poor peasants who would otherwise be paid for the same work. Similarly, horizontal exchange was practiced in the context of the wage employment of carters, and commercial relations continue to be kept open and 'unbalanced' in this region.

An additional theme explored in the chapter is the way in which the Carreirense reinvent traditions of labour in their recounting of local history. This process is illustrated with an extended analysis of a narrative of a particular event -- the 1964 construction of the paved road that links the village to the national infrastructure. Through this example, I also demonstrate that state agents (with the collaboration of local patrons) mobilize the unpaid labour of smallholders in a similar manner to large landowners. The evocation of traditions of collective labour on communal land is, in turn, used by villagers to promote their autonomy from the state. Worker-peasants are thus shown to be active participants in the negotiation of a new relationship with the Spanish state. Histories of past labour are constructed around ongoing concerns and

practices -- the reproduction of 'community' is achieved through narration of the past as much as it is through contemporary acts of cooperation.

The enactment and symbolic construction of 'community' is a crucial area of analysis in the examination of worker-peasant cultures and identities. As Rhoades (1978b, 1979) argued, it is important to focus on social changes and continuities in those communities that have sent large numbers of labour migrants to countries throughout western Europe. It is equally important to examine the characteristics of rural households whose members commute to work in nearby cities or rural industries, or who work for wages locally. The majority of Carreirense households contain members who have performed wage work in local and foreign settings throughout the twentieth century, and many Carreirense families have likely been composed of worker-peasants prior to this time period. However, alongside the strategy of combining wage and (more recently) social security income with subsistence agriculture at the level of the individual household are those community-level strategies discussed in this chapter. Using a wide range of examples, I have demonstrated that principles of cooperation and reciprocity have been maintained throughout the century. I argue that although some practices such as rotational shepherding have been disappeared, they have often been replaced with new practices of exchange that are more relevant to present-day concerns. An example of a practice that has emerged during the 1980s is the rotational stewardship of water cisterns that are used in common to feed indoor plumbing systems. Other forms of cooperation -- most noticeably horizontal labour exchange -- have been maintained despite changes in technology and production over the last few decades. The Carreirense also cooperate in smaller ways on a daily basis

with close neighbours and relatives. In many cases, these exchanges of labour and other resources are necessary aspects of the reproduction of worker-peasant households. When villagers are absent from the parish performing wage jobs abroad, the remaining members of their households require the aid of others in the community in order to complete agricultural tasks such as planting and harvesting. However, these acts of reciprocity also highlight the importance of maintaining a flexible attitude toward inter-household cooperation. Knowing that neighbours will help with a variety of tasks and during crises allows Carreirense to take up opportunities for wage employment when they arise. General cooperation between households is a community-wide strategy that ensures the success of the household-level strategy of combining different sources of income in the face of an insecure market for both labour and commodities. I have argued throughout the thesis that worker-peasants are self-conscious about how these aspects of their livelihood work together. They are also reflexive to a great degree in objectifying their social practices as symbolic demonstrations of 'community,' and not just as pragmatic acts. This reflexivity is no more evident than on the occasion of the death of a co-parishioner or the telling of local history. When someone dies, the entire community gathers around the family of the deceased to lend spiritual and emotional support in the face of the departure of a member of the parish. Recounting the lives of the dead and the sequence of key local events are both ways to affirm the continuity of 'community' in the memories of the living.



## Chapter Five -- Endnotes

1 Consult Bouhier (1979:878-1060) for a detailed outline of the range of similarly organized institutions in Galicia. Behar (1986:203-225) provides one of the most detailed discussions in the literature of an ongoing system of communal herding by 'turns'. Freeman (1970:47-50, 98-100) explores the "social contract" in Castilian hamlets, including communal pasturage; Brandes (1975:95-98) also provides valuable information on the organization of corporate pastures in a Castilian village during the 1960s. Detailed investigations of herding and transhumance in mountainous zones in northern Spain can be found in Ott's (1981) study of Basque shepherds; Catedra Tomás (1988; 1989), and Catedra Tomás and Sanmartín (1979) on Asturian pastoralists or *vaqueiros*; and Freeman (1979) on Cantabrian *pasiegos*. Also consult Freeman (1987) for a comparison of turn-taking systems in rural and town settings.

2 On neighbourhood sets in Galicia, see especially Moreno Feliú et al. (1987) and Iturra (1977, 1988). In the ethnography of northern Portugal, see O'Neill (1987:127-135). Brandes (1975:82-106, 145-153) considers neighbourhoodship in a Castilian village.

3 See Heiberg (1989:240-243) on the prevalence of balanced, immediate exchange in the Basque country that is the opposite to what is most frequent in Galicia. She argues that the reason for this is an insistence on relationships of equality. For instance, she emphasizes that "For example, at a restaurant meal in the Basque country one rarely witnesses the ceremonial battle to pay the bill so common in the rest of Spain. The battle concerns a public claim for precedence, for social and political authority. The outcome of the battle is seldom in doubt. Although personal pride demands that everyone present their claim, the individual whose claim to precedence has already been established usually pays" (Heiberg 1989:242-243). My observations in Galicia suggest that although this may have been the case earlier in the century when cash was less available and social differentiation more marked, in the 1990s individuals of equal status treat each other to meals and drinks in a cycle of generalized reciprocity. Battles over who pays the bill in present-day Galicia are about relationships of relative equality as often as they are about inequality and the reinforcement of precedence.

4 A parallel relationship exists between villagers and specific saints (cf. Christian 1972; Foster 1967:215). Offerings are made to patron saints on the day of their annual festivals. The Carreirense explain that they purchase firecrackers in honour of Santa Mariña "so that she will impregnate the cows

(*pra que empreñar as vacas* ).” Individuals also make pilgrimages to the site of chapels erected in the name of saints renowned for particular feats. For example, many believers travel approximately thirty kilometres away to San Salvador (in the district of Santa Comba) to make offerings to the Virgin of Cures (*Virgen dos Remedios* ) when they or family members are ill. These offerings range from money and wheat to prayers. This vertical system of reciprocity is discussed at length by Christian (1972) and Pina-Cabral (1986:163-173). Earlier writers compared these interactions to secular patron-client relationships (Christian 1972:44; Cutileiro 1971:271; Foster 1974). Pina-Cabral, however, stresses the problems that arise in the Portuguese context with this analogy because of the fact that “secular patronage is by no means uniform and differs from area to area and from period to period. Moreover, although secular patronage played a relatively small role in popular life throughout Salazar’s regime, divine patronage was still eagerly procured” (1986:163).

5 This was a gender-specific activity, and when I asked my friends Pedro and Pilar why women did not also go to give blood, they said that it was more problematic. Women have their menstrual periods and few women have the ‘nerves’ to withstand the process of giving blood. The experience was compared by Pilar to that of going to the burial crypts at night to move the bones of a relative from a niche to the family ossuary; few women do this spiritually dangerous task, it is usually a couple of men who do so together secretly by night.

6 In contrast, this does seem to be the case in the Basque country where Greenwood (1976) worked. He describes a generation gap between the elderly and the young, and a dramatic shift away from the importance of funerary ritual outlined by Douglass (1969): “In the case of Fuenterrabia, this kind of funerary ritual is all but gone. Yet this man attends all funerals in Fuenterrabia because for him, Fuenterrabia is still a community of the living and the dead, and the living have an obligation to help the dead through Purgatory. His deepest concern is that with the farm gone and the young people living in the new urban world, no one will aid his soul in its passage through Heaven. He is a man conserving ideas now found only rarely among living Basques, ideas that help one to understand what farming once meant” (Greenwood 1976:202).

7 See Carrier (1992) and Herzfeld (1987a) for two different insights on the discourse of “occidentalism”.

8 Only twelve children in 1990-91.

9 In contrast, the stones used for maize and rye are granite and are quarried locally.

10 In colonial and post-colonial settings, these stories have been labelled 'oral traditions' by ethnographers and other outsiders who listened to, recorded, and interpreted them for literate audiences (Cohen 1989; Vansina 1985). In other cases, for example, in historical interpretations of the experiences of rural and working-class Europeans, a variety similar narratives have been called 'oral tradition or oral history,' 'folklore' or 'folk-tales' (Wachtel 1986; Woolf 1988).

11 The past and the future are remembered and envisioned around changing topographies, activities, and social relationships cross-culturally (Bauer 1992; Douglass 1981; Fentress and Wickham 1992; Pina-Cabral 1987; Poole 1988; Rappaport 1990:9-11; Rosaldo 1980; Rodman 1992; Zonabend 1984). Fernandez's discussion of the "territoriality of words" in Asturias equally applies to the ongoing significance of place names in rural Galicia (Fernández 1986c:137-140). In addition, some of the most significant narratives about the past are recounted -- sometimes in fragments -- in everyday, casual contexts rather than in formal or ceremonial ones (Cohen 1989).

12 For a range of perspectives on the "invention of tradition and culture," see Fentress and Wickham (1992); Herzfeld (1991); Jackson (1989); Keesing (1989); Keesing and Tonkinson (1982); Lass (1989); Linnekin (1983, 1992); O'Brien and Roseberry (1991); Rappaport (1990); Sider (1986); Tonkin, McDonald and Chapman (1989).

13 Excellent ethnographic descriptions of the role of community councils in Galicia can be found in Fidalgo Santamariña (1988); Lisón Tolosana (1983[1979]:115-120); Moreno Feliú et al. (1987); Tenorio (1982[1914]:15-18). In her study of a community in León, Behar (1986:125-188) provided one of the most complete descriptions of the institution in Spanish ethnography.

14 Construction work was also required as a form of labour rent under the *foro* contracts that were prevalent in Galicia from the Middle Ages until the early twentieth century (Menéndez Pidal 1951; Rodríguez Galdo 1976:220; Villares 1982). In addition, church officials regarded construction and repair work on church buildings and road near them to be pious acts and promoted them, especially during the height of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela along the 'French Way' (King 1920). Carters were also obliged to work on the roads along which they held monopolies (Ringrose 1970:36). See Faith (1981) for an interesting discussion of the ambiguity and struggle surrounding compulsory labour rent in medieval England: "One of the most striking things, to my mind, about the revolt in St. Albans . . . is its sense of tradition and history" (Faith

1981:57). Painter (1991) and Smith (1989; 1991) provide additional examples of the politicization of tradition in collective labour practices and rights over land in Peru.

15 Another possibility may simply be a reluctance to discuss the history of the Fascist period in any detail with an outsider (Mintz 1982; Passerini 1987).

