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Illegal Emigration from the Eastern Algarve to Morocco during the *Estado Novo**

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Abstract

This text analyses illegal emigration originating in the Algarve, during the *Estado Novo* (New State), in order to clarify: what relationship existed between this illegal migratory flow and other contemporary emigratory systems? Who were the illegal emigrants activating this system? What circumstances and motives explained these emigrants' option? Analysis was made of data obtained in a documental *corpus* of 43 court cases dealt with at the courts of east south Portugal, for facts related to illegal emigration, in which 178 people were accused.

In *Estado Novo*, there was increased control of illegal emigration by the border police of the corporatist regime, but the illegal emigrants filled the shortage of labour principally in Morocco and integrated the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan migratory system, which persisted alongside the transatlantic system. The restrictions introduced by the new Kingdom of Morocco and the emergence of the European migratory system contributed to transforming the «Moroccan» in the «Frenchman».

Keywords: illegal emigration, migratory system, Estado Novo/New State, Algarve.

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Introduction

The constant presence of emigration in Portuguese culture, the variations of migratory flows and their characteristics in time and space have formed a vast bibliography in the last forty years¹, but the subject continues to arouse the interest of researchers who seek new perspectives of approach and diversification of the sources these imply.

The most recent investigations have aimed for global understanding of the phenomenon through articulating the various levels of analysis, from the global to the local, of structures and policies with the behaviour of individuals and their motivations. The subject of research was extended to illegal emigration, meaning increased attention to judicial and oral sources, which to a great extent remain to be analysed. In this connection, this text focuses on illegal emigration originating in Central and Eastern Algarve during the *Estado Novo*²(New State), aiming to clarify the following questions: what was the relationship between this illegal emigratory flow and other contemporary emigratory systems? Who were the illegal emigrants feeding this system? What circumstances and motives justified these emigrants' option? What are the dynamics repressing this phenomenon over the considered period? Seeking answers to these questions meant elaborating a documental corpus formed of forty-three court cases in relation to illegal emigration, which were dealt with in the courts of Faro, Olhão, Tavira and Vila Real de Santo António, from the 1930s to the 1970s. In these processes, data on criminal proceedings and *corpus delicti* were the focus of attention, leaving for another opportunity other aspects of the phenomenon that can be analysed from data contained in the remaining components of these cases. A database was formed, with the variables being analysed using the IBM-SPSS Statistics program.

¹ For a perspective of studies about Portuguese emigration until the mid-1980s, see Rocha-Trindade(1984). For new approaches, consult Campos & Rocha-Trindade(2005).

² New State: the authoritarian, conservative and corporatist regime formally instated with the 1933 constitution, which ended on April 25, 1974.

1. The judicial sources

The one hundred and seventy-eight persons accused in the forty-three cases that constituted the documentary corpus analysed in this study do not represent the universe of those accused of illegal emigration, and other crimes related to this phenomenon. This is because not all the cases were preserved in judicial archives of the counties in question. Despite this limitation, the existing processes constitute a significant sample due also to the multiplicity of the voices presented in them and to the plurality of data they contain.

Since the implementation of Decree No. 5624 of May 10, 1919, penalties for correctional detention and fines were provided for "illegal emigration" (imprisonment from 15 days to 3 months), for "incitement to illegal emigration" (imprisonment of 1 to 12 months), and for the "agents of illegal immigration" (imprisonment of 1 to 3 years). In the first case, the correctional police process was provided and in the last two cases, the correctional process was provided (article 47).

The Code of Criminal Procedure (1929) defined various types of common proceedings, according to the severity of the penalties. The major penalties involved a lawsuit proceeding³ (art. 63). Correctional sentences of more than 6 months associated or not with other penalties, such as a fine exceeding 6 months, implied a correctional process⁴ (article 64). Correctional sentences of up to 6 months associated or not with other penalties, as a fine up to 6 months, implied a corrective police process⁵ (art. 65). Defendants caught in flagrante delicto whose infractions corresponded to corrective police processes were judged in summary proceedings⁶ (article 67). The contradictory instruction became mandatory in the lawsuit proceedings, according to the Criminal Procedure Code of 1945 (article 34). The characteristics of these processes are complexity and extensiveness. Correctional processes and corrective police processes could have contradictory instructions, when required by the accused. In summary proceedings, there was no contradictory statement

³ In Portuguese language: «processo de querela».

⁴ In Portuguese language: «processo correcional».

⁵ In Portuguese language: «processo de polícia correcional».

⁶ In Portuguese language: «processosumário».

(article 36). The preparatory instruction was not necessary when the news case trusted the court (article 19).

