Location of Major Cities and Field Sites / Emplacement des principales villes et des sites étudiés

Ferrol

A Coruña

Zas Gándara
Carreira
Ezaro: Mazaricos
Beba

Lugo

Santiago de Compostela

GALICIA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Vigo

Ourense

Mourisca

Viana do Bolo

SPAIN

TRÁS-OS-MONTES
E
ALTO DOURO

Port producing area discussed
by Parkhurst

O Porto

PORTUGAL

N
W — E
S

100   0   100   200 Kilometers
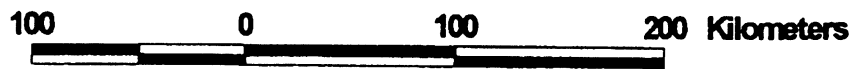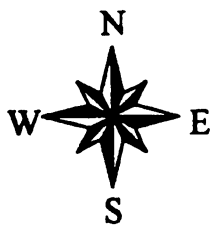
Source: ArcView 3.1 and Digital Chart of the world. Created in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Map Library.

Introduction

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Two of the most debated issues in the anthropology of southern Europe have been about regional (or culture area) distinctions and about the gendered dynamics of relationships of power. We enter these debates in this special issue of *Anthropologica* by bringing together a series of ethnographic studies of gender, power and intrahousehold relationships in five different field sites located in the Spanish Galician provinces of A Coruña and Ourense and in the Alto Douro region of northern Portugal.

The main aim of our comparative project is to indicate the intraregional variation and complexity that characterizes relationships between women and men in the locales where we conducted field work during the late 1980s and the 1990s. In both academic and non-academic discourse,[1] parts of Galician Spain and northern Portugal have been constructed as territories in which women are relatively autonomous and hold unusual positions of dominance over men in both their own households and to some extent in the "public" space of their neighbourhoods and local communities (e.g., Brøgger, 1992; Brøgger and Gilmore, 1997; Kelley, 1994; Rey-Henningsen, 1994). In other ethnographic work, and in our contributions to this special issue, we step back from historical and recent overviews of gender and power in northwestern Iberia to explore how the individual agency of individuals living in rural communities in this part of Europe is both constrained and engendered in the context of changing social and economic conditions.

Since the 1970s, cross-cultural investigations of gender "difference" and the social body have been intertwined with an ongoing inquiry into the best ways to theorize the circulation of power in relationships. Comparative research by feminist anthropologists has demonstrated that, not only does the control and distribution of resources within households and domestic networks constitute political decision making, but also that kin, neighbour and friendship relationships affect and are affected by the shape of what had been conceptualized in an ear-

lier period as being a distinct realm of "public" political-economy (see, e.g., ethnographies by Cole, 1991; Collier, 1997; Hoodfar, 1997; and Tsing, 1993). Furthermore, the influence of the foundational work of Michel Foucault (e.g., 1979 [1977], 1990 [1978]) has led to the understanding that power is not an essence contained within individuals or fixed social locations but rather is disseminated through the operation of always emergent, multi-sided strategies (e.g., see Bordo, 1990; Bourdieu, 1990; papers in Terry and Urla, 1995; and in Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). Conversely, practices and discourses are always strategic and cannot be conceptualized as somehow standing outside the circulation of power.

Eloquent ethnographic innovators such as Lila Abu-Lughod (1993), Judith Okely (1996) and Kathleen Stewart (1996) have provided examples of how the circulation of strategies of power are discernible in the contours of everyday "moments" or in instances of "just talk." Individuals' subjectivities and relationships are thus imbued with instances of both domination and subversion as well as the possibility of slippages:

> Practices that are resistant to a particular strategy of power are thus never innocent of or outside power, for they are always capable of being tactically appropriated and redeployed within another strategy of power, always at risk of slipping from resistance against one strategy of power into complicity with another. (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 18-19)

This understanding of strategies of power as being neither monolithic nor fixed apparatuses reaffirms the significance of feminist anthropology's challenges to androcentric models of cross-cultural politics.[2] As Collier (1974), Friedl (1967), Nelson (1997 [1974]), Wolf (1974) and others argued over two decades ago, a model of politics based in the notion of a rigid distinction between domestic (private) and public domains had ignored the vital impact of women's social networks and authoritative practices. On the basis of androcentric assumptions, domestic or household arrangements and interactions were characterized as "natural," homogeneous and pertaining to the territory of the "private" and the "feminine" while examples of "formal" politics were laid out in elaborate comparative models. The critique posed by the early work on the "anthropology of women" completed during the late 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s challenged the private/public dichotomy, and in so doing, opened up the route toward a fuller understanding of cross-cultural variation in discourses of gender and power (e.g., Nelson, 1997 [1974]; Rogers, 1975; Wolf, 1974; and later syntheses by Dubisch, 1986 and Lam-

phere, 1997). More recently, by adopting a similarly complex approach to the delimited topic of masculinity or manhood, ethnographers such as Gutmann (1996) and Herzfeld (1985) have furthered in important ways the overall project of developing sophisticated understandings of gendered strategies of power.