## **Chapter Six: Conclusion**

I opened the sturdy wooden door swiftly, shaking the raindrops from my hair, and called out, "Aay . . . is anyone here?" I heard Concepción's muffled reply, "*Estamos aquí dentro* (We're in here)" from behind the door to the small living room that Concepción and her family rarely used. When I pushed open the door, I was surprised at the sight that greeted me. Concepción and her twenty-one year old granddaughter María were standing in the midst of a several reed baskets, two plastic buckets and a wooden bench, all covered with the parts of a freshly butchered pig. Concepción was wielding a small ax and María was holding a basket lined with fresh bay leaves upon which more pork would be placed.

Although I had visited the family frequently over the few months of our acquaintance, I had only been in Concepción's living room once before since it was only used to entertain *fiesta* guests. Our conversations had always taken place in the kitchen, the stable, or the yard. Typical of the living rooms in Carreira, Concepción's living room is a narrow room furnished with a sofa, a few easy chairs, a coffee table, a dining room table, and a china cabinet displaying ornaments and other gifts members of the family had received over the years. On the rainy day in early November when I encountered Concepción and María butchering the pig there, the room was dark. They had placed layers of sheets and blankets over the already thick curtains and blinds that covered the two windows of the living room. Concepción explained that this was the

best room in the house for butchering since it was clear of other activities and they could ensure that little or no moonlight would enter it overnight. As I discussed in Chapter Four, Concepción and María were afraid that the meat would spoil if the moonlight (*luceiro*) reached it before it was processed. Over the next several days, they would salt some of it, and prepare and smoke the sausages and lard. As I looked more closely, I also noticed that all of the furniture was covered with sheets to protect it from being stained.

At first, it appeared incongruous that Concepción would choose to complete a stereotypic “peasant” task in the most bourgeois and seemingly least functional room in her home. It soon became clear to me that the juxtaposition or bricolage she had achieved in her choice of a room in which to butcher eloquently represented a worker-peasant lifestyle. The incongruity I perceived at first was related to the discrete nature of oppositional abstract categories such as peasant/bourgeois. In the thesis, I show that the Carreirense, like other European worker-peasants, enact identities that incorporate both “peasant” and “wage worker” values and perspectives. Carreirense of all ages and both genders are involved in subsistence production. They also migrate as far away as Switzerland and Great Britain to secure wage jobs as temporary migrant workers. Although many labour migrants cut their ties to rural communities and return only for funerals and other life cycle events, this thesis focusses on those Carreirense who have remained committed to households in the parish and thus to peasant as well as wage work.

In my focus on a community of Galician worker-peasants, I have pursued two main goals: (1) to demonstrate the predominance and

characteristics of a worker-peasant strategy in the parish for at least the duration of the twentieth century, and (2) to provide a layered portrait of what it means to the Carreirenses to maintain a mixed livelihood. For example, I began in Chapter Two by presenting census data of the officially-listed occupations of the Carreirenses for different decades throughout the twentieth century. This set of data indicates that a significant proportion of the community's members have migrated, and that households have combined wage work with peasant agriculture. However, by supplementing the census records with interview material on the occupational cycles of five households, I show that the degree of wage work and of migration are under-reported and that the complexity of the labour history of the area is underplayed in these records. It is through the examination of particular households and individual stories of labour that one gains a more nuanced perspective of the way in which members of worker-peasant households craft their lives and objectify their histories.

#### **Four Worker-Peasant Strategies**

Worker-peasants in different areas of Europe employ similar strategies in their flexible maintenance of a mixed economy. However, the culture and history of each area influences the specific characteristics of these strategies. Four specific strategies are illustrated in this thesis. Examples from both present-day and past activities indicate that these practices and values have formed the core of a mixed livelihood over the course of the twentieth century. Focussing on the aspects of "making do" that the Carreirenses themselves emphasize in discussing their lives provides a rich ethnographic perspective on cultural continuity for this community of worker-peasants. Furthermore, by emphasizing broad strategies, I show that this evidence of cultural continuity

does not imply stagnation or non-reflexivity. I examine the accommodation of Carreirense individuals and households to difficult social and economic changes. By incorporating their own accounts of these accommodations, I demonstrate that these Galician worker-peasants consciously and flexibly respond to structural circumstances.

### **Peasant Family Household Reproduction**

In rural Galicia, a stem-family household system associated with unequal, post-mortem inheritance practices has been reproduced in many communities such as Carreira. This continuity and in some cases, resurgence, of stem-family systems has been reported by anthropologists working in parts of Ireland, southern France, northern Portugal and Spain, and elsewhere in Europe (Douglass 1988a; O'Neill 1987; Rogers 1991; Scheper-Hughes 1979). In this thesis, I have demonstrated the intersection of the preference for this household system, in practice and as an ideal, with a worker-peasant livelihood. I am interested in the way in which this household system has been maintained because it provides a basis for the successful deployment of family members into and out of wage opportunities and non-wage subsistence activities.

Previous authors, most notably the Buechlers, who wrote about Galician labour migration have indicated how important a three-generation household composition has been in the successful maintenance of agrarian production in sender communities in the face of widespread temporary and seasonal migration of Galician men and women to distant destinations (see Buechler and Buechler 1984; H. Buechler 1987). During the 1970s and 1980s, grandparents frequently cared for their grandchildren and maintained subsistence production



in Galicia while young adults migrated to work abroad in Switzerland, Germany, and other European countries. Wages, remittances from social security benefits such as old age and disability pensions, and any profits resulting from the sale of agricultural and craft commodities were combined to purchase land and dwellings and invest in improvements and machinery. Young adult men and sometimes couples lived frugally in migrant destinations and sent large proportions of their wages back to Spain. Meanwhile, those family members who had remained in the village also lived frugally, producing much of the food they consumed. In this thesis, I am interested in the continued dedication of migrant and other wage earners to membership in village households.

Although the majority of Carreirense households have been reproduced over the course of the twentieth century as stem-family households, not all will consist of three generations at any one point in time. A synchronic analysis for 1990 shows that thirty-eight of the seventy-three inhabited houses in the parish consisted of three generation stem-families. However, through an analysis of the developmental and occupational cycles of five households in Chapter Two, I show that longitudinal analyses demonstrate specifically why households like the Casa de Curros did not achieve the cultural ideal. Pepe and Celia, the now elderly members of this household did not own enough wealth to entice their two sons to 'marry into' the natal home. Both sons resided with their wives' parents after marriage, although they frequently visit with and help Pepe and Celia. The fifth household examined, the Casa do Peña Grande, is also poor. An unmarried daughter and her son continue to be registered and conceptualized as members of the household even though by 1990-91 they spend most of the year in the city of A Coruña. The three other

households examined, the Casa de Miguel do Lado, the Casa das Herbas, and the Casa de Susana all reproduced a stem-family household pattern over the decades examined through census documentation and oral history (1902 to 1986). A substantial amount of land led to children in each generation taking up post-marital residence in these households in exchange for their eventual inheritance of the bulk of their parents' estates. As is the practice in this area, these children remained under the authority of aging household heads until the latter died.

These specific examples also indicate that members of Carreirenses households continue to contribute to and participate in village households even when they work for long periods of time elsewhere. They easily move back to the parish and take up local wage jobs and subsistence agriculture when more lucrative work opportunities deteriorate in migrant destinations (cf. Kelley 1988; Pina-Cabral 1986). This pattern is demonstrated throughout the rest of the thesis and I show that there are many points of similarity between local and migrant wage participation. In Chapter Three, Sara and Pepe's stories of artisan and migrant wage experiences are told in the context of the narrators' membership in agriculturally-based households in Carreira.

Insecure wage opportunities have contributed to prevent full proletarianization of members of this community who, on the average, have remained relatively land-poor. The necessity of continued subsistence agriculture and long periods of under and unemployment is accommodated within a work-peasant work ethic. Many Carreirenses, like other Galicians, migrated permanently to Spanish cities and other countries. This thesis focusses, however, on those Carreirenses whose identity continues to be tied to

the parish and rural households. And, despite their status as wage labourers, the majority of these workers do not identify with the “working class” agendas of trade unions and political parties. This group of individuals continue to identify themselves as “peasants” as well as “workers”.

### **A Worker-Peasant Work Ethic -- “Working Always” and “Doing a Bit of Everything”**

In Chapter Three, I argued that one of the features of the worker-peasant livelihood is the Carreirense’s strong work ethic that emphasizes both non-wage and wage labour. The cultural requirement that individuals should be hard-working (*traballador*) has been reported by other ethnographers working in northern Spain and Portugal (cf. Cole 1991a; Esteva Fabregat 1976; Kelley 1988). In this thesis, I have pursued the emic elements of this work ethic and have thus laid bare the way in which it supports the shifting activities and decisions worker-peasants must make to accommodate their insecure, *bricoleur* way of life.

The discussion in the first half of Chapter Three demonstrates that, as young adults, Carreirense work hard for household heads (who are usually their parents or parents-in-law) in explicit exchange for their inheritance of the bulk of the parental property. The contribution of the young people is expected to consist of non-wage subsistence agricultural production, the bulk of wage salaries and any other cash remittances, and the emotional and spiritual aid that surviving relatives can provide to household heads on the occasion of their deaths. At this level, members of the younger generation work literally to ‘earn the land’ and to ensure the reproduction of the household over the long term.

Over the short-term, each able-bodied individual is also expected to

contribute either physical labour or wages to provide for his or her daily consumption needs. The Carreirenses say that there is an equivalence between producing food and earning day wages and articulate both as the act of earning one's 'daily bread.'

The stories of migrant and artisan wage labour told by Sara, Pepe, and other Carreirenses allow for a detailed presentation of the subjective meaning of contributing to one's household. In both cases, wage-earning members of worker-peasant households also participate in household agriculture whenever they can. I also show that a reputation for being a hard-worker, often gained through subsistence activity, has ramifications in the arena of wage work. Artisanal craftspeople such as seamstresses and cabinetmakers choose apprentices from families regarded to be hard-working. Villagers help each other gain access to wage employment opportunities locally, and in migrant destinations because of this same reputation. Despite this pragmatic concern for reputation, the hard work involved in subsistence agricultural activity and animal husbandry constitutes an integral aspect of the symbolic construction of meaning for the Carreirenses.

### **Valorization of Non-Wage Labour -- The Emphasis on Subsistence Agriculture**

The pervasive, year-round commitment of members of all the inhabited households in Carreira to some degree of subsistence agriculture might appear to be one of the most straightforward topics to pursue in discussing the nature of a worker-peasant livelihood. However, as I demonstrate in Chapter Four, it is the symbolic side of this activity that most clearly brings to light the complexity and ambivalence that characterize the commitment to "peasant" work in

Carreira.