In this legal context, the most frequent processes in the documentary corpus are the corrective police processes ones (n=28), followed by correctional processes (n=6), lawsuit proceedings (n=4) and summary proceedings (n=4). There is still a body offense (incomplete process).

Next, we describe the general context of the phenomenon under study.

2. Background

It is calculated that between 1900 and 1988, around 3,5 million people emigrated from Portugal, 25% of them having done so illegally (Baganha, 1994, p. 960). This estimate is based on both official Portuguese statistics and immigration statistics from the main destination countries (USA, France and Germany). Official Portuguese statistics, as well as the most recent estimates, which are certainly closer to the true situation than the first, still require critical analysis⁷, since they do not account for return and re-emigration, nor do they calculate illegal emigration to certain destinations, such as the one that interests us most here.

A decreasing trend in the number of legal emigrants in the 1930s and 1940s gave way to a growing tendency in the 50s and 60s, which reached its all-time maximum number of emigrants in the early 1970s. In the middle of the century, there was a change in the structure of migratory systems of which the Portuguese were part: flows ceased to be predominantly intercontinental, to become mostly intra-European, this tendency being inverted once more from the end of the 1970s.

According to Baganha (1994, p. 962), the proportion of illegal emigrants reached 1/3 of the total number of emigrants in the 1960s

⁷ As argued by Isabel Tiago de Oliveira (Oliveira, 2007, p. 839), official Portuguese statistics on emigration require critical analysis, particularly with comparison with other indicators such as the migratory balance. This author calculates that legal emigration accounted for 109,3 thousand Portuguese citizens in the 1930s, 90,4 thousand in the 1940s, 353,4 thousand in the 1950s and 681 thousand in the 1960s.

and even surpassed the number of legal emigrants in the 1970s. The value of emigrants' remittances in relation to that of exports rose from 13% in the 50s to 24% in the 60s, reaching 56% in the 70s. This growth shows the importance of emigration in the national economy and goes towards explaining the evolution of the legislation and the result of intervention by institutions of control and repression in the emigratory phenomenon.

The data regarding Portuguese emigration, and particularly those on illegal emigration led various historians (Baganha, 2003); (Pereira, 2002); (Pereira, 1981) to question the impact the *Estado Novo* had on the evolution of this phenomenon, since changes in emigration policies in this period did not produce the effects that were apparently desired. Over four decades, an anti-emigration policy⁸ (1933-1947), which did not contemplate illegal emigrants, was replaced by a policy of quotas⁹ (1947-1962), which, despite aiming for better control of the emigratory flow, did not prevent illegal emigration. Finally, the need was recognized to adopt a policy of openness¹⁰ (1962-1974), which became effective in the Marcelist spring, from 1968.

The first period of the New State's emigration policy, which lasted until the end of the Second World War, was characterized by the construction of the unified emigration control mechanism based on the issue of passports according to specific criteria of gender, age, level of education and socio-professional class. These were defined, amidst other legislation, by Decree-Law n° 16:782, of 27 April 1929, and by Decree-Law n° 33:918, of 5 September 1944. An ordinary passport could not be issued to manual workers in any industry or agricultural workers, requiring proof of completion of the third year of education from those over 14 and under 45 years old for the issue of an emigrant's passport. The State Surveillance and Defence Police (PVDE)¹¹ had the function of border control and prevention of illegal

⁸ Established by Decree-Law n° 16:782, of 27 April 1929 (suspended successively, for example, by Decree-Law n° 24:425 of 27 August 1934, by Decree-Law n° 31:650 of 19 November 1941) and by Decree-Law n° 33:918 of 5 September 1944.

⁹ By Decree-Law n° 36:558, of 28 October 1947.

¹⁰ Decree-Law 44:422, of 29 June 1962 and Decree-Law n° 46:939 of 5 April 1966.

¹¹ Created in 1933 by Decree-Law n° 22992, 29 August, with powers extended in 1934, by Decree-Law n° 23995, of 12 June, concerning the «repression of illegal emigration» and the «struggle against recruiters».

emigration and activities associated with this. The State Defence International Police (PIDE), which succeeded it from 1945¹², held, among other functions, those of administration, prevention and repression of illegal emigration and illicit encouragement of such.

The second period of the New State's emigration policy, between the end of the Second World War and the 1960s, was characterized by the creation of the Emigration Department¹³, whose objective was complete control of the emigratory process by State institutions. A quota system was created, defining a maximum number of departures by region and occupation, aiming to control the health and transport of legal emigrants. The creation of Emigrant Offices in Lisbon and Porto was foreseen, for the purpose of «guiding and protecting» the emigrants«arriving from the provinces for departure» or «receiving returning emigrants»¹⁴.