Contributors to a 1988 collection on "Place and Voice in Anthropology" drew our attention to a close association between the inscription of particular "places" and the circumscription of particular bodies of anthropological "knowledge" (Appadurai, 1988; in relation to the present volume, see especially Fernandez, 1988; also see Cátedra, 1991). As Gupta and Ferguson (1997) make clear, however, a decade of theoretical and political inquiry into this association has resulted in the understanding that "cultural territorializations (like ethnic and national ones) must be understood as complex and contingent results of ongoing historical and political processes. It is these processes, rather than pregiven cultural-territorial entities, that require anthropological study" (ibid.: 4). Anthropologists working in Galicia and in northern Portugal have emphasized that their research does not fit neatly into broad regional geographical categories such as the "Mediterranean" or even "southern Europe" (e.g., see O'Neill, 1987; however, see note 3, chapter 5 in Cole, 1991: 158). Clearly, both the entire coast of Portugal and the western edge of northwestern Spain are bordered by the Atlantic Ocean rather than the Mediterranean Sea. Furthermore, aspects of the political economies and social histories of some parts of Galicia and northern Portugal can be more fruitfully compared to other formerly peripheralized Atlantic "fringe" territories—such as Brittany in France and the Republic of Ireland—as opposed to areas of central, eastern and southern Iberia.

In 1989, in a critical evaluation of culture area research on the "Mediterranean," the Portuguese anthropologist João de Pina-Cabral cautioned against an overreliance on "troublesome notions" such as "kinship" and "corporateness" that he reminds his readers were developed in the context of an initial preoccupation in anthropology with universalism and social evolution (Pina-Cabral, 1989: 403). However, rather than eschewing the dilemma of how comparative analyses can best be carried out by qualitative researchers, he issues a call for "historically informed and regionally specific processes of contextualization" (ibid.) and a "return to less ambitious modes of comparison that maintain greater respect for the cultural specificity of the data" (ibid.: 404).

As we note above, all of the contributions to this special issue are based on field work conducted in north-

western Iberia: in locations in the part of Spain known as Galicia and in the Alto Douro region of northern Portugal. The *Comunidad Autónoma* (Autonomous Community) of Galicia is situated in the Atlantic corner of Spain that lies above the state of Portugal. Since 1981, Galicia has comprised a regional government (the *Xunta de Galicia*) which has gained increasing levels of jurisdictional and fiscal autonomy over the last two decades.[3] The territory administered by the *Xunta* is divided into four distinct provinces: A Coruña, Lugo, Pontevedra and Ourense. Due to a history of linguistic, cultural and political distinctiveness, many Galicians and analysts of Galicia regard it to be a non-state nation like Catalonía and Euskadi (the Basque country) which were also incorporated into the Spanish state during the modern period. The southern Galician provinces of Ourense and Pontevedra share a border with the areas of northern Portugal known as Trás-os-Montes, the Minho and the Alto Douro (see Parkhurst's paper in this volume; also Brettell, 1986: 14-20). Although the same degree of decentralized governmental autonomy has not existed until now in Portugal, the district capitals of Viana do Castelo, Braga, Bragança, Porto and Vila Real are the seats of regional administrative power in the northern part of Portugal. Furthermore, we should also note that, although the results were negative, in November of 1998 there was a national referendum held in Portugal for the establishment of *Regiões Administrativas* (http://www.referendo. telepac.pt/) that would have resembled the 17 Autonomous Communities that have been instituted in post-Franco Spain.

Over the last three decades, similar to the concern voiced by Pina-Cabral (1989) about the importance of revising our approaches to comparative research, feminist anthropologists have also explored the best way to undertake comparisons of gendered lives in different societies through time. During the mid-1970s and into the early 1980s, there was a growing realization that much of the terminology employed by social scientists interested in gender had been based in a deeply rooted androcentrism, West European and North American cultural biases, and the heritage of a 19th-century preoccupation with models of change embedded in the notion of "progressive" social stages (for example, the self-critique in Rosaldo, 1980). Although one reaction to this problem was to focus on generating more detailed ethnographies of gender ideologies, discourses and practices that contained extensive transcriptions of individual narratives and dialogues (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1986, 1993; Shostak, 1983; Tsing 1993), another response was to call for the development of more refined terms of comparison: "The

first thing that becomes apparent is ... the need for sharper, explicit, and cross-culturally applicable definitions of power, authority, influence, and status" (Webster, 1975: 154; also see, e.g., Harris and Young, 1981). Both of these types of exercises necessitate examinations of how gendered systems of stratification are processual and intersect with the circulation of strategies of power that are associated with other bases for inequality such as socioeconomic class (e.g., see di Leonardo, 1991a; Yanagisako and Collier, 1987; Zavella, 1988).