The majority of villagers were land-poor or landless until the second half of the twentieth century. Consequently, prior to the 1970s, few Carreirense were able to consume many of those foods now regarded as typical "peasant" dishes. Many of these dishes, such as roasted meat and fowl and the rich pie called *empanada*, were only prepared for festive occasions. Their contents -- veal, chicken, eggs, and wheat flour -- were most often sold in regional markets rather than consumed in the household. The last several decades of increased wage and social security income have allowed many families to achieve the ideal of owning their own land and consuming those food items that they produce like wealthy peasants and *propietarios* did in the past. In some senses, then, many families in the parish have only recently achieved an ideal of partial self-sufficiency. Foods previously only consumed on 'festive' days have been transformed into 'mundane' dishes.

On the other hand, many of the Carreirense have also retained a preference for one of the dishes most emblematic of the poverty they experienced in the past -- the Galician broth called *caldo*. This dish has also been transformed, in this case from a 'poor' broth into a 'rich' stew. *Caldo* is prepared from foods raised by household members: pork, lard, veal, chickens, kale, beans, and potatoes. The consumption of and praise for home-raised food (*comida caseira*) is intimately tied to a commitment to the land and to keeping the land in production. The Carreirense talk about a cycle of nourishing the land with animal manure, and humans and livestock with the foods that are grown on this land through continuous labour. Just as humans, animals, and the land work, so must all three be fed. The Carreirense are

worker-peasants rather than rural-dwelling wage workers precisely because of this continuing commitment to agriculture and animal husbandry for household consumption. At present, few families sell agricultural commodities. Those who do so earn declining profits in the context of European Economic Community and GATT rulings on quotas and price controls in the 1980s and 1990s -- measures which are detrimental to the survival of small producers in Europe.

In order to supplement an identity of self-sufficiency, the Carreirenses also tell stories of the early and mid-twentieth century when they relied on locally grown flax for their cloth, and maize and water-powered mills for their grain staples. The way in which elderly and middle-aged Carreirenses describe the activities involved in producing linen cloth and maize bread is metonymic of the extent to which production used to be controlled locally. Such accounts are tinged with a mix of nostalgia and shame, since the poverty that constrained people to wear rough, home-woven linen and eat maize bread characterize Galicia as one of the poorest regions in western Europe. However, the Carreirenses also talk about the fact that, if need be, they have the means and the knowledge base to revive any of these subsistence activities. The participation of Spanish troops in the Gulf War (1989-1991) reminded many villagers of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and of the difficult circumstances during the 1940s when rural dwellers were better off than urban ones. If one owns some land, one can survive under conditions of limited distribution of basic goods in a way that those fully integrated into a cash economy find impossible.

### **Community Reciprocity**

In Chapter Five, I focussed on the importance of inter-household

reciprocity in Carreira in both the past and present. Despite an ideal of household independence, rural Galicians are also committed to the exchange of favours and maintenance of ties between specific households over the long-term. This strategy is similar to those exchange practices employed by the urban working class in western Europe, North America and elsewhere that Lowenthal (1975), Pahl (1980) and others have called the "social economy" (also see Dunk 1991; Stack 1974).

Many Carreirenses households rely on labour and tool exchange in order to complete basic tasks involved in subsistence agriculture. Examples that illustrate the nature of these ongoing exchanges were provided in chapters Four and Five and include planting and haymaking. These exchanges are horizontal because they involve exchanges of relatively equal value (over the long-term) between households of similar social status. Vertical exchanges frequent in the past -- such as linen spinning bees and hoeing for wealthy landowners -- have declined over the last several decades. These exchanges replace instances where wealthy landowners paid poorer villagers wages for the same work. Villagers were willing to complete these tasks for little or no payment in the past in exchange for the patronage of the large landowners.

An additional type of exchange pattern involves the rotational participation of households in sequential reciprocity. In the past, shepherding on village commonlands was organized around this type of rotation. Today, the principle remains salient and is the basis of newly invented institutions such as the rotational stewardship of water deposits.

In Chapter Five, the discussion of inter-household reciprocity illustrates broader issues than simply the necessity and extent of exchange in different

historical periods. I show that principles of exchange apply to ritual, as well as practical, events. For example, particular households are bound together through the exchange of godparents. In addition, great importance is placed on community participation in death vigils and funerals.

Furthermore, the Carreirense, like other rural Galicians, practice ongoing, generalized reciprocity alongside more institutionalized forms of balanced reciprocity. They feel that the practice of mutual aid indicates the superiority of their own parish over others. More broadly, the sociability and mutual aid practiced by agriculturalists is regarded by the Carreirense to be one of those defining characteristics of a rural lifestyle that distinguishes it sharply from the lifestyle of urban Spain. Many villagers who had worked in cities in Spain or in other countries for extended periods of time, but who had returned to the village already or intended to do so, said that they missed the sense of belonging and concern that exists in Carreira. This atmosphere of 'community' is only retained through hard work and the consistent enactment of these principles of reciprocity. The Carreirense must fulfill the often difficult demands made on them by relatives and neighbours in order to retain the general access to community aid during their own crises. These obligations mean that it is necessary for at least one adult member of worker-peasant households to be available for a range of tasks that arise throughout the year, many of which cannot be predicted or left for the weekend. Most notable are the occasions associated with death. Rural Galicians spend the day and night following the death of a community member with the family of the deceased. It is difficult, and often impossible, for salaried employees to arrange to have time off to attend these death vigils and the funerals that are held the following day.



The worker-peasant lifestyle is thus reproduced on the level of the parish and village and not simply by individual household units. Douglas Holmes reaches a similar conclusion in his study of Friulian worker-peasants, emphasizing as I do in this thesis, that the ongoing salience of rural culture does not imply that the Carreirenses do not react to change. It is perhaps the extent of commitment to local community that provides enough emotional and social security to allow worker-peasants to be adaptive to changing economic circumstances: "This society is difficult to bound and is better conceptualized in terms of an enduring social flux than in terms of rigid structures and fixed conventions. Yet this social realm is, from the standpoint of the participants, endowed with coherent meaning drawn from the sensibilities and outlooks of rural culture. This framework of meaning persisted even in the midst of industrial settings . . . Accounts of sojourners suggested that powerful cultural motives defined peasant-worker life in ways that are *not* reducible to the interplay of socioeconomic variables" (Holmes 1989:208). My thesis also gives voice to the subjective experiences the Carreirenses describe in their accounts of worker-peasant labours. Carreirenses are self-consciously aware that they have chosen, at least in part, to reproduce this way of life, and they defend their choice strenuously but not, however, without a degree of ambivalence. Furthermore, in their objectification of contemporary choices, the Carreirenses also reflect on the relationship between the present and the past.

### **Constructing Identities: History and Community**

After several decades of abandoning the cultivation of flax, and under a year after I had left the parish, the Carreirenses once again planted flax in the spring of 1992. The purpose of this revitalization of flax production is no longer

domestic consumption. The Carreirenses have solicited the regional government of Galicia to provide them with funds to organize and run a summer school for teaching Galicians how to spin and weave linen. Carmen, a Carreirense friend in her mid-forties, wrote to tell me that the parishioners of her age group have convinced older members of the community to help them rejuvenate the cultivation and processing of flax. Carmen also told me that, alongside the project of the linen school, the Carreirenses have re-invented the *fiã* by organizing a community-wide meal. As I discussed in Chapters Four and Five, until the mid-twentieth century the *fiã* was an event involving vertical reciprocity whereby wealthy peasants hosted a dinner for all the young women in the parish in exchange for the labour they donated to spinning flax for this household. Following the dinner, a dance was held for all of the unmarried men and women of the community. In 1992, the *fiã* has been re-invented as a collective celebration more similar to patron saint day festivals.

Another friend, Fina, who is several years younger than Carmen told me in a phone call that I should come back to Galicia soon because “now they had so much more to show me in Carreira.” Neither Carmen nor Fina had processed and spun flax in her youth, although Carmen remembers her mother and grandmother doing so. However, both women are fully committed to participating in the linen school, encouraging their children to learn the skills of flax production, and in promoting the knowledge of the elderly who can provide the requisite instruction to revive this sphere of activity correctly. In many ways, Carmen and Fina are less ambivalent than older people who associate linen with the widespread poverty of the early part of the century which persisted through Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the 1940s. The manifestation of a

local-level interest in Galician history and culture among young and middle-aged adults like Carmen and Fina coincides with urban-centred regionalism. This regionalism has flourished in Galicia since 1981, when Galicians were granted the right to elect a regional government and ensure some degree of cultural, linguistic, and bureaucratic autonomy. However, in Carreira, this identity-forming activity is about the construction of local “community” as much as it is about Galicia as a unique “nation” within the Spanish state.

In her letter to me, Carmen wrote that, with this revival of a lost craft, the middle-aged and elderly villagers will contribute to teaching young people an important aspect of Galician “culture”. Carmen’s use of the word “culture” surprised me since when I had used it in speaking with her and other Carreirenses while carrying out my fieldwork, they had always substituted for it other terms such as “custom” (*costumbre*). As Handler (1988) illustrated in his study of language and cultural politics in Québec, anthropologists often encounter the popularization and politicization of terms they have employed in their analyses. However, he notes as well that “policy-makers have had difficulty in deciding what is to be included in the domain of culture, and, second, that whatever their notion of culture, they can administer it only by fragmenting it. That ongoing fragmentation contrasts strikingly with the explicitly holistic philosophies of culture that have guided Québec’s cultural policy makers” (Handler 1988:118). While Handler focussed mainly on the bureaucratic and legislative struggles in Québec, he indicates that there have also been ongoing shifts in local folkloric practices (Handler 1988:57-62). In this study of Galician worker-peasants, I have attempted to communicate local-level understandings of work, history, and community.

The inclusion of local perspectives not only tells us how people are affected by large-scale changes, it also informs new ways of viewing society and history. Abu-Lughod (1991) has argued that we must no longer use terms like "culture" and "society" because they imply an artificial boundedness that allows for the perpetuation of domination and hierarchies. She, like Behar (1993), Fernández (1985) and others, proposes that new ways of composing narrative ethnography can promote a more truly inclusive and humanistic anthropology. Abu-Lughod also cautions that the incorporation of "native" voices and interpretations in "ethnographies of the particular" should not lead to a disregard for the way in which communities are affected by large-scale social changes: "Nor need a concern with the particulars of individuals' lives imply disregard for forces and dynamics that are not locally based. On the contrary, the effects of extralocal and long-term processes are only manifested locally and specifically, produced in the actions of individuals living their particular lives, inscribed in their bodies and their words. What I am arguing for is a form of writing that will better convey that" (Abu-Lughod 158, 150).