These changes in emigration policy assumed recognition that emigration performed the function of a«safety valve» for the excess of population in relation to available resources. At the same time, the aim was not to harm the interests of groups who, within the regime, were opposed to emigration (V. Pereira, 2014). The aim was externally acting in favour of the regime both the image of «protection» of the emigrant (Paulo, 1998)and the remittances they sent back. These changes are set in the New State's options of economic policy and foreign policy which prioritized industrialization and modernization of the productive system in the terms foreseen in the 1st Development Plan and improving the international image of the authoritarian and conservative regime in the new democratic context after the Second World War.

The third period of the New State's emigration policy, between the early 60s and 1974, is characterized by establishing bilateral agreements between the Portuguese State and the States of France¹⁵ (1963), Spain (1962), Federal Republic of Germany(1964), Luxembourg (1965), the Netherlands (1966), Argentina (1966), Brazil (1969) and Belgium (1970). The view was to ally control of the emigration phenomenon with maximizing the economic return

¹² Created in 1945 by Decree-Law n° 35046, of 22 October.

¹³ Decree-Law n° 36558, of 28 October 1947.

¹⁴ *Idem.*

¹⁵ About this agreement, see V. Pereira (2002).

from emigrants and social support for their families. The persistence of illegal emigration and the high growth rate and internationalization of the Portuguese economy favoured the introduction of these changes in emigratory policy. Decree-Law 46939, of 5 April 1966, increased the penalties for those who encouraged, or helped, or transported illegal emigrants, considering them crimes punishable by a prison sentence of two to eight years, while maintaining the sentences applicable to illegal emigrants. Even so, illegal emigration continued to grow, a situation that raises questions as to the coherence between the political objectives described and the control and repression practices of those operating on the ground (National Guard and PIDE), as was shown by the authors quoted above (Pereira, M.H., 1981; Pereira, V., 2005, 2002).

With Salazar being replaced by Marcelo Caetano at the head of government in 1968, the ambiguities of the emigration policies were eliminated: amnesty was applied to the crime of illegal emigration¹⁶, followed by its decriminalization in 1969, when it came to be considered as an offence punishable with a fine of 500\$00 to 20.000\$00¹⁷. The prison sentence of up to eighteen months and a fine was reserved for aiding and abetting «so as not to widen excessively the difference between the penalties applicable to the authors of those acts and the emigrants themselves...»¹⁸. The Emigration Department was dismantled in 1970, to be replaced by the National Emigration Administration¹⁹, whose mission was «discipline of the migratory flow to Europe» and «assistance to Portuguese workers abroad»²⁰. Simultaneously, the government of Marcelo Caetano tried to lessen the intensity of the migratory flow through improving the living conditions of the most vulnerable, extending social welfare to agricultural workers and granting a family allowance²¹. In fact, the numbers emigrating decreased slightly from 1970. Regarding this relationship between the emergence of social security and the slight reduction in the emigration flow, Victor Pereira (2009) says that

¹⁶ Decree-Law n° 48 783, of 21 December 1968.

¹⁷ Decree-Law n° 49 400, of 19 November 1969.

¹⁸ *Idem*.

¹⁹ Decree-Law n° 402/70, of 22 August.

²⁰ Decree-Law n° 15/72, of 12 January.

²¹ Law n° 2144, of 25 May 1969 and Decree n° 445, of 23 September 1970.

emigrants going to France were attracted not only by higher purchasing power, but also by the social security system and by the prospect of increased status for themselves and for their descendants. These conditions did not exist in Portugal until Caetano's government.

Portuguese emigration, especially illegal emigration, besides forming a kind of daily resistance to bad living conditions – in terms of refusing to follow the law and adopting practices contrary to the speeches made by the authorities – allowed emigrants to make contact with promising social situations. These situations were later narrated to those who remained, contributing to opening new horizons of possibilities in the home country, which would explain, among other factors, the lack of credibility of the New State in increasingly extensive sectors of the population, as Víctor Pereira (2009) showed. Then again, the reduced workforce, due to the intense emigratory flow in the final period of the New State, contributed to increased labour costs and to the impact of the growing rebellious movements appearing in the towns and rural areas. Marcelo Caetano, on the eve of elections, could read these signs, which led to the depenalization of illegal emigration, in articulation with social policy measures that intended to discourage it.

In the context described above, the case of the Algarve is distinguished by its specificities, which we can summarize in three points. The 1st – the long persistence of the migratory system of the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan sea area until the 1960s; the 2nd – the importance of temporary emigration and re-emigration for work; the 3rd – the interconnection between the migratory system of the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan sea and the transatlantic migratory system, in which the preferred destination of Argentina stands out²².