Other authors have emphasized that we should pay attention to how our informants employ generalizations about gender (e.g., Kelley, 1994) and that researchers' multiple and shifting positionalities frame both encounters in the "field" and analytical emphases (e.g., see papers in Altorki and Fawzi El-Solh, 1988; Bell, Caplan and Jahan Karim, 1983; Moore, 1994). Despite a widespread awareness of the need for these and other intricacies to be taken into account when undertaking gender analysis, anthropologists have developed a number of densely layered comparative projects which have led to renewed appreciations of both the complexity of "difference" and the pervasiveness of discourses of inequality and power; in light of Pina-Cabral's (1989) cautionary notes, in a sense it is revealing that many of these have been based in regionally delimited comparisons of different case studies (see, e.g., Dubisch, 1986; Nash and Safa, 1976; Ong and Peletz, 1995; and Weiner, 1992).

As Pina-Cabral (1989) indicates, intraregional comparison is not only a good first step towards the development of broader generalizations about interregional similarities and differences, it is also a crucial undertaking for critically engaging what have sometimes come to be overly rigid demarcations of the "key symbols" or central social institutions of particular geographical spaces and/or populations to which we refer above (Appadurai, 1988). These demarcations are evident in a variety of venues: in the everyday language of inhabitants and outsider observers of a region or group, as well as that of politicians and political activists with particular agendas, and in the academic discourse of anthropologists and others. The northwestern corner of the Iberian peninsula, by which we are including Galicia in Spain and the Trás-os-Montes, Minho and Alto Douro areas of northern Portugal, is one such "place."

In the historical, geographical and anthropological literature, this part of southern Europe is known for a number of historically long-standing patterns: a poor infrastructure and relatively little industrialization until recent decades (Bauer, 1992; Roseman, 1996); high rates of seasonal and permanent out-migration (Brettell, 1986,

1991; J-M. Buechler, 1975); *minifundia* land tenure systems and the continuation of subsistence agriculture alongside fishing and the production of agricultural and craft commodities (e.g., Bouhier, 1979; Calo Lourido, 1978; Fidalgo Santamariña, 1988, 1992; Fidalgo Santamariña and Rodríguez Fernández-Taboadela, 1988; Iturra, 1988; Rodríguez Campos, 1983, 1990; Roseman, in press); intraregionally variable patterns of uxorilocality, patrilocality and natolocality (e.g., Bauer, 1987; H. Buechler, 1987; Fernández de Rota, 1984; Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]; O'Neill, 1987); and in the case of Galicia, a related separate regional legal code pertaining to some aspects of civil and family law (Albaladejo, 1979; Castan Tobeñas, 1964; Kelley, 1994: 73-74; Méndez, 1988). Furthermore, Galicia and some parts of northern Portugal have also been identified as a counterpoint to strategies of gendered difference characteristic of southern Iberia and other parts of Europe: women perform physically strenuous agricultural tasks such as ploughing and clearing land; women often organize and are the leaders of mixed gender collective work activities (see Gala González, 1995; Kelley, 1988, 1991, 1994; Roseman, 1993); in some maritime households in northern Portugal, women went out to sea to fish and even skippered their own boats (Cole, 1991); women have often controlled the sale of commodities produced in agriculture and in the fishery; in some areas, daughters rather than sons are the main inheritors of land and houses; and historically, there were significant numbers of unwed mothers who became accepted within their communities as respected household heads (see Brettell, 1985, 1986, 1991; Buechler and Buechler, 1981; Cole,1991; Kelley, 1988, 1991; Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]).

The characteristics listed above point to women's relative equality in some circumstances and have thus been identified as unique in the context of European ethnography generally, and more particularly in the context of southern European societies. Any reading of gender, power and household in southern Europe is unavoidably conducted in light of the elaboration, by mainly English anthropologists, during the 1960s of what was identified as a generalizable moral code underlying differences in gendered behaviours, roles and identities throughout various regions of southern Europe and northern Africa, including southern Spain and Portugal (Campbell, 1964; Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1965; for a non-anglophone contribution, see Caro Baroja, 1965). This "honour and shame" code was developed on the basis of what early British ethnographers highlighted as one of the most significant and pervasive cultural themes that they encountered in "Mediterranean" societies; it accounted for interhousehold competition between men for prestige and personal honour and an apparently corresponding emphasis on women's shame. Men were said to be responsible for protecting the honour of their households through their monitoring, and defense of, the sexuality and reproductive power (or fertility) of female relatives. Women who were not sufficiently protected and who engaged in pre- or extra-marital sexual relationships or in related activities also evaluated as being dangerous threats to their reputations, would experience unresolvable shame; the male relatives who pertained to these same women's households would have failed in their guardianship role and would also suffer from social dishonour. In this androcentric explanatory model, each woman's chastity becomes in itself an objectified quality over which men compete and women are portrayed as though they have no voice or individual agency. Although the "honour and shame" paradigm was widely accepted by many anthropologists after its elaboration, it has also been critically reevaluated. Cole (1991: 79), for example, underscores that any analysis of family ideologies, gender, and power in a state like Portugal must be historically situated and take into account the impact of the Roman Catholic church and the political impositions of authoritarian governments such as the Salazarean New State (also see Schneider, 1971). In addition, even though "honour" and/or "shame" may consitute significant emotional and moral frameworks for individuals' experience in parts of southern Europe, there are equally forceful sets of codes such as the importance of women demonstrating a strong work ethic as productive—in addition to reproductive—labourers and the weight given to both men's and women's hospitality (Cole, 1991; Herzfeld, 1981, 1987; Kelley, 1988, 1991).