My inclusion in this thesis of life stories and other verbatim narratives recounted by the Carreirense conveys the subjective experiences of these Spanish Galician worker-peasants. The Carreirense, like people everywhere, craft their own lives and this process is best appreciated through their own words and actions. Woven into this multivocal presentation is my own analytical voice. I argue that the worker-peasant livelihood which the Carreirense and I describe is not an anachronism nor necessarily a stage in a process of change that will soon be surpassed. Growing evidence suggests that aspects of the informal economy such as bartering and labour exchange are well-integrated

elements of late twentieth-century, post-industrial economies. This study of a community of European worker-peasants is only one example of the ongoing importance of maintaining a mixed livelihood in the face of overwhelming economic and social insecurity.

## References Cited

### Archives

Archivo Histórico del Reino de Galicia (AHRG). A Coruña

1753 Catastro mandado formar por el Marqués de la Ensenada, Provincia de La Coruña: Ayuntamiento de Zás: San Andrés de Zás, Asiento General (No. 3067), Personal de Legos (No. 3068), Personal de Ecclesiasticos (No. 3069), Real de Legos (No. 3066), Interrogatorio (No. 644); San Pedro de Follente, Real de Legos (No. 1238); Santa María de Gándara, Interrogatorio con el de San Pedro de Berdoya (No. 390).

Ayuntamiento de Zás

1902-1986 Padrones Municipales.

1963 Proyecto del Camino Municipal Titulado "Prolongación del de Zás Ventoselo hasta Carreira".

1963/64 Libros de Actas.

INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadístico)

1982 Censo Agrario de España, Tomo IV: Resultados Comarcales y Municipales.

Santiago de Carreira

1961 Copia de la Escritura de División de Cosa Común, No. 496. Private Archives.

Xunta de Galicia

1975-1991 Memoria, Anejos, y Planos re: Concentración Parcelaria de La Zona de Mira-Carreira. A Coruña: Consellería de Agricultura, Pesca e Alimentación, Dirección Xeral de Planificación e Desenvolvemento Agrario, Servicio de Desenvolvemento Rural.

**Secondary Sources**

Abu-Lughod, Lila

1991 Writing Against Culture. *In* Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present. Richard G. Fox, ed. Pp. 137-162. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

Aceves, Joseph B., and William A. Douglass, eds.

1976 The Changing Faces of Rural Spain. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company.

Albaladejo, Manuel, ed.

1979 Comentarios al Código Civil y Compilaciones Forales. Revista de Derecho Privado. Tomo XXXII, Compilación de Galicia.

Alonso Alvarez, Luis

1976 Industrialización y Conflictos Sociales en La Galicia del Antiguo Régimen, 1750-1830. Madrid: Akal.

Arensberg, Corad M., and Solon T. Kimball

1959[1937] The Irish Countrymen. Gloucester, M.A.: P. Smith.

1968[1948] Family and Community in Ireland. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Ariès, Philippe

1982 The Hour of Our Death. Helen Weaver, trans. New York: Vintage Books.

Asano-Tamani, Mariko

1983 Reconsidering the Concept of Post-Peasantry: The Transformation of the Masoveria System in Old Catalonia. *Ethnology* 22:295-305.

Badone, Ellen

1989 The Appointed Hour: Death, Worldview and Social Change in Brittany. Berkeley: University of California Press.

1991 Ethnography, Fiction, and the Meanings of the Past in Brittany. *American Ethnologist* 18(3):518-545.

Banfield, Edward C.

1958 The Moral Basis of a Backward Society. New York: Free Press.

Barreiro Fernández, Xosé Ramón

1981 Historia Política. *In* Los Gallegos. Pp. 95-148. Madrid: Ediciones ITSMO.

Bauer, Rainer Lutz

- 1983 Family and Property in a Spanish Galician Community. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.
- 1987 Inheritance and Inequality in a Spanish Galician Community, 1840-1935. *Ethnohistory* 34(2):171-193.
- 1992 Changing Representations of Place, Community, and Character in the Spanish Sierra del Caudel. *American Ethnologist* 19(3):571-588.

Beck, Sam

- 1976 The Emergence of the Peasant-Worker in a Transylvanian Mountain Community. *Dialectical Anthropology* 4:365-75.

Behar, Ruth

- 1986 Santa María del Monte: The Presence of the Past in a Spanish Village. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1990a Rage and Redemption: Reading the Life Story of a Mexican Marketing Woman. *Feminist Studies* 16(2):223-258.
- 1990b The Struggle for the Church: Popular Anticlericalism and Religiosity in Post-Franco Spain. *In Religious Orthodoxy and Popular Faith in European Society*. Ellen Badone, ed. Pp. 76-112. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1993 Translated Woman: Crossing the Border with Esperanza's Story. Boston: Beacon Press.

Beiras, X. M.

- 1967 El Problema del Desarrollo en la Galicia Rural. Vigo: Editorial Galaxia.

Beneria, Lourdes

- 1979 Reproduction, Production and the Sexual Division of Labour. *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 3:203-225.
- 1982 Women and Development: The Sexual Division of Labour in Rural Societies. New York: Praeger.

Beneria, Lourdes, and Gita Sen

- 1981 Accumulation, Reproduction, and Women's Role in Economic Development: Boserup Revisited. *Signs* 7(2):279-298.



Bennholdt-Thomsen, Veronika

- 1984[1981] Subsistence Production and Extended Reproduction. *In* Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination Internationally and Its Lessons. Kate Young, Carol Wolkowitz, and Roslyn McCullagh, eds. Pp. 41-54. London: Routledge.

Bentley, Jeffery W.

- 1992 Today There Is No Misery: The Ethnography of Farming in Northwest Portugal. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Berkner, Lutz K.

- 1972 The Stem Family and Developmental Cycle of the Household: An Eighteenth-Century Austrian Example. *American Historical Review* 76:398-418.

Bertaux, Daniel, ed.

- 1981 Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Bisselle, Walter

- 1973 Peasant-Workers in Poland. *Studies in European Society* 1(1): 79-90.

Boserup, Ester

- 1970 Women's Role in Economic Development. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Bouhier, Abel

- 1979 La Galice: Essai Géographique et d'Interpretation d'un Vieux Complexe Agraire, Tome II. La Roche-sur-Yon (Vendée): Imprimerie Yonnaise.

Bouquet, Mary

- 1982 Production and Reproduction of Family Farms in South-West England. *Sociologia Ruralis* XXII(3/4):227-239.

Bouza Brey, Fermín

- 1953 Noticias Históricas sobre La Introducción del Cultivo del Maíz en Galicia. *Boletín de la Real Académica de la Historia* 132:35-72.

Bradby, Barbara

- 1982 Resistance to Capitalism in the Peruvian Andes. *In* Ecology and Exchange in the Andes. D. Lehmann, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brandes, Stanley H.

1975a Migration, Kinship, and Community: Tradition and Transition in a Spanish Village. New York: Academic Press.

1975b The Structural and Demographic Implications of Nicknames in Navanogal, Spain. *American Ethnologist* 2:139-148.

1976 The Impact of Emigration of a Castilian Mountain Village. *In* The Changing Faces of Rural Spain. Joseph B. Aceves and William A. Douglass, eds. Pp. 1-16. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company.

1979 Drinking Patterns and Alcohol Control in a Castilian Mountain Village. *Anthropology* 3:1-16.

1980 Metaphors of Masculinity: Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

1981 Gender Distinctions in Monteros Mortuary Ritual. *Ethnology* XX(3):177-190.

1992 Maize as a Culinary Mystery. *Ethnology* XXXI(4):331-336.

Brettell, Caroline

1979 Emigrar Para Voltar: A Portuguese Ideology of Return Migration. *Papers in Anthropology* 20:1-20.

1982 We Have Already Cried Many Tears: The Stories of Three Portuguese Migrant Women. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company.

1986 Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

1991 Kinship and Contract: Property Transmission and Family Relations in Northwestern Portugal. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33(3):443-465.

Buechler, Hans Christian

1987 Spanish Galician Migration to Switzerland: Demographic Processes and Family Dynamics. *In* Migrants in Europe: The Role of Family, Labor, and Politics. Hans Christian Buechler and Judith-Maria Buechler, eds. Pp. 221-264. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Buechler, Judith-Maria

1975 The Eurogallegas: Female Spanish Migration. *In* *Being Female: Reproduction, Power, and Change*. D. Raphael, ed. Pp. 207-214. The Hague: Mouton

1976 Something Funny Happened on the Way to the Agora: A Comparison of Bolivian and Spanish Galician Female Migrants. *Anthropological Quarterly* 49(3):62-68.

1987 A Review--Guest, Intruder, Settler, Ethnic Minority, or Citizen: The Sense and Nonsense of Borders. *In* *Migrants in Europe: The Role of Family, Labor, and Politics*. Hans Christian Buechler and Judith-Maria Buechler, eds. Pp. 283-304. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Buechler, Hans Christian, and Judith-Maria Buechler

1975 Los Suizos: Galician Migration to Switzerland. *In* *Migration and Development: Implications for Ethnic Identity and Political Conflict*. H. I. Safa and B. M. DuToit. Pp. 17-31. The Hague: Mouton.

1981 *Carmen: The Autobiography of a Spanish Galician Woman*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman.

1984 *Four Generations in Spanish Galicia: A Developmental Analysis of Socioeconomic Options*. *In* *Culture and Community in Europe: Essays in Honor of Conrad Arensberg*. O. Lynch, ed. Pp. 150-172. New Delhi: Hindustani Press.

1987[ed.] *Migrants in Europe: The Role of Family, Labor, and Politics*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Burton, Michael L, and Douglas R. White

1984 Sexual Division of Labor in Agriculture. *American Anthropologist* 86(3):568-583.

Carmona Badía, Joám

1990 *El Atraso Industrial de Galicia: Auge y Liquidación de las Manufacturas Textiles (1750-1900)*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel.

Carr, Raymond

1982 *Spain, 1808-1975, 2nd edition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Carrier, James

1992 *Occidentalism: The World Turned Upside-Down*. *American Ethnologist* 19(2):195-212.

Casal, Benjamín

1984 *A Galicia Campesina*. Vigo: Editorial Galaxia.

Castles, Stephen, and Godula Kosack

1973 *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe*.  
London: Oxford University Press.

Cátedra Tomás, María

1988 *La Muerte y Otros Mundos: Enfermedad, Suicidio, Muerte y Más Allá Entre los Vaqueiros de Alzada..* Madrid: Ediciones Júcar.