In the following section, illegal emigration from the Eastern Algarve is set in the scope of the migratory system²³ of the

²² This preference grew during the 1st Republic and reached a peak in the 40s, with Argentina attracting 2/3 of legal emigrants originating in the Algarve (Borges, 2009).

²³ *Migratory systems* are recurrent migration flows that link regions or states with different demographic, economic and cultural structures. Migratory flows include emigration, immigration, return and re-emigration. These flows sustain interaction networks that act as vehicles of information, assistance and cooperation linking migrants to the system (Borges, 2009, pp. 73-75). Migratory systems are dynamic and flexible; they emerge, adapt and can disappear according to internal or external changes. They can co-exist and interact

Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan sea, the term used by Romero Magalhães (1970; 1988).

3. The long persistence of the migratory system of the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan sea

Participation in the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan migratory system by people from the Algarve dates back at least to the beginning of modern times²⁴, if not even to medieval times²⁵, and remained active until the mid-1950s. In contemporary times, migratory flows to the Alentejo, Andalusia, Gibraltar and Morocco, which were mainly seasonal, were dominated by migration from the Algarve. Its economic and social relevance having increased to such an extent that political power did away with the requirement of a passport to do seasonal work in Spain, replacing it with a authorization in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, Arnaldo Anica (2008) noted the record of 184 seasonal emigrants in the short period of the first three months of 1923, in the *Terms of Accreditation of Tavira Local*

with other systems. As has been pointed out, this concept is an appropriate tool for process and systemic analysis of migration, allowing us to relate the local to the global, national, regional, local and individual specificities with international structures (Moch & Hoerder, 1996). Another line of research focused on survival strategies, cultural practices and identity construction, proposing the concept of *transnationalism* to mean the processes by which migrants (transnationals) construct social fields that link their country of origin to the host country, making decisions, acting and developing feelings and identities in the domain of social networks. These dynamics articulate one or more cultures simultaneously (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc-Szanton, 1999).

²⁴ Joaquim Romero Magalhães states that «one of the characteristic features of the Algarve, a factor marking individuality within Portugal, is maritime activity and the geographic-economic solidarity of the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan Algarves forming the Gulf of Gibraltar» (Magalhães, 1970, p. 233).

²⁵ Oliveira Marques explains how the bread crisis was solved in the Algarve recently reconquered by the Christians: «The first definite reference we have about cereal imports in Portugal is found in a document from the end of the thirteenth century. The Algarve had been conquered three decades earlier; the momentary interruption in the trade with peninsular and African Islam stopped the supply of bread to the province, which was always scarce there. The king was obliged to loan wheat from his stores to supply some strongholds; in 1282, there was an attempt to normalize the situation, allowing once again exchange with the Moors» (Marques, 1968, p. 156).

*Authority*²⁶. 81 of them were destined to agricultural work in various locations in Southern Andalusia, between Ayamonte and Gibraltar, and 103 were destined to fishing-related work to be done between Ayamonte and Cadiz.²⁷ In turn, Carminda Cavaco (1971, pp. 41-83) recorded 3482 contracts of workers from the Eastern Algarve for temporary jobs in tuna traps and fish-canning factories located mainly in Morocco and Tunisia, but also in the south of Spain, between 1933 and 1952. Fishing and the fish-canning industry, agriculture and mining were the main economic sectors involved in this migratory system (Cavaco, 1976; Costa, 2002).

The legal aspect of the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan migratory system is better known than its illegal side. Even so, it is known that during the nineteenth century, there was intense contraband in land and sea routes, and it is plausible that illegal emigration was connected to that activity. Over land, mules carried goods to the river Guadiana, the moment of crossing the river being the most critical in the set of operations. These procedures generally involved smugglers supported by back-up forces who frequently ambushed Portuguese customs officers. Azinhal was the favourite point for the illegal passage of skins, tobacco, horses, gunpowder, thread, soap, wheat, nets and sugar. By sea, arriving illegally on the Algarve coast from Gibraltar and Huelva were large quantities of tobacco, but also butter, paper, wheat, cod, tea, canvas, shoes, playing cards, textiles, gin and other drinks, irons and sheets. This diversity of goods could be subject to large-scale contraband, involving foreign vessels supported by national receivers, or could involve small domestic boats that fished and trafficked from the Algarve coast to the Strait of Gibraltar (Anica, 2001, pp. 103-115).

The Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan migratory system was interlinked with the transatlantic system, since the port of Cadiz served the route from the south of the Iberian peninsula to the ports in America, and was therefore the port of embarkation for those who aimed to reach the other side of the Atlantic (Borges, 2009).