As Kelley (1994) has highlighted in an earlier publication, in the case of Galicia, its presentation by some as being distinct from southern Iberia has at times led to an exaggerated inversion of the original formulations of the "honour and shame" paradigm. The most extreme inversion is to label societies like Galicia as "matriarchal," an identification that has been utilized in contradictory ways by some Galician nationalists who earlier in the century promoted the association of this peripheralized part of Spain with symbols of femininity (ibid.; also see del Valle, 1985 on the Basque country and the opposing view presented by feminist nationalists discussed in Roseman, 1997). In addition, when Kelley described the field work that she was conducting with women in the rural coastal community of Ezaro with both non-Galicians and urban Galicians, these individuals often voiced a popularly held stereotype of rural Galician women as being independent

and tough (Kelley, 1984: 71). The ironic and contradictory employment of symbols of Galician womanhood by Galician urbanites and other Spaniards is mirrored in the multiple self-identities constructed by women from Ezaro themselves who experience "a tension in their pride in their roles as strong-minded agriculturalists and shame at their failure to live up to urban standards..." (ibid.: 77; on this point, also see Cole, 1991 who problematizes women's "double consciousness").

Although it is unusual to see the term "matriarchy" itself utilized in contemporary anthropological (and folkloric) works about Galicia or northern coastal Portugal, some of us have emphasized the links between female inheritance and uxorilocality—often associated with male out-migration—and women's relative power to make decisions and control resources within their households (Brettell, 1986, 1991; Buechler and Buechler, 1984; Cole, 1991; Kelley, 1988, 1991; Roseman, 1993). However, the sources of these strategies of power are severely limited in their potential effects not least because many of these households are land-poor or landless (see Gala González, 1995; Kelley, 1991; on this general point, see Rogers, 1975). Furthermore, as Brøgger and Gilmore (1997) state, it can be argued that female-centred or "matrifocal" households are found throughout the peninsula but that does not imply that women from such households always have as much or more power than men over domestic, local or even translocal affairs.

The image of the existence in the past of "matriarchal" societies in which women rather than men dominated formal politics and economic distribution was popular during the latter half of the 19th century. Terms such as "matriarchal" and "matriarchy" were used in the context of the development of stage models of social evolution in which there was a presumption that human history had begun everywhere with a period of chaotic promiscuity, was later followed by organized matriarchies and then eventually resulted in patriarchal social arrangements and ideologies. One of the better-known texts that promotes such a model of successive stages is Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* (1967 [1861]). Not least because his argument is based on classical mythology rather than on empirical data, Bachofen's work was discounted and came to be regarded as indicating "the widespread Victorian effort to demonstrate that patriarchy was the logical culmination of civilization" (Webster, 1975: 143). In their search for evidence that male dominance was not universal, a few second-wave feminists such as Elizabeth Gould Davis (1971) did embrace the image of the prevalence of "matriarchies" in antiq-

uity. Paula Webster (1975) indicates the close coincidence of these arguments with essentialist portrayals of women as possessing "innate" characteristics such as spirituality and cooperativeness that are the exact opposite of a destructive "male principle" which includes militarism and materialism (ibid.: 152-153).[4] According to this argument, although "matriarchy" is imagined to be the inverse of patriarchy, women rulers would presumably be "benevolent" rather than "masculist" (ibid.: 153). Webster highlights that this limited celebration of narratives of past matriarchies can be viewed as important Utopian visions that fueled some strands of feminist politics.[5]

In two recent overviews of the folklore and anthropology of gender in Galicia, Paz Moreno Feliú and Susana de la Gala González both emphasize that any accurate portrayal of Galician women must take into account the diversity of experiences of women living there during different historical periods as well as the existence of ambiguity and seeming contradictions in cultural constructions of gender. Through a careful examination of the influence of oral culture among rural Galicians and in early folkloric and ethnographic texts, Gala González concludes that "The ambiguity characteristic of the songs, refrains, legends and beliefs in which women are [somehow] represented can be explained as a result of the inevitable polarization to which human thought often reduces that which is believed to be understood: these ones are 'good' or 'bad,' 'pretty' or 'unappreciable'..." (Gala González, 1999: 307; translation ours). Among other points, Moreno Feliú argues that the cultural construction of concepts such as "work," "family" and "household" are ideological and embedded in particular juridical histories and political economies: "Nor does it make sense to assign gender to a domestic-private space in opposition to the public one characterized as male..." (Moreno Feliú, 1999: 282; translation ours). She proposes flexible frameworks for the analysis of gender in which it is recognized that "The division of labour according to the criteria of gender and age is very dynamic and tremendously adaptive" (ibid.).