1989 *La Vida y El Mundo del Vaqueiro de Alzada*. Madrid: CIS-Siglo XXI.

Cátedra Tomás, María, and R. Sanmartín

1979 *Vaqueiros y Pescadores. Dos Modos de Vida*. Madrid: Akal.

Chayanov, V. I.

1966 *The Theory of Peasant Economy*. Daniel Thorner, Basile Kerblay, and R. E. F. Smith, eds. and intro. Homewood, Ill.: R. D. Irwin (for American Economic Association).

Christian, William A., Jr.

1972 *Person and God in a Spanish Valley*. New York: Seminar Press.

Círculo de Información y Estudios Sociales (C.I.E.S.)

1979 *O Monte é Noso*. Vigo: Editorial Galaxia.

Clifford, James

1988 *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds.

1986 *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, Anthony P.

1979 *The Whalsay Croft: Traditional Work and Customary Identity in Modern Times*. In *Social Anthropology of Work*. Sandra Wallman, ed. Pp. 249-267. London: Academic Press, A.S.A. Monograph No. 19.

1982a *Belonging: the Experience of Culture*. In *Belonging: Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures*. Anthony P. Cohen, ed. Pp. 1-18. Memorial University of Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Social and Economic Papers No. 11.

- 1982b A Sense of Time, a Sense of Place: The Meaning of Close Social Association in Whalsay, Shetland. *In* *Belonging: Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures*. Anthony P. Cohen, ed. Pp. 21-49. Memorial University of Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Social and Economic Papers No. 11.
- Cohen, David William  
1989 The Undefining of Oral Tradition. *Ethnohistory* 36(1):9-18.
- Cole, John W., and Phillip S. Katz  
1973 Knecht to Arbeiter: The Proletarianization Process in South Tyrol. *Studies in European Society* 1(1):39-66.
- Cole, Sally  
1988 The Sexual Division of Labor and Social Change in a Portuguese Fishery. *In* *To Work and To Weep: Women in Fishing Economies*. Jane Nadel-Klein and Donna Lee Davis, eds. Pp. 169-189. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research.
- 1991a Women of the Praia: Work and Lives in a Portuguese Coastal Community. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1991b Is Feminist Ethnography 'New' Ethnography? Paper presented to the Southwest Ontario Women's Research Colloquium, McMaster University.
- Collins, Jane L, and Martha Gimenez, eds.  
1990 *Work Without Wages: Domestic Labor and Self-Employment within Capitalism*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Counts, David R.  
1976-77 The Good Death in Kaliai: Preparation for Death in Western New Britain. *Omega* 7:367-372.
- Counts, David R., and Dorothy Ayers Counts  
1983-84 Aspects of Dying in Northwest New Britain. *Omega* 14:101-113.
- Counts, Dorothy Ayers  
1980 Fighting Back is Not the Way: Suicide and the Women of Kaliai. *American Ethnologist* 7:332-351.
- Counts, Dorothy Ayers, and David R. Counts  
1985 I'm not Dead Yet! Aging and Death: Process and Experience in Kaliai. *In* *Aging and Its Transformations: Moving Toward Death in Pacific Societies*. Dorothy Ayers Counts and David R. Counts, eds. Pp. 131-156. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, ASAO Monograph #10.

- Crapanzano, Vincent  
1977 The Writing of Ethnography. *Dialectical Anthropology* 2(1):69-73.
- Crew, David  
1989 "Why Can't a Peasant Be More Like a Worker?": Social Historians and German Peasants. *Journal of Social History* 22(3):531-539.
- Cruikshank, Julie  
1990 *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Cutileiro, José  
1971 *A Portuguese Rural Society*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Donaghy, Peter J., and Michael T. Newton  
1987 *Spain: A Guide to Political and Economic Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Donajgradzki, A. P.  
1989 Twentieth-Century Rural England: A Case for 'Peasant Studies'? *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 16(3):425-442.
- Douglass, Dave  
1981 'Worms of the Earth': The Miner's Own Story. In *People's History and Socialist Theory*. Raphael Samuel, ed. Pp. 61-66. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Douglass, William  
1969 *Death in Murelaga: Funerary Ritual in a Spanish Basque Village*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 1971 Rural Exodus in Two Spanish Basque Villages: A Cultural Explanation. *American Anthropologist* 73:1100-1114.
- 1975 *Echalar and Murelaga: Opportunity and Rural Exodus in Two Spanish Basque Villages*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- 1988a Iberian Family History. *Journal of Family History* 13(1):1-12.
- 1988b The Basque Stem Family Household: Myth or Reality? *Journal of Family History* 13(1):75-89.
- Driessen, Henk  
1983 Male Sociability and Rituals of Masculinity in Rural Andalusia. *Anthropological Quarterly* 56(3):125-133.

Dubisch, Jill

- 1986 Culture Enters through the Kitchen: Women, Food, and Social Boundaries in Rural Greece. *In* Gender and Power in Rural Greece. Jill Dubisch, ed. Pp. 195-214. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Duggett, Michael

- 1975 Marx on Peasants. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 2(2):159-182.

Dunk, Thomas W.

- 1991 It's a Working Man's Town: Male Working Class Culture in North-Western Ontario. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Edholm, Felicity, Olivia Harris, and Kate Young

- 1977 Conceptualising Women. *Critique of Anthropology* No.9/10:101-130.

Ehrenreich, Barbara, and Deirdre English

- 1975 The Manufacture of Housework. *Socialist Review* 5(4):5-40.

Engel, Barbara

- 1990 The Woman's Side: Male Outmigration and the Family Economy in Kostroma Province *In* The World of the Russian Peasant: Post-Emancipation Culture and Society. Ben Eklof and Stephen P. Frank, eds. Pp. 65-80. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Entwistle, William J.

- 1949 The Spanish Language Together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque. London: Faber and Faber.

Erasmus, Charles J.

- 1956 Culture Structure and Process: The Occurrence and Disappearance of Reciprocal Farm Labor. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12(1):444-469.

Esteva Fabregat, Claudio

- 1976 The Changing Work Ethic in the Alto Aragón. *In* The Changing Faces of Rural Spain. Joseph B. Aceves and William A. Douglass, eds. Pp. 163-172. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company.

Fabian, Johannes

- 1983 Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object. New York: Columbia University Press.

Faith, Rosamond

- 1981 The Class Struggle in Fourteenth-Century England. *In* People's History and Socialist Theory. Raphael Samuel, ed. Pp. 50-60. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Fennell, R.

- 1987 Reform of the CAP: Shadow or Substance? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 26:61-77.

Fentress, James, and Chris Wickham

- 1992 *Social Memory*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Fernández, James W.

- 1985 Exploded Worlds -- Text as Metaphor for Ethnography (and Vice Versa). *Dialectical Anthropology* 10:15-26.

- 1986a Syllogisms of Association: Some Modern Extensions of Asturian Deepsong. *In* Persuasions and Performances: The Play of Tropes in Culture. Pp. 103-129. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- 1986b Poetry in Motion: Being Moved by Amusement, Mockery, and Mortality in the Asturian Mountains. *In* Persuasions and Performances: The Play of Tropes in Culture. Pp. 73-102. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- 1986c Lexical Fields And Some Movements About Within, and Between Them. *In* Persuasions and Performances: The Play of Tropes in Culture. Pp. 130-156. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Fernández, James W., and Renate Lellep Fernández

- 1988 Under One Roof: Household Formation and Cultural Ideals in an Asturian Mountain Village. *Journal of Family History* 13(1):123-142.

Fernández de Rota y Monter, José Antonio

- 1984 *Antropología de un Viejo Paisaje Gallego*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas y Siglo XXI de España Editores.

- 1987a *Gallegos Ante Un Espejo: Imaginación Antropológica en la Historia*. Sada, A Coruña: Ediciós do Castro.

- 1987b Cooperación Tradicional en Monfero. *In* *Traballos Comunais no Mundo Rural*. Pp. 59-88. Ourense: Museo Arqueolóxico Provincial, Boletín Avriense, Anexo 7.



Ferreira Priegue, Elisa

- 1988 *Los Caminos Medievales de Galicia*. Ourense: Museo Arqueolóxico.

Fidalgo Santamariña, J. Antonio

- 1987 *Os Labores Colectivos nas Terras de Friol: A Sua Costatación e Análise*. *In* *Traballos Comunais no Mundo Rural*. Pp. 89-161. Ourense: Museo Arqueolóxico Provincial, Boletín Avriense, Anexo 7.

- 1988 *Antropología de una Parroquia Rural*. Orense: Cuadernos do Laboratorio Ourensán de Antropoloxía Social y Caja Rural de Orense.

Firth, Raymond

- 1967 *Themes in Economic Anthropology: A General Comment*. *In* *Themes in Economic Anthropology*. Raymond Firth, ed. Pp. 1-28. London: Tavistock, ASA Monograph 6.

Foster, George M.

- 1953 *Cofradía and Compadrazgo in Spain and Spanish America*. *Soutwestern Journal of Anthropology* 9(1):1-28.

- 1965 *Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good*. *American Anthropologist* 67(2):293-315.

- 1967 *The Dyadic Contract: A Model for the Social Structure of a Mexican Peasant Village*. *In* *Peasant Society: A Reader*. Jack M. Potter, May N. Diaz, and George M. Foster, eds. Pp. 213-229. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

- 1974 *The Dyadic Contract in Tzintzuntzan, II: Patron-Client Relationship*. *In* *Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America*. Dwight Heath, ed. New York: Random House.

Franklin, S.H.

- 1969 *The European Peasantry: The Final Phase*. London: Methuen.

Freeman, Susan Tax

- 1970 *Neighbors: The Social Contract in a Castilian Hamlet*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- 1979 *The Pasiegos: Spaniards in No Man's Land*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- 1987 *Egalitarian Structures in Iberian Social Systems: The Contexts of Turn-Taking in Town and Country*. *American Ethnologist* 14(3):470-490.

Friedl, Ernestine

- 1964 Lagging Emulation in Post-Peasant Society: A Greek Case. *American Anthropologist* 66:69-86.

Friedl, John

- 1973 Industrialization and Occupational Change in a Swiss Alpine Village. *Studies in European Society* 1(1):67-78.

Gal, Susan

- 1979 *Language Shift*. New York: Academic Press.

Gala González, Susana de la

- 1990 *Mujer y Cambio Social (en la Parroquia de Mourisca)*. Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

García, Constantino

- 1985 *Temas de Lingüística Gallega*. La Coruña: La Voz de Galicia.

García-Lombardero y Viñas, Jaime

- 1983 *La Economía de Galicia, 1800-1940*. In *1<sup>as</sup> Xornadas de Historia de Galicia*. J. Platero Paz, ed. Pp. 185-218. Ourense: Diputación Provincial de Ourense.