In the 1920s, most legal emigrants from the Algarve were destined for Argentina (59%), followed by Europe (12,8%), Brazil (12,4%)

²⁶ Foreseen in the General Regulations of Emigration Services published on 19 June 1919.

²⁷ We thank the author for allowing access to the original text of the communication.

and USA (8,8%). Africa (without being more specific) appeared in the fifth position (6,0%). Then in the 1930s, the pattern changed: Argentina was still the favourite destination (36,3%), but Africa jumped to second place (26%), followed by Europe (25,8%). In the 1960s, the migratory system of North-West Europe took precedence over the transatlantic system regarding emigration from the Algarve, as in the rest of the country, with France accounting for 2/3 of the requests for passports presented in the Algarve (Baganha, 2003; Borges, 2009). At that time, the independence of Morocco created conditions for many emigrants from the Algarve to return home or opt for re-emigration, from the Algarve or Morocco, with France as the destination.

Summarizing, the persistent presence of emigration and the transformations of this phenomenon over the centuries is highlighted, corresponding to the metamorphoses of the emigrant as a symbol of Portuguese culture: from «navigator», on to «settler» and «Brazilian», to become «French», as Bretell (2003) observed. However, in the case of the Algarve, the figure of the «Moroccan» emerges which, chronologically placed between the «Argentinian» and the «Frenchman», reflects the specificity of the migratory phenomenon in the south of the country.

Next section, we will focus on the dynamics of illegal emigration within the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan system during the New State.

4. Dynamics of illegal emigration

As mentioned, in the first half of the twentieth century, although people emigrated from the Algarve legally above all to North and South America, with a preference for Argentina, the same did not happen with the illegal emigrants who made other choices. A number of factors explain the preference for geographically closer destinations, among them being knowledge of the area, the formation of social and economic relations with the people of these regions going back a long way and the limited financial resources available to invest in the migratory projects.

The *corpus* gathered for this study is formed of a total of 178 accusations of crimes, the majority being for illegal emigration (89,3%) and the remainder for aiding and abetting illegal emigration (8,4%) and for encouragement and transport of illegal emigrants (2,2%). The total number of accused corresponds to only a small part of those who left and those who aided and abetted leaving, illegally. This situation is demonstrated by the processes themselves, since those charged, on being questioned in the legal proceedings, frequently mention their history of emigration and the existence of other illegal emigrants who had left for the same destination, using the same means of transport. It is also known that the system of controlling and repressing illegal emigration varied in its effectiveness over the period considered, this being an aspect of this phenomenon, which it is not possible to account for in the sources analysed.

Considering the court cases examined, which concern events in the court districts of Vila Real de Santo António, Tavira, Olhão and Faro in the period of the New State, illegal emigration in this region is found not to have developed linearly, presenting distinct phases and specific occurrences, which will now be characterized briefly.

Fig. 1 – Accusations by decade

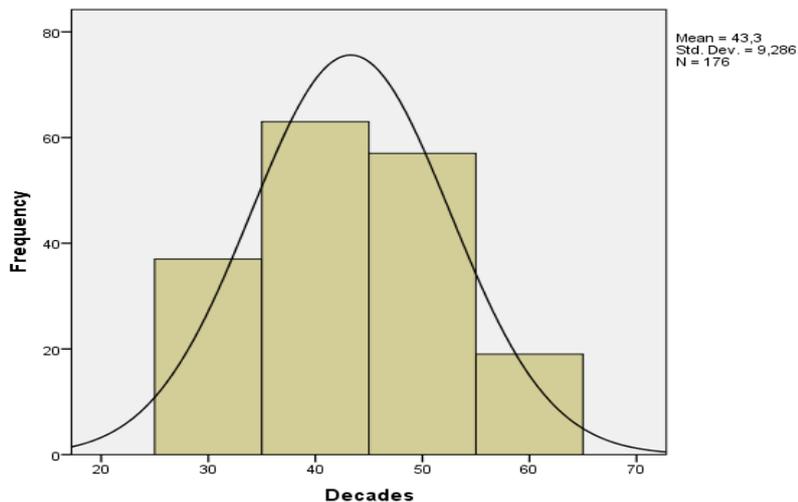
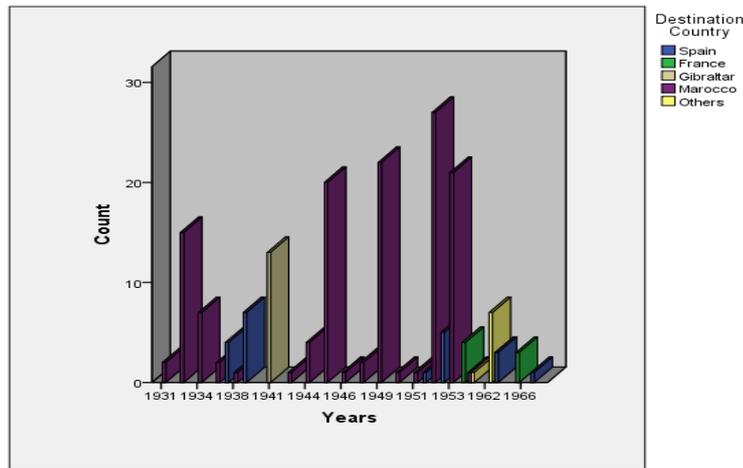