The sophisticated arguments posed in these two essays derive from two intersecting bodies of literature: the rich and subtle ethnographic work on Galicia that has been carried out over the last few decades and a long history of complex evaluations of the various bases of power in research on gender conducted by anthropologists and by those in adjacent fields. Susana de la Gala González's (1999) and Paz Moreno Feliú's (1999) emphasis on the need for more sophisticated understandings of the "informal" realms of politics and on the reproduction of rela-

tionships based on unequal amounts of social power and authority echoes those posed almost a quarter of a century ago by anthropologists such as Rogers (1975). Why, then, have very different references to unitary "female dominance" in northwestern Iberia also appeared in recent publications (e.g., Brøgger and Gilmore, 1997; Rey-Henningsen, 1994)? Below, we sketch how the important connections that have been established to exist between unequal property divisions, postmarital residence patterns and men's and women's social locations in household arrangements and communities should not be extrapolated to support claims of global female control over men in this part of the world.

The Galician stem-family household system involves a preference for unequal and usually postmortem inheritance whereby one sibling in a family is granted the majority of parents' property after their deaths; in return for this future material legacy, after marriage, that sibling continues to reside in and/or formally pertain to her/his natal household. This main heir is known by a variety of terms that include "*millorado*" (the one who receives the major portion or the *millora*), "*meirazo*" (the one who merits), "*casado en casa*" (married into the house), or simply "*o de casa*" (the one who comes from the house) (see Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 174), as well as other works such as Fernández de Rota, 1984; Iturra, 1988; Méndez, 1988; Rodríguez Campos, 1990). Lisón Tolosana (1983 [1979]: 174) also refers to their being called "*patrón de casa* " (the [singular] boss of the house).

In some stem-family households individuals may formally pertain, and financially contribute, to their natal domestic units while working over the long term in distant migrant destinations. From the mid-1970s until the early 1990s, increased employment opportunities for women in the service and manufacturing sectors of countries such as Switzerland, (then) West Germany and France resulted in a prevalence of young women joining their husbands in working abroad. Many of the children of these couples remained in Galicia and were raised largely by their grandparents.

In the comparative anthropological and social historical literature of Spain, parts of rural Galicia are known for the continuance of these multigenerational family households which are similar to those described as existing elsewhere in Europe (e.g., Douglass, 1988b). Brettell (1986, 1988) and Cole (1991) have described a similar combination of unequal inheritance and significant (but shifting) proportions of both extended and multiple family households in the northern Portuguese parishes of Lanheses and Vila Chã. For example, Galician stem-families and various forms of complex family households in north-

ern Portuguese coastal settlements resemble the patrilineal, virilocal stem-families of western Ireland (e.g., see Arensberg, 1968); the rural stem-family households associated with the Basque *baserria* mixed farming economy (e.g., Douglass, 1988a); and the *ostal* household system of the Aveyronnais region of southern France (Rogers, 1985, 1991).

In 1964 and 1965, the Spanish social anthropologist Carmelo Lisón Tolosana (often accompanied by his wife Julia Cecile Houssemayne) undertook what would become one of the founding field work projects of a modernist social anthropology of Galicia. He visited approximately 300 villages in the four provinces of the Galician region and tape recorded interviews with approximately 1,500 informants, returning to many of these sites later to confirm with these individuals the accuracy of their transcriptions (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 11). The results of this impressive investigation are most fully described in the volume *Antropología cultural de Galicia* (1983 [1979]) but also appear in summary form in other Spanish and English-language publications (e.g., Lisón Tolosana, 1973a, 1973b, 1976). In his monograph, Lisón Tolosana focusses on the various levels of rural social organization: the municipality (or rural township), the parish, the village and the household. In this book and in other syntheses, he provides a detailed comparison of the variations of inheritance and postmarital residence patterns found in different zones. For example, he describes the prevalence of equal inheritance and neolocal postmarital residence in Galician cities and the southernmost province of Ourense as well as the existence of natolocality in some parts of Ourense (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 302-31). Most of the book is dedicated, however, to a discussion of the possible historical and current causes, social and economic functions, and characteristics of the system of unequal inheritance and stem-family households. In chapters 7 and 8, one finds a comparison of "patrilineal" and "matrilineal" inheritance, the former said to exist in a paradigmatic manner in the mountainous interior of the province of Lugo.