Geertz, Clifford

- 1988 *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Gilmore, David

- 1975 *Friendship in Fuenmayor*. *Ethnology* 14:311-324.

- 1987 *Aggression and Community: Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gimenez, Martha E.

- 1990 *The Dialectics of Waged and Unwaged Work: Waged Work, Domestic Labor, and Household Survival in the United States*. In *Work Without Wages: Domestic Labor and Self-Employment within Capitalism*. Jane L. Collins and Martha Gimenez, eds. Pp. 25-46. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Glazer, Nona

- 1980 *Everyone Needs Three Hands: Doing Unpaid and Paid Work*. In *Women and Household Labor*. Sarah Fenstermaker Berk, ed. Pp.249-273. London: Sage.

1990 Servants to Capital: Unpaid Domestic Labor and Paid Work. *In* Work Without Wages: Domestic Labor and Self-Employment within Capitalism. Jane L. Collins and Martha Gimenez, eds. Pp. 142-167. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Gluck, Sherna Berger, and Daphne Patai, eds.

1991 Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History. New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall.

Gmelch, George

1980 Return Migration. *Annual Reviews of Anthropology* 9:135-159.

Gondar Portasany, Marcial

1987 A Morte. A Coruña: Cadernos do Museo de Pobo Galego, 5.

1989 Romeiros do Alén: Antropoloxía da Morte en Galicia. Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia.

1991 Mulleres de Mortos: Cara a Unha Antropoloxía da Muller Galega. Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia.

González Reboredo, Xosé Manuel

1990a "Casa" y "Pueblo" en la Vertiente Occidental de la Sierra de Ancares. *In* *Anthropología y Etnografía de las Proximidades de la Sierra de Ancares*, Vol. 1. Pp. 12-123. Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo.

1990b[ed.] Nacemento, Casamento e Morte en Galicia: Respostas á Enquisa do Ateneo de Madrid (1901-1902). Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, Comisión de Antropoloxía.

Goodman, Charity

1987 A Day in the Life of a Single Spanish Woman in West Germany. *In* *Migrants in Europe: The Role of Family, Labor, and Politics*. Hans Christian Buechler and Judith-Maria Buechler, eds. Pp. 207-220. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Goodman, David, and Michael R. Redclift, eds.

1981 *From Peasant to Proletarian: Capitalist Development and Agrarian Transitions*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Greenwood, Davydd J.

1976 *Unrewarding Wealth: The Commercialization and Collapse of Agriculture in a Spanish Basque Town*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gregory, Chris A.

1982 *Gifts and Commodities*. London: Academic Press.

Gregory, David

1976 Migration and Demographic Change in Andalusia. *In* *The Changing Faces of Rural Spain*. Joseph B. Aceves and William A. Douglass, eds. Pp. 63-96. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company.

Halperin, Rhoda H.

1990 *The Livelihood of Kin: Making Ends Meet "The Kentucky Way"*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Handler, Richard

1988 *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Handler, Richard, and Jocelyn S. Linnekin

1984 Tradition, Genuine or Spurious. *Journal of American Folklore* 97:273-290.

Hansen, Edward C.

1976 Drinking to Prosperity: The Role of Bar Culture and Coalition Formation in the Modernization of the Alto Panadés. *In* *Economic Transformation and Steady-State Values*. Joseph B. Aceves, Edward C. Hansen, and Gloria Levitas, eds. Pp. 42-51. New York: Queens College Press.

Harding, Susan Friend

1984 *Remaking Ibieca: Rural Life in Aragon Under Franco*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Harris, Olivia, and Kate Young

1981 Engendered Structures: Some Problems in the Analysis of Reproduction. *In* *The Anthropology of Pre-Capitalist Societies*. Joel S. Kahn and Josep R. Llobera, eds. Pp. 109-147. London and Basingstoke: MacMillan Press.

Harrison, Mark

1975 Chayanov and the Economics of the Russian Peasantry. *Journal of Peasant Studies*. 2(4):389-417.

Heiberg, Marianne

1989 *The Making of the Basque Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Herzfeld, Michael

1981 Honour and Shame: Problems in the Comparative Analysis of Moral Systems. *Man* (N.S.) 15(2):339-351.

1985 The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

1987a Anthropology Through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1987b "As In Your Own House": Hospitality, Ethnography, and the Stereotype of Mediterranean Society. *In* Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean. David D. Gilmore, ed. Pp. 75-89. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association, Special Publication No. 22.

1991 A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric J.

1979[1964] The Labour Aristocracy in Nineteenth-century Britain. *In* Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour. Pp. 272-315. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Hobsbawm, Eric J., and Terence Ranger, eds.

1983 The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric J., and George Rudé

1973 Captain Swing. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Holmes, Douglas R.

1983 A Peasant-Worker Model in a Northern Italian Context. *American Ethnologist* 10:734-48.

1989 Cultural Disenchantments: Worker Peasantries in Northeast Italy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Holmes, Douglas R., and Jean Quataert

1986 An Approach to Modern Labor: Worker Peasantries in Historic Saxony and the Friuli Region over Three Centuries. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28:191-216.

Hufton, Olwen

1974 The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hyden, Goran

- 1980 *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and An Uncaptured Peasantry*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Iturra, Raúl

- 1977 *Strategies in Social Recruitment: A Case of Mutual Help in Rural Galicia*. In *The Queen's University Papers in Social Anthropology, Volume 2, Goals and Behaviour*. Milan Stuchlik, ed. Pp. 75-93. Belfast: Department of Social Anthropology, The Queen's University of Belfast.

- 1980 *Strategies in the Domestic Organization of Production in Rural Galicia*. *Cambridge Anthropology* 6(1/2):88-129.

- 1988 *Antropología Económica de la Galicia Rural*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia.

Jackson, Jean

- 1989 *Is There a Way to Talk about Making Culture without Making Enemies?* *Dialectical Anthropology* 14:127-143.

Johnson, Robert E.

- 1990 *Peasant and Proletariat: Migration, Family Patterns, and Regional Loyalties* In *The World of the Russian Peasant: Post-Emancipation Culture and Society*. Ben Eklof and Stephen P. Frank, eds. Pp. 81-100. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Jorgensen, Dan

- 1985 *Femsep's Last Garden: A Telefol Response to Mortality*. In *Aging and Its Transformations: Moving Toward Death in Pacific Societies*. Dorothy Ayers Counts and David R. Counts, eds. Pp. 203-222. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, ASAO Monograph #10.

Joyce, Patrick, ed.

- 1989[1987] *The Historical Meanings of Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Karant-Nunn, Susan C.

- 1989 *Between Two Worlds: The Social Position of the Silver Miners of the Erzgebirge, c. 1460-1575*. *Social History* 14(3):307-322.

Kearney, Michael

- 1986 *From the Invisible Hand to Visible Feet: Anthropological Studies of Migration and Development*. *Annual Reviews in Anthropology* 15:331-361.

Keesing, Roger M.

- 1989 Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific. *The Contemporary Pacific* 1:19-42.

Keesing, Roger M., and Robert Tonkinson, eds.

- 1982 Reinventing Traditional Culture: The Politics of Custom in Island Melanesia. *Mankind* (special issue) 13(4).

Kelley, Heidi

- 1988 Competition vs. Cooperation: Female Self-Image in a Coastal Galician Community. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.
- 1991 Unwed Mothers and Household Reputation in a Spanish Galician Community. *American Ethnologist* 18(3):565-580.

Kenny, Michael

- 1960 Patterns of Patronage in Spain. *Anthropological Quarterly* 33:14-23.
- 1976 Twentieth Century Spanish Expatriate Ties with the Homeland: Remigration and its Consequences. *In* The Changing Faces of Rural Spain. Joseph B. Aceves and William A. Douglass, eds. Pp. 97-122. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company.

Kertzer, David I.

- 1984 Family Life in Central Italy. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

King, Georgiana Goddard

- 1920 The Way of Saint James, Vol. 1. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's & Sons.

Kolankiewicz, George

- 1980 The New "Awkward Class": The Peasant-Worker in Poland. *Sociologia Ruralis* XX(1/2):28-43.

Kondo, Dorinne K.

- 1990 Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kriedte, Peter, Hans Medick, and Jürgen Schlumbohm

- 1981 Industrialization Before Industrialization: Rural Industry in the Genesis of Capitalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Labrada, José Lucas  
1971[1804] *Descripción Económica del Reino de Galicia*. Vigo: Editorial Galaxia.
- Langness, L. L., and Gelya Frank  
1981 *Lives: An Anthropological Approach to Biography*. Novato, CA: Chandler & Sharp.
- Laslett, Peter  
1983 *Family and Household as Work Group and Kin Group: Areas of Traditional Europe Compared*. In *Family Forms in Historic Europe*. Richard Wall, in collaboration with Jean Robin and Peter Laslett, eds. Pp. 513-564. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lass, Andrew  
1989 *What Keeps the Czech Folk 'Alive'? Dialectical Anthropology* 14:7-19.
- Leacock, Eleanor, and Helen Safa, eds.  
1986 *Women's Work: Development and the Division of Labour by Gender*. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey.
- Lem, Winnie  
1988 *Household Production and Reproduction in Rural Languedoc: Social Relations of Petty Commodity Production in Murviel-lès-Béziers*. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 15(4):500-529.
- Lema Suárez, Xosé M.  
1977 *Bamiro: Un Estudo do Habitat Rural Galego*. Santiago de Compostela: Publicacións do Colexio de Arquitectos de Galicia.
- Linnekin, Jocelyn  
1983 *Defining Tradition: Variations on the Hawaiian Identity*. *American Ethnologist* 10:241-252.
- 1990 *The Politics of Culture in the Pacific*. In *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific*. Jocelyn Linnekin and Lin Poyer, eds. Pp. 149-173. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- 1992 *On the Theory and Politics of Cultural Construction in the Pacific*. *Oceania* 62(4):249-263. Special Issue of "The Politics of Tradition". Margaret Jolly and Nicholas Thomas, eds.
- Lisón Tolosana, Carmelo  
1973a *Some Aspects of Moral Structure in Galician Hamlets*. *American Anthropologist* 75:823-834.