Fig. 2 – Accusations by year and country of destination



Considering the development in the number of accused, by year of performing actions related to illegal emigration in the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan system (Graphic 1), the phenomenon is seen to begin to grow in the 1930s, reaching a peak in the 40s, with a significant decline in the 60s. The same data let us infer that the phenomenon of illegal emigration was most intensely repressed in the 1940s and 50s. From 1954, there is a fall in the number of people involved in court cases of this nature, and cases concerning illegal emigration to Morocco in fact disappear (Graphic 2). This last fact arises from the growing difficulties facing illegal emigrants at their destination, which is understood in the context of Morocco's independence (1956). Then again, as already mentioned, in the 60s the New State prioritized repression of the crime of encouragement and ended up depenalizing illegal emigration (1968), which is necessarily reflected in the frequency of accusations.

The flow of illegal emigration in the period analysed was predominantly towards Morocco (73%), followed by Spain (12%) and Gibraltar (7%). In Morocco, sources refer to the destinations of Casablanca, Rabat, Quenitra, Tangier and Fez. In Spain, the Andalusian destinations of Aljaraque, Cristina Island, Figueirita and Huelva are documented. France appears as an alternative to Morocco, but only from the mid-1950s (4%).

The destinations of illegal emigrants varied according to the origins of those involved. In fact, those from the local authorities of Faro, Tavira and Olhão preferred Morocco, followed by different places in the south of Spain, while the destination of Gibraltar predominated for those from Olhão.

Illegal emigration was favoured by the location of the ports of departure and by climatic conditions, as revealed by the data. Journeys were programmed for the hot months of spring-summer, the month of August accounting for the majority of departures (57%), of which most were made by sea. Boats of the most varied types were used, including canoes, coastal fishing boats, yachts and even short-range motorboats. The area around the ports of Olhão and Tavira were the main places for the movement of boats involved in illegal emigration. This is not surprising given the economic difficulties of the men of the sea and their specialization in deep-sea fishing, especially regarding the port of Olhão, which gave them great experience of navigation in the waters of the Gulf of Cadiz. The combination of these conditions favoured both illegal emigration and the activity of transporting illegal emigrants. Indeed, the port of Olhão sent out 44% of illegal emigrants, with Tavira being the second most important port with 35% of departures, followed by the port of Faro with 11%. Considering the place of residence of illegal emigrants, we know that it was not only residents of these ports that used the facilities they offered. The local authority of Loulé accounted for 10% of illegal emigrants, who left the country from ports in the Eastern Algarve, with Vila Real de Santo António accounting for 5%. The attraction of the ports of the Eastern Algarve for illegal emigration spread out to residents of Lisbon, Portimão and Silves.

The data also infer that repression of illegal emigration focused mainly on emigrants destined for Morocco, interpreted as a reflection of the greater intensity of this flow, followed in descending order by the flow destined for the south of Spain and Gibraltar. The residents in the ports of central and eastern Algarve mainly composed the migration. As already mentioned, the western coast of the Algarve, the valleys and hill regions also contributed to the exodus.

The following section defines the profile of the social actors involved in the illegal Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan migratory system during the period considered.

5. Characterization of social actors

Age and gender structure

One characteristic stands out: those who emigrated were adults. The most active age-group was between 25 and 34 years old (38%), but the phenomenon involved people of all ages, from young people to the elderly. Adolescents and young adults (from 15 to 24 years old) also had a significant weight in illegal emigration (32%). This was followed by the 35 to 44 age-group, which represented 21% of illegal emigrants. The numbers highlight how illegal emigration was rooted in the daily life of the Algarve residents who participated in it as part of the family strategy to improve living conditions or as a resource to ensure survival. Those who emigrated were poor and vulnerable or intended to add a complement to their limited means. This complement could be obtained either through internal migration or through emigration. It was a question of seeking an alternative, with varying degrees of urgency and temporariness, to unemployment or insufficient means of subsistence.

As for the women, it is of note that they were older than the men, namely in the 45 to 54 age-group, which is not in conflict with the characteristics of female emigration presented next.