Of his work on Galicia from this early period, it is chapter 8 of Lisón Tolosana's book, and similar discussions in his related publications, which have perhaps had the most impact outside of the circle of Galician and Spanish studies' specialists. This chapter is entitled "*Manda matrilineal*," which can be translated as "Matrilineal Preferential Inheritance." In it, he describes matrilineal inheritance and uxorilocality to be an exact "inverse" of the preference for male heirs and in-marrying sons that he discusses in his previous chapter on patrilineality (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 243). He

tells his readers that the preference for female heirs and daughters "marrying into" their natal households exists mainly in coastal villages and is closely related to a fishing economy which was associated with women administering farms and with extensive male out-migration (compare with Buechler, 1987; Buechler and Buechler, 1981, 1984; also, importantly, with Brettell, 1986, 1988, 1991 and Cole, 1991 on maritime households in northwestern Portugal). Lisón Tolosana emphasizes that under these circumstances, there is often a less rigid preferential division of property than one finds in most instances of patrilineal *manda* (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 244). Nevertheless, as in cases of male heirs, the "first phase" of this household system is not the post-mortem legal inheritance of property but rather the preliminary process whereby men become members of their in-laws' residential units. How do men negotiate their social positions within households in which they are newcomers, for which there are strong female "lines" or histories, which were the natal houses not only of their wives but also of their mothers-in-law, and of which these mothers-in-law own most of the property?

In one section, Lisón Tolosana begins to answer this question with the statement: "If women dominate in social and relational life, the submission of the man to his wife and/or mother-in-law in the making of economic, agricultural, and familial decisions is absolute (*Si en la vida social y relacional domina la mujer, en las decisiones económcias* [sic], *agrícolas y familiares la sumisión del varón a su esposa y/o madre política es absoluta)"* (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 249; translation ours). Nevertheless, over the next few pages he goes on to qualify this statement at some length. First, in some cases this hierarchy is reversed; that is, when older people have to persuade their younger relatives to remain on the farm, it is the younger people who have a significant amount of social control over their elders (ibid.). This observation relates to some other sections of his work in which Lisón Tolosana recognizes the effect of wealth differences among households in rural Galician communities and also the impact of social changes during particular historical periods (e.g., ibid: 238). That is, landless and land-poor parents have always been at a relative disadvantage as compared with their wealthier neighbours because the prospect of inheriting their property has not been as strong a lure. It is always more attractive for younger people to seek the social status of being a major heir when they come from relatively affluent households. When social changes occur such as the opening up of attractive economic opportunities either in Galicia or in migrant destinations, the majority of peasant agricultur-

alists could find themselves having less authority and influence over adult children than they had previously. In the post-1950s period, for example, an increasing number of individuals have preferred to leave poor natal households as opposed to remaining there to fulfill the obligation of caring for elderly parents. Second, in the 1960s Lisón Tolosana found that men with specialized trades who earned steady wages outside of the household often had "primary authority, either completely or partially" (ibid.: 261). Third, the extent to which these men (and one presumes others as well) had some "independence ... was relative and depended partially on the temperament of the mother-in-law and the son-in-law's willingness to conciliate" (ibid.; compare with the important discussion of the mechanisms of property transmission in northwestern Portugal by Brettell, 1991).

Despite Lisón Tolosana's careful qualifications of his portrayal of some households in Galician coastal villages as "female-dominated" and the qualifications of Brettell (1986, 1989) and Cole (1991) with respect to northwestern Portugal, in a recent article comparing gender and family patterns in different parts of Iberia, Jan Brøgger and David Gilmore (1997) cite this observation of Lisón Tolosana's regarding a limited number of communities in Galicia as extensible to the entire region of northwestern Iberia and emphasize both the "matrifocality" of households and female dominance outside the house. Brøgger and Gilmore (1997: 15) write that "In this corner of Iberia, the power and independence of women is more than pronounced; it is absolute." It is these latter characteristics which they argue distinguishes gendered relationships in Galicia and parts of northern Portugal from those in other parts of the Iberian peninsula. This evaluation reflects Brøgger's earlier publications on the Portuguese coastal settlement of Nazaré: "Even the casual observer would be struck by the dominance of women both in private and public Nazaré life" (Brøgger, 1989: 21; also see Brøgger, 1992).[6]

However, Brøgger and Gilmore (1997) are following Lisón Tolosana (1983 [1979]) and others in pursuing the general argument that there are significant regional differences with respect to gender equality and inequality in Spain and Portugal. The factors that they emphasize to underlie the greater degree of equality (or even dominance) for women in the Galician and northern Portuguese coastal regions are characterized in the first instance as ecological and economic: smallholding farms, extensive male out-migration, the continuing existence of matrilineal inheritance and uxorilocality and women's dominant role throughout the region in managing farms and businesses and in carrying out a full range of agricultural tasks.[7]