- 1973b La Casa en Galicia. *In* Ensayos de Antropología Social. Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, ed. Madrid: Editorial Ayuso.
- 1976 The Ethics of Inheritance. *In* Mediterranean Family Structures. J. G. Peristiany, ed. Pp. 305-315. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1981[1974] Arte Verbal y Estructura Social en Galicia. Perfiles Simbólico-Morales de la Cultura Gallega. Pp. 29-60. Madrid: Akal.
- 1983a[1979] Antropología Cultural de Galicia. Madrid: Akal.
- 1983b [1966] Belmonte de los Caballeros: Anthropology and History in an Aragonese Community. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1987[1979] Brujería, Estructura Social y Simbolismo en Galicia (Antropología Cultural de Galicia 2). Madrid: Akal.
- Livi Bacci, Massimo
- 1968a Fertility and Nuptiality Changes in Spain from the Late 18th to the Early 20th Century, Part 1. *Population Studies* XXII(1):83-102.
- 1968b Fertility and Nuptiality Changes in Spain from the Late 18th to the Early 20th Century, Part 2. *Population Studies* XXII(2):211-234.
- Lockwood, William
- 1973 The Peasant-Worker in Yugoslavia. *Studies in European Society* 1(1): 91-110.
- Long, Norman
- 1984a Introduction *In* Family and Work in Rural Societies: Perspectives on Non-wage Labour. Norman Long, ed. Pp. 1-29. London: Tavistock.
- 1984b[ed.] *Family and Work in Rural Societies: Perspectives on Non-wage Labour*. London: Tavistock.
- López Taboada, Xosé Antonio
- 1979 Economía e Población en Galicia. As Lagoas, A Coruña: Edicións do Ruedo.
- Lorenzo Fernández, Xaquín
- 1982 A Terra. Vigo: Editorial Galaxia.
- 1983 Os Oficios. Vigo: Editorial Galaxia.

- Lorenzo Filgueira, Victor  
 1986 *Realidad e Hipotesis de Futuro del Derecho Foral de Galicia*.  
 Vigo: Ayuntamiento de Pontevedra.
- Lowenthal, David  
 1985 *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, Martin D.  
 1975 *The Social Economy in Urban Working-Class Communities*. *In* *The Social Economy of Cities*. Gary Gappert and Harold M. Rose, eds. Pp. 447-469. Beverly Hills and London: Sage.
- Luxemburg, Rosa  
 1951 *Accumulation of Capital*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Mackintosh, Mary  
 1979 *Domestic Labour and the Household*. *In* *Fit Work for Women*. S. Burman, ed. Pp. 173-191. London: Croom Helm.
- Mandianes Castro, Manuel  
 1990 *Las Serpientes contra Santiago*. Santiago de Compostela: Gotelo Blanco Edicións.
- Marcus, George E., and Michael M. J. Fischer  
 1986 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Mariño Ferro, Xosé Ramón  
 1984 *Satán, Sus Siervas las Brujas y La Religión del Mal*. Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia.
- 1986 *Autobiografía dun Labrego: Estudio Novelado de Antropoloxía*. Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia.
- Marx, Karl  
 1967[1887] *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. 1*. New York: International Publishers.
- Masur, Jenny  
 1984a *Women's Work in Rural Andalusia*. *Ethnology* XXIII(1):25-38.
- 1984b *"Obligación" y "Trabajo": Clasificación de Las Actividades Femeninas en La Andalucía Rural*. *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 52(2):799-820.

1985 *Implicaciones de La Tradición de La Migración Circular*. AREAS:  
Revista de Ciencias Sociales 5:39-48.

McDonald, Maryon

1989 'We are not French!' *Language, Culture and Identity in Brittany*.  
London and New York: Routledge.

McGee, T. G.

1979 *The Poverty Syndrome: Making Out in the Southeast Asian City*.  
*In Casual Work and Poverty in the Third World City*. Ray J. Bromley and  
Chris Gerry, eds. Pp. 45-68. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

McGuire, Randall H., and Cynthia Woodsong

1990 *Making Ends Meet: Unwaged Work and Domestic Inequality in  
Broome County, New York, 1930-1980*. *In Work Without Wages:  
Domestic Labor and Self-Employment within Capitalism*. Jane L. Collins  
and Martha Gimenez, eds. Pp. 168-192. Albany: State University of New  
York Press.

Meillassoux, Claude

1988[1981] *Maidens, Meal and Money: Capitalism and the Domestic  
Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mejjide Pardo, Antonio

1960 *La Emigración Gallega Intrapeninsular en el Siglo XVIII*. Madrid:  
Instituto 'Balmes' de Sociología, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones  
Científicas.

Méndez, Lourdes

1988 'Cousas de Mulleres': *Campesinas, Poder y Vida Cotidiana (Lugo  
1940-1980)*. Barcelona: Anthropos.

Mendras, Henri

1970 *The Vanishing Peasant: Innovation and Change in French  
Agriculture*. Jean Lerner, trans. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Menéndez Pidal, Gonzalo

1951 *Los Caminos en la Historia de España*. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura  
Hispánica.

Mewett, Peter G.

1977 *Occupational Pluralism in Crofting: The Influence of Non-croft Work  
on the Patterns of Crofting Agriculture in the Isle of Lewis Since About  
1850*. *Scottish Journal of Sociology* 11:31-49.

- 1982 Associational Categories and the Social Location of Relationships in a Lewis Crofting Community. *In* *Belonging: Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures*. Anthony P. Cohen, ed. Pp. 101-130. Memorial University of Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Social and Economic Papers No. 11.

Miles, Robert

- 1986 Labour Migration, Racism and Capital Accumulation in Western Europe since 1945. *Capital and Class* 28:49-86.

Minge-Kalman, Wanda

- 1978 Household Economy During the Peasant-to-Worker Transition in the Swiss Alps. *Ethnology* 17:183-197.

Mintz, Jerome R.

- 1982 *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mintz, Sidney W., and Eric R. Wolf

- 1950 An Analysis of Ritual Co-Parenthood (Compadrazgo). *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 6(4):341-368.

Moreno Feliú, Paz Sofía

- 1987 Inda Che Axuda Calqueira! Análise do Sistema de Axudas en Campo Lameiro. *In* *Traballos Comunais no Mundo Rural*. Pp. 9-58. Ourense: Museo Arqueolóxico Provincial, Boletín Avriense, Anexo 7.

Moreno Feliú, Paz Sofía, José Antonio Fernández de Rota y Monter, and Xosé Antonio Fidalgo Santamariña

- 1987 *Traballos Comunais no Mundo Rural*. Ourense: Museo Arqueolóxico Provincial, Boletín Avriense, Anexo 7.

Moya, José C.

- 1990 Aspectos Macroestructurales y Microsociales de la Emigración Española a Argentina (1850-1930). *In* *Galicia y America: El Papel de la Emigración (V Xornadas de Historia de Galicia)*. Jesús de Juana and Xavier Castro, eds. Pp. 137-164. Ourense: Deputación Orense.

Myerhoff, Barbara

- 1978 [1980] *Number Our Days*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Narotzky, Susana

- 1990 "Not to Be a Burden": Ideologies of the Domestic Group and Women's Work in Rural Catalonia. *In* *Work Without Wages: Domestic Labor and Self-Employment within Capitalism*. Pp. 70-88. Jane L. Collins and Martha Gimenez, eds. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Nevin, Edward

1990 *The Economics of Europe*. London: MacMillan.

O'Brien, Jay, and William Roseberry, eds.

1991 *Golden Ages, Dark Ages: Imagining the Past in Anthropology and History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

O'Meara, J. Tim

1990 *Samoan Planters: Tradition and Economic Development in Polynesia*. Fort Worth, TX: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

O'Neill, Brian Juan

1987 *Social Inequality in a Portuguese Hamlet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ortner, Sherry B.

1984 *Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties*. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26:126-166.

Ott, Sandra

1981 *The Circle of Mountains: A Basque Shepherding Community*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pahl, R. E.

1980 *Employment, Work and the Domestic Division of Labour*. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 4(1):1-19.

Painter, Michael

1991 *Re-creating Peasant Economy in Southern Peru*. In *Golden Ages, Dark Ages: Imagining the Past in Anthropology and History*. Jay O'Brien and William Roseberry, eds. Pp. 81-106. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Palmás, Ricardo

1984 *La Emigración*. In *Los Gallegos*. Pp. 503-536. Madrid: Ediciones ISTMO.

Paredes, Anthony J.

1982 *On the Other Side: Reflections on Galicians Familiar and Strange*. *Reviews in Anthropology* 9(3):231-243.

Passerini, Luisa

1987 *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*. Robert Lumley and Jude Bloomfield, trans. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Phillips, Lynne

- 1990 The Power of Representation: Agrarian Politics and Rural Women's Interpretations of the Household in Coastal Ecuador. *Dialectical Anthropology* 15:271-283.

Pina-Cabral, João de

- 1986 Sons of Adam, Daughters of Eve: The Peasant Worldview of the Alto Minho. Oxford: Clarendon.

- 1987 Paved Roads and Enchanted Mooresses: The Perception of the Past Among the Peasant Population of the Alto Minho. *Man* (N.S.) 21:715-735.

Piñon, Néida

- 1989 The Republic of Dreams. Helen Lane, trans. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Pitkin, Donald S.

- 1985 The House That Giacomo Built. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pitt-Rivers, Julian A.

- 1971[1954] The People of the Sierra, 2nd edition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Polanyi, Karl

- 1944 The Great Transformation. New York: Rinehart.

- 1959 Anthropology and Economic Theory. *In* Readings in Anthropology, vol. 2. M. Fried, ed. New York: Crowell.

Pollard, Sidney

- 1981 Peaceful Conquest: The Industrialization of Europe, 1760-1970. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Poole, Deborah A.

- 1988 Landscapes of Power in a Cattle-Rustling Culture of Southern Andean Peru. *Dialectical Anthropology* 12:367-398.

Quataert, Jean

- 1984 Social Insurance and the Family Work of Oberlausitz Home Weavers in the Late Nineteenth Century. *In* German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History. John C. Fout, ed. Pp. 270-294. New York: Holmes and Meier.

1985a The Shaping of Women's Work in Manufacturing: Guilds, Households, and the State in Central Europe, 1648-1870. *The American Historical Review* 90:1122-48.

1985b Combining Agrarian and Industrial Livelihood: Rural Households in the Saxon Oberlausitz in the Nineteenth Century. *Journal of Family History* 10:145-162.

1986 Teamwork in Saxon Homeweaving Families in the Nineteenth Century. *In German Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Social and Literary History*. Ruth-Ellen B. Joeres and Mary Jo Maynes, eds. Pp. 3-23. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Rappaport, Joanne

1990 The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Raposo Santos, J. M., J. M. García García, and A. Pérez Manrique, directores

1974 Situación Actual y Perspectivas de Desarrollo de Galicia, Tomo I. Madrid: Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros.

Redclift, Nanneke, and Enzo Mingione, eds.