The illegal emigration visible in court cases was a predominantly male phenomenon, despite women not being absent: of those involved, 90% were men and 10% women. Differently from men, around ¼ of the women who emigrated illegally had Spain as their destination, the remainder heading for Morocco. They emigrated together with their husbands or intended to join them, and so keep the family together.

Socio-professional structure

The occupations of those involved in illegal emigration were diverse, coming from all sectors of economic activity. Illegal emigration was fed by the primary sector (42%), in which «sea-workers» predominated (26%)— that is, fishermen, shellfish fishermen, those who lived from the sea - and «labourers», a term generally used to designate rural employees (11%). These were closely followed by the secondary sector (41%), predominantly stone-masons (15%), joiners (11%), locksmiths (6%) and a great

variety of other occupations of a more artisanal than industrial nature. Those originating in the service sector did not account for more than 17% of all illegal emigrants.

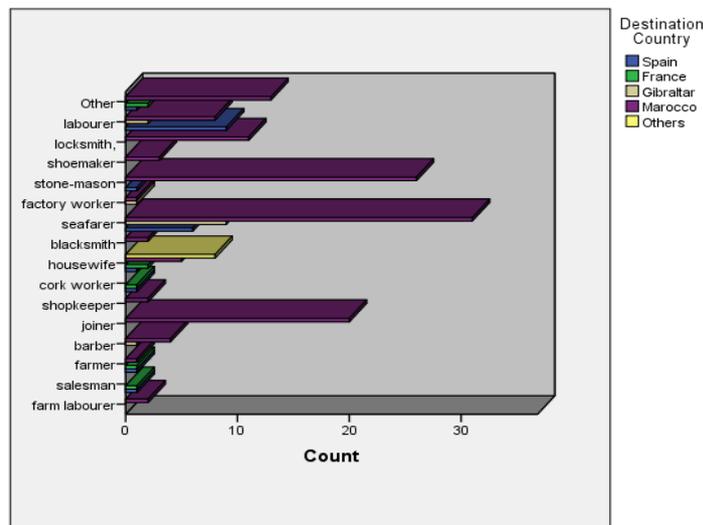
The women described themselves as «housewives», except for one who said she was a «labourer».

The socio-professional origin of illegal emigrants affected the choice of destination: among emigrants choosing Gibraltar, «seaworkers» predominated; «labourers» preferred Spain; the flow to Morocco was the most intense and the most diversified (Graphic 3).

Marital status

The marital status of the individuals involved in illegal emigration is a significant element in understanding this phenomenon. The majority of them are married, around 61% of the total. Single people represented 36% and those widowed only 3%. These data suggest that the pressure of economic difficulties, which tended to increase with family responsibilities, and the wish achieve the conditions to form an autonomous family structure would be the most relevant factors motivating illegal emigration.

Fig. 3 – Occupations of illegal emigrants by country of destination (>1%)



Academic qualifications

Concerning the academic qualifications of those accused, individuals considered completely illiterate by the judicial authorities corresponded to 29% of the total, with 68% knowing how to write their name, and some of the latter may have been able to read and write. Considering the relationship between gender and academic qualifications, of the total number accused, there is a greater percentage of illiterate women (59%) than men in the same situation (29%). Among the males involved in illegal emigration, the majority knew how to sign their name (62%), with the percentage of completely illiterate individuals being 26%. Those figures are not very different from the national situation, which presented extremely high illiteracy rates, mainly among females. Indeed, at the end of the New State (1970), the illiteracy rate of the Portuguese population older than ten years old was 64% for women and 34% for men²⁸. Nevertheless, the different roles played in the illegal emigration process corresponded to different levels of education. For example, when considering only those accused of aiding and abetting, women predominate, both in numerical terms and regarding level of literacy.

Gender and Social Roles

Illegal emigration from the Algarve is formed by a set of actors revealed in this analysis. According to the typology of crimes foreseen by law, actors can perform the roles of illegal emigrants, enticers (or hirers) and transporters.

The various aspects of those involved in the illegal migratory system favoured the differentiation of roles of their direct actors. Hirers had the principal function of obtaining false documentation, one of the commercial operations their business lived off. In exchange for large sums of money, which the poor clients found in their meagre savings or by turning to a relation or friend, hirers dealt with passports, which generally did not appear, demanding cash payment for the service from potential emigrants.

²⁸ Illiterate resident population over 10 years old according to the censuses: total and by gender. Data sources: INE - X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV and XV General Population Censuses. PORDATA.

Transporters dealt with organizing transport for the illegal emigrants, which as mentioned was mainly by sea destined for the south of Spain, Gibraltar and Morocco.