In accounting for the fact that Galicians live within a wider societal context in which they may confront individuals who do not comprehend the extent to which women have domestic and social authority within households and local communities, Lisón Tolosana explains that

> When they deal with people from the outside world, they always have the referent of superiority, authority, etc. as being masculine, that is to say, the exterior ideology,...but which neither has value nor makes sense behind closed doors. And here one touches on something that is fundamental in Galician culture, an interior/exterior duality that affects many other spheres of thought and action.... It is obvious that this double perspective makes anthropological fieldwork considerably more difficult [than elsewhere]. (Lisón Tolosana, 1983 [1979]: 259; translation ours)

Here, he highlights the importance of ethnographers addressing how individuals specifically negotiate their "presentation of self" (Goffman, 1959) with different individuals and in various contexts. In related work, Friedl (1967), Reiter (1975), Riegelhaupt (1967), Rogers (1975, 1985), Wolf (1974) and others exposed juxtapositions and interconnections between the public reinforcement of particular patterns of social prestige and the operation of power within intimate relationships in local communities. A number of ethnographers of rural Galicia and northern Portugal have already produced studies of gendered inter and intrahousehold relationships, work, parenting, marriage and widowhood that contradict any simplistic deductions about gender and power in this part of the world (e.g., Brettell, 1985, 1986, 1991; J.-M. Buechler, 1975; Buechler and Buechler, 1981, 1984; Callier-Boisvert, 1966; Cole, 1991; Fernández de Rota, 1984; Gala González, 1995; Gulevich, 1994, 1995, 1997; Gondar Portasany, 1991; Kelley, 1988, 1991, 1994; Lisón Tolosana, 1987; Méndez, 1988; O'Neill, 1987; Pina-Cabral, 1986; Rodríguez Campos, 1983, 1990; Roseman, 1999).

In this special issue of *Anthropologica*, each of the contributors presents an examination of ethnographic data compiled during the late 1980s and in the 1990s in five distinct locales, four of these located in the Spanish Galician provinces of A Coruña and Ourense and one in the Alto Douro region of Portugal. While Kelley, Parkhust and Roseman all focus on specific locales, de la Gala also provides her own explicit comparison of two Galician field sites that differ historically, ecologically and culturally. All of our papers focus on the gendered access to different political and economic strategies, and the complexity of cultural constructions of gender identities. Evidently, we are not claiming to provide a comprehensive

coverage of the questions that surround the history and ethnography of gender and power in this part of southern Europe. Such an attempt would be counter to our approaches to furthering the comparative project in anthropology. Interestingly, as has been true until recently for the work done by many other anthropologists working in northwestern Iberia (however, see Gulevich, 1994, 1995, 1997), each of us initially conducted field work in rural settings and focussed largely on both subsistence and commoditized agriculture; the important impact of out-migration on sender communities; and the interpersonal negotiations that occur among relatives and neighbours in relatively small communities. It is this research that necessarily forms the basis for the ethnography that we present here. Notably, we refrain from generalizing beyond this data because our use of specific case studies of individuals, households and communities is closely tied to our theoretical approach which aims to advance our understanding of the circulation of power partly through contextualizing and highlighting subjectivities; the nuanced use of discourses; and examples of ambiguity and contradiction. However, we hope that as we and our students and colleagues continue to work in this part of the world, we will develop further comparisons of our field work data and analyses. We particularly look forward to returning to the task of comparing each other's findings once more material is compiled in urban Galicia and Portugal; on the operation of gendered strategies of power within contexts such as industrial employment, the civil service and the service economy; as well as on ideologies of masculinity, men's subjectivities and male perspectives of gender and power.

In his contribution to the present issue, Shawn Parkhurst carefully problematizes homogeneous connotations of "northern Portugal" through a comparative discussion of previous work on gender in various locales. He also contributes a detailed analysis of women's relative lack of economic power and personal autonomy in the context of the agricultural economy of Socalcos—the pseudonym for a wine-producing village located in the part of the Alto Douro that is called Cima Corgo. As part of his analysis, he disputes Brøgger and Gilmore's (1997) characterization of northern Portuguese households as uniformly "matrifocal." Heidi Kelley and Sharon Roseman both respond directly to much of the "classic" literature on gender and power in Galicia through their focus on emergent relationships between individuals pertaining to the same households. Kelley questions previous assumptions about "matrifocality" and the extent of female power in communities in coastal Galicia and demonstrates the value of analyzing the emotional conflicts,

discourses of power and assumptions about family relationships that inform individuals' household narratives. Roseman introduces her findings that authority politics in stem-family households in Zas are characterized by ongoing tensions between discourses emphasizing both egalitarianism and social hierarchy. She also underscores the importance of taking into account the impact of long-term seasonal migration on household dynamics. Susana de la Gala emphasizes the intersection of gender and class domination during the first half of the 20th century in the two parishes of Mourisca and Beba. In her analysis of these processes of domination, she draws on ethnographic and archival data to explore how work, migration, inheritance, courtship and marriage patterns affected women and men differently. She also includes the life story narratives of two elderly women, both of whom vividly evoke the personal experience of having been born into rural households in these Galician locales earlier in the century.