1985 Beyond Employment: Household, Gender and Subsistence. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Reed, Mick

1986 Nineteenth-Century Rural England: A Case for 'Peasant Studies'? *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 14(1):78-99.

Rhoades, Robert E.

1978a Foreign Labor and German Industrial Capitalism 1871-1978: The Evolution of a Migratory System. *American Ethnologist* 5(3):553-573.

1978b Intra-European Return Migration and Rural Development: Lessons from the Spanish Case. *Human Organization* 37(2):136-147.

1979 From Caves to Main Street: Return Migration and the Transformation of a Spanish Village. *Papers in Anthropology* 20(1):57-74.

1980 European Cyclical Migration and Economic Development: The Case of Southern Spain. *In Urban Life*. George Gmelch, and P. Zenner, eds. Pp. 110- 119. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Richards, Paul

- 1989 Agriculture as a Performance. *In Farmer First: Farmer Innovation and Agricultural Research*. Robert Chambers, Arnold Pacey, and Lori Ann Thrupp, eds. Pp. 39-43. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Riegelhaupt, Joyce F.

- 1967 Saloio Women: An Analysis of Informal and Formal Political and Economic Roles of Portuguese Peasant Women. *Anthropological Quarterly* 40:109-126.

Ringrose, David R.

- 1970 Transportation and Economic Stagnation in Spain, 1750-1850. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Robben, Antonius C. G. M.

- 1989 Sons of the Sea Goddess: Economic Practice and Discursive Conflict in Brazil. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rodman, Margaret Critchlow

- 1992 Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality. *American Anthropologist* 94(3):640-656.

Rodríguez, Francisco

- 1984 La Lengua. *In Los Gallegos*. Pp. 219-240. Madrid: Ediciones ISTMO.

Rodríguez Campos, Joaquín

- 1983 Economía, Estratificación Social, y Adaptación: Estudio Antropológico en la Tierra de Montes. Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

- 1990 La Crisis de un Sistema de Vida Tradicional. *In Antropología y Etnografía de las Proximidades de la Sierra de Ancares*, Vol. 1. Pp. 125-190. Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo.

Rodríguez Casal, Antón A.

- 1990 O Megalitismo: A Primeira Arquitectura Monumental de Galicia. Universidade Santiago de Compostela: Biblioteca de Divulgación, Serie Galicia, No. 4.

Rodríguez Galdo, María Xosé

- 1976 Señores y Campesinos en Galicia: Siglos XIV-XVI. Santiago de Compostela: Editorial Pico Sacro.

Rodríguez Labandeira, José

- 1991 El Trabajo Rural en España (1876-1936). Barcelona: Anthropos.



Rogers, Susan Carol

1987 Good To Think: The 'Peasant' in Contemporary France. *Anthropological Quarterly* 60(2):56-63.

1991 Shaping Modern Times in Rural France: The Transformation and Reproduction of an Aveyronnais Community. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rojo Salgado, Argimiro

1989 O Galeguismo a Través Dos Seus Textos e Documentos Políticos. Santiago de Compostela: Revista Coordenadas Monografías.

Rosaldo, Renato

1980 Ilongot Headhunting, 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

1989 Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis. Boston: Beacon Press.

Roseberry, William

1989 The Construction of Natural Economy. *In* Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History, and Political Economy. Pp. 197-232. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Roseman, Sharon R.

1991 A Documentary Fiction and Ethnographic Production: An Analysis of *Sherman's March*. *Cultural Anthropology* 6(4):505-524.

Rosenberg, Harriet G.

1988 A Negotiated World: Three Centuries of Change in a French Alpine Community. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Saavedra, Pegerto

1985 Economía, Política y Sociedad en Galicia: La Provincia de Mondoñedo, 1480-1830. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia.

Sabean, David Warren

1990 Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sahlins, Marshall

1972 Stone Age Economics. Chicago and New York: Aldine-Atherton.

Salisbury, Joyce

1985 Iberian Popular Religion, 600 B.C. to 700 A.D.: Celts, Romans, and Visigoths. New York: E. Mellen Press.

- Samuel, Raphael, ed.  
1981 *People's History and Socialist Theory*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Saville, John  
1969 *Primitive Accumulation and Early Industrialisation in Britain*. Socialist Register.
- Scaletta, Naomi  
1985 *Death By Sorcery: The Social Dynamics of Dying in Bariai, West New Britain*. *Aging and Its Transformations: Moving Toward Death in Pacific Societies*. Dorothy Ayers Counts and David R. Counts, eds. Pp. 223-248. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, ASAO Monograph #10.
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy  
1979 *Saints, Scholars, and Schizophrenics: Mental Illness in Rural Ireland*. Berkeley: University Press.
- Scott, James C.  
1976 *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Segalen, Martine  
1984 *Nuclear Is Not Independent: Organization of the Household in the Pays Bigouden Sud in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. *In Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*. Robert McC. Netting, Richard R. Wilk, and Eric J. Arnould, eds. Pp. 163-186. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sequeiros Tizón, Julio G.  
1986 *El Desarrollo Económico en Galicia 1: Agricultura y Mercado Interior*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.
- Shanin, Teodor, ed.  
1971 *Peasants and Peasant Societies*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.
- Shubert, Adrian  
1990 *A Social History of Modern Spain*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Sider, Gerald M.  
1986 *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History. A Newfoundland Illustration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skar, Sarah Lund

- 1984 Interhousehold Co-operation in Peru's Southern Andes: A Case of Multiple Sibling-Group Marriage. *In* Family and Work in Rural Societies: Perspectives on Non-wage Labour. Norman Long, ed. Pp. 83-98. London: Tavistock.

Smith, Gavin

- 1984 Confederations of Households: Extended Domestic Enterprises in City and Country. *In* Miners, Peasants and Entrepreneurs: Regional Development in the Central Highlands of Peru. Norman Long, and Bryan Roberts, eds. Pp. 215-234. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1989 Livelihood and Resistance: Peasants and the Politics of Land in Peru. Berkeley: California University Press.
- 1990 Negotiating Neighbors: Livelihood and Domestic Politics in Central Peru and the Pais Valenciano (Spain). *In* Work Without Wages: Domestic Labor and Self-Employment within Capitalism. Pp. 50-69. Jane L. Collins and Martha Gimenez, eds. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Sozan, Michael

- 1976 Sociocultural Transformation in East Central Europe: The Case of the Hungarian Peasant-Worker in Burgenland. *East Central Europe* 3:195-209.

Spencer, Audrey

- 1968[1964] Spinning & Weaving at Upper Canada Village. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.

Stack, Carol B.

- 1974 All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community. New York: Harper & Row.

Szelenyi, Ivan

- 1988 Socialist Entrepreneurs: Embourgeoisement in Rural Hungary. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Tedlock, Dennis

- 1983 The Analogical Tradition and the Emergence of a Dialogical Anthropology. *In* The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation. Pp. 321-338. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- 1987 Questions Concerning Dialogical Anthropology [with a response from Stephen Tyler]. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 43(4):325-344.

- Tenorio, Nicolás  
1982[1914] *La Aldea Gallega*. Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia.
- Thomas, Nicholas  
1991 *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Thompson, E. P.  
1963 *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage Books.  
  
1967 *Land of Our Fathers*. *Times Literary Supplement* 16 Feb.
- Tonkin, Elizabeth, Maryon McDonald, and Malcolm Chapman, eds.  
1989 *History and Ethnicity*. London and New York: Routledge, ASA Monograph 27.
- Tranoy, Alain  
1981 *La Galice Romaine: Recherches Sur le Nord-Ouest de la Peninsule Ibérique dans L'Antiquité*. Paris: de Boccard.
- Uña Álvarez, Elena de  
1990 *Comarca de Baio-Vimianzo: Estudio Demográfico, Socioeconómico y Repercusiones Espaciales*. La Coruña: Camara Oficial de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de La Coruña, Serie Estudios Comarcales, No. 4.
- Vansina, Jan  
1985 *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Vázquez González, Alejandro  
1990 *Algúns Aspectos do Transporte da Emigración Galega a America (1850-1930)*. *Galicia y America: El Papel de la Emigración (V Xornadas de Historia de Galicia)*. Jesús de Juana and Xavier Castro, eds. Pp. 117-136. Ourense: Deputación Orense.
- Vilar, Pierre  
1967 *Spain: A Brief History*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Villares, Ramón  
1982 *La Propiedad de la Tierra en Galicia, 1500-1936*. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores.  
  
1985 *Historia de Galicia*. Madrid: Alianza.

Wachtel, Nathan

1986 Introduction. Special Edition on "Memory and History". Sharon Romeo, trans. *History and Anthropology* 2:207-224.

Wagner, Roy

1981[1975] *The Invention of Culture*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Wallman, Sandra, ed.

1979 *Social Anthropology of Work*. London: Academic Press, A.S.A. Monograph No. 19.

Weber, Eugen

1976 *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Weber, Max

1958 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Talcott Parsons, trans. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Weingrod, Alex, and Emma Morin

1971 *Post-Peasants: The Character of Contemporary Sardinian Society*. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13:301-324.

Wilk, Richard R., and Robert McC. Netting

1984 *Households: Changing Forms and Functions*. In *Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*. Robert McC. Netting, Richard R. Wilk, and Eric J. Arnould, eds. Pp. 1-28. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Williams, Allan M.

1991 *The European Community: The Contradictions of Integration*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Willis, Paul

1981[1977] *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids get Working Class Jobs*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Winner, Irene

1971 *A Slovenian Village: Zerovnica*. Providence: Brown University Press.

Wolf, Eric R.

1966 *Peasants*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Wolpe, Harold

1972 Capitalism and Cheap Labour-power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid. *Economy and Society* 1(4):425-456,

Woolard, Kathryn A.

1989 *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Woolf, D. R.

1988 The 'Common Voice': History, Folklore and Oral Tradition in Early Modern England. *Past & Present* 120:26-52.

Yglesias, José

1967 *The Goodbye Land*. New York: Pantheon Books.

1977 *The Franco Years: The Untold Human Story of Life Under Spanish Fascism*. Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Young, Kate, Carol Wolkowitz, and Roslyn McCullagh, eds.

1984[1981] *Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination Internationally and Its Lessons*. London: Routledge.

Yücel, A. Ersan

1987 Turkish Migrant Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany: A Case Study. *In* *Migrants in Europe: The Role of Family, Labor, and Politics*. Hans Christian Buechler and Judith-Maria Buechler, eds. Pp. 117-148. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Zonabend, Françoise

1984 *The Enduring Memory: Time and History in a French Village*. Anthony Forster, trans. Manchester: Manchester University Press.