The same person could ensure enticement and transport. However, there were also court cases in which those accused of aiding and abetting did not coincide with those accused of transporting. These cases reveal greater complexity in illegal emigration networks. As referred to above, gender difference is identified in performing the various roles, since women were more numerous in enticement, unlike what happened in other roles where men predominated.

Gender difference is also found in the degree of literacy of those involved in the process: the majority of women accused of illegal emigration were completely illiterate, unlike the women accused of enticement. On the contrary, the majority of men accused of illegal emigration could at least sign their name.

The men involved in illegal emigration did not intend to avoid carrying out military service as was the case of many in Portugal and the Algarve at that time, mainly in the 1960s, when they refused to be enlisted for the wars in Africa. On the contrary, the cases reveal that illegal emigrants even returned to «serve the homeland». These circumstances point to emigration motivated mainly by factors of a socio-economic nature, as is revealed in the next section.

6. Circumstances and motivations for emigration

For the illegal emigrants, conditions were hard and the risks were high. The emigration phenomenon, and particularly that of illegal emigration, was associated with the myths of returning and rapid wealth, myths that prospered in a hierarchical society characterized by limited social mobility, in which expatriation emerged as an instrument of survival and raised social status. Leaving the country was seen as temporary, and frequently was so, but indispensable for accumulating resources that would allow a change in the emigrant's socio-economic status.

The illegal emigrants emigrated, according to their own statements, for reasons of, in decreasing order: «seeking better work» (38%), a very general expression which could include meanings

similar to some of the following categories; unemployment (37%); insufficient pay (6%); «shortage of work» (4%); «living better», i.e., seeking a better quality of life(3%); «joining the family», i.e., family regrouping (2%). Besides the reasons indicated, a justification of a different nature from these emerges, that of the desire «to get to know other places» (1%)²⁹.

In the motivational context referred to above, the process of organizing the outward journey could be done by the emigrants themselves, who got together and put money towards the initial investment of purchasing a small vessel, or could be left to «enticement and transport» networks. These had different sizes and different resources and operated from the Eastern Algarve or, more rarely, stopped off there.

Summarizing, the Algarve's population developed strategies to cope with the difficulties of daily life during the New State. Among them it was emigration, which fed into two contemporary migratory systems: the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan system and the transatlantic system.

Regarding the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan system, the illegal emigrants came mainly from the Eastern Algarve, from the coast and inland areas. They were above all seeking work and better living conditions, wishing to build a more stable future somewhere else, with Morocco predominating. Illegal emigration exposed a kind of daily resistance to bad living conditions and a refusal by Portuguese citizens to follow the law. To fulfil their objectives, the emigrants coming from various economic sectors – principally craftsmanship, fishing and agriculture – overcame the restrictions of the repressive laws of Salazar's New State and the limitations imposed by their meagre financial resources, filling the workforce shortage in industry, fishing, agriculture and services at their destination.

The success of the undertaking implied challenging the state's control and repression and mobilizing traditional wisdom, of family, neighbourhood and socio-professional networks, as well as updating knowledge, which was acquired in the migratory process itself and in contact with new situations at the destination. In this process, illegal emigrants revealed a remarkable capacity to accept risk and challenge

²⁹ In 9% of cases, the reasons for deciding to emigrate illegally were not recorded.

authorities, which, more and more in the 1930s, 40s and 50s, tried to confine them in limits, which were traditionally alien to them.

The roles performed in the illegal migratory process are different according to the gender of those involved, with women taking a more prominent part in encouraging and supporting illegal emigration and men being more numerous as emigrants.

The difficulties raised to illegal emigration by the new Moroccan state and the growing attraction of Europe developing in the post war relegated the Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan and transatlantic migratory systems to a residual flow from the mid-1950s. Even so, emigrants originating in the Algarve did not stop their efforts to build the future they longed for abroad, adapting to circumstances and re-investing in other destinations. Then the «Moroccan» changed into the «Frenchman».

The migratory system of Portuguese-Spanish-Moroccan sea was a long duration, dynamic and flexible one. It emerged in ancient times, and adapted according to internal and external changes. During the Portuguese *New State*, this system was mainly interrelated with the south Portuguese people needs, goals and its resistance culture, as well as with migratory laws and repression practices of the Portuguese authorities. In addition, the flows in this migratory system were interrelated with the needs of workforce. They were also correlated with the politics of migration in the European countries and their colonies or post-colonies in the north of Africa. This migratory system co-existed and interacted with transatlantic emigratory system.

Improving living conditions in the origin country of migrants seems to be the most long-term way to reduce migratory flows, as we inferred in this case.

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