Our aim in this volume is to highlight that the dialogues advanced by the intraregional comparison of distinct field projects is one of the best ways to avoid the danger of academic metonymy—of presenting examples of particular locales as though they accurately represent a whole "place"—that can lead to anthropological territorialization (after Appadurai, 1988). The presentation and analysis of data from various field sites can clarify the extent of similarities and differences among locales within particular regions. The authors of the papers contained in this special issue of *Anthropologica* have the goal of furthering an understanding of how a broad series of shifting circumstances continually shape the circulation of strategies and discourses of power within intimate family networks. A main goal in having compiled this collection is to wed the currently prevalent focus in anthropology on the symbolic construction of individuals' multiple-faceted gender identities with a renewed consideration of the effects of power differentials. The examples presented by the contributors to the volume highlight how, as individuals from northern Portugal and Galician Spain endeavour daily to ensure and better their material circumstances, they also continuously evaluate the ways in which unequal access to economic and political resources affects their own gendered, classed and territorialized lives.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1 An early reference to a discourse of women's power is found in the legend that surrounds the figure of Queen Lupa who is said to have been *"una poderosa matrona"* (a very powerful matron) (Alonso Romero, 1983: 227) and to have played a key role in ensuring the eventual development of the Galician city of Santiago de Compostela as a major pilgrimage route for Europeans from the Middle Ages onward. The legend—which has been repeated to researchers collecting examples of Galician folklore in the 20th century—recounts that, when the body of James the Apostle was miraculously transported from ancient Palestine to the shores of Galicia, the pagan Queen Lupa reversed her initial rejection of the requests for assistance from the disciples who accompanied the body of St. James. She is reputed to have converted to Christianity and provided land on which a tomb and sanctuary dedicated to James could be erected (see Alonso Romero, 1983; Llinares García, 1989; and Valentine, 1983). It is this tomb which it is said was later discovered in the 9th century A.D.

2 For an excellent overview of some of the tensions and possibilities that have emerged out of various feminist theorists' readings of the political implications of Foucault's work on subjectivity and power, see Sawicki (1994).

3 The 17 "Autonomous Communities" that now compose the Spanish state were established gradually following the passage of the new Spanish Constitution in 1978. Due to their special recognition as having been "historical nations," the first areas to gain regional governments were the Basque country (Euskadi), Catalonia and Galicia (see, e.g., Donaghy and Newton, 1987).

4 Among others, di Leonardo (1991b), has highlighted the way in which anthropological data—along with mythology and historical sketches of early city-states such as Crete—have been used by some feminists to promote an ideology of a "woman's culture." This construction most often consists of a description of a psychological, emotional, social, ethical, moral and spiritual unity among "women" from diverse time periods and societies. As Webster (1975) indicated, in earlier work on this subject such as that of Davis (1971), this unity is often overtly described as "innate" rather than the result

of socialization. The mix of biological and social metaphors is confusing and contradictory. For example, patriarchal social arrangements are said to be tied not to men's innate qualities but rather to "male" or "masculist" (sometimes "masculinist") principles. Clearly, the former line of argument would not serve the cause of gender equality because men could not change "innate" dominance behaviours.

5 Note that the work of Davis (1971) and others is very different in argumentation and in the use of evidence from that of feminist anthropologists such as Eleanor Leacock (e.g., 1981), Kathleen Gough (e.g., 1975) and Karen Sacks (e.g., 1979) who were interested in the link that Frederick Engels established between private property regimes, monogamy and lower social status for women. Rather than seeking proof of "matriarchies" in the past, these scholars carefully analyzed the data indicating relative gender equality among foraging populations that did not have a notion of private property.

6 The folklorist Marisa Rey-Henningsen (1994), whom we reference above, recently published her doctoral dissertation in which she utilizes Lisón Tolosana's work extensively to support her argument that there is a "matriarchal" cultural discourse operating throughout Galicia.

7 Although she is approaching the problem from the perspective of a different discipline and academic tradition, it should be noted that the folklorist Marisa Rey-Henningsen (1994) is the most radical in her claims. She suggests that a Galician culture of female dominance has existed for centuries and "accords with the cultural and economic female dominance and the matriarchal norms that prevailed until very recently among large parts of the population in Galicia" (Rey-Henningsen, 1994: 260).